

# Home, school and playground: linguistic usages when lessons are over. Summary and analysis of the socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia

Natxo Sorolla

## Abstract

The aim of the study presented here is to analyse the socio-linguistic situation at secondary schools in Catalonia based on the data obtained from the "Socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia", carried out in 2006 by the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia with the cooperation of the Linguistic Policy Office. Firstly, a review is made of the methodology applied when this survey was carried out. Then, the results obtained on the various issues dealt with are described: the socio-demographic details of the pupil and his/her family, the main socio-linguistic details, linguistic competences, usages and representations and cultural consumption. An explanatory view of the data obtained in the study can be exhaustively consulted in the publication from the Education System Higher Assessment Council (2008), [which can be viewed online](#) (CSASE 2008). Secondly, a final section is incorporated focusing on the family language and linguistic usages with friends in order to highlight the main factors explaining the relationship and changes between one variable and another.

## Summary

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### 1. Characteristics of the study and methodology

The "Socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia" (CSASE 2008) has a total of 1,393 valid questionnaires and was carried out in May 2006. The initial design of the sample was applied at a total of 51 schools, which are the same centres as took part in the international PISA study in 2006 (CSd'A 2006a, CSd'A 2006b). Two-stage stratified sampling was used. In the first stage, 51 schools with 15-year-old pupils registered were chosen. At a second stage, up to a maximum of 35 pupils per school in the 4th year of secondary education were chosen at random. The schools forming part of the sample were allowed to decide to exclude from the application a small percentage of pupils who they considered did not have the capacity to carry out the test, either because they had diagnosed special educational needs or because they did not have sufficient mastery of the teaching language because of their recent incorporation in the Catalan education system.

The questionnaire consisted of 51 questions and was answered by all pupils assessed in an approximate time of one hour. These 51 questions can be divided into eight blocks: personal

details, family details, linguistic knowledge and usages, school language and context, study habits, language outside school, cultural consumption, and language and representations.

## 2. Descriptive analysis of the study

### 2.1 Socio-demographic details of the pupil

The pupils surveyed in this study were those in the 4th year of compulsory secondary education, born in the early 1990s and aged between 15 and 16. As for the gender distribution, the number of girls is greater (56%) than the number of boys (44%).

Almost half (45.7%) are studying in cities with more than 100,000 population,<sup>1</sup> while more than one in three (37.4%) are studying in medium-sized towns and one in six (16.9%) are doing so in towns with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants.

As we explained in the Characteristics of the Study and Methodology section, the sample does not include the recently-arrived part of the population. The majority of those surveyed (91.8 %) were born in Catalonia. Those born outside Spain represent 5.5% of the sample and those born in other parts of Spain 2.7%. Although those born outside Catalonia are close to representing one in ten of those surveyed, slightly more than half of them have already been in Catalonia for more than 10 years, as, when they arrived, they were aged six or under. The other half consists of more recently-arrived pupils, having arrived after 2001.

### 2.2. Family socio-demographic details

Despite the high proportion of native pupils in the survey, the number of children of immigrants is very considerable. Of all the pupils, only half have two parents born in Catalonia. If those who have one of their two parents born in Catalonia are added, they add up to three quarters of the total. It must be specified that the mothers or fathers not born in Catalonia have been in the country for a long time: two thirds have lived there for more than 20 years and almost a fifth between 10 and 20 years.

The educational level of the parents is quite balanced between those who have university qualifications – almost a third of valid cases – and those with secondary education – a quarter. Meanwhile, those who have primary or unfinished education form a greater proportion – around 45%.

As for their employment situation, the majority of fathers work full-time (79.7%), while a smaller number of mothers work outside the home, with only 45.5% working full-time and 26.6% working part-time. Finally, the majority of parents continue to be married or live together, while a smaller number – 14% - are separated or divorced.

### 2.3. Basic socio-linguistic data

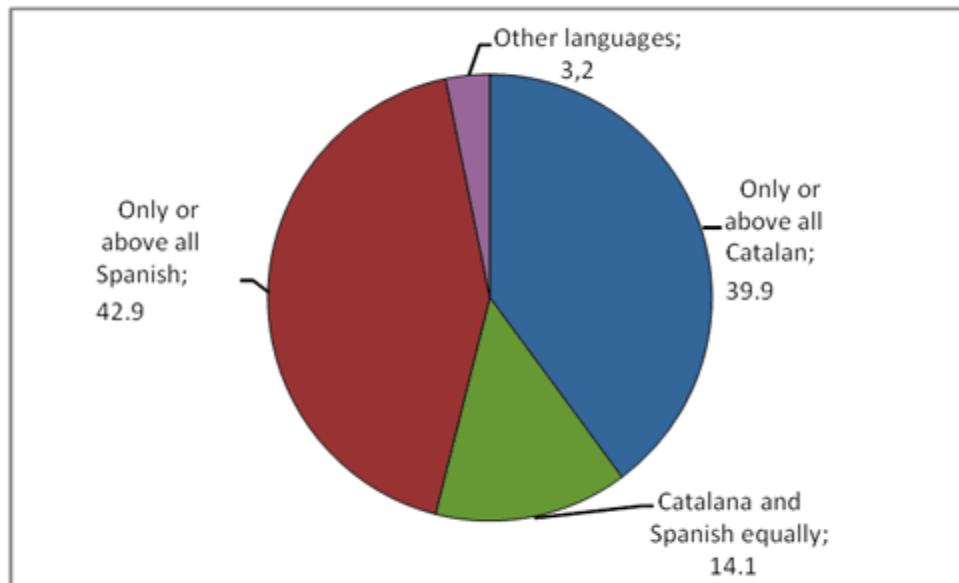
Among the population of the 4th year of compulsory secondary education, the number of pupils who have as their initial language<sup>2</sup> Catalan is similar (39.9%) to those speaking Spanish (42.9%). There is also another, much smaller, group of the population stating that their initial language is both Catalan and Spanish (14.1%). Finally, there is a small group with other initial languages, making up 3% of the population.

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<sup>1</sup> The Catalan cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants are Barcelona, Lleida, Tarragona, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Badalona, Sabadell, Terrassa, Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Mataró.

<sup>2</sup> The concept *initial language* will be used to refer to the language the pupils usually speak at home. This concept is distinguished from another which we will use later – *identification language* – which refers to the language the pupils consider as their own.

**Gràfic 1 – Llengua inicial. Recordes quina llengua vas parlar a casa quan eres petit/a? Estudi sociodemogràfic i lingüístic als centres d'educació secundària de Catalunya, 2006. Percentatges.**

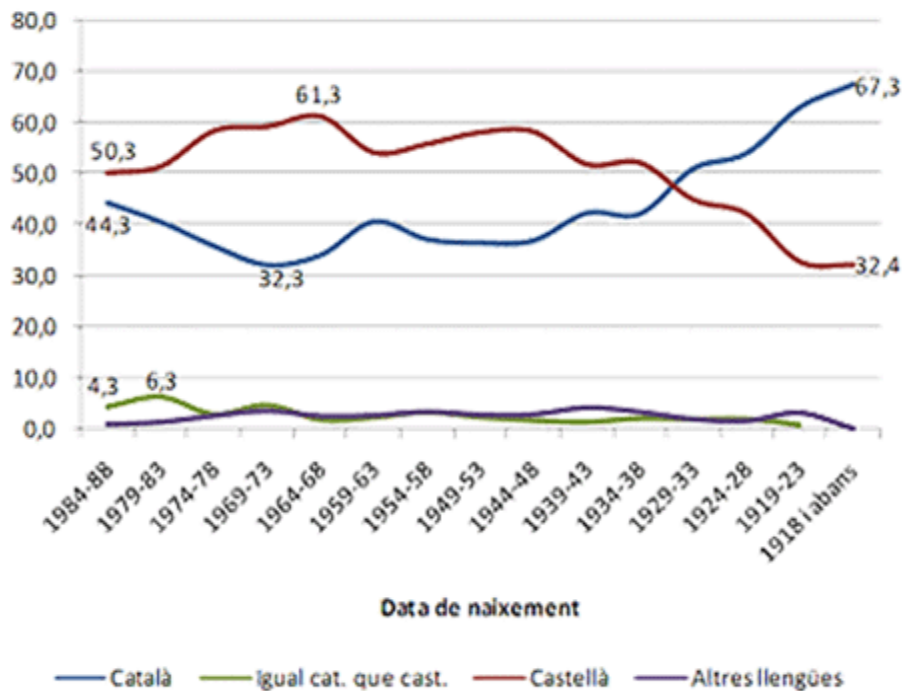


If we compare this broad data obtained from the socio-linguistic studies carried out with the adult population of Catalonia (Torres 2005, EULC 2003), we see that the number of initial speakers of both Catalan and Spanish outlines a certain continuity between the youngest groups in the Statistics on linguistic usages in Catalonia 2003 (EULC 2003) and the secondary school results (CSASE 2008). In the EULC, the greatest proportion of initial Catalan-speakers is found in the oldest generations (see Graph 2) – those born before the 1920s – where it exceeds two-thirds of the cohort (age group). The presence of Catalan reduces generation after generation, something which is closely linked to migration within Spain. Catalan-speakers born after the mid-1930s are the first cohorts to form smaller groups than initial Spanish-speakers. And a historic minimum of initial Catalan-speakers is reached among those born at the beginning of the '70s, at 32.3%, accompanied by a historic maximum of initial Spanish-speakers at 61.3 %. But the generations born in the '70s and '80s see the presence of Catalan as initial language growing once again, and around 15 cohorts recover similar proportions to the groups born during the 1930s and '40s. This growth of Catalan cohort after cohort brings the number of initial Catalan-speakers near to the figure for Spanish-speakers, but without catching them up in the generation born from 1984-88, the youngest studied in the EULC 2003.<sup>3</sup> The secondary school study detects that, in the generation born at the beginning of the '90s, the number of initial Catalan-speakers does not exceed Spanish-speakers. But the distance between them (3 percentage points) is not statistically significant. This would confirm the tendency for the proportions to move together, with a clear increasing trend for Catalan and a decreasing trend for Spanish.

By contrast, the secondary school study detects an increase in speakers who state that their initial language is both Catalan and Spanish (14.1%). This growth, which is comparatively very considerable, is not entirely surprising. In the adult population study (EULC 2003) this growth is only suspected as a trend, as until the cohorts born during the '70s the number of initial speakers of both languages did not reach 4%. In addition, although in the most recent age groups (those born during the '80s) this percentage might outline an increasing trend, it does so in a rather unclear way. So, the secondary school study would indicate that this increase, beginning in the form of a trend in the '70s, has been significantly consolidated among the generations born at the beginning of the '90s, where the number of initial speakers of both languages would be growing noticeably.

<sup>3</sup> The [Enquesta d'usos lingüístics de la població 2008](#) will have data from the population born in 1993 or before. It may, therefore, be compared with the cohorts of this secondary school study.

**Graph 2 – Do you remember which language you first spoke at home when you were little? according to the age of the person surveyed. Statistics on language usages in Catalonia, 2003**



If we include other variables in the analysis, it is possible to profile in a little more detail the characteristics of the group of secondary school students whose initial language is Catalan. On one hand, we should highlight, as might be expected, the presence of initial Catalan-speakers among pupils born in Catalonia, as well as among those studying at private schools, those who have parents with university education, those with a mother working full-time outside the home, or those from medium-sized towns (between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants) or small ones (less than 10,000 inhabitants).

Comparing their initial language (*“Do you remember which language you spoke at home when you were little?”*) with the identification language (*“What is your language?”*), we see that the number of answers with the two languages combined increases (27.5%). By contrast, Spanish as identification language (33.6%) is 9.3 percentage points below the percentage of initial Spanish-speakers (42.9 %). In the case of Catalan, the reduction is much smaller, with 36.5% of pupils identifying with this language. The factors which most influence this difference between the initial language and the identification language in favour of those who identify with both languages at the same time, or even those who identify only or above all with Catalan, are the type of school and the size of the town, with public schools and smaller towns showing the biggest increases in Catalan as identification language.

#### 2.4. Family language

We detect that Catalan has a certain capacity for attraction, in comparing the language that mothers and fathers speak with one another and the initial language declared by the pupils. This happens because a noticeable group of pupils – 7.5% of those surveyed – state that Catalan is their initial language even though their parents do not speak it with one another. This positive flow towards Catalan from other languages and combinations does not go unnoticed as a positive indicator on the inter-generational transmission of Catalan in the population cohorts born at the beginning of the '90s.

Family language usages, meanwhile, show notable complexity, above all because of the interpretation of the concept of initial language in the population of young people. Although a broad correlation can be detected in the adult population between the language spoken with parents and the initial language, younger generations show some changes that do not go

unnoticed. It has been shown that there are important differences between the language pupils speak with their parents and the language they state was the first they spoke at home when they were small (initial language). The two variables do not always correlate as much as might be predicted. 34.4% of pupils speak Catalan with both parents, 5.5 points less than the 39.9% of initial Catalan-speakers. Meanwhile, in the Spanish-speaking group, no significant difference is detected between the language spoken with parents (44.6%) and the initial language (42.9%).

Comparing the language spoken between the parents when the pupil was small and the language the pupil currently speaks with the parents, we see that there is a greater tendency of Catalan-speaking parents to transmit their own language than there is for Spanish-speaking couples. See Table 1. The great majority of children of couples who spoke Catalan between one another when they were little speak Catalan with their parents (90.6%). These couples have transmitted Catalan, and only 1.2% speak only or above all Spanish. Spanish is at the opposite pole, with a much lower maintenance rate. A notably lower quantity – 75.5% of the children of couples who spoke Spanish with one another – currently speak to their parents only or above all in Spanish. And, among those who do not, the percentage of those speaking only Catalan is as high as 4.9%. Among those who state that their parents speak equally Catalan and in Spanish, the majority move towards Catalan: 50.5% currently speak to their parents only or above all in Catalan, while the number of those who only or above all speak to them in Spanish stand at 18.8%.

In the light of the above data it can be understood that, in Catalan-speaking parents, the transmission of the language is interrupted in 9.4% of cases, while for Spanish-speaking parents the percentage is 24.5%. The difference – 15.1 points in favour of Catalan – is a statistic to be borne in mind.

**Table 1 – Language currently spoken by the pupil with his/her parents, according to the language spoken between the parents when the pupils was small<sup>4</sup>**

Language with parents	When you were little, what language did your father and mother speak with one another?			
	Catalan	Equal	Spanish	Others
Catalan	90,6	29,7	4,9	2,2
More Catalan than Spanish	5,0	20,8	2,0	
Mixed couples	1,6	12,9	6,7	2,2
Bilingual	1,1	17,8	3,6	
More Spanish than Catalan	0,5	5,9	5,9	
Spanish	0,7	12,9	75,5	15,2
Oth. languages and combinations	0,5		1,5	80,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	100	100	100	100

### 2.5. Knowledge and general language usages

Concerning linguistic knowledge, we are focusing on the three languages with the greatest academic presence in the secondary school survey: Catalan, Spanish and English. Declared knowledge of Catalan and Spanish, as might be predicted, is much greater than of English. Declared knowledge of Catalan is noticeably above that of Spanish, although the number of pupils rating themselves with low scores in no case exceeds 5% of the total. Oral and written competences in each language are very similar, without an important distance, for example, between spoken and written knowledge of the language. In the case of Catalan and Spanish, oral competences are superior to written ones. But, in English, written competence is superior to oral.

<sup>4</sup> Initial language categories: only or above all in Catalan, equally in Catalan and in Spanish, only or above all in Spanish and other languages. Language with parents categories – variable grouping the language currently spoken with the father and the language currently spoken with the mother into a single variable: Catalan, more Catalan than Spanish (speaking Catalan with one parent and Catalan and Spanish equally with the other), mixed couples (speaking Catalan with one parent and Spanish with the other), bilingual (speaking Catalan and Spanish equally with both parents), more Spanish than Catalan (speaking Spanish with one parent and Catalan and Spanish equally with the other), Spanish, other languages and combinations (speaking other languages or other languages and Catalan and/or Spanish).

**Table 2 – Average score in self-assessment of knowledge of Catalan, Spanish and English. Understanding, speaking, reading and writing. Socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia, 2006**

	<b>Understanding</b>	<b>Speaking</b>	<b>Reading</b>	<b>Writing</b>
Catalan	9,70	9,10	9,10	8,63
Spanish	9,77	9,46	9,46	8,96
English	6,01	6,01	5,40	5,89

In competence in Catalan, both initial Catalan-speakers and Spanish-speakers showed very high self-assessments. But some Spanish-speakers obtained considerably lower self-assessments of competence in the second language (L2) – Catalan. This fact is repeated, although it has to be said more moderately, in the case of the competence of Catalan-speakers in their second language – Spanish. Catalan-speakers' declared knowledge of their second language is therefore superior to that of Spanish-speakers. But this does not only apply to their second language. Initial Catalan-speakers also state that they have a better knowledge of the English language.

If we include other variables in the analysis, it can also be detected that the type of school – public or private forming part of the public system – is not an influential factor concerning knowledge of Catalan and Spanish. By contrast, it is concerning knowledge of English, as the declared values are higher in private schools forming part of the public system. As for the gender of pupils, girls declare noticeably higher averages than boys for writing in Spanish and English. Finally, the children of parents with higher education state that they have a greater knowledge of Catalan and English.

Concerning general language usage, the population is distributed in a balanced way into three groups: one third of the population always or almost always speak Catalan, another third speak both in Catalan and in other languages, and the remainder – just over a third – never or almost never speak Catalan. A basic factor for understanding the dynamics of the general usage of Catalan is the initial language. Thus, initial Catalan-speakers use their first language at least as much as other languages. We also observe that girls are more likely to position themselves as intermediate users of Catalan and Spanish, in contrast to boys, who usually place themselves as clear users of one language or the other. Despite the larger number of initial Catalan speakers at private schools forming part of the public system, this superiority is not translated into greater use of the language at these education centres.

### *2.6. Language and school context*

The information obtained indicates that two thirds of teachers speak Catalan when they address the class. By contrast, teachers who never speak it represent a tenth of the total. A considerable presence of Catalan is also perceived in the written materials received by pupils. Despite this use of Catalan by teachers in class, Spanish has a place in the classroom that cannot be ignored when pupils address teachers: 24.1% use Catalan little or never and 11.4% speak to teachers in both Catalan and Spanish. By contrast, in written production, such as exams, Catalan has a very important presence: four out of five students always use Catalan. The productive use of Catalan, as in activities and teaching materials, is notably higher in public schools than in private schools forming part of the public system.

Habitually, in all academic linguistic usages, three-quarters of initial Catalan-speakers always maintain their initial language, while the initial Spanish-speakers who never use Spanish, not even with teachers outside lessons, do not usually amount to more than a quarter. Only in out-of-school activities does the initial language become a factor of maximum importance for distinguishing linguistic usages: three-quarters of initial Catalan-speakers use their first language in these activities and the proportion of Spanish-speakers who use theirs reaches 57.9%. In school usages outside the classroom, it seems that the only interactions in which the high presence of Catalan is maintained are those with teachers: both inside and outside the classroom, Catalan is used in similar proportions with teachers. The use of Catalan is not the same with administrative and services staff, where Spanish has a greater presence.



### 2.7. Language with friends

As for language usages with friends, it is observed that the presence of Spanish increases substantially: half the pupils (49.2%) never speak Catalan with their friends from school, as opposed to one third who always speak Catalan (32.9%) with friends from school.

**Table 3 Language usages with friends. Socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia, 2006**

	Always Catalan	A great deal	As much Catalan as Spanish	Little	Never Catalan
<b>With friends (from school)</b>	32,9	3,6	10,2	4,2	49,2
<b>With friends (from outside school)</b>	30,9	3,7	10,01	5,2	50,1

One of the main factors explaining this reduction in the use of Catalan in informal contexts compared to the contexts mentioned before would be the strong link between the pupil's initial language and the language used with friends. So, everything indicates that, although initial Spanish-speakers make considerable use of Catalan in formal contexts at school, in informal contexts they maintain Spanish, their initial language. In addition, the use of Spanish with friends by initial Spanish-speakers is high: four out of every five (79.4%) never speak Catalan with friends from school. Catalan-speakers, although they mainly use Catalan with their friends, do so with much lower maintenance rates than Spanish-speakers: only two-thirds of Catalan-speakers (67.7%) always speak Catalan with their friends.

Concerning the type of school, it must be noted that at private schools forming part of the public system, although there is a lower relative presence of Catalan in the academic sphere, a larger proportion of pupils speak Catalan with their friends from outside school.

### 2.8. Cultural consumption, new technologies and language

The television and the Internet are the two most widespread cultural habits among pupils in the last year of compulsory secondary education. Given their importance, the statistic indicating that consumption in Catalan is very low in both media is an important one: of the channels or websites most seen, only a quarter are in Catalan. By contrast, in radio consumption, a less widespread habit, Catalan has a greater presence (54.4%). Even in the reading of books, Catalan has a considerable presence (53%), although this percentage must be handled with care because of the possible interference of school reading. In less popular practices, such as reading newspapers and magazines, Catalan is also well-established (43.6%). The lowest presence for Catalan is the cinema, where the last film seen by nineteen out of every twenty pupils was in Spanish.

**Table 4 Language of cultural consumption and ICT. Percentages. Socio-demographic and linguistic study at secondary schools in Catalonia, 2006**

	Catalan
Television	28,7
Internet	23,1
Radio	54,4
Books	53
Newspapers and magazines	43,6
Cinema	5

Focusing attention on the group of initial Catalan-speakers and the group that generally uses Catalan more, these pupils consume radio, newspapers, magazines and books, in Catalan. By contrast, the television consumption of these Catalan-speakers did not exceed 50%. As for the most visited website, only one third stated that this was a site in Catalan. In the cinema, the positive results for Catalan are residual, to the point that the last film seen by only one in every ten initial Catalan-speakers was in Catalan. As opposed to initial Catalan-speakers, consumption in Catalan by Spanish-speakers is always far below that of Catalan-speakers, and only in the case of radio and books is consumption in Catalan well established, very

close to consumption in Spanish. In the case of books, however, attention must be paid to possible interference from academic reading.

### 2.9. Opinions on linguistic usages

Concerning the results of the identification with a linguistic group ("I belong to the group of those who speak..."), the pupils are divided into three similarly sized groups: those who state that they belong to the group of those who speak only or above all Catalan (33.7%), the group of those who speak only or above all Spanish (24.5%), and the group of those who speak Catalan and Spanish equally (41.5%).

The majority of pupils indicate that, in general, they currently use Catalan either averagely (47.9%), a great deal (32.4%) or always (3.2%). On the perception of the development of the use of the language over the last five years, all the responses are quite balanced, and it seems that the most positive responses prevail. But, concerning the forecast development over the next few years, the majority of responses are opinions predicting stagnation in the use of Catalan. The most positive views of the general use of the language predominate among the people closest to Catalan, either as their initial language or language of general usage. But this same population is the one which sees the greatest stagnation and most setbacks for the development of the use of Catalan, either over the next five years or in future. The type of school does not seem to be an influential factor affecting linguistic representation; however, the size of municipality would be, as the perception of the use of Catalan is most optimistic in medium-sized municipalities (10,000-100,000).

No longer in the field of assessment of the presence of Catalan, but rather concerning pupils preferences for maintaining or changing language use, the majority of pupils would prefer the use of Catalan to grow and for it to be spoken always or a great deal. But it must be noted that it is the group of pupils closest to Catalan (as initial language or in general usage) which shows greatest uniformity concerning these preferences for the use of the language to increase, while those closest to Spanish tend to divide between those who would like it to be used more and those who would prefer it to be used equally. In addition, it is observed that opinions favourable to Catalan are highest for the general usage of Catalan, without specifying a preference for growing use in the current context (at school) or in future adult life (in their future job).

## 3. Multivariable analysis

The socio-linguistic situation at secondary schools is organised based on five factors, with the first being most important and the last the least important: <sup>5</sup>

- Firstly, and most importantly, come **linguistic usages**. These are complemented with other variables with which high correlation is maintained. Informal usages are particularly highlighted, such as language usages with peers and in the home, which would be the key factor for ordering the socio-linguistic diversity of pupils. As well as informal usages, a high correlation with three more variables is maintained: self-definition as belonging to a linguistic group, the identification language and the initial language. These are finally completed, less strongly, with representations on linguistic usages, the language of consumption of the communications media and oral usage with teachers, both formal and informal.
- The second key point shaping diversity, not so closely related to the first, concerns **written usages**: the language used in exams, the language of textbooks, classroom materials or compulsory readings. These variables provide a different focus but with less explanatory power. They do not completely correspond with linguistic usages, as these fit into the first factor, and they make it easier to read this socio-linguistic complexity.

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<sup>5</sup> An analysis is made of the *main category components* in order to reduce the complexity of the socio-linguistic and socio-demographic variables in the study to a few factors. In this way, the main factors shaping the diversity of the population under study can be more easily understood.



- Thirdly, there is a much less important factor. This concerns **linguistic competences** in Catalan, Spanish and English.
- Fourth comes the **geographical origin** of the student and his/her parents.
- And a far-off fifth comes **competence in English**, which, together with the parents' level of education, would determine a small but appreciable differential factor.

### 3.1. Family language and language with friends

"We've won the school, but have we lost the playground?" (Vila 2004). This has been quite a widespread comment concerning Catalan and Catalan schools, putting the effects of the school on the inter-personal uses of the language in doubt. But different studies have gone into depth extensively on this and have drawn conclusions utterly opposing this argument. At least, in their strict interpretation (Querol 2001; Rosselló 2003; Vila and Vial 2003; Vila 2004; Galindo 2006). They indicate that the institutional use of the language in the classrooms has grown. And, in playgrounds, Catalan is not the language of a tiny minority. Although its presence is lower than Spanish, it is considerable, as the results of the study we have dealt with up to now indicate. And the presence of Catalan *in playgrounds* is not the consequence of a systematic change of socio-linguistic habits by Catalan-speakers or Spanish-speakers – rather the contrary. Possibly the socio-linguistic dynamics resulting from the great migrations of the '40s and '50s are broadly continuing. In all cases, what is perceived is the huge expansion of spaces of contact between the native population and the old immigrant population and, still further, the dilution of the limits between the two, with the birth of new generations. These changes are interacting with the extensive exposure of the new generations – children of Spanish-speakers – to Catalan in the classrooms.

As the *Language with friends* section indicates, Catalan-speakers have not abandoned the use of Catalan with their friends and Catalan is not the language of a small minority in interactions between peers (see Table 3) It is quite true that, in interactions between friends, Catalan-speakers use Catalan less than Spanish-speakers do Spanish. And the difference is not a small one: 11.7 percentage points. See **Table 1**. Clearly, these lower rates of maintenance by Catalan-speakers continue to erode the social use of Catalan. But in no case does it amount to *losing the playground*.

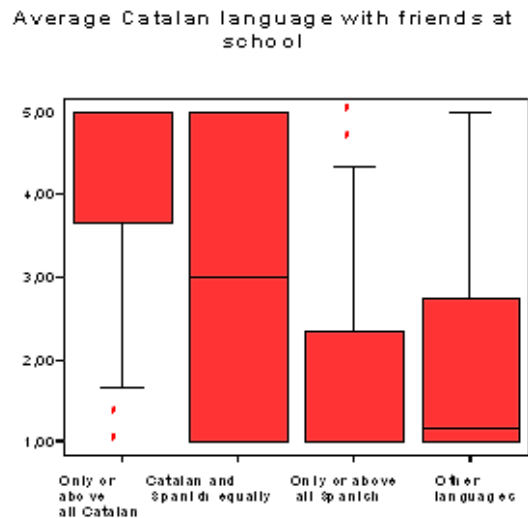
**Table 1. Language usages with friends from school and from outside school, according to the initial language**

	<b>Initial Catalan-speakers who always use Catalan</b>	<b>Initial Spanish-speakers who never use Catalan</b>
With friends (from school)	67.7	79.4
With friends (from outside)	66.1	81.8

Although the majority of pupils use their first language in interactions with friends, a proportion too large to be ignored habitually incorporate their second language. In the case of the Spanish-speakers, the use of both languages is lower: one in five. In the case of Catalan-speakers it is greater: one in three.

In **Graph** it can be seen that the children of Catalan-speaker parents (first column) use Catalan with their friends, while the children of Spanish-speaking couples (third column) use Spanish. Despite this, there is quite a visible percentage of pupils in both groups who not only speak *their parents'* language but also use *the other language*.

**Graph 3. Use of Catalan with friends from school according to the language spoken between the parents when the pupil was small**



When **you** were little, which language did your mother and father speak with one another?

Note: The box graph shows the dispersion of the values of the dependent variable. Each box consists of a central horizontal line indicating where the median value is situated (2nd quartile, at 50%), two red areas (a higher and a lower one) which, in their limits indicate where the value of the 1st and 2nd quartiles are (at 25% and 75% of cases respectively) and, finally, a vertical line (whisker) on each side indicating the distance of 95% of cases. The external points indicate extreme cases.

The multi-variant analysis we present below attempts to answer the question of *which factors are most related to the maintenance or change of family language in order to talk to friends?* Below we present, firstly, the main elements interacting with linguistic usages with friends, to place the results in a general context. Afterwards, we deal with the pupils according to their initial language in order to go into depth on the different language usages within the Catalan-speaking group and, then, the different usages within the Spanish-speaking group. This will help us to understand the most important circumstances defining usages tending towards the use of the parents' language or the incorporation of others.

### 3.2. Multivariable analysis of the language spoken with friends

In models with very few variables, a high capacity for predicting linguistic usages with friends (from school) has been obtained. The language spoken with brothers and sisters is the best situated variable and, with this one alone, an explanation of 49.9% of the variation in language usages with friends is obtained. The logic is simple, as most pupils who speak Catalan with their brothers and sisters also use only Catalan with their friends (51.8%). Moreover, 71% of those speaking Spanish with all their brothers and sisters also speak only Spanish with their friends. With this important correspondence between one variable and another, a very robust model is formed from the very first variable.

But, in order to form a complete model with the variables needed in order to predict usage in the best possible way, we select a total of as many as 13 variables. See them here Table 6. With these, the model is adjusted until 64.8% of the existing variance is explained. The variables can clearly be grouped into three sets. The first set, as we saw above, is made up of the socio-linguistic variables of family origin (presence of Catalan in interactions with brothers and sisters and parents), establishing the most important nucleus in order to explain the presence of Catalan in interactions with friends. Secondly, the school variables in informal uses and socio-linguistic representations take over: more informal linguistic uses with teachers (outside class) and the linguistic reference group ("I'd like to belong to the group of those who speak...") reinforce the role of family usages. And finally, in third and last place, the analysis is completed with a total of nine additional and miscellaneous variables which obtain much lower correlation indices. These include linguistic competences, language usages with the teacher in class, linguistic representations, consumption of communications media in Catalan or family geographical origin. As we see, these are very

diverse variables which help to complete a good approximation of language usages with friends.

**Table 6. Linear regression model. Dependent variable: presence of Catalan in language spoken with friends from school**

R	R squared	R squared	Standard estimation error
0,809	0,654	0,648	1,00121

	Standardised coefficients (beta)	Significance (standard error)
1. Language spoken with brothers and sisters	-0,214	0,000
2. Language spoken with parents	-0,202	0,000
3. Language outside class with teachers	0,146	0,000
4. "I'd like to belong to the group of those who speak..."	-0,121	0,000
5. Knowledge of Spanish. Speaking	-0,094	0,000
6. Pupils' language with the teacher in class	0,090	0,005
7. "Catalan is used..."	0,077	0,001
8. Knowledge of Catalan. Writing	0,075	0,003
9. "In your future would you like to speak Catalan...?"	0,069	0,059
10. Language of most-listened-to radio station	-0,065	0,012
11. Knowledge of English. Speaking	0,057	0,017
12. Language of the most-watched television channel	-0,057	0,026
13. Mother's birthplace	0,053	0,040

The general model of the language spoken with friends prioritises language usages with family members, with teachers outside class and the linguistic reference group. In this way it fits the wide variance of linguistic usages with friends from school.

### 3.3. Analysis according to linguistic group

The next step is to segment the sample of pupils into linguistic groups. These groups are defined by the language spoken between the parents when the pupil was small. So, the school population is segmented into four groups according to whether the parents spoke only or above all in Catalan with one another, spoke in Catalan and Spanish equally, spoke only or above all in Spanish or spoke other languages. Each of the linguistic groups is analysed independently and an in-depth look is taken at their linguistic usages with friends. The main interest is to interpret differentiated usages between those who above all use their parents' language and those who use their second language to a more or less extensive degree.

These new multivariable models we are producing are much less robust. In the case of the Catalan-speaking group (*the parents spoke Catalan with one another when the pupil was small*) a 27.7% fit for the variance of the dependent variable is obtained, while in the case of Spanish-speakers the figure is a little higher: 38.3%. By contrast, both in the case of children of couples who spoke Catalan and Spanish and for those of couples who spoke other languages, the model is better and is provided with fewer variables. The children of couples speaking both languages achieves a 63.1% fit and the second, despite its internal diversity, achieves 64.9% with just two variables. The fact that the model for the children of Catalan- or Spanish-speaking couples should be less powerful provides evidence that family usages play a vital role in usages with friends. And, in delimiting the language spoken with friends according to family language, we do not have variables that are sufficiently correlated to give a joint explanation.

The factor that most conditions the language used by the Catalan-speaking group – whose parents spoke Catalan when the pupil was small – with friends is, precisely, the language the

pupils speaks with his/her parents. See Table . We must highlight the fact the inclusion of the language spoken with parents seems like redundant statement when the dependent variable of the model is the language spoken with parents. But in no way is this the case; as we have seen in Table 1 part of the population are the children of parents who speak one language but who have been transmitted a different one. And the children of Catalan-speaking parents who have been transmitted Spanish maintain a very high correlation with the greater use of Spanish with friends. Following the lines of usages with parents, a set of ideological-type questions follows, focusing on currently desired linguistic usages in the immediate area ("at your school, would you like to speak Catalan...?") and not so immediate area ("in Catalonia, Catalan should be used...?") Finally, in less important positions, come competence in Catalan, language spoken with brothers and sisters, informal usages at school and the mother's place of origin.

**Table 7. When you were little, what language did your father and mother speak with one another? = Only or above all Catalan**

	<b>Standardised coefficients (beta)</b>	<b>Significance (standard error)</b>
<b>Language with parents</b>	-0,243	0,000
<b>In Catalonia, Catalan should be used...</b>	0,198	0,003
<b>At your school, would you like to speak Catalan...?</b>	0,167	0,016
<b>Catalan/Understanding</b>	0,167	0,004
<b>Language with brothers and sisters</b>	-0,156	0,007
<b>Average language outside class with teachers</b>	0,152	0,009
<b>Your mother was born....?</b>	0,137	0,018

As for the other big group – the children of Spanish-speaking couples – the order of the variables is quite different. See Table 8. In first place, the variable that most correlates with their language usages with friends is the language spoken with teachers in more informal contexts. Quite a way behind appear family language usages (with brothers and sisters) and the group belonged to. And, now in relatively unimportant positions, are the language spoken with parents and representations on the use of Catalan. Finally, in last position, appears self-assessment in oral competence in English.

**Table 8. When you were little, what language did your father and mother speak with one another? = Only or above all Spanish**

	<b>Standardised coefficients (beta)</b>	<b>Significance (standard error)</b>
<b>Average language outside class with teachers</b>	0,280	0,000
<b>Language with brothers and sisters</b>	-0,198	0,001
<b>I'd like to belong to the group who speak...</b>	-0,182	0,000
<b>Language with parents</b>	-0,132	0,027
<b>Catalan is used...</b>	0,121	0,003
<b>English/Speaking</b>	0,106	0,008

In the case of the children who use Spanish and Catalan, the variables that most correlate with their linguistic usages are the language spoken with teachers in class, competence in Spanish, the language spoken with parents and the desire for the use of Catalan in the non-immediate area.

**Table 9. When you were little, what language did your father and mother speak with one another? = Catalan and Spanish equally**

	<b>Standardised coefficients (beta)</b>	<b>Significance (standard error)</b>
Normal language of pupils with the teacher in class	0,517	0,000
Spanish/Understanding	0,425	0,000
Language with parents	-0,389	0,000
In Catalonia, Catalan should be used....	,297	0,002

And, in the case of the children of couples who speak other languages, an important level of correlation is achieved only with informal language usages with teachers. If we also add the pupil's initial language, quite a robust model is completed with only two explanatory variables.

**Table 10. When you were little, what language did your father and mother speak with one another? = Other languages**

	<b>Coefficients estandarditzats (beta)</b>	<b>Significació (error típic)</b>
Average language outside class with teachers	0,640	0,000
Initial language	-0,383	0,018

As we have seen, language use with friends is explained by different factors. In the case of usage by pupils in general, it is explained, above all, by family, school and ideological factors. But the very diversity of usages within each linguistic group, with these groups defined according to the language spoken between the parents when the pupil was small, is linked to a more complex perspective which is, above all, more difficult to interpret. The reason why some children of Spanish-speaking couples normally use Spanish with their friends, or why the children of Spanish-speaking couples use Catalan, is not easy to explain with the variables available.

The children of Catalan-speakers incorporate Spanish, in the first place, when this has been the language their parents have transmitted. But they also do so when, in their opinion, the use of Catalan should be maintained or should increase everywhere. One of the most outstanding facts is that the language spoken with brothers and sisters appears to be slightly more important than the language spoken with parents. This would emphasise the fact that the use of Spanish by this group with friends tends to be more consolidated in transmission from parents rather than usage with brothers and sisters.

This is quite the contrary of what happens with the children of Spanish-speaking couples who also speak Catalan with their friends, where it appears that the adoption of Catalan among brothers and sisters would tend to be slightly less important than transmission. But among the factors that would best explain the adoption of Catalan as the language of communication by the children of Spanish-speaking couples would be the adoption of the language to speak with teachers in more informal usages. The perception of the use of Catalan in the immediate context and among the linguistic reference group also stands out among these factors. Particularly the first of the two – the perception of usage in immediate contexts – would indicate that the contexts that are perceived by the pupil as most Catalan-speaking would help with the adoption of this language in interactions with friends.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The factors that explain language usage with friends are many and varied, and they form quite robust models. But the models are not so robust in segmenting pupils according to the language their parents spoke with one another when the pupil was small. This is above all

due to the fact that use with friends is mediated by the family language. And, broadly speaking, family language shapes pupils' language usage with their friends, with some nuances and considerable flows from one side to the other. However, in general, *Catalan-speakers speak Catalan with their friends* and *Spanish-speakers speak Spanish with their friends*. Despite this, with the variables we have, it can be highlighted that the children of Catalan-speaking couples also speak Spanish, above all when this has been the language which has finally been transmitted to them at home, with the strong support of ideological factors. Meanwhile, the children of Spanish-speaking couples are particularly outstanding in incorporating Catalan in interactions with friends when they also use Catalan in informal contact with teachers and when they perceive that Catalan is used a great deal in their social context. These are precisely the two factors which we highlighted because they can differentiate the linguistic contact of native people and immigrants down to the '80s concerning the children and grandchildren of both linguistic communities. In the first place, with the current school model, schoolchildren have seen their exposure to the minoritised language – Catalan – grow, regardless of their family language. And, secondly, habitual interactions between the members of the linguistic groups are multiplying. The effects of the ethno-linguistic barriers characteristic of societies receiving migrations are thereby softened.

In summary, we can see that school plays an important role in the incorporation of Catalan into language usage with friends for the children of Spanish-speakers. But it is by no means the only factor. And the universalisation of the knowledge of the Catalan language must also be deeply involved. But it is precisely its universalisation that makes it a factor *outstripped* by other less important variables. And one of these significant factors is precisely the use of Catalan with teachers, although outside the classroom; that is, in one of the most colloquialising aspects of the language. With these results, the great importance of school in the bilingualisation of the usages of children of Spanish-speaking parents is perceived. But not only in school's role as transmitter of a language with an important academic value, also as the transmitter of the language with the value of informal and colloquial usages.

Concerning the quality of the data and its results, we have found some limits. The main one concerns going into depth in discovering the socio-linguistic context in which the pupil lives. We have been able to discover that the children of Spanish-speaking couples use Catalan with their friends in contexts where they *perceive* that Catalan is used a great deal. But we have not been able to show empirically whether the actual presence of the language among the other pupils in their class or their school, or among the people around them or in their town have the greatest effect on the pupil's usage or to what degree this occurs. The explanatory power of the models would greatly increase if we knew *with whom* pupils interacted. Who are their friends? And which languages do these friends speak at home or with other friends? This analysis, looking at the social network closest to the pupil in greater depth, would help us to objectivise the context closest to the pupil. It would also be possible to have, for each pupil, the index of the presence of Catalan in the home for the other pupils in their class, as a measurement of the linguistic environment.

Finally, we have shown that the analysis and interpretation of family usages has never been a simple operation. Despite this, in the generations born from the '80s onwards, and above all in the '90s, we detect that these different points of view the family language are not so clearly inter-related as they are in other age groups, And where it used to be easy to link the initial language to the language spoken with the parents, there are now disparities which require intensive study; a study that would incorporate the initial language, the language with the parents, with the brothers and sisters and with the grandparents, and the language spoken between the parents. It would also make a detailed analysis of the links between all the different variables.

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**Natxo Sorolla**

Xarxa CRUSCAT – IEC, CUSC – UB  
[natxosorolla@gmail.com](mailto:natxosorolla@gmail.com)