Another case of language death?

The intergenerational transmission of Catalan in Alghero

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The work presented in this thesis is the candidate's own.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of linguistic contact in Alghero, a multilingual town on the north-west coast of Sardinia characterised by the presence of three main language varieties: *Italian*, *Catalan*, and *Sardinian*. By looking mainly at the contact between Catalan and Italian, I aim to analyse and explain the language shift process in favour of Italian, the dominant language. Attention is focused on the family domain - and intergenerational language transmission in particular - as a clear indicator of the state of affairs of language contact in Alghero. I propose to establish *what* is happening (i.e., what are the dominant norms of linguistic behaviour within the family domain), and to determine which *socio-psychological factors* lie at the root of behavioural patterns among family members. The study is therefore both *descriptive* and *explanatory*. The description is made possible by a quantitative study, by means of which the interactions are quantified and discussed in terms of percentages of *Alguerès* being used between different family members. By contrast, the explanation emerges from the analysis of the reasons and motives behind the language choice in the qualitative study, and aims to answer the question '*why do parents choose one language rather than the other(s)*? Two main instruments have been used to collect the data: a *self-administered questionnaire* completed by eleven- to fifteen-year-old children, and a *semi-structured interview* conducted with a small sample of selected parents.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Alt. = Alternate

Cat. = Catalan

EULAL = Enquesta sobre els Usos Lingüístics a l'Alguer

Gpar. = Grandparent

Interv. = Interviewer

It. = Italian

Par. = Parent

Prov. = Province

Sar. = Sardinian

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Scope of the thesis

1.1.1 Preliminary remarks

The primary concern and scope of sociolinguistics is to investigate the correlation between language and social structure. This is, however, a general – and quite vague (Bright 1966: 11) – statement and we can only grasp a more accurate picture of the discipline by taking into account its broad range of objectives and inherent topics. These vary considerably depending on the standpoint adopted (i.e., either more linguistic or sociological): from understanding and explaining the social causes and mechanisms at the root of linguistic change, for example, to issues related to language use in multilingual settings according to the functional distribution of language varieties (Coulmas 1997: 1-8). In some instances, attention is focused predominantly on the structure of the language – a task carried out by what is known as *micro-sociolinguistics* or, simply, *sociolinguistics* –, whereas in others the concern is on understanding language use in multilingual societies – a duty undertaken by what is known as *macro-sociolinguistics* or the *sociology of language*. Broadly speaking, micro-sociolinguists focus their attention on the relationships between linguistic diversity and social variables such as class, age, and gender.[1] The sociology of language, by contrast, being more sociologically oriented, is mostly concerned with those social factors that explain, for instance, language maintenance and shift (see Ball 2010: 1-2; Boix & Vila 1998: 14-16; Coulmas 1997: 1-2; Spolsky 1998: 5-7).

　　Although a clear-cut division between the two approaches cannot be drawn – there is always a degree of overlap between linguistic and sociological matters,

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[1] Micro-sociolinguistics is generally associated with those studies, pioneered by William Labov in the United States, on language variation (see, for example, Koerner 1991), whose main concern is about how language varies (in the speech of monolingual speakers), according to different social variables (Ball 2010: 1-2). One could argue that, although Labov and his followers are mostly concerned with micro-aspects of speech (e.g., specific differences in pronunciation), the social variables taken into consideration (e.g., social class and ethnic background) are of a macro-kind. Not surprisingly, Peter Trudgill, who has applied Labov's techniques in England, considers 'Labovian sociolinguistics' as 'another term for secular linguistics' (2003: 71), that is, quantitative macro-sociolinguistics (see also Trudgill 2004: 1-2).

regardless of the perspective –, this study should be placed within the macro- rather than the micro-sociolinguistic field of research, as the main preoccupation here is with macro-linguistic phenomena of sociological interest (Janicki 2004: 67). [2] More specifically, this thesis follows that line of investigation, initiated by Fishman (1964; see also 1972a), concerning the underlying factors and mechanisms at the root of the processes of language maintenance and shift. Within this frame, the main concern for the sociolinguist is to disclose, in specific multilingual contexts, the relationship between the linguistic varieties involved and the socio-cultural domains, or occasions, where these varieties are used, such as the contact between Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay (Rubin 1968a) or Spanish and English in Jersey City, New Jersey (Fishman et al. 1971). Along these lines, the researcher's main aim is to describe the general accepted social organization of language usage within a community of speakers, on the one hand, and the change of such a social organisation (from generation to generation, for example), on the other hand (Fishman 1972b: 2-3).

The emphasis can be either on the norms (or expectations) of use (4.5) in situations characterised by language maintenance (e.g., Lieberson 1972; Rubin 1968a), or on an understanding of those instances of unstable bilingualism where language shift obtains (e.g. Dorian 1981; Gal 1979). In both cases, but particularly in those instances characterised by language shift, the norms that regulate language choice must be viewed in terms of appropriateness, rather than as a rigid association between varieties and domains.[3] It is probably only in those cases of classical *diglossia* described by Ferguson (1959), or *diglossia and bilingualism* (Fishman 1967: 31-3), that a stricter association can be observed. Notwithstanding, Ferguson, when defining diglossia, refers to each of the varieties in use as 'appropriate' for a certain set of situations, 'with the two sets overlapping', though 'only very slightly' (1959: 328). In Paraguay, on the other hand, despite a relatively stable situation, Joan Rubin has observed only three occasions – rural area, school and, to a certain extent,

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[2] The dividing line between the *sociology of language* and *sociolinguistics* is a very thin one, and the two approaches should rather be placed 'along a continuum where the common interest for the two is in the social aspects of language and where the pre-occupation of the former is primarily with macro-linguistic phenomena of sociological interest and where the pre-occupation of the latter is with micro-sociological phenomena of linguistic interest' (Janicki 2004: 67).

[3] Social norms will be defined in greater detail in 4.5. They can now simply be defined as specific guides to acceptable and appropriate behaviour in particular situations (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 29).

public formal occasions – where the appropriate language is rigidly defined; on all other occasions language choice seems to be much greater (1968a: 63-4; 1968b).

'Appropriateness' leads, therefore, to the idea of norm not so much as an imposition, but as a guide the speakers tend to follow in order to avoid, in many instances, social sanctions. In turn, the concept of *norm as a guide* brings with it a certain degree of vulnerability and, therefore, modifiability of speakers' behaviour. If the conditions are right, that is, under certain circumstances (e.g., substantial socio-economic change), prior norms may be abandoned while new ones emerge and, eventually, may be consolidated (Fishman 1967: 34-5), so leading to the (total or partial) replacement of a language variety by another.[4] During such a process of change, a more or less long period where different, overlapping norms obtain is to be expected. In such a period, the association between languages and domains is rather blurred. As a matter of fact, overlap between the languages in contact in some of (or all) the domains may be interpreted as an indication of a shift in progress (Romaine 1995: 46).

Gal (1979: 99-103 and 118-129), for example, observes that, in Oberwart, a German- and Hungarian-speaking bilingual town in Austria where language shift obtains, it is not always possible to predict language choice, because no single rule would account for all choices. She still observed a pattern of language use, but this is based on the age and identity of the participants involved in the conversation rather than on the domains where conversations take place. That is, it seems that 'the identity of the speaker and that of the interlocutor are sufficient to predict language choice in the majority of instances' (Gal 1979: 129). Thus, as in many other situations characterised by unstable bilingualism, the assumption that, for example, *only* one language is used at home while the other is used in public domains would not be acceptable. A more realistic approach would consider the presence of the different linguistic codes in certain contexts as more or less adequate or plausible. In other words, although one language variety may be perceived as the more appropriate in certain occasions, the presence of the 'unexpected' (i.e., marked) code may also be possible, due to factors such as the (age and/or role of) *participants*, the

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[4] This is however a theoretical oversimplification. We need to bear in mind that norms are never rigidly fixed or unchanging. Though slightly, social rules are always subject to modification, as society is in a constant process of change. In many cases, however, they do not lead (at least within a short period of time) to substantial and abrupt behavioural change, although some different patterns of behaviour are almost always observable from generation to generation.

topics of conversation, or the *setting* (i.e., a combination of a specific locale and a situation, such as a family breakfast, a faculty meeting, or a party) (see, for example, Ervin-Tripp 1964; Hymes 1967).

The co-presence and use of two language varieties with no rigid compartmentalisation of functions, within the same community of speakers, has been formalised by Berruto (1987a; 1989; 1993: 3-8) with reference to the sociolinguistic situation of Italy. Thus, although two main linguistic varieties co-exist, as in those instances of classical diglossia, in a hierarchical distribution (i.e., Italian – the H variety – and the Italo-Romance dialects – the L varieties), their use is not rigidly distributed according to the degree of formality. As a matter of fact, Italian (either in its standard variety or in its regional forms more or less close to the standard) is used not only for formal purposes (both in writing and orally) but also in informal situations (i.e., where the Italo-Romance variety would be, in principle, more appropriate). Furthermore, Italian is becoming the primary language of many speakers, as is learned by more and more children in the family. The term *dilalìa* (as opposed to *diglossia*) was therefore introduced by Berruto in 1987 precisely to describe those instances in which, despite a different status belonging to the two language varieties is still observed, the two varieties in contact share, in a greater or lesser proportion, the informal domains.

The concept of *dilalìa*, although conceived to account for the relationship between (standard) Italian and the so-called Italo-Romance dialects, can also be extended, however, to those situations where Italian is found in contact with (Romance) minority languages (e.g., Catalan, in our case) that have not been standardised, or whose standard of reference is not widely used, recognised and/or accepted by the community of speakers as a whole.[5] This is the case – one can easily assume – of many instances of language contact in Italy (as well as elsewhere) characterised by language shift, where the two varieties, although conveying a different status, can be used alternatively within the same informal domains. In Alghero, the Catalan-speaking community under investigation, in the north-west of Sardinia, Italian is not only acquired within the family and used in informal

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[5] When a community of speakers is characterised by the coexistence of two languages, which are at the same time both *abstand* (i.e., languages by distance) and *ausbau* (i.e., languages by elaboration), following the definitions elaborated by Kloss (1967), it would be more appropriate, according to Berruto (1987: 69; 1989), to speak of '*community bilingualism*'.

occasions, but the minority language is also used (orally) in different contexts, regardless of the degree of formality and according to factors such as the age and linguistic competence of the interlocutors (see 7.1.2).

Age, which is closely related to the competence (i.e., the older the speakers the greater the competence in Catalan, and vice-versa), is indeed one of the most relevant sociological variables to be correlated to the use of the languages in contact, so that, if language shift is taking place, 'it would certainly show up in the larger proportions of older speakers using the declining language than younger speakers' (Fasold 1984: 215). It goes without saying, then, that different linguistic behaviours associated with speakers of different ages indicates language shift in progress. Argente (1995), for example, is very clear about the importance of the age-group in the study of language shift. Based on Weinreich's recommendation that language shift ought to be studied carefully against time, Argente states that 'instead of concentrating on functions, one may concentrate on age-groups (for instance, within a family) and try to give a measure of total shift from the eldest generation to the youngest' (1995: 42).

Although the above is certainly true, age in itself cannot fully explain, however, language shift, as it interacts with other social variables in complex ways (Downes 1998: 223-4). In other words, age is not in itself responsible for language shift since language choice is primarily socially motivated and the causes at the root of language displacement are varied and interlinked. Language use, in relation to the age of the speakers, is consequential (partly, at least) to the socio-economic and/or socio-political circumstances determining the emergence of new norms (see 4.5) and, in the last instance, the break of intergenerational language transmission with the subsequent loss of competence among the younger generations. Once the social motives behind language choice have led parents to the transmission of a variety other than their native language to their offspring, children's 'choice' ceases to be socially motivated (partially, at least) and becomes, instead, an 'imposition' since new generations will not be able to acquire enough competence to make such a choice (unless social networks outside the household encourage the use of the minority language). It is probably at this point that the recessive language experiences what Nancy Dorian (1981: 51) has defined as sudden 'tip': that crucial stage towards the accomplishment of language death.

The age-group, in relation to language use, especially within the family domain, can be taken as a clear indicator of the sociolinguistic situation of a specific bilingual community. Thus, as in correlational sociolinguistics, based on an analysis of the relationship between the age of the speakers and language use, the researcher can 'reconstruct the process of change in patterns of language choice by taking age-correlated differences in synchronic patterns as a surrogate for repeated sampling in real time' (Gal 1979: 17). Language shift, then, is intended here, following Gal (1979), as an instance of linguistic change, and the varieties involved as sociolinguistic variants expressing the community's synchronic linguistic heterogeneity. As a consequence, language choice can only be variable – i.e., not rigidly distributed among different social groups and/or domains.

This being the case, within a more or less long period of time, one language may be gradually reallocated to new domains and new speakers, with the majority language intruding, little by little, into the informal domains (see also Apple & Muysken 1987: 40-1). Although variability does not necessarily imply language shift, it is assumed to be the precondition for it (Argente 1995: 40), in the same way as heterogeneity is to be understood as the source of linguistic change. Language shift, provisionally defined here as the gradual 'change from the habitual use of one language to that of another' (Weinreich 1953: 68), is therefore characterised, in its intermediate stages before monolingualism obtains again, by the use of the two (or more) languages in contact in the speech of the same speaker as the social context changes, as well as in the speech of different speakers when the context remains the same (Gal 1979: 4).

This transitional period of societal bilingualism (4.2.3), in between the initial and final stages of monolingualism, takes place, as suggested by Haugen (1972: 310-11), by a gradual generational change in the use of the languages in contact: one of the language varieties gradually coming to fulfil all the communicative needs and the other no longer passed on to the descendants. This implies that, at some point in time, older speakers will be associated with the use of both languages, in a complementary fashion (i.e., the second language fulfilling a complementary function with the first), whereas the younger ones will be mainly associated with the use of the dominant variety, in a replacive fashion (i.e., the second language fulfilling – and being used for – all social functions).

A considerable amount of research on language shift and language death has, not surprisingly, been carried out by correlating language use to the age of the speakers. Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977), for example, devised a questionnaire to be able to elicit the sociolinguistic situation of Brittany by mainly focussing on the differences in language use (French and Breton) between *old* and *young generations*; the continuum of speakers of differing proficiency in Gaelic and English, elaborated by Nancy Dorian, on the other hand, lies on a age-axis where the oldest speakers include those who are noticeably more proficient in Gaelic than in English, while the youngest include many who are considerably more adept at English than at Gaelic (1981: 4); Susan Gal shows clearly that the pattern of language use is closely correlated to the age of the speakers: the younger the speakers the greater the use of German and vice-versa (1979: 101-3); and Rindler Schjerve, in her study on language shift in Sardinia, considers that, by looking at the functional distribution of Italian and Sardinian in various domains, one can conclude that there exists a more or less marked separation between the H and L varieties (Italian and Sardinian respectively). Nonetheless, the most important variable she was able to single out was the age of the speakers, with a greater presence of Italian within the family domain as the age of the informants decreases (1980: 211-12).

Domain is a general concept which draws on three main important factors: participants, setting, and topic. A typical family conversation, for example, would be located in the setting of the home; the typical participants are to be considered the family members (parents and children, mainly); while typical topics would be, for example, children's school results or planning a family holiday (see Holmes 1992: 23-31). In bilingual contexts, although there may be a dominant language of interaction within the household, switches according to topic and participants may also be quite common. As Greenfield and Fishman point out, within unstable bilingual societies, domain separation in language use vanishes and the languages in contact are used alternatively, particularly in the family and friendship domains (1971: 234). In principle, in those instances characterised by language displacement, however, the more advanced the process of shift the more 'uniform' the interactions should become; and vice-versa. In other words, the more advanced the language shift process, the fewer alternations there are according to participants and/or different topics, for the simple reason that the linguistic repertoire of the speakers gradually becomes impoverished. Nonetheless, as we will see (7.2.3), this is not always the

case, and, besides switches of style, code-switching (motivated by reasons of various kind) may still occur even in those instances where formal reduction (i.e., language obsolescence) has become so evident among (part of) the community of speakers. More or less sporadic switches to the recessive variety occur, in Alghero, also in the speech of younger monolinguals (or near-passive bilinguals), who, despite their lack of (active) competence in *Alguerès*, have a repertoire of words, exclamations, and hackneyed phrases serving specific purposes (see 7.2.3). [6]

Among all the possible domains, *family* is considered to be a crucial one in almost every society (Fishman 1991: 92-5). One of the most important components of domains is *role-relationship*, which Fishman defines as the 'relations that are most congruent with particular domains' (1991: 44). The family domain can thus be viewed in terms of possible speaker-hearer combinations (Fishman 1965: 75-7; 2000: 95, quoting Gross 1951): grandfather-grandmother, grandmother-grandfather, grandfather-father, grandmother-father, grandfather-mother, grandmother-mother, and so on. Congruent role relations are found, however, in every domain, and the interactions between interlocutors are regulated by specific norms. So, there are settings where it is common to speak (or read or write) a specific language to one's parents and grandparents, for example, but not to one's children or younger siblings (Fishman 1991: 45).

Thus, the analysis of age-groups (i.e., generations) and language use in relation to the family domain becomes crucial in the study of language shift. Family is usually the last bulwark where the recessive language finds shelter to be safe from language death. So, if the dominant language has not yet taken over the interactions between parents and children, this should be interpreted as a valuable indicator of language vitality. If this is not the case, language extinction may be, by contrast, imminent. Intergenerational transmission is therefore of great importance for the maintenance of the recessive language as it assures good competence of it among the new generations and, possibly, the continuity of its 'natural' and spontaneous use, at least among relatives, neighbours and friends.

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[6] I refer to the variety of Catalan spoken in Alghero as *Alguerès* – its local denomination. However, the more general adjective – Catalan – will be also used as a synonym.

1.1.2 This study and the language shift paradigm

Within the above frame, and mainly from a sociological point of view, I aim to analyse and explain what language variety the speakers consider as the most appropriate, within the household in Alghero, a multilingual town on the north-west coast of Sardinia. A relatively small town of approximately 40,000 inhabitants (see 2.1 and 2.2), Alghero is characterised by the presence of a language variety – *Alguerès* – which is not spoken anywhere else in the island, and which is traditionally included within the *Eastern varieties* of Catalan (Veny 1986: 31-38; 1991: 19-28). This peculiarity is the result of a medieval Catalan expansion policy, which led to the occupation of Sardinia, and the transfer, from 1354, of Catalan speakers to Alghero, which today is politically Italian (for further details on historical issues see 2.4).

There are three main language varieties in contact in Alghero: *Italian*, as a result of the political annexation of Sardinia, first to the Sardo-Piedmontese Kingdom in 1721 and then to the unified Italian State in 1861 (2.4); *Catalan*, the language that was transferred to Alghero in the Middle Ages, as mentioned earlier; and *Sardinian*, which is spoken as a consequence of immigration of Sardophones to Alghero, once 'foreigners' were again allowed into Alghero from the sixteenth century onwards (2.4.2). There is also a small community of *Giuliano-Dalmatian* speakers in Fertilia (a small village seven kilometres north of Alghero) and of *Emilian* speakers (an Italo-romance dialect spoken in north- eastern Italy), as a result of historical and political factors in the twentieth century.[7]

Among these, Italian – thanks to its political and economic status – enjoys most functional and symbolic power, a fact that is leading speakers to adopt it, while abandoning their local variety, in almost all of the available domains, including the family. As we shall see in Ch. 6, Italian has become by far the predominant variety in interactions with children, who mostly become *semi-speakers* (7.4.1) or only acquire a passive competence of Catalan (and/or Sardinian). The sociolinguistic case discussed in this thesis can, therefore, be addressed as a clear instance of linguistic contact leading towards language extinction through a process of language shift.

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[7] *Giuliano* is the language variety spoken in the north-eastern Italian region of Venezia Giulia, brought to Fertilia by the refugees from Istria. *Emilian* is the language variety spoken in the Emilia region, also in north-eastern Italy, brought by the peasants relocated during the fascist period (2.1.1.1 and 2.1.2).

Thus, this research aims to study the linguistic contact in the Catalan-speaking enclave in Sardinia by focusing attention on Catalan and Italian and how such contact has developed into widespread bilingualism and language shift. It investigates the mechanisms at the root of language choice and, in particular, why speakers perceive Italian as more appropriate than Catalan within family interactions. The main purpose of this study is to lay bare those factors that are at the root of the rules of language choice. Following Rubin (1968a), but with special attention to only one crucial domain – the family –, it is my intention to investigate and describe the socio-political, socio-economic, and the socio-psychological factors patterning the linguistic behaviour related to Catalan and Italian in Alghero. I am mainly concerned with the following two main issues:

1. Which language variety do speakers perceive as the more appropriate within the household?
2. What are the factors that make the speakers perceive one of the two languages in contact as the more appropriate variety? In other words, what are the social motives at the root of language choice?

In summary, the main purpose of this thesis is to analyse the relationship between change in Catalan usage patterns across generations, on the one hand, and the ongoing socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-psychological processes that affect such patterns, on the other hand (Fishman 1964: 32; 1972a: 76). In other words, this thesis aims to find out what are the variables at the root of language choice (and therefore patterns of behaviour) in Alghero, with particular reference to interactions within the household. According to the *language shift paradigm* (see Clyne 1992: 18), this study has not included a careful examination of linguistic consequences of shift on the recessive variety. Instead, it concentrates mostly on the extra-structural dimension of language shift in Alghero, as suggested by Weinreich (1953: 106-7), although the main analysis of the functional restriction of Catalan is limited to the family domain. The extra-structural factors (e.g., modernisation, industrialisation, and massive education), however, are not considered here as directly correlated to language shift, but rather as elements affecting the evaluations of the languages in contact and the meanings associated with them (Gal 1979: 3;

4.4.1.1). What is of interest here is the way the speakers see and perceive the linguistic reality around them, that is, their linguistic ideologies.

The study of what occurs in the various domains of language use (that is, the primary concern of the *language shift paradigm*) is the approach to language shift that, mainly since Fishman (1964), has become one of the frames of reference for further empirical studies in the field of language contact (Argente 1995: 42). Only in a later stage, scholars began to realize that, when language displacement obtains, the recessive language is formally affected 'in a way which cannot be attributed to interference or language learning, but rather to language loss and unlearning' (Argente 1995: 43). Emphasis, then, has also been placed on formal reduction and functional restriction, within the *language death paradigm* (Clyne 1992: 18), has became to be correlated, for example, to different aspects of grammatical change, morphological and phonological reductions, and loss of vocabulary (for further discussion, see, for example, Campbell & Muntzel 1989; Dorian 1973; Dressler 1988; 1991; Hill & Hill 1977; Holloway 1997; Jones & Singh 2005: 87-103; Wolfram 2002).

The language shift paradigm has clearly influenced Catalan sociolinguistics, to the extent that 'early Catalan sociolinguists were very much inspired by Fishman's approach to the study of social language use and its allocation, crucially resting on the notion of domain' (Argente 1995: 42). Lluís Vicent Aracil, one of the pioneers of Catalan sociolinguistics, for instance, does not overlook structural changes in language shift processes (see, for example, 1982: 116), but is very clear about the object of the discipline – i.e., language use –, which should not be confused with the object of linguistics – i.e., the structure of language (1982: 95). Thus, at least in the 1960s and 1970s, Catalan sociolinguistics privileged a macro-approach to language conflict and language shift focussing on the analysis of sociolinguistic norms within certain domains (see Vallverdú 1980: 12-3). In the wake of a wave of thought that was placing attention on language use rather than on the repercussions that linguistic contact has on the structure of the languages involved, Catalan scholars have, from different ethnographic perspectives, analysed the norms of language use in different domains and/or situations. It is within this frame that this thesis has been conceived, in the hope that the study of the patterns of linguistic behaviour within the family domain can help to understand better the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero.

1.1.3 An ethnography of language shift

The patterns of linguistic behaviour in specific socio-cultural contexts have been the focus of attention of sociolinguists particularly since the emergence, in the 1960s, of the sub-discipline known as the ethnography of speaking (see, for example, Hymes 1971 [1962]), which later converged with the ethnography of communication as the field has come to be known (Gumperz & Hymes 1964; 1972; see also Saville-Troike 2003, for a general account of the discipline). The main object of inquiry for ethnographers of communication has come to be the rules of speaking (as opposed to the structure of isolated sentences) within a community, whereas the units of analysis are: the speech situation, the speech event, and the speech act (see Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1971 [1962]; 1964; 1968; 1972a; Jaworski & Coupland 2006: 21-3; Saville-Troike 2003: 23-6).

Ethnography of communication, it follows, is particularly interested in the meaning, purpose, and characteristics of choice and switch between language varieties or styles in face-to-face interactions, especially at the small-group level. In their analyses of speech, ethnographers of communication do not focus their attention on the relationship between codes and domains as such, but rather on specific factors involved in the conversation, such as the topics of discussion, groups of interlocutors, and the characteristics of turn-taking. Domain, in other words, is not their main focus of attention and the speakers' communicative competence – that is, what speakers need to know for appropriate use (Hymes 1972b) – is explained according to the characteristics of speaking in specific speech situations, speech events, and speech acts.

Although this paradigm of analysis has also been adopted to account for language maintenance and language displacement (see, for example, Woolard 1989), the ethnography of language shift (as I would define research focusing on macro-social norms in sociolinguistic situations characterised by unstable bilingualism) should contemplate the study of interactions at a more macro-level, that is, at the level of domain. Studies within the ethnography of language shift paradigm are conducted in the wake of research such as that carried out in a specific Puerto Rican neighbourhood in Jersey City about the congruency, or communicative appropriateness, of the languages in contact (Spanish and English) in different domains (Fishman et al. 1971).

The already mentioned study conducted by Susan Gal (1979) in a Hungarian-speaking town in Austria is an excellent example of ethnography of language shift. In order to be able to assess how the socio-economic changes affect both the speakers' evaluations of the languages in contact and their communicative strategies (in terms of language choice), she aimed to find out what were the norms relating language varieties to particular types of speakers and social contexts. The outcome was an account of the communicative competence of the speakers, in terms of knowing when to use German and when to use Hungarian according to a general, accepted social pattern of behaviour. Thus, the main aspect of communicative competence that will emerge from similar studies will disclose those sociolinguistic norms according to which the speaker will know which of the language varieties in contact is the more appropriate in each social context or domain. Within this frame, this thesis investigates the rules for appropriate choice in a particular setting (home) and in a particular domain (family) in Alghero.

1.2 Basic concepts

1.2.1 Linguistic contact and minority languages in Europe

Linguistic contact – whenever two or more different groups of speakers are in social contact with one another (Trudgill 2003: 74) – has been widely studied by both micro- and macro-sociolinguists. Since the appearance of *Languages in Contact* by Uriel Weinreich in 1953, and thanks to the contribution of Einar Haugen (1950a; 1950b; 1953a; 1953b), language contact has become not only an issue of central importance, but also a sub-discipline of sociolinguistics in its own right. Among the various topics covered by studies on linguistic contact, one of the most popular is certainly the impact of national languages on long-standing ethnic and/or linguistic minorities (Clyne 1988: 453), where national language is defined as the variety that has been sanctioned (for whatever socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic reasons) as *the standard*: an 'undeveloped language' which has become, through standardisation, 'fully developed' (Haugen 1972: 103-04).

On the other hand, *Linguistic minorities* are defined as those groups of speakers who, within a specific territory – usually a nation –, are small in size in

relation to the dominant group and occupy an unfavourable position (Pap 1979: 198). Broadly speaking, a linguistic minority is 'a social group within a nation-state or other organisational unit whose native language is different from the language which is spoken natively by the largest number of people in that state or unit' (Trudgill 2003: 82). This definition explicitly emphasises the quantitative element ('the largest number of people'). However, the relationship between the nation-state and smaller groups of speakers, as put forward by Trudgill, also implies a qualitative concern: the underprivileged condition of a language when in contact with a dominant, more prestigious variety within the same political borders. As a matter of fact, and as I will show in greater detail later (7.3.3.3), the relationship between minority and dominant language groups is to be understood as a struggle between socio-economic advancement and group solidarity.

As Monica Heller puts it, the concept of minority languages is indeed closely connected to (and stems from) the emergence and consolidation of the nation-state since the eighteenth century. Within this frame, language becomes central to the nation-building discourse, as it both constructs unity (the national language functions as a glue linking the citizens together) and legitimises the same idea of nation (a shared language justifies the entire nation-building process). In other words, groups of people speaking language varieties other than the 'national' one have become, as a result of such a nation-building enterprise, a minor part within a larger political reference - the nation-state (2006: 6-7). We should not lose sight, however, of the fact that the concept has mainly qualitative connotations (i.e., an unequal distribution of different forms of capital available) rather than quantitative ones (i.e., how many speakers). Indeed, there are no linguistic minorities in absolute numerical terms, and their status is relative to the dominant language they are in contact with within a specific country (or any other political entity): Russian, for example, is the minority language in Estonia but it is also the native tongue of the majority of people in Russia (Hogan-Brun & Wolf 2003: 7-8). Similarly, there are more speakers of Catalan – considered to be a minority language – than Danish, which is not a minority language (O'Reilly 2001: 9).

Linguistic minorities can be divided into two main groups: *indigenous* and *immigrant* minorities. An *indigenous minority* can be defined as:

> A community of people who share a number of common characteristics, among
> them the fact that they speak their own language, and who perceive themselves
> as different from the groups of speakers of the majority language. They are
> settled in a given area, *the minority area*, where they have lived for a
> considerable length of time, usually for a century. (Hoffmann 1991: 221)

Immigrant minorities (or *non-indigenous* groups), by contrast, are those ethnic groups who 'are not long-established members of a state' (Hoffmann 1991: 242). The emphasis here is on the fact that these minorities are the result of recent migrations, taking place, substantially, during the last century, as opposed to those groups, such as the Greeks, Albanians, and Croatians in Italy, who are still considered as indigenous minorities because their migrations took place in more remote times.[8] The Catalan-speaking community of Alghero emerged as a consequence of a medieval migration of settlers from the Iberian Peninsula to Sardinia and is thus a Western European indigenous minority group (2.4).[9]

There are several indigenous minority groups in Western Europe (see Hoffmann 1991: 221-24), which can be grouped into different typologies or categories (Ager 1997: 56-57; Edwards 1990; Extra & Gorter 2001; Héraud 1993: 16-24; Williams 1991: 11-12). These fall into two main groups:

1) Those linguistic minorities whose language is not the official language of any state; and
2) Those linguistic minorities whose languages are the official ones elsewhere (Hoffmann 1991: 224-26).

Among the first group are those minorities that can be considered as ethnic groups, mostly nations in their own right, whose ethnic homeland is in the territories where their members live: for example, the Occitans and Bretons in France, the Basques and Catalans in Spain, the Welsh and Gaels in Britain, the Frisians in the Netherlands, and the Sami in northern Scandinavia. Many other 'ethnies sans état' (Héraud 1993: 23) could be added to the list. Certainly Sardinian in Italy is one of

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[8] However, as Suzanne Romaine sees it, the distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous minority groups is often contentious 'due to the issue of how long a group has to have resided in a place before it is deemed indigenous' (2004: 392).
[9] Alghero is traditionally included among the indigenous minority-language communities (sometimes called *isole* and *penisole linguistiche*) within the Italian state (Bruni 1984: 240-41; De Mauro 1979b: 283-90; 1991: 10-11; Francescato 1993: 311-14; Salvi 1975; Tagliavini 1982: 394-95).

them (see Edwards 1990: 142; Romaine 2004: 392). By contrast, the second group comprises those communities who are a minority in the state of which they are citizens, but whose ethnic homeland lies outside the state where they live: for example, the Alsatians in France, the Germans in Denmark, and the German-speaking Tyroleans in northern Italy.

If by 'languages official elsewhere' we do not necessarily imply the presence of a state, the Catalan-speaking community of Alghero can be placed within the second group: they are a minority in Italy of which they are citizens, but look to their linguistic (but not necessarily ethnic) homeland outside Italy. If, however, the official status is to be associated with the state, the Catalan- speaking minority of Alghero does not fit into either of the above groups. A third minority-language type should therefore be established to account for those minority groups who fall somewhere between the two. This new type thus comprises those communities who are a minority in the state in which they are citizens (the Catalan-speaking group in Italy), but who have a more prestigious linguistic community to refer to. This community of reference (Catalonia, or the Catalan-speaking regions as a whole, in our case), does not have a state: it is itself a minority.

1.2.2 Language contact in Alghero

Alghero is, in many respects, an ideal location for the study of linguistic contact. There are various types of language contact, with their respective outcomes, which are both linguistic (i.e., contact-induced changes) and sociological (i.e., cases of language shift). The first period of the Catalan colonisation of Alghero was characterised by the mixing of colonists from different parts of the Catalan-speaking regions and the consequent contact between various dialects of Catalan (2.4). It seems reasonable to think that the Catalan-speaking community transplanted to Alghero in the first instance had gone through a process of koinéisation (2.5), as a solution to the chaotic dialect mixture that resulted from the varied origins of the colonists. A Catalan koiné, a linguistic variety that arose through the evening out of differences among dialects in contact (see Penny 2000: 226; 2006: 52; Trudgill 2003: 69 for the general definition of the term), may have been developed, as a form of *spontaneous colloquial standard*, to be used within Alghero's community, as briefly indicated by Blasco (2002a: 250).

Once Sardophones began to move to Alghero in numbers from the rest of the island (i.e., from the end of the fifteenth century), the new Catalan variety resulting from the process of koinéisation came into contact with different varieties of Sardinian.[10] Such contact is of particular interest and can be viewed from two main perspectives. On the one hand, it recalls those instances in which immigrants (after a more or less long period of bilingualism) shift to the language of the host group. In such situations, the (temporary) presence of two or more varieties within the repertoires of a single speaker (Sardinian and Catalan in our case) may lead to the development of *unintentional interferences* that, if the conditions are right (e.g., migrations of massive proportions), may be retained and then spread among the whole community, thus becoming permanent features (Winford 2003: 15-18, 208-67).

On the other hand, however, I believe that the linguistic systems involved in the contact under investigation here should be treated as related dialects. Sardinian and Catalan, both being Romance varieties, should be regarded as part of the same language continuum: though distant (i.e., non-contiguous) varieties, we expect some degree of mutual intelligibility between the two groups of speakers. Accordingly, the characteristics of the contact, and the subsequent evolution of Catalan into a new variety, must be analysed (at least partly) within the accommodation theory developed by Trudgill (1986) with reference to mutually intelligible varieties. Indeed, there are reasons to believe that, besides the emergence of unintentional interference resulting from the incorrect acquisition of Catalan by Sardophones, some of the interactions between Sardinian- and Catalan-speakers before Italian became widespread as the inter-group language, may have made use of the two varieties simultaneously (see Chessa 2008a; and 2.5).

But what really concerns us here is the contact between *Alguerès* and Italian and the sociological implications for the Catalan-speaking community: the loss of domains, a generalised decrease in competence, the loss of speakers, and eventual extinction. In addition to the unavoidable linguistic repercussions on the structure of both varieties, this contact is particularly interesting for the process of language shift that it conveys. As we shall see (Ch. 6 and Ch 7), the Catalan-speaking community

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[10] The adjective Sardinian, in relation to language, does not only refer here to its different dialects, but also to the *Gallurese/Sassarese* varieties, which do not belong, *stricto sensu*, to the Sardinian group. *Sassarese* in the north west of Sardinia, and *Gallurese*, in the north east, are considered by Romanists as Italian dialects (Jensen 1999: 5-6; Jones 1988: 314; Lausberg 1965: 76; Tagliavini 1982: 390).

of Alghero is in a situation of transitional societal bilingualism, in which the asymmetrical distribution of domains between the languages in contact is leading towards the extinction of *Alguerès*.

1.2.3 From language contact to language shift

1.2.3.1 Societal bilingualism

Because of the prestige and, most of all, the functional value enjoyed by the national language of the state they are part of, speakers of minority varieties may have no other alternative but to learn the dominant variety in order to avoid sanctions, such as (more or less undisguised) social ostracism, and socio-economic failure. Bilingualism – broadly speaking, the degree of competence in and the ability to use two (or more) languages (Hoffmann 1991: 13-32; Mackey 1962: 51; Romaine 1995: 11-19; Weinreich 1953: 1) – is therefore the primary consequence of contact between minority and national languages, first at the individual level and then within society as a whole (see Baetens-Beardsmore 1986: 1-42; Bentahila 1983: 16-26; Bloomfield 1933: 55-56; Crystal 1997: 364; Hoffmann 1991: 13-32; Romaine 1995: 11-19 for different definitions and descriptions of bilingualism). The emergence of bilingualism at societal level, however, does not necessarily imply that all the speakers involved are (fully) bilingual. Alghero, for example, is a multilingual community, though not all its members have the same degree of bilingualism. In theory, there can be bilingual societies with no bilingual speakers.

Once societal bilingualism obtains, two major outcomes are possible: either relative stability (and, therefore, language maintenance) or language shift. Fishman (1967) has observed that relative stability is inherent to those situations characterised by diglossia, both with and without bilingualism. In these cases, two (or more) language varieties are clearly used for different purposes (diglossia with bilingualism) or by different groups of speakers (diglossia without bilingualism). By contrast, language shift occurs in those instances that Fishman defines as 'bilingualism without diglossia' (1967: 34-6).

The sociolinguistic situation of Alghero is characterised by unstable or 'unbalanced' bilingualism (Bosch 1994a: 70; 1994b: 3). In general terms, interactions are determined mostly by interlocutor-related factors (especially, but not

only, age) rather than context-related ones. In other words, the older the speakers, the more frequent the use of a particular linguistic variety (and vice-versa) will be, regardless (in principle) of the socio-cultural context in which the interactions take place, although some domains are clearly characterised mainly by the presence of one language variety (7.1.2). Similarly, interactions are governed by the degree of closeness with the interlocutor: the closer the relationship, the higher the chances of maintaining a conversation in Catalan (provided that both interlocutors have an active competence in it), regardless of the domain. If the interlocutors know each other well and have always spoken *Alguerès* to each other, they will do so whether the interaction takes place in a coffee shop or in a public office. By contrast, if they have never met, the chances that the interaction will start off in Italian will grow according to the formality of the setting and the age of the interlocutors (see Chessa 2007: 74-5 and 7.1.2).

1.2.3.2 Prestige and solidarity

Whenever a minority language group (the Catalan-speaking community of Alghero in our case) comes to be in contact with the official language of the nation-state it is part of (Italian), at least part of the population (i.e., those closer to political and economic power) will (for practical, convenient reasons) acquire the national language. The further developments (e.g., widespread bilingualism and language maintenance or widespread transitional bilingualism and language shift) depend mostly on the relationship that is established between two main forces: *prestige* and *solidarity*.

The concept of prestige (sometimes referred as status or power) is intended here, following Weinreich (1953: 78-9), as the value that a particular language holds for social advancement. In this sense, social advancement means that by learning and using a particular language, the speakers will earn more opportunities to improve their social status, their socio-economic position, and their social recognition (see also Rubin 1968a: 17). Solidarity, on the other hand, refers to the degree of closeness among the members of a particular group. It is now widely accepted that language varieties (or even certain particular features) function, in many cases, as symbols of

group identity. Language loyalty (7.3.3.2), it follows, becomes the practical expression of the speakers' opposition to group annihilation.

The degree of prestige and solidarity can be visualised as two perpendicular axes. Prestige is expressed by a vertical axis, whereas solidarity can be measured on a horizontal one and indicates the speakers' degree of affection, bond, or commitment to their original group of reference (see Woolard 1989: 5). Depending on the relationship that is established between these two axes, two main possible situations may develop:

1. There is a clear imbalance, between the two forces, in favour of the prestige conveyed by one of the languages, and the outcome is unstable bilingualism and eventual shift.
2. Power is opposed by an equal (or even greater) degree of solidarity by the minority language group, and the outcome is a relatively stable bilingualism and a subsequent situation characterised by language maintenance. In this case, both language varieties will cohabit in complementary distribution, the minority language usually fulfilling the low functions whereas the dominant variety fulfils the high ones.

Thus, if the degree of power of one language is markedly greater than the solidarity expressed by the minority group, the latter will abandon their original group membership through the acquisition of the more powerful language variety, because of the opportunities of socio-economic advancement that the new language offers. This of course does not mean that the speakers do not hold any sense of in-group solidarity; this is just too meagre (compared to the prestige belonging to the dominant language) to compensate the chances of social advancement they see in the out-group.

If, by contrast, the minority group's level of solidarity is equal to or greater than the prestige of the national language, the two varieties are maintained, within the community, in a complementary compartmentalised functional division. The opposition of group solidarity to the prestige of the dominant language explains why, for example, Spanish – the overwhelmingly dominant institutional language in Catalonia until the 1970s and part of the 1980s – has never replaced Catalan among the autochthonous population (see Woolard 1989: 88-95). Thus, the marked sense of

group identity (together with the association of Catalan with the economically dominant group in Catalonia) has led Catalan society to develop a strong language loyalty, which has eventually led to an impressive language policy (see, for example, Vallverdú 1992).

Situations of stable bilingualism are, however, not very common, and modern life, as Fishman (1989: 183-4) recognises, seems to be particularly against such a compartmentalisation of language varieties. This would probably explain the dramatic increase of instances of language death in the last 500 years. Globalisation, communication and transport technologies, assimilation or assimilatory education (especially since the consolidation of modern nation-states), social or economic habitat destruction, and urbanisation, among others, seem to be the main reasons behind the high rate of language extinction that the world has experienced in recent years (see, for example, Crystal 2000: 68-70 and 76-88; Krauss 1992).

The relationship between these two forces – prestige and solidarity – acquires a particular relevance in Alghero for the presence of a third linguistic variety: Sardinian. The correlate of power and group membership must therefore be considered here on two overlapping sets of relationships. On the one hand, the relationship that obtains as a consequence of contact between Italian and *Alguerès* and, on the other hand, that resulting from the contact between *Alguerès* and Sardinian. In the first case, the (perception of) degree of prestige and power conveyed by Italian is much greater than the prestige associated to local Catalan. Solidarity, on the other hand, does not seem to be strong enough to oppose the Italian supremacy. Such an unbalanced relationship seems, according to the data discussed in Ch. 7, to be an important factor vis-à-vis language shift in Alghero.

Alguerès, however, seems to acquire both prestige and solidarity when opposed to Sardinian. Because of the socio-historical reasons analysed in 2.4, local Catalan has always been viewed by both outsiders and locals as a prestigious variety, and this explains its maintenance during the centuries despite massive migrations of Sardophones into Alghero. The advantages of being part of the new group (the Catalan-speaking community) have always been considered greater than those a Sardophone could have obtained in Alghero by maintaining his/her old identity. This 'superiority' becomes evident when one looks at the way people from Alghero (the majority of whom are of Sardinian origin) refer to Sardinian foreigners, especially those from the nearby villages. These are called 'los sardus' [lu'saldus], which,

although originally was probably used to refer, literally, to those people of non Catalan origins, has gradually acquired a meaning with negative connotations, to the extent that it has become to be used as an insult.[11]

Although *Alguerès* is undergoing a process of language shift and is therefore no longer widely spoken (see Ch. 6), for its people still remains a strong referential symbol, indexical of group boundary. As emerges from the discourse of middle age Italian-dominant bilinguals (see Ch. 7), *algheresness* (*algueresitat*) is mainly and clearly considered in opposition to *sardinianness* (*sarditat*), rather than *italianness* (*italianitat*). Compared to Italian, *algueresitat* is simply seen as a local aspect of a greater identity – *Italianitat* – and between the two there is no group confrontation, as Italian membership is widely accepted. The affiliation to the two groups has to be interpreted as a clear case o multiple identity, quite common in a globalised society, and can graphically be viewed as concentric circles.

On the other hand, *sarditat* and *algueresitat* are to be viewed as contrastive identities, although, in a more political (and, of course, geographic) level, the Sardinian membership of people in Alghero is not at all questioned. They clearly express their view that the community of Alghero follows different cultural practices compared to the rest of Sardinians. However, apart from the language – a clear sign of group division, though no longer spoken by the majority of people in Alghero – the informants cannot clearly identify any other element of group differentiation. Or, better said, although they try to establish a cultural divide between them and 'los sardus', the dividing features that they usually suggest are not a prerogative of people from Alghero.

Such a strong sense of local identity expressed by the people in Alghero should have in principle withstood the prestige held by Italian and, subsequently, opposed (even partly) the process of shift. If this is not happening (although it may have helped language maintenance in the past) it is, as will be discussed in Ch. 7, due to the fact that such group awareness is not as strong as it may appear at a first glance. The linguistic peculiarity of Alghero within Sardinia, as well as the peculiarity of Sassari and Gallura in the north, and the Ligurian community in the southwest of the island, represents the opportunity for Sardinians to move away from

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[11] This, however, is not a prerogative of Alghero, as a similar attitude is found in Sassari, the capital of the province Alghero is part of (see 2.1). Foreigners are referred to, in a disparaging way, as 'biddunculi' or, 'li di li biddi' (people from the villages).

their original community (by acquiring a different linguistic identity), perceived as backward and uncultured. However, the prestige conveyed by *Alguerès* becomes almost nil when the local variety of Catalan is compared to Italian. *Alguerès*, that is, has become just a symbolic reference for group identity with no practical repercussions in the social use and the subsequent maintenance of the language. That is, although Sardinian cannot represent a real threat to *Alguerès* people from Alghero express with pride their group peculiarity.

The situation is today even more complex, as, thanks to globalisation, standard Catalan and other varieties of Catalan – particularly Central Catalan (*català central*, broadly speaking the variety of Catalan spoken in the area of Barcelona) – are becoming more and more familiar to people in Alghero. The presence of Catalan should, in principle, be beneficial for the revival of its most peripheral and, probably, one of its most stigmatised dialects. But, how do people in Alghero perceive other varieties of Catalan (i.e., non-*Alguerès*)? Do they perceive the prestige conveyed by Catalan? Is the presence of Catalan encouraging the acquisition and, most of all, use of *Alguerès*? In the light of the new sociolinguistic situation characterised by a new form of language contact, the above are all legitimate questions. As a matter of fact, although (standard) Catalan (or some sort of hybrid form) has been part of the linguistic repertoire of intellectuals in Alghero for some times now (see 7.3.3.1), now there are reasons to believe that it can easily become part of the repertoire of a considerable part of society (bar and restaurant attendants, hotel receptionists, shop assistants and shop owners, airport staff, etc.). This thesis also analyses the effect of such a contact in order to understand if (and how) the course of language shift may change and *Alguerès* may come to be again the language of interaction between parents and children.

1.2.3.3 Language shift

Thus, as we have seen, (societal) bilingualism is the main and most predictable product of situations of languages in contact. However, it is not the endpoint; it is in fact only the basis, the *conditio sine qua non* upon which further outcomes will develop. These can be grouped into two broad types: those affecting the structure of the languages involved (linguistic outcomes); and those affecting the linguistic community as a whole (primarily sociological outcomes), such as language conflict

and shift. Thomason (2001: 10-12), however, puts forward three types of consequence:

1) contact-induced language change;

2) extreme language mixture; and

3) language death.

The first type, which refers to the structural changes as these occur in one or more of the languages involved, is the most common, as contact always implies linguistic alterations of some sort. Changes are typically lexical borrowings, although other features - phonological, morphological, and syntactical - may also be borrowed. In those instances of contact where the speakers do not learn each other's languages, a new language variety may emerge. This is Thomason's type two and it mainly refers to the process of pidginisation (see Holm 2000; Malmkjær 1991: 81-2; Sebba 1997; Singh 2000 for definitions of pidgin). In most cases, however, when two (or more) languages come into contact, only one – the dominant variety – will survive, while the other(s) will die out. If this is the case, language shift occurs and the subordinate code is subject, during the process towards its extinction, to language obsolescence – i.e., loss of competence among the population, which becomes evident through various kinds of linguistic reduction and simplification (see Winford 2003: 256-64).

Language shift can be defined as 'the process whereby a community (often a linguistic minority) gradually abandons its original language and, via a (sometimes lengthy) stage of bilingualism, shifts to another language' (Trudgill 2003: 77-8). The end result of language shift is language death, which refers to the state of extinction, meaning that the community of speakers no longer use the ancestral language as a means of communication or socialisation (Batibo 2005: 87). It is important to highlight here that language extinction is not always the result of language shift and therefore gradual. The disappearance can also be abrupt (sudden death) or radical (see Campbell & Muntzell 1989: 182-6). Linguistically, one of the most interesting phenomena related to language shift is language attrition, which can briefly be

defined as the loss of, or changes to, grammatical, lexical, or phonetic features of the recessive language.

Although it is true that the causes of shift are generally multiple and that, factors such as strict adherence to group membership and nationalism cannot always guarantee language maintenance or that more prestigious languages will displace the less prestigious varieties, some factors are recurrent in language shift processes (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 255). I strongly believe that the key to understand language shift in Alghero is the type of relationship that is established between prestige, on the one hand, and solidarity, on the other. Furthermore, another element needs to be taken into account, namely, social networks (4.3.2.2). But what are the factors that make one of the languages in contact more prestigious than the other(s)? How can prestige be interpreted in the specific case of Alghero? What factors, in other words, are responsible for such unbalanced relationship between prestige and solidarity? What is the role of standard Catalan in the sociolinguistic context of Alghero in the third millennium? Is the structure of Catalan-speaking networks responsible for language shift? Why?

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

In the 1970s, language contact in Alghero was turning into a case of advanced shift in favour of Italian (Grossmann & Lörinczi 1979; Grossmann 1980; 1983). It is therefore essential, over thirty years later, to assess the sociolinguistic situation further, in order either to understand how far the community is now from language extinction, or to determine whether there are signs of linguistic recovery. Given that the family is a crucial domain, one of the most appropriate ways to analyse the current sociolinguistic situation in Alghero is through research into language use within the household. This is the main aim of this study. I propose to establish *what* is happening (i.e., what are the dominant norms of linguistic behaviour within the family domain), and to determine which factors lie at the root of behavioural patterns among family members. I pay particular attention to the interactions between parents and children, given their key role in intergenerational language transmission.

The crucial linguistic domain of the family is a valuable indicator of the state of a sociolinguistic situation. Fishman (1991: 92-95) states that, if the minority

language (Lx) is spoken by three generations, this variety enjoys a high degree of vitality, and there exists a high probability of maintaining intergenerational transmission (even if the dominant language outside the household is Ly). The family, in this case, is seen as an element of linguistic maintenance (see also Migliorini 1957: 10). By contrast, if the youngest generations do not actively use Lx with their parents or with their grandparents, language extinction can be considered imminent, unless a major effort to stop the language shift process is made (see also Boix 1993: 34). Thus, the family comprises an important sociolinguistic parameter in the analysis of the process of language shift.

This research is primarily concerned with the way speakers perceive the (sociolinguistic) world around them and how such perceptions affect parents' linguistic behaviour (i.e., why parents decide to use one variety rather than the other; what makes them prefer one or other of the languages in contact for interacting with their own children). However, a quantitative analysis has also been conducted, in order to obtain a general overview of the situation, by establishing the extent (measured as a percentage) to which Catalan is used within the family. This study is therefore both *descriptive* and *explanatory*. The description is made possible by the quantitative study (5.2.2.1 and Ch. 6), by means of which the interactions are quantified and discussed in terms of percentages of *Alguerès* being used between different family members. By contrast, the explanation emerges from the analysis of the reasons and motives behind the language choice in the qualitative study, and aims to answer the question '*why do parents choose one language rather than the other(s)*?' (see 5.2.2.2 and Ch. 7).

This study therefore poses two key questions: '*How can the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero be assessed*?' and '*What are the main linguistic patterns of interaction between parents and children*?' While these summarise the aim of this study, the particular objectives can be expressed, more specifically, as follows:

1) *What is/are the dominant language(s) within the family domain in Alghero*?
2) *What language is spoken by 11- to 15-year-olds with their parents and grandparents*?
3) *What language do parents speak to each other*?

4) *What makes parents choose one linguistic variety rather than the other(s)*?

5) *What are the main reasons at the root of language shift*?

6) *What is the difference between the meaning that parents assign to Italian and that which they assign to Catalan (and/or Sardinian)*?

There are two main hypotheses. The first is that *Alguerès* is still the intergenerational language in only a tiny percentage of families, whereas Italian has become the dominant code of interaction. Italian is today the main code of communication, not only within the family but also in the majority of both formal and informal domains. The second is that the inhabitants of Alghero consider Italian as the sole language worth maintaining, as it is their national language and the most valuable linguistic code. They do not object to Catalan (and/or Sardinian) being protected, as long as this does not have a negative impact on the use of Italian, the variety at the top of their scale of linguistic priorities.

In broad terms, this study is about *language use* (with special reference to the language spoken within the family) and *language ideologies*. Linguistic interactions between family members are analysed and discussed in order to determine the amount of Catalan (and Sardinian) that is spoken within the household. As a follow up to this quantitative study, a qualitative study has also been conducted to establish the opinions, beliefs, and ideas that speakers hold about the languages in contact.

Although Alghero has been the focus of a considerable number of (socio)linguistic studies to date (Ch. 3), none has made use of the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods with regard to intergenerational language transmission employed in this study. This thesis therefore represents a significant and original departure in the way the sociolinguistic community under discussion has been approached and studied.

Chapter 2: The context

In this chapter I analyse the social context of the Catalan-speaking community under investigation by looking at it from different viewpoints: socio-geographical, socio-economic and socio-demographic. I also examine the historical circumstances that led the Catalan-Aragonese Kingdom to conquer Sardinia during the fourteenth century and convert Alghero into a Catalan-speaking enclave. The expulsion of the indigenous population and their replacement with new settlers from different areas of the Catalan-speaking lands, as a result of the colonisation, partly explain why Alghero is the only place in Sardinia where Catalan is still spoken. In the rest of the island, Catalan has left only traces, sometimes significant ones, in almost all Sardinian dialects.

This chapter also provides an overview of the massive and sustained migrations of Sardophones into Alghero, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, once Sardinians were allowed to settle in the town again, and the subsequent contact with the Catalan speakers who had earlier settled in the area. Following Trudgill (1986), we will see how the contact between Catalan and Sardinian (treated as substantially mutually intelligible varieties) has eventually given rise to the emergence of a 'new dialect', *Alguerès*, certainly the most idiosyncratic variety among all the Catalan dialects. However, our main historical concern here is the events that were responsible for the emergence of the Italian state in the nineteenth century, considered one of the chief causes behind the process of language shift in Alghero (2.6).

In broad terms, this chapter aims to provide basic contextual information that is crucial for a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation under investigation. On the one hand, I will account for the fact that Catalan is spoken in Alghero and how it has survived in such a small corner of Sardinia until now. On the other hand, I will set the contextual basis from which all further discussion on the data collected will arise.

2.1 The socio-geographical context

2.1.1 Alghero and its territory

Alghero is situated on Sardinia, a Mediterranean island located between the Iberian Peninsula and Italy (see Figure 2.1). The town lies within the province of Sassari (see Figure 2.2), and is on the *Golfo di Alghero* on the island's west coast (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.1: *Western Europe, showing Sardinia*

Source: *http://www.cackletv.com/images-sardinia/sardinia-map.jpg*

The territory of Alghero sweeps northwards to the Nurra Valley, bordered on the west by the cliffs of *Capo Caccia* and *Punta Giglio*. To the south, the territory is bounded by the hills of Villanova Monteleone – one of the nearby villages – which provide the Valley with several watercourses (see Figure 2.3). Approximately twenty kilometres north of the town centre, there is a vast bay (*Porto Conte*), one of the biggest natural ports in the Mediterranean.

Figure 2.2: *Sardinia, showing the province of Sassari and Alghero's territory (red box)*
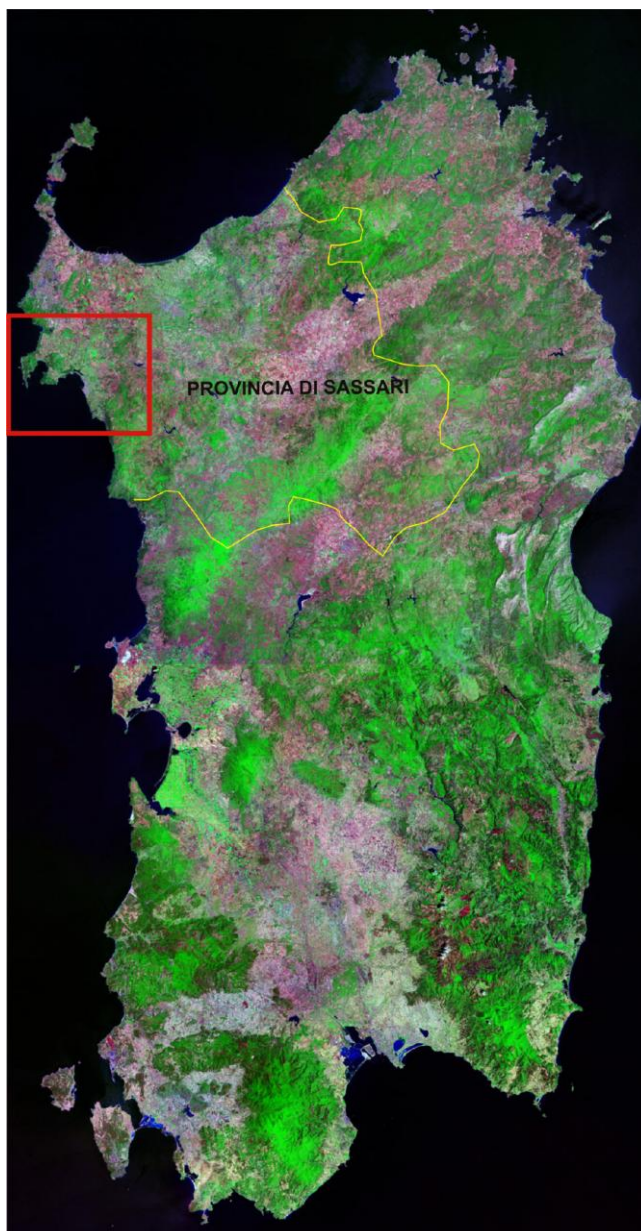
The main municipal borders of Alghero are the following: Sassari (the main town and capital of the province) to the north; Olmedo, to the northeast; Uri and Putifigari to the east and Villanova Monteleone to the south. Although it does not have a border with Alghero, the nearby village of Ittiri (between Uri and Putifigari) is worthy of mention because a considerable part of the current population of Alghero originally came from there (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: *Alghero, showing the administrative borders (marked in red), the neighbouring villages, and the coast with the natural port of Porto Conte*

Source: http://www.sardegnaterritorio.it/sistemainformativo.
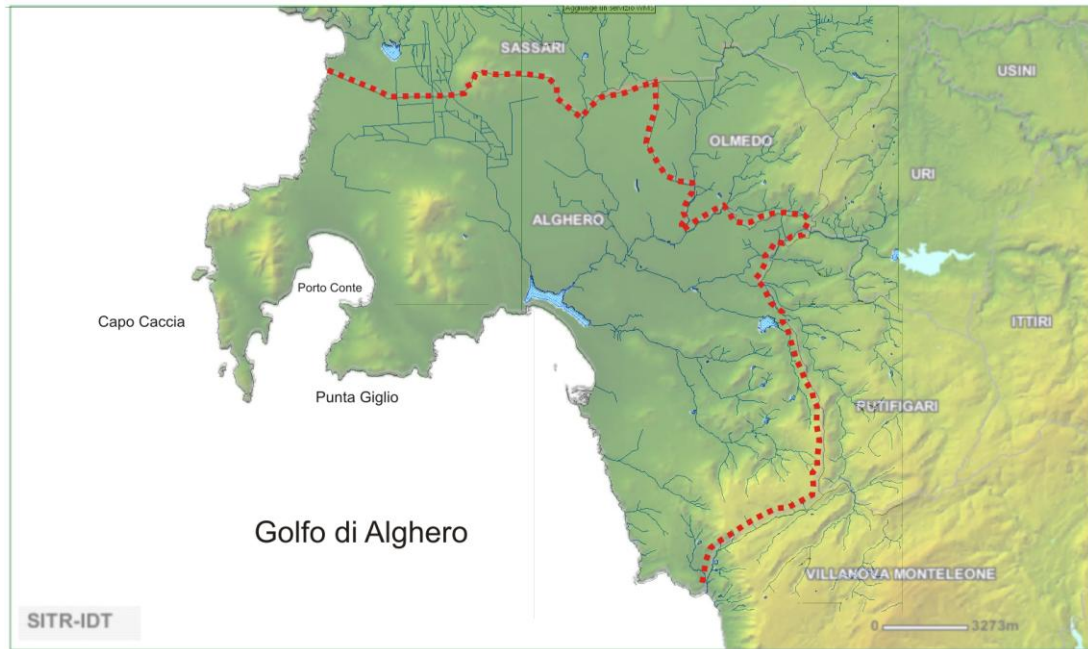
The extent of Alghero's territory is 224.43 km². It has a population of 38,404, the majority of whom live in the town, and the remainder in tiny urban centres scattered within the northern part of the territory: *Fertilia*, *Maristella*, *Sa Segada*, *Santa Maria la Palma*, *Guardia Grande*, and *Villa Assunta* (see Figure 2.4). [12] Alghero is today the fourth largest town in Sardinia, which has a population of 1,631,880. Despite its proximity to Sassari (population 120,729), the provincial capital and its main centre, Alghero has always been a very prosperous territory, with an intense and continual immigration and emigration. Today, Alghero remains one of the most important economic areas in Sardinia.

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[12] All demographic data are taken from http://dawinci.istat.it the web site of ISTAT, *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica*, and refer to the 2001 census. For more recent data, see:
https://88.58.112.250/portale/anagrafe/graficopopolazione.aspx and
https://88.58.112.250/portale/anagrafe/graficopopolazioneattuale.aspx

Figure 2.4. *The territory of Alghero with the small urban centres*
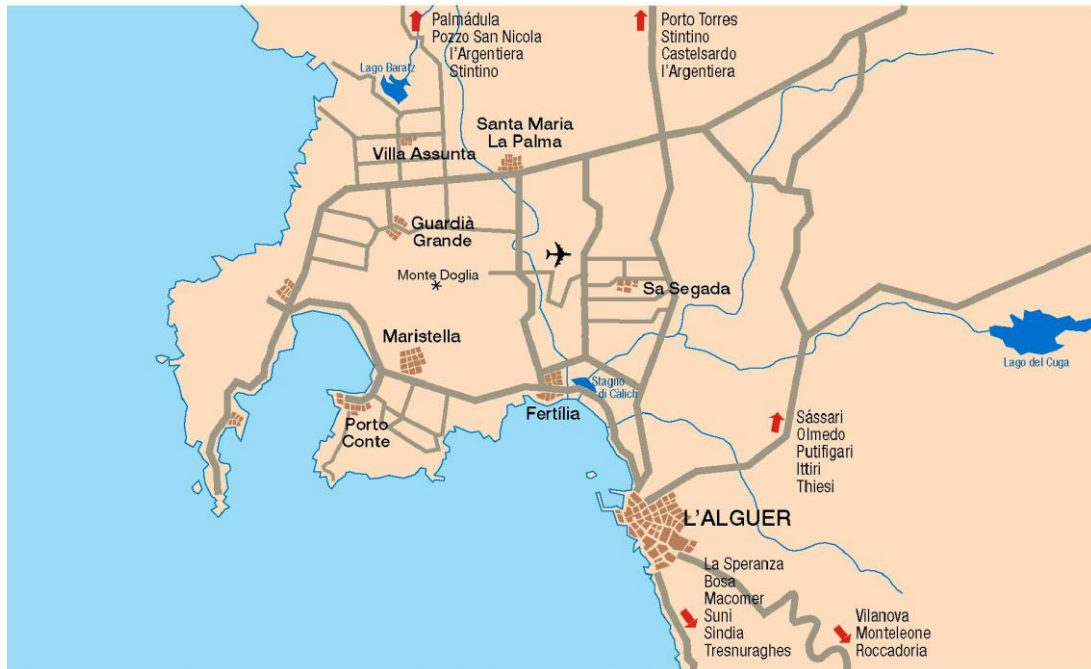
Its main resources were, until recently, tourism and related activities, fishing, agriculture – especially olive groves and vineyards –, and service industries, of which the airport represents one of the main examples. Since the sixties, however, the territory has suffered a radical socio-economic adjustment mainly due to the emergence of an important chemical industry in the nearby town of Porto Torres. Furthermore, mass tourism, and changes brought about by new technologies and globalisation have also played a crucial role (see, for example, Caria 1987: 23-24). Alghero's economy is today based on the tertiary sector, the main pillars of which are: tourism, construction, trade and, as mentioned, service industries. Such adjustments have had important implications for the process of language shift.

2.1.1.1 Fertilia: a linguistic enclave

In order to provide a comprehensive sociolinguistic picture of the community under discussion, it is worth taking a closer look at the small village of Fertilia. It lies about seven kilometres north of Alghero's town centre, but still within its municipal boundaries (see Figure 2.3). Founded in 1936, Fertilia was built by the Fascist

Regime as part of the project to reclaim the Nurra Valley marshland. The *Ente Ferrarese di Colonizzazione* – the corporation that was entrusted with the task – had the main duty of making the land fertile, and then populating it with people from the province of Ferrara, to bridge the demographic gap between a densely populated area – the Po Valley region – and a sparsely populated Sardinia.[13] A subsidiary objective of the plan was to disperse the troublesome farm-workers from the Po Valley region. Fertilia would have taken in the majority of the peasants coming from those areas if the Second World War had not converted it into an emergency reception centre for exiled Istrians, whilst the peasants from Ferrara were dispersed among the fields of the Nurra Valley.[14]

Istria, an area in north-eastern Italy of mixed ethnicity – Italian, Croatian and Slovenian –, was ceded by Italy to Tito's Communist Yugoslavia, in accordance with the Paris Peace Treaty (10 February 1947). From 1920 until the Second World War – when the region belonged to Italy – the Croatian and Slovenian minorities suffered brutality, abuse, and injustice at the hands of the Italian Fascist Regime (Pavlowitch 2003: 31; Velikonja 2003: 87). This created a fierce hatred between the Croatian and Italian groups which led, even before the 1947 Treaty, to a mass exodus of Italians – around 350,000 (Mereghetti 2000: 10) – who were no longer welcomed by the rest of the population. Some of these exiled Istrians ended up in Fertilia, giving rise to a small, yet important, linguistic group within the territory of Alghero (already characterised by an element of diversity within Sardinia: the use of Catalan).

2.1.2 Alghero: a multilingual community

Despite a relatively small population and territory, Alghero can be defined as a multilingual town. Although we are witnessing a process of generalised linguistic shift towards Italian (the language shift process at the core of this study), an interesting situation of substantial multilingualism is still observable, where the main language varieties involved are: Italian, Catalan, Sardinian, Giuliano-Dalmatian, and Emilian. According to Caria, at the beginning of the 1950s the ethnic configuration of the population in Alghero could be described as follows: 60% Catalan-Algherese; 30% Sardinian; 6% Giuliano-Dalmatian; 4% Emilian (1982: 158).

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[13] Ferrara is in north-eastern Italy, in the Po Valley region of Emilia Romagna.
[14] For more information about Fertilia, see Tognotti (1994) and Valsecchi (1995, 1997).

This ethnic analysis is useful contextual information. However we must take these data on trust, as the author does not acknowledge his source. Furthermore, it is difficult to address the situation strictly and simply in terms of 'ethnicity' unless in-depth studies are carried out, which does not seem to have been the case here. The above division must also be taken with extreme caution: the groups suggested by Caria seem to be defined according to linguistic criteria, yet ethnicity (in the case of Alghero, at least) is a more complex issue, even if language is of relevance. To what extent, for instance, do the Catalan-speaking members of Alghero's community set themselves culturally apart from the Sardinian-speakers? In other words, can we draw a clear-cut cultural line between the two linguistic groups? Do they have different cultural practices and outlooks, apart from the language? And, perhaps most importantly, how should we deal with those speakers who are competent in both Catalan and Sardinian and normally use both varieties? (For issues related to ethnicity, see Giddens 1997: 210-38; Macionis & Plumer 1998: 322-47; Rex 1986; Rex & Mason 1988).

2.1.3 Alghero: its origins

Because of its location and its geographical characteristics (a natural port, a flat and fertile land, and numerous watercourses), Alghero and its territory has always been an appealing area for people coming from both the surrounding villages and abroad. As a consequence, it has always been an area of great socio-anthropological interest, as various culturally differentiated groups have met and mingled, at least since the Neolithic (Balmuth 1992; Floris 1995: 9; Guido 1963: 36-80; Tanda 1995). There is some evidence that important human settlements existed in the Alghero area during the Nuragic civilisation (characterised by conical stone towers or *nuraghi*), between approximately 1500 and 250 BC. Historians are now almost certain that there was a fishing village where the old town of Alghero is today during the Nuragic period. This village, known as *Carbia*, was most probably founded, like other important centres along the coast of Sardinia – *Karalis, Nora, Bithia, Solki, Tharros, and Korrha* – by the *Shardana* (Sea Peoples) (Budruni 1990: 22-24).

We do not know exactly what happened to this village during the first millennium BC, but it was probably already in a state of decadence during the early Roman period. It is only in the twelfth century that we find new inhabitants in the

area. The Genoese Doria family settled in the region, and founded *La Lighera* by the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Although the commonly accepted date for the creation of Alghero by the Doria is 1102, it seems hard to assume that the area was totally uninhabited between the disappearance of Carbia and the arrival of the Genoese (see Bertino 1989; Budruni 1990: 35-37; and Casula 1994: 108). It seems most probable that there was some interim Arabic community, who settled there because of the favourable characteristics of the territory.[15]

The characteristics of the territory and its strategic position were the reasons that motivated the Catalan-Aragonese Kingdom to take possession of the area in the Middle Ages, and, under their domination, it became – politically and commercially – one of the most important areas of Sardinia. This period of economic and political growth had important effects on the overall quality of life, to the extent that Budruni (1989: 45-54) compares it to that of Peninsular Italy in the *Quattrocento*. As a consequence, Catalan acquired high prestige and social recognition, both in Alghero and in the whole of Sardinia (2.4). Such prestige was in all likelihood one of the reasons at the root of the linguistic integration of Sardophones who moved to Alghero permanently, and probably perceived the host language as 'better' than their own Sardinian variety. Accordingly, they were prone to learn and use it, even in the interactions with their own children.

2.2 Socio-demographic information

Compared to the nearby villages, Alghero has always been relatively populous, although its population has never gone much over 40,000, so maintaining the size of a small town. Its demographic growth – with strong sociolinguistic repercussions – reached its peak in the last century, when the population rose from 10,779 in 1901 to 21,316 by 1951, 32,056 by 1971, reaching 36, 331 – just short of a fourfold increase – by 1975 (Grossmann 1983; and, for a more detailed account of demographic tendencies in Sardinia, see Anatra, Puggioni, & Serri 1997, and Oppes 1991: 48).

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[15] It is possible that the Moslems built a castle in one of the highest parts of what today is the old town, which they probably called Al-Jazeerah (Budruni: personal communication).

2.2.1 Migration

Demography may be a crucial issue in relation to sociolinguistic phenomena and language death in particular. This is especially true when demographic changes are the result of massive migratory movements, as their repercussions on the sociolinguistic equilibrium of a given community may be enormous. And migrations certainly need to be taken into account in our case study, as Alghero has experienced important instances of immigration, primarily from the rest of the island, as well as of emigration. Furthermore, internal migrations are also relevant in the process of language shift and will be discussed in relation to the concept of *social networks* (see 4.3.2.2).

Migrations, such as those that occurred in Alghero, need to be analysed from two different sociolinguistic perspectives: language maintenance and language shift. And these in turn need to be framed within two different historical periods. From the sixteenth century until the Second World War we find more or less demographically important waves of immigration of Sardophones, for the most part, and these are characterised by a high degree of linguistic integration (Bosch 2002a: 18-25; Budruni 1989: 73-118; 1994).[16] This implies the maintenance of the intergenerational language transmission of Catalan, a language variety perceived in that period as a key element for socio-economic emancipation (Blasco 1984a: 6).

Although such migrations imply maintenance, they are at the root of the structural changes that Catalan underwent. In other words, the host language is maintained, though changed in different aspects by contact with different varieties of Sardinian. Innovations are brought about in two different ways. On the one hand, they were introduced by immigrants because of an inadequate acquisition of Catalan and subsequently imitated by the local community as a whole, thus becoming permanently established in the language (Winford 2003: 15). On the other hand, by contrast, structural changes come about as a result of accommodation in those instances where the interlocutors interact by using varieties which are substantially mutually intelligible. Accommodation is the mechanism responsible for the transfer of linguistic features from one speaker to the other during face-to-face interactions. In other words, one of the speakers intentionally accommodates to some of the linguistic

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[16]The new settlers were also Ligurians, Corsicans and Occitans (Budruni 1994: 335).

patterns of his/her interlocutor. Accommodation during interactions between Sardophones and Catalanophones has not yet been extensively considered in the study of the evolution of Catalan in Alghero, and the only attempt so far to tackle the issue from this perspective is represented by Chessa (2008a). The process of accommodation in the contact between Sardinian and Catalan will be briefly discussed in 2.5.

The migratory flows that have occurred in the Post-War period, by contrast, should be considered as a contributory factor to the process of shift, as they have important repercussions for language use. Nevertheless, although such displacements have been a crucial factor in the sociolinguistic make-up of Alghero in the last sixty years, they are not directly responsible for the language-shift process. Migrations acquire relevance with regard to language maintenance or shift only according to the context in which these take place (see, for example, Bastardas 1986: 17; 1996). In Alghero, they occurred during a process of important socio-economic changes (2.3) and are therefore responsible for speeding up the process of shift, but they were not the initial trigger.

2.3 Socio-economic changes

Andreu Bosch considers the demographic changes of the last sixty years, together with compulsory education, the mass media and socio-economic changes, as the macro-causes of the process of language shift in Alghero (1998: 384; 2002b: 14). In the 1950s and 60s, the community of Alghero, like other areas in Sardinia (see for example, Rindler Schjerve 1980), suffered radical socio-economic changes in relation to the established structures of production. Traditional handicrafts, fishing, farming, and shepherding activities were replaced by heavy industry (now in decline) and service industries (Caria 1982: 158; 1987: 15-24; 1992: 93-94). The sociolinguistic implications were enormous: on the one hand, immigration has now been counterbalanced (though never outnumbered) by the emigration of local people (many of them typically Catalan-speakers) principally towards Italy and continental Europe (especially, Germany, France, and Switzerland), following, by and large, the same migratory pattern as in the rest of the island (King & Strachan 1980). On the other hand, there has been a radical readjustment in the representation of reality. In

other words, the perception of the world is now filtered through the mass media (television in particular) and the educational system (Arca & Pueyo 1992: 299; Blasco 1994: 693), with a corresponding loss in historical and ethnolinguistic awareness (Vallverdú 1983: 224-25).

The demographic boom, a consequence of this major socio-economic change, coupled with an impressive growth in the tourist industry, lie at the root of Alghero's urban expansion. While new immigrants came in numbers to Alghero from the rest of Sardinia and Italy, the old town – the traditional residence of Catalan-speakers – began to become depopulated (2.3.1). This shake-up of the socio-demographic panorama of Alghero is vital for an understanding of the readjustment of social networks within the community. And a close analysis of the types of social networks currently in place is an essential tool in making sense of the sociolinguistic situation, particularly of the process of language shift.

2.3.1 Urban expansion and social networks

In 4.3.2.2, I suggest that *social networks* are responsible for the rapid intrusion of a range of socio-cultural innovations, including linguistic ones, in the habits of the local population. The degree and speed of the spread of a new language variety (or a linguistic variant) depends greatly on the type of network in place: the more compact the network is, the fewer the chances for the new language variety to take over the local one, and vice-versa.

The Albanian-speaking community in the south of Italy is a case in point. Thus, soon after the unification of Italy, Albanian communities,

> già esigue, si sono andate sfaldando a causa delle migrazioni che hanno disperso molti nuclei familiari lontano dalle zone montane e agricole d'origine in centri urbani in cui la assimilazione linguistica era praticamente inevitabile. Del resto, anche rimanendo nei paesi d'origine, gli albanesi, non raccolti in gruppi territorialmente compatti, ma dislocati sporadicamente nelle comunità italoromanze, hanno spesso finito col dimenticare completamente il loro linguaggio tradizionale. (De Mauro 1979a: 11)[17]

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[17] For translations of non-English texts see Annex 1.

In a parallel fashion, the spread of Italian within the Sardinian community is proportional to the size and characteristics of the villages and towns, as can be seen in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: *Language spoken between partners according to size of community*

Languages / Demography	Up to 4,000 inhabitants	between 4,000 and 20,000 inhabitants	between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants	More than 100,000 inhabitants
Italian	24.7	37.6	66.4	69.8
Local variety	54.5	47.2	19.5	11.7
Both	20.8	15.3	14.2	18.5
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Raw Numbers	154	229	318	325

Source: http://www.regionesardegna.it/documenti/1_4_20070510134456.pdf, p.21

The percentages of parents who speak the local variety to each other are greater where the population is smaller and vice versa. In those villages with a population below 4,000, 54.5% of the people interviewed claim to speak the local variety with their partners whereas only 24.7% use Italian. By contrast, in those towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, 69.8% of the couples use Italian to speak to each other whereas only 11.7% use the local language.

Thus, in general terms, the smaller the community the slower the process of shift is. Villages and small towns, especially those situated far from tourist developments, have experienced less social mobility, not to mention fewer massive migrations. These communities, it is to be assumed, are still characterised by the presence of close-knit networks, which are at the root of a strong sense of solidarity, made evident by the use of traditional norms and manifested through a widespread language loyalty (Milroy 1987: 106; Weinreich 1953: 99). The linguistic stigmatisation of Sardinian in comparison with Italian is countered by the compactness of the speaker-networks in small, rural villages. They are still led to abandon the local language, but more slowly than in contexts characterised by the presence of loose-knit networks.

Small towns like Alghero grew considerably within a couple of decades: new urban developments were created, new job opportunities emerged, immigration (both seasonal and permanent) increased, and some areas (the old town in particular) were almost completely abandoned by Catalan-speaking locals who then dispersed to different areas on the outskirts. During the Post-War period, Alghero experienced rapid urban development. Until then, the town was limited to the old, medieval district. The majority of the population living in the old town was predominantly Catalan-speaking, and the Sardophones who also lived there tended to adopt *Alguerès* (at least second generation immigrants) to interact with the locals. However, life within the old district was on the whole difficult in socio-economic terms and there were poor hygienic conditions, which had been exacerbated by the bombing during the war. Such a situation called, therefore, for a prompt solution (Peghin & Zoagli 2001: 124).

The crisis could have been settled in two ways: either by investing in renovations, both of the residents' homes and the whole area, or by building housing estates in new areas, still within the municipal boundaries but relatively far from the old district. The latter option was selected. Soon after the war, an ambitious (though poorly conceived) urban development started to meet the needs of the evacuees from the old town, who gradually began to leave their crumbling homes to move to new council estates (Peghin & Zoagli 2001: 124). Between the end of the war and the 1970s the number of local families living in the old town dropped from 1,850 to only 850, and these families moved to new sites scattered around the municipal territory (Caria 1987: 16; Leprêtre 1995: 60). These same sites were where the influx of people in the 1960s from the rest of the island and from Italy also had to be accommodated. At the same time, wealthy outsiders (mainly Italians, but others also) began to buy and renovate those properties left empty by locals in the old town, which were then predominantly used as summer residences (Caria 1987: 16, 23). The old town thus ceased to be a genuine, living district inhabited by locals, with small shops and traditional businesses, and gradually became an artificial area, dominated by the service industry, for the enjoyment of tourists.

These important social, economic, and environmental changes that Alghero went through had a considerable sociolinguistic impact, leading to the dissolution of the original, local Catalan-speaking community and the gradual emergence of loose-knit social networks, which are at the root of the rapid diffusion of Italian among the

population in the last forty years. It is this sparseness in the Catalan-speaking social network that lies at the root of the rapid regression of *Alguerès* among the population. Catalan seems to be used only among those (adults) who are closely linked to each other through strong ties of kinship, friendship, and work, and have always spoken in Catalan to each other or are well aware of the linguistic background of the interlocutor. The rest of the population, by contrast, have Italian as their main language of interaction, either because the majority of the speakers are not sufficiently competent in *Alguerès*, or indeed because the configuration of the social networks makes them meet and interact in Italian, the common, neutral language.

2.4 The socio-historical context

The focus of this section is the conquest of the island by the Catalans and their subsequent colonisation of Sardinia and Alghero in particular. The aim is to provide historical context for the implantation of Catalan on the island in order to understand its current sociolinguistic status.

2.4.1 The Catalan conquest

The Catalan conquest of Sardinia, which began in the thirteenth century, is the result of an expansionist policy in the Mediterranean, within which Sardinia occupies a key strategic position (see Casula 1990a; 1990b). At that time the island was divided into four major kingdoms (*Rennus* or *Logus* in Sardinian): *Gallura, Cagliari*, *Arborea*, *Torres* or *Logudoro* (see Figure 2.5). Each was a sovereign state with the power to sign international agreements. For the first and only time in Sardinian history, the island acquired its own political independence, and Sardinia could be considered a modern country, with no signs of feudal structure (Galoppini 1998: 137-49). The most powerful of the four *Rennus* was Arborea, at the centre of the later conflict with the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom.

Figure 2.5: *Sardinian kingdoms*

This conflict began when Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) decided to create the nominal Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica and give it to James II (*Jaume II*) of Aragon (1291-1327), who thereby came to be authorised to take possession of Sardinia (Casula 1990a: 24). Thus, in accordance with the Anagni Peace Treaty of 1295, James II of Aragon renounced his claim to Sicily, and 'entered formally into an alliance with the Church, of which he became an admiral. In return he obtained generous promises in relation to Sardinia' (Tangheroni 2004: 248). The aspirations of both the Pope and the Aragonese became real in 1297 on the occasion of the

investiture of James II as king of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsice* (Budruni 1990: 44; Casula 1990a: 47; 1994: 177; Soldevila 1987: 72; Tangheroni 2004: 248).

At that time the title represented little more than a theoretical right over a nominal kingdom – a *Licentia Invadendi* – which, on the basis of diplomatic initiatives and political influences, quickly became real and effective for James. On 13 June 1323, he sent his son, the *Infant Alfons*, to conquer the town of *Villa di Chiesa* (modern *Iglesias*), on the southwest of Sardinia, then in the hands of the Pisans. The military action, which was supposedly taken in support of the Sardinians against the Pisans, was in fact a bid to gain control of the island. On 2 March 1324 *Castel di Castro* (*Cagliari*) was attacked by the armed forces of the allied nations – Aragon and Sardinia –, and on 19 June the Pisans abandoned all their colonial possessions of *Cagliari* and *Gallura*. The Kingdom of Sardinia was born (Casula 1994: 153).

However, despite a strong alliance between the two parties, the relationship started to fracture as their interests began to clash. The allied nations soon turned into fierce enemies. For over a century Sardinia became a theatre of violent battles between the Aragonese and the Sardinians, now allied with the Genoese. The Genoese considered Alghero a strategic location and, therefore, were prepared to defend it at all costs. For the Catalan-Aragonese, on the other hand, it was a prime target for conquest.

2.4.2 The conquest of Alghero

In August 1353 the first major battle between the Genoese, defending their possession of Alghero, and the Aragonese took place. Alghero was conquered, a few months later, by King Peter IV (*Pere IV*) (1336-87), partly by force and partly by diplomacy (Ballero de Candia 1961: 64; Blasco 1984a: 3-8; Budruni 1990: 51-57; Casula 1994: 130; Scanu 1964: 19-27; Soldevila 1984: 170-86)

A few years after the war, the king ordered the native population to be thrown out, and Alghero was settled by peoples coming from various Catalan-speaking areas. The expulsion was politically necessary as the inhabitants of Alghero had proved to be, within the whole island, the fiercest enemies of the Catalan-Aragonese who, for about thirty years, became the target of repeated attacks (Budruni 1990: 45). So, whilst Alghero was populated by Catalans, many Sardinians

were brought to the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands as slaves (Budruni 1990: 58-59; Casula 1990a: 32).

In the period immediately following the conquest, the inhabitants of Alghero were mainly soldiers but then, thanks to a policy of safe-conduct and privileges, civilians started to populate the town (Budruni 1990: 65; Era 1918: 63-64). There seems to be evidence that the community of new settlers was quite heterogeneous, as the first colonists came from almost everywhere in the Catalan-speaking world: Barcelona, Mallorca, Rousillon, Valencia, Tarragona, and Vilafranca del Penedès, (Armangué 2008: 6-8; Blasco 1984b: 167; Caria 1982: 155; Conde 1994; 1995; Corbera 2003: 321).[18] All Catalans who agreed to settle there did so under favourable conditions: they were given houses, land, money, and tax exemptions. These sorts of benefits provided a strong sense of ethnic cohesion, as they made the citizens proud of being part of the Crown (Caria 1982: 156; Era 1918: 63-64; Nadal & Prats 1987: 442).

Alghero thus became a privileged Catalan town where the new Iberian inhabitants could conduct their lives as if they were in their homeland. The demography of Alghero, however, gradually began to change as people from other areas of Sardinia were welcomed to boost a population mainly reduced by plagues. Consequently, mixed marriages became common practice while the non-Catalans were allowed to settle in town. The *conditio sine qua non* for taking up permanent residence in Alghero was to defend the community's interests, respect the law, learn the language, and adopt the culture and Catalan tradition of Alghero (Caria 1982: 155). However, the interaction between Catalans and Sardinians should not be viewed strictly in terms of one-way assimilation. It has been noted (Budruni 1989: 72-6) that by the beginning of the sixteenth many surnames were Sardinian, meaning that quite a strong cultural influence was also exerted from new settlers with Sardinian background to the host group.

The key historical events of this late medieval and early modern period as far as this study is concerned can be summarised as follows: the native Sardinian inhabitants were expelled and replaced with Catalans; the Catalans brought their language to Alghero and maintained it; later on, at different stages, Sardinians began

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[18] For different views of the settlers' origins see also: Guarnerio 1908: 165; Manunta (1988: 11-12); Marcet (1991: 129); Milà 1908: 149; Nadal & Prats (1987: 444); and Veny (1991: 104).

to move from the neighbouring villages into Alghero, bringing with them new cultural practices and a new language; the two groups came into contact and gradually started merging. This last point is of key sociolinguistic interest: it explains how Catalan was kept in Alghero and how it acquired peculiar grammatical and phonetic features.

2.5 The emergence of *Alguerès* as a new variety of Catalan

The aim of this section is to offer a contribution to the understanding of the emergence of *Alguerès*, as a new variety of Catalan, as a result of contact with varieties of Sardinian. Since the end of the fifteenth century – that is, since Sardinians were allowed into Alghero again following the Catalan conquest (Bosch 2002a: 18; Budruni 1990: 58), Catalan has been in contact with Sardinian dialects. Consequently, as in similar situations, the linguistic structure of Catalan has been affected by the continual interactions between the two groups of speakers.

Contact between Sardinian varieties and Catalan in Alghero must be analysed taking into account two possible outcomes. On the one hand, we find the development of (temporary) bidialectalism (Catalan and Sardinian) introducing a few interferences. This is the dominant approach so far in use, which has recently been applied by Andreu Bosch (1997; 2002a: 15-51). On the other hand, we should also take into account the possibility that Catalan and Sardinian (and *Sassarese* in particular) are or were mutually intelligible. The contact between the two groups of speakers could therefore have resembled those interactions described by Trudgill (1986) in dialect contact situations. If that was the case, one of the interlocutors might have conversed in Sardinian whilst the other in Catalan, at least in those instances where one of the two is a Sardophone recently arrived in Alghero, while the other is a predominantly Catalan speaker born and bred in Alghero.[19]

Present indicative (PI) provides a clue on how *Sassarese* and Catalan can be treated as mutually intelligible varieties, as innovations here are arguably the outcome

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[19] This twofold approach has been made necessary by the characteristics of the contact under discussion. Although Catalan and Sardinian must be seen as part of the same Romance continuum, they are not contiguous varieties, so the transition from one to the other is, obviously, more abrupt than, say, in the case of Catalan and Occitan, where the two merge imperceptibly. Therefore, despite some degree of mutual intelligibility, the two varieties are perceived as different linguistic systems; not only because of the linguistic differences, but also probably because they represent characteristics of different ethno-linguistic groups.

of accommodation due to structural closeness. In archaic Catalan, as a result of apocope, we find forms such as *cant* 'I sing' (<CANTO), *creu* 'I believe' (<CREDO), and *perd* 'I lose' (<PERDO); but also forms such as *compre* 'I buy' (<COMPERO) and *obre* 'I open' (<*OPERO), which added (in peninsular Catalan and after the colonisation of Alghero) an epenthetic *e* to facilitate the pronunciation of verbs with a consonant cluster at the end. Forms like *creu*, though, were soon modified, to avoid confusion with the third person singular of the same form (*jo creu* 'I believe'; *ell/a creu* 'he/she believes). *Jo creu* became then *jo crec*, by analogy with forms like *jo dic* 'I say' (< DICO) (Gulsoy 1993: 423).

So, in medieval as well as in modern *Alguerès* we find verbal forms like *crec* and *perd.* However, we also find a few first conjugation *odiar*-type ('to hate') verbs (modern *Alguerès*, /u'ðjeʧ/) of which we should assume a quite anomalous archaic form, such as *odii*, as in Balearic Catalan. By contrast, in *Sassarese*, verbs like *odiar* show the ending /-eʤu/in the first person singular of PI, such as /uɖ'jeʤu/ (from *udiá*, 'to hate'), /kaχu'reʤu/ (from *calchurá*, 'to calculate'), /sisj'meʤu / (from *sisthimá*, 'to settle'), /kasj'ɣeʤu/ (from *casthigá*, 'to punish').[20] Considering that, in the majority of cases, such verbs in both varieties coincide in both form and meaning, it is reasonable to believe that, at some point, Catalan-speakers had began to accommodate to the *Sassarese* forms of the same type of verbs which were probably easier to articulate. This is why the *odiar*-type verbs, in the wake of the corresponding *Sassarese* forms (/uɖ'jeʤu/), insert the increment [-eʧ], between the root and the ending: /u'ðjeʧ/.

For the inflectional morpheme [-eʤu] to be incorporated into the grammar of local Catalan, speakers should have borrowed an *odiar*-type verb from *Sassarese* first, as structural diffusion (in the case of inflexional morphology) is rarely (if at all) the result of direct borrowing, and usually occurs once the entire item has been borrowed (see Winford 2003: 61-66).[21] However, this does not seem to be the case here. Catalan speakers did not need to borrow lexical items which already existed in their language variety and which, in the majority of cases, both form and meaning coincided with *Sassarese*.

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[20] The orthographic representation is based on the criteria given by Lanza (1980).
[21] How could speakers single out morphological structures, such as [-eʤu], and install them as part of their Catalan grammar, and, most importantly, why would they?

The only plausible explanation lies in the accommodation theory, as in those cases of dialect contact described by Trudgill (1986). It is not unlikely that Catalan speakers would accommodate their speech to that of *Sassarese* speakers, starting with those verbs whose radical coincided in the two varieties, and eventually dispensed with the Catalan form, as it might have been perceived as the more marked one. Thus, we should assume that, in the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero, the PI1sg acquired the form of /uɖˈjedʒu/, exactly as in (or very similar to) Sassarese. In a later stage, and by analogical pressure from the majority of PI1sg forms, the *odiar*-type verbs dropped the final vowel and subsequently devoiced the now-final coda, thus acquiring the current form: *odieig* /uˈðjetʃ/. It must also be noted that the pressure of analogy on other verbs seems strong as many verbs seem to acquire the /-etʃ/ ending (e.g., carrec > carregueig, cambic > cambieig, embolic > emboliqueig, etc.).[22]

Thus, following the same pattern of analysis articulated by Trudgill (2004: 1-2) in regard to American English, it can be stated that:

1. Catalan brought to Alghero has experienced forms of dialect contact with indigenous varieties, which obviously differ from those forms of contact experienced by other Catalan dialects.

2. From the very beginning, Catalan brought to Alghero was subject to processes associated with internal dialect contact. In other words, the new settlement of Alghero was populated by people coming from different locations in the Catalan-Aragonese Kingdom (2.4). Therefore, we should assume that contact between different Catalan dialects would have occurred in Alghero at the very start of the colonisation period, a situation which most probably led to the emergence of a new dialect.

It follows that the overall process of evolution must be divided into two macro-phases, which correspond to two different, chronologically consecutive, historical periods. The first period, from 1354 to the end of the fifteenth century, is characterised mostly by the mixing of colonists from different parts of the Catalan-speaking regions and the consequent contact between various dialects of Catalan (see Caria 2006: 41-2). The remaining period, on the other hand, is characterised by the massive influx of Sardinians into Alghero (2.4.2) and the contact between Catalanophones and Sardophones. The first phase recalls those situations of dialect

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[22] The orthographic representation of *Alguerès* words is based on the criteria given by Sanna (1988).

transplantation, such as English and Spanish to America (Penny 2000; Trudgill 2004). The second one, by contrast, resembles more closely those instances where the formation of the so-called 'new-towns' is involved (Trudgill 1986: 95-96).

Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that the Catalan-speaking community transplanted to Alghero in the first instance had gone through a process of koinéisation, as a solution to the chaotic dialect mixture that resulted from the varied origins of the colonisers. A Catalan koiné, a linguistic variety that arises by evening out differences among dialects in contact (Penny 2000: 226; Trudgill 2003: 69), may have been developed as a form of *spontaneous colloquial standard* (CAT) to be used within Alghero's community (Blasco 2002b: 250).

This variety of Catalan (CAT), which emerged from the encounter of speakers coming from different areas of the linguistic domain, would therefore have been the variety which the first waves of Sardophone immigrants came into contact with. This contact can be approached in two different ways, which are schematically illustrated in the following paragraphs.

In the first approach, we should try to account for the interactions between Catalans and Sardinians (recently arrived in Alghero) in which the former use CAT, whilst the latter use Sardinian. During these interactions we expect different adjustments (in terms of accommodations) to take place: for example, a reduction in those linguistic features which represent the most marked differences between the two varieties (usually Sardinian features, being the less prestigious of the two), and/or the most demographically relevant features (usually Catalan, as Sardinians at some point outnumbered Catalans).

According to a second approach, those instances where bidialectalism occurs must also be taken into account. This development of the contact is characterised by the emergence of a series of steps, although it is a gradual, dynamic process. Thus, as a result of the contact between CAT-speakers and the first Sardinian immigrants, we will have the emergence of CAT1, a form of Catalan with a few Sardinian *interferences*, developed and spoken mostly by Sardinian bidialectal immigrants. This new variety – it is assumed – goes hand in hand with CAT and, through face-to-face interactions, sooner or later gives rise to a new variety (CAT2), as a result of continuous adjustments of different variants in competition. Provided that CAT remains the bureaucratic variety until Italian replaces it, the evolution of the colloquial variety of Catalan is a continuous process, at least as long as there are

Sardinian-speakers coming to Alghero, willing to learn Catalan. So, following the same schema above, a continuous, gradual, evolution of CAT can be hypothesised, so that CAT3, the variety learned by new Sardinian incomers, comes into contact with CAT2 which, through face-to-face interactions, gives rise to CATn, and, in the last instance, to *Alguerès*, now in the process of shift, because of the pressure exerted by Italian, the national language.

2.6 The emergence of the Italian nation-state

A new historical era – which will have important sociolinguistic repercussions – dawned at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Spanish throne became vacant. Charles II (1665-1700), the last Spanish Habsburg in the male line died, leaving his empire to Philip V, Louis XIV's grandson. Leopold I, emperor of Austria, was unhappy with the decision, as he had set his eyes on Charles's possessions: Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Lombardy, Belgium, Spanish America, and the Philippines. War between France and Austria broke out in 1701 and ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht. The following year the two powers shared out all the Spanish possessions in the Treaty of Rastatt: Spain and all the overseas territories went to the Bourbon prince – Philip V –; Naples, Lombardy, Belgium, and Sardinia to Austria (Duggan 1994: 75-76; Van Loon 2000: 325-27).

However, the partition of Spanish possessions did not produce lasting stability in the Italian peninsula, Sardinia, and Sicily. Frustrated Spanish ambitions represented the biggest threat to the Utrecht and Rastatt settlements. Thus, in 1717 a Spanish fleet seized Sardinia, while the following year another took possession of Sicily, which belonged to the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II. Britain and France, not fully satisfied with the new political configuration, reorganised the geo-political distribution of Europe by signing the Treaty of London on 2 August 1718. According to this treaty, Sicily returned to Spain, while the 'much less valuable' Sardinia became Piedmontese, under the rule of Victor Amadeus II, who was named King of Sardinia (Duggan 1994: 76; Ingrao 1994: 120).

Under Piemontese rulers, Sardinians went through a period characterised by disaffection, revolts, and repression. According to Caria, this circumstance, together

with the unification of Italy, contributed to the social, political, and economic decline of Alghero:

> Nel 1853 Alghero finí d'essere piazza d'armi, arrivando all'appuntamento di fine secolo con tutte le contraddizioni di ordine sociale, economico, politico e culturale create dal governo piemontese prima e dallo Stato unitario poi. A cavallo del secolo (1887) due dei tre istituti di credito aperti in città chiudevano i battenti, il commercio era praticamente inesistente ed il porto, simbolo storico della centralità economica algherese, era deserto. (Caria 1982: 156-57)

In sociolinguistic terms, this also meant that the Sardinians were exposed to a new language: the Italian language, which was gradually introduced into the system. By the 1750s Charles Emmanuel III had established a policy of socio-political reforms, which included the compulsory use and teaching of Italian in schools.

The unification of Italy marks the beginning of the most interesting sociolinguistic period. After many years of European political and social instability, determined first by the French Revolution and Napoleon's campaigns, and later by the Congress of Vienna and the 'Restored Monarchies', Italian fragmentation came to an end. Driven by Liberal, Radical, and Nationalist groups, a long period of struggle for a unified Italy began. Under the auspices of great thinkers (e.g. Giuseppe Mazzini), strategists (e.g. Camillo Benso Cavour), and soldiers (e.g. Giuseppe Garibaldi), the Italian *Risorgimento* ('resurgence' or 'national rebirth') led, at the cost of three wars of independence, to the proclamation of Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy in 1861, to the retaking of Venice from the Austrians in 1866, and the conquest of Rome in 1870 (Stiles 2001).

Immediately after Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king, Piedmont's Prime Minister – D'Azeglio – pronounced the famous sentence: 'Italy is made, now we must make Italians'. These words implied an effort by the new government to give Italians a common, unified, social, political, cultural and economic framework. Soon after Italy became a single political entity, the various legal codes of different States were formed into single penal and civil codes that were adopted throughout the country. Also, a unified Italian army was created, while schools and universities came under state control as a result of a policy to provide a unified system of education (Stiles 2001: 91-95). All these changes towards stronger unity intensified as the 'nation' became consolidated politically and economically. Consequently, the

sociolinguistic scenario also kept changing. [23]. The language shift process affecting Catalan in Alghero is partly the result of such socio-political readjustments, and its socio-economic implications, as is discussed in 2.2 and 4.2.

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[23] For more details about the *Risorgimento* see Smith (1999).

Chapter 3: Literature review

3.1 The bilingual family and children's linguistic development

Although family language transmission has received considerable attention from scholars of different theoretical orientations in the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics, not a great deal of research has been conducted, specifically on this topic, within the language-shift paradigm. To the best of my knowledge, attention has been placed more on children's acquisition of language and communication skills in both monolingual and bilingual contexts rather than on the study of intergenerational language transmission as a way to assess the vitality of minority languages within communities characterised by societal bilingualism and language conflict. It is true, however, that some of these investigations into children's language acquisition have been conducted within communities where language shift is occurring, taking on board issues which are of some relevance to the phenomenon of language conflict, and to the break in intergenerational language transmission in particular. Lyon (1996), for example, pays particular attention to the process of language acquisition of children in a English-Welsh bilingual context (Anglesey, North West of Wales), but her investigation also explores some aspects (e.g., parental attitudes towards the languages in contact and their reasons for wanting children to learn Welsh) which help to account for the overall sociolinguistic situation of the Welsh language.

The majority of researchers, however, are concerned with the *linguistic development of bilingual children* in either those instances where the parents speak different languages (mixed-language marriages), regardless of the sociolinguistic context where they live, or in those instances in which the parents have moved to a foreign, linguistically different country (see Schmidt-Mackey 1977: 133-37). The centre of attention here is therefore the type of linguistic family, rather than the wider sociolinguistic context, where the child is raised, and the analysis focuses mostly on the repercussions (in terms of interference, mix, word order, etc.) that the simultaneous acquisition of two (or more) languages has on the child (see, for example, De Houwer 2009; Deuchar & Quay 2000; Lanza 2004; Meisel 1994; Yip

and Matthews 2007; and, for a general account of previous studies, Hoffmann 1991: 48-53).

Nonetheless, quite a few scholars, working within the above paradigm, have also paid attention to extra-linguistic issues, for example the reasons and motives behind parental linguistic choice in the interactions with their children. These scholars tend to conceive intergenerational language transmission as a form of language planning, according to which parents set specific goals on behalf of their children and elaborate appropriate linguistic strategies (see, for example, Lambert 2008: 17; Piller 2001). These studies, it follows, are also partly concerned with parental motivations, attitudes, and strategies in the process of language transmission and can also help to shed some light on the mechanisms at the root of parental language choice in those instances of indigenous minority languages characterised by language shift, although a very close parallel cannot be drawn.

Brigitte Lambert, for example, who has investigated the whys and wherefores of language transmission among German-speaking immigrants in Australia, accounts for the social, linguistic, and affective influences on the parents' decisions and the issues arising during the planning and implementation phases of language transmission (2008: 8). In her view, interactions with children are the result of a *decision-making mental process*, by virtue of which goals (on behalf of the children), children's needs, and purposes are carefully considered in relation to language choice. Although, in Alghero, language transmission does not always emerge as a clearly deliberate decision (i.e., some of the parents consider Italian as a 'natural', 'automatic' choice), a *rational approach* to which language to pass on to the children seems however to guide parents, in most of the cases, in the pursuit of what is considered their children's best interests (4.4 and 7.3). Within this framework, motivation plays an important role in the whole process of language transmission, and, in the community of Alghero, instrumental motivations (7.3.3), in terms of material rewards (including praise and social acceptance), seem to be at the root of most parents' linguistic decisions (see Lambert 2008: 25-28).

But what really makes Lambert's analysis quite intriguing is her approach to intergenerational language transmission from an ethnographic perspective. She describes the communicative aspects of family language transmission in the light of Hymes's (1967; 1972a) S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model, within which the researcher can account for the factors underlying the norms of language use in a particular setting.

Thus, in the case of the German-speaking community in Australia analysed by Lambert, the setting of the analysis, for example, is the family home, the participants are the mother and her child, and the goal governing the transmission of German is to achieve bilingualism and the ability for the child to communicate with overseas family (2008: 15-16). The norms of language use within the family domain in Alghero are explained within the same model of reference, although more emphasis has been placed on the 'goals' factor, as this has proved to be a key element in the whole process of language transmission (7.3).

On the other hand, Sirén (1991), much more in line with sociolinguistic research on language shift, investigates what languages immigrant parents-to-be in Stockholm intend to speak with their children. Her work raises several interesting issues, which are particularly relevant to my study. For example, she found that there is no direct correlation between language ease (i.e., fluency) and language spoken at home, but that parents' language use with their children is related to and influenced by different background and environmental factors. In our case, this helps to explain why a great number of parents, in Alghero, especially since the 1960s, despite their better competence in *Alguerès*, have decided to use Italian with their own children. In a parallel fashion, this can also help us to understand why, nowadays, some young speakers have expressed their intention to speak (in a more or less distant future) in Catalan to their children, although *Alguerès* is clearly not their first language.

The issue of parental *linguistic intentions* raises another important question. That is: do parents really intend to speak the minority language to the child, or do they just express the desire to have a child master that language? (Sirén 1991: 25). In Alghero, for example, the majority of parents seem to wish their children to master Catalan, but do not take any practical action (i.e., talking *Alguerè*s to them) for that to happen (7.3.3). That parental desire is not always automatically translated into action is quite well documented, and studies like that carried out by Sirén can help to explain the mismatch between 'good' intentions, positive attitudes, etc., and real language use. This particular aspect, which has been discussed in 7.3.3.3, is treated in this thesis in terms of *emotional language loyalty* (7.3.3.4), a concept that accounts for the discrepancy between parents' attachment to *Alguerès* (in terms of culture and identity) and their (predominant) use of Italian in their interactions with their children.

3.2 Intergenerational language transmission and language shift

Although, as Fishman simply and clearly puts it, 'without intergenerational mother tongue transmission [...] no language maintenance is possible' (1991: 113), the attention that has been devoted to family language transmission, within the paradigms of both language shift and death, is not great. Very few scholars, to the best of my knowledge, have investigated language shift by specifically looking at the interactions between parents and children in those instances of indigenous minority language groups characterised by societal bilingualism and language conflict (4.2). Furthermore, little attention has been given to the motivations and reasons behind parental decision to speak the dominant language to their children, and still 'little is known about the factors which determine parents' language use [...] with their children' (Morris and Jones 2007: 486). This is so despite the fact that the 'deliberate non-transmission of the ancestral language to young children is a theme repeated with dreary frequency in communities where a threatened minority language is the normal daily speech of the parental and grandparental generations' (Dorian 1986a: 561).

It must be noted, however, that, within wider sociolinguistic studies, some of them specifically on language displacement, some scholars (e.g., Bastardas 1985, 1986; Denison 1971; Josserand 2003; Huffines 1980; Shahidi 2008; Querol et al. 2007; Sole 1990; Timm 1980; Torres et al. 2005) have analysed (in a more or less thorough fashion) intergenerational language transmission as an important aspect in the language shift process. Timm (1980), for example, in her account of the sociolinguistics of Breton, gives considerable attention to the difference of language use between the generations. Thus, Breton is still frequently spoken in families having members aged about forty or more. Parents in their forties, however, may speak Breton to one another on occasion, but French is the sole language for parent-child interaction. The children will probably understand some Breton but not speak it. Parents in their thirties or younger, on the other hand, speak French almost exclusively to each other and with their children, although with their own parents, they may speak a little Breton.

In the United States, on the other hand, Huffines (1980) reports that intergenerational language transmission gives clear evidence of language shift among

the non-plain Pennsylvania German community.[24] Out of 107 informants, only 12 (11%) reported having children who are linguistically capable of passing Pennsylvania German on to their own children, and no informant reported having Pennsylvania German-speaking grandchildren. As usually occurs in those instances in which language shift is found in an advanced stage, it emerged from her study that parents frequently spoke to each other in Pennsylvania German, and so did grandparents to parents, but parents spoke to their children in English.

Shahidi (2008), who investigates language shift in Manzandarani – a minority language spoken in the north of Iran – based on a survey using the apparent-time method, has devoted an important part of his research to family language transmission. Thus, the study of language shift of Manzandarani includes an account of matters such as speakers' attitudes toward Mazandarani and Persian, speakers' choice of code, speakers' proficiency in Mazandarani, opportunities to speak this language, and also intergenerational transmission. The general conclusion seems to be that the language used in the interactions between parents and children is mainly Persian. However, the crucial question of why this is happening remains unanswered or only partially answered.

Josserand (2003), who investigates language contact (Italian, French, Francoprovençal) and language conflict in the Aosta Valley region in the north-west part of Italy, places, by contrast, considerable emphasis on language transmission, and an entire chapter (chapter 4) is devoted to this issue, in which he gives a detailed account of language use within the family domain. However, although he aims to investigate the factors that are responsible for language abandonment (2003: 10), the explanations he offers seem to be mostly the result of theoretical speculation, rather than in-depth investigation.

Within the study on language competence, use, and attitudes in the Catalan-speaking regions (Querol et al. 2007), Torres provides a thorough analysis of family language use, and intergenerational language transmission in particular (2007: 41-63). Starting from the assumption that the intergenerational transmission of Catalan is a crucial aspect of both the present and the future of the language, he explains it through a formula, according to which the intensity of language shift (or else its regression) is accounted for (see 6.2.2). Nonetheless, although this can be considered

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[24] 'Non-plain' Pennsylvania Germans are to be considered those who (as opposed to Older Order Amish and Mennonites) are less conservative and less strict in their way of life.

as the most detailed study carried out, to date, within the entire area where Catalan is spoken, the reasons behind parental linguistic choice are not carefully analysed.

Although, as many times reiterated, sociolinguistics lacks specific studies on intergenerational language transmission within the paradigm of language shift, quite a few interesting exceptions can be found, a large number of which are sociolinguistic analyses of both Welsh and Catalan, some of them particularly concerned with mixed-language marriages. Some of these analyses are based on large-scale, quantitative studies, censuses in particular (e.g., Encinas & Romaní 2003; Galindo & de Rosselló 2003; Jones 1998; 2009; Melià & Villaverde 2008; Querol 2004; Robinson 1989; Vila 1993; Williams 1987;), some others, by contrast, are to be considered as more qualitative, small-scale, in-depth investigations (e.g., Edwards and Newcombe 2005a; 2005b; Harrison et al. 1981; Lyon 1996; Mollà 2006; Morris & Jones 2007; Querol 1989; Rindler Schjerve 1980; Sallabank 2007; Vilardell 1999).[25]

Few of the above studies, however, inquire into the causes behind the interruption in transmission of the minority language, that is, very few studies investigate the processes of how intergenerational language transmission ceases (Sallabank 2007: 197). Of these, I shall consider now the ones that, both because of the characteristics of the sociolinguistic context analysed and the methodology adopted, have a certain relevance to my research. One of them is a relatively recent study conducted by Sallabank (2007) in Guernsey. By means of both a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews she collected data on the extent to which the indigenous language is being used and passed on, as well as on *how* it is used. As part of an ethnographic inquiry, she also investigates the reasons at the root of the cessation of intergenerational transmission of the autochthonous language, Guernesiais, a variety of Norman French.

On the other hand, although quite dated, the study by Harrison et al. (1981) is still a valuable reference, for the understanding of the mechanisms that regulate intergenerational language transmission in Western Europe. Starting from the 1971 census data, according to which, at the time, bilingual mothers in Wales were predominantly raising their children in English, they aimed to investigate why this

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[25] Although in Harrison et al. (1981) the methodology adopted is clearly quantitative, the sociolinguistic situation, with regard to intergenerational language transmission of Welsh, is thoroughly analysed. Thus, despite their use of a questionnaire to elicit data, the study resembles more a qualitative investigation in the light of the results obtained and the way they have been elaborated.

was occurring. This was possible by eliciting information on: the mothers' use of Welsh and their attitude towards it; the mothers' ideas about child rearing and their actual experience of it; and their child(ren)'s exposure to Welsh and English. Among other issues, they were interested in the following aspects: mothers' perceptions of what being Welsh-speaking offers and involves for their families and in their communities; and mothers' expectations for their children in, for example, their cognitive development and social skills.

One aspect in the work conducted by Harrison et al. is, however, of particular interest to my investigation: the relationship between parents' attitudes (mothers' in this case) towards the minority language and its actual use in the interactions with the children. From their study it emerges that bilingual mothers (Welsh and English) of monolingual (English) children share the positive attitudes towards the Welsh language, which are held by the mothers of bilingual children, with only few exceptions. As already mentioned, and as discussed in Ch. 7, this phenomenon seems to be quite common within minority languages (including Alghero) which are undergoing a process of language shift, whereby parents show some (folkloric) attachment to their ancestral language but use the dominant language in their interactions with their children. Although somehow it is still a puzzle why bilingual parents who express some loyalty to the minority language nevertheless rear their children in the dominant language, an attempt to clarify this phenomenon will be offered in 7.3.3.

Within Catalan sociolinguistics, three studies deserve particular attention: Querol (1989), who conducted what can be considered a seminal study on intergenerational transmission of Catalan within the language-shift paradigm; Montoya (1996); and Torres & Montserrat (2003). Each of them deals with the sociolinguistic situation of Valencian, in three different communities of speakers: the province of 'Els Ports' (Querol 1989), Alicante (Montoya 1996), and Elche (Torres and Montserrat 2003). Montoya (1996) was inspired by the study carried out by Querol (1989), whereas Torres and Montserrat (2003) were inspired by Montoya's (1996) investigation. This means that all these studies follow the same methodological pattern, with some adjustments, of course, according to the specific sociolinguistic situation analysed.

Querol (1989), who, broadly speaking, investigated how parents justified their decision to speak Castilian to their children, elicited the data through non-

structured interviews. Among other issues, he was able to check whether or not the parents' justifications were closely correlated to instrumental motivations (see 7.3.3). In the end, he obtained different responses, that can be grouped into four main types: a. Responses related to instrumental reasons ('*motivacions utilitaristes*'); b. Responses that tend to deny the language shift process ('*negació de la substitució*'); c. Responses that tend to put the blame on external factors ('*respostes de-responsabilitzadores*'); and d. Responses that show some sense of guilt for not speaking in Catalan with the children ('*penediment del canvi*').

Although Montoya (1996) obtains the same sorts of responses from his sample, his categorisation of answers is better defined through a series of sub-groups. Thus, for example, the group described as having '*motivacions utilitaristes*' has been further divided into four sub-groups, those motivated by: a. Low status of the autochthonous language; b. Low social status of its speakers; c. The importance of Castilian at school; and d. Family prohibition. Compared to Querol (1989), Montoya has also developed a more varied and accurate methodological approach, for example, by combining quantitative with qualitative instruments. Their main aim, however, coincides, as Montoya aims to find out the reasons that have led speakers to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of Catalan.

Torres & Montserrat (2003) investigate the intergenerational transmission of Catalan by comparing two geographically close, but socio-economically distant, areas of Elche: The '*Vila Murada*' (the town centre where the deep-rooted autochthonous bourgeoisie live); and the '*Raval*', the old muslim *barrio* where people both from different rural areas and from low economic backgrounds can be found. By following exactly the same objectives elaborated by Montoya (1996), they come up with similar results, in terms of the types of responses given by the speakers they interviewed. As was expected, however, the factors and reasons for the interruption of family language transmission in the two areas studies were quite different.

Italian sociolinguistic scholars, on the other hand, mostly rely on large-scale quantitative, self-evaluative data, when dealing with issues such as language maintenance and shift in relation to both minority languages and Italo-Romance 'dialects', and very few studies, to the best of my knowledge, have been conducted aiming to understand the socio-psychological mechanisms at the root of language shift. Institutes for statistical research (e.g., ISTAT and DOXA) are the main source

of sociolinguistic information, usually as part of the periodical censuses carried out, on a national scale, every ten years. Based on these quantitative data, some scholars have interpreted the sociolinguistic situation of Italy in terms of severe language shift, in progress since the unification of Italy, when possibly only 2.5% of the population were able to speak Italian (e.g., Coluzzi 2009). Some others (e.g., Parry 2002), on the other hand, without denying a steady process of shift, are persuaded that dialects are still widely used. By and large, however, scholars seem to agree on what seems to be inconvertible evidence: the clear dominance of Italian.

One of the first and most detailed analyses of the situation of minority languages in Italy (Sergio Salvi's *Le lingue tagliate*, published in 1975), for example, highlights a situation of linguistic 'genocide' (see, for example, 1975: 77-80), pointing out that only those linguistic groups who have obtained (or who will obtain) juridical protection will survive. However, these conclusions were reached by means of secondary quantitative data and speculations, that is, with no first hand empirical field-work research.[26] As for the causes at the root of a generalised language decline, Salvi places the emphasis on political negligence in applying Article 6 of the Italian Constitution, on minority languages' protection, and accuses the Italian intelligentsia (people involved in the mass media, in particular), who failed to make speakers aware of the importance of language varieties other than Italian.

Salvi's considerations emerged in the seventies of the last century, by which time no political attention was devoted, in Italy, to minority language groups, and no specific laws were in place as a juridical support to reverse (or, at least, to stop) the language shift process. In truth, the majority of people were not particularly concerned with the linguistic decline that characterised almost every single corner of the entire nation, and the resurgence of dialects (as well as minority languages) – *Risorgenze dialettali* as Berruto (2006) defines it – is a relatively recent phenomenon. Thus, it was only on 25 November 1999 that Law 482 (*Norme in material di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*) was approved by the Italian Senate (see Parry 2002: 48), although some minority languages had already obtained some juridical recognition and protection, such as French in the Aosta Valley, German and Ladin in South Tyrol province, Slovenian in Friuli Venezia Giulia and indeed Sardinian and Catalan in Sardinia (see Maraschio & Robustelli 2011: 75-76).

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[26] A non literal English translation for 'Le lingue tagliate' would be: 'The forgotten languages'.

Salvi's prediction of a generalised language death (i.e., 'linguistic genocide'), however, seems to be quite accurate and, today, 'while Italian is a secure and vital language, […] most of the other varieties present in Italian territory are endangered' (Coluzzi 2009: 41-42). In actual fact, despite the linguistic resurgence of the last ten years or so, Italian is substantially still regarded as the only 'real' language, whereas all other linguistic varieties perceived and depicted as mere dialects with local scope (Dal Negro 2005: 113-14). Only a few of them may be relatively secure (e.g., German in the South Tyrol and Slovenian in Friuli-Venezia Giulia), and the destiny of many of other minority language groups will be conditional on language-planning efforts.

The current sociolinguistic situation is characterised by dialects (and, by extension, minority languages too) gaining some visibility in a number of public contexts, although parents are gradually abandoning them in their interactions with their children:

> Whereas the number of parents using dialect to their children is steadily decreasing, we may find dialect names being used more and more for cafés and restaurants, shops […] and in advertising […]. (Parry 2002: 54)

It is true that the perception that speakers hold about (their) local language varieties has changed considerably in the last ten years or so, and the symbolic value associated with them has increased enormously. This is largely due, in many instances, to a wave of counter-hegemonic ideologies that (as opposed to dominant ideologies) promote the idea that minority languages also have the right to exist (7.3.3). This implies that speakers now do not feel the pressure to use the dominant language in the majority of communicative situations (as, in fact, was the case in the sixties and seventies of the last century, when a great number of parents adopted Italian in their interactions with their children), but a local variety's use is limited to specific situations, to speak with specific interlocutors and (through code-switching) to express certain messages. Almost paradoxically, in many instances (e.g., Alghero), local languages are mainly used in writing (for example on the internet).

Mair Parry (2002) describes the new sociolinguistic situation of Italy in terms of *political correctness*. She says that the current sociolinguistic context seems to be characterised by the fact that it is 'politically correct' to support threatened

languages, although the 'threat to the survival of the dialects as effective, living systems of communication is no less real' (2002: 55). As a consequence, speakers feel 'obliged' not to show negative attitudes towards local languages and feel legitimised to use them (in writing) when the situation does not imply face-to-face oral interactions; when the use of the language is impersonal (e.g., public signs); when the interlocutors have time to create the ideas or concepts they want to express (e.g., sms). I will return to the concept of political correctness in 7.3.3, but it is very important to note here that, as Coluzzi (2009: 43) has pointed out, dialects and minority languages are finding some 'niches where they are being used, particularly on the internet, in text messages, on a few public signs […], but this does not seem to be having any effect on intergenerational transmission'.

In actual fact, the sociolinguistic data available show that, apart from a few exceptional cases, and despite the resurgence of local languages, dialects and linguistic minorities in Italy are, by and large, on the verge of extinction. Gaetano Berruto is very clear about the sociolinguistic situation of minority language groups in Italy:

> Buona parte delle lingue minoritarie, e in particolare in linea di principio tutte le parlate alloglotte non protette, sono da considerare lingue in declino o in via di obsolescenza, talché diventa addirittura una facile equazione equiparare le lingue minoritarie a 'lingue minacciate', almeno tendenzialmente. (Berruto 2007: 28)

Based on the *Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality* drawn up by UNESCO (see UNESCO 2003), Coluzzi analyses the vitality of two minority languages – Friulan and Cimbrian – and what emerges is a clear situation of language shift in both instances (2007; 2009). Although I have adopted a different approach to evaluate the vitality of *Alguerès* (7.4), the scores obtained by Friulian and Cimbrian, by applying the factors suggested by UNESCO, are very low, so placing the minority languages analysed by Coluzzi on a similar *threshold of maintenance* obtained in the case of local Catalan in Alghero. On the other hand, however, there are minority groups (though not many) that show great vitality and their existence does not seem to be at risk.

A stimulating comparative study conducted by Carmela Perta (2005), for example, lays bare different sociolinguistic situations in the case of two different

linguistic communities in Apulia (south-east Italy). The author analyses the linguistic vitality of two language minorities – the Albanian-speaking community of Chieuti and the Franco-Provençal-speaking community of Faeto – through both the speakers' self-evaluations of their language use and competence and a qualitative study by means of which the social representation of the language has been elicited. In one case (Chieuti), there emerges a sociolinguistic situation clearly characterised by a process of language shift in which the older the speakers the greater the competence in local Albanian and vice versa. Not surprisingly, Arbëresh (the way Italian-Albanian is referred to) is scarcely used in all the domains analysed: family, friendship, school, religion, and work.

The reason for language shift in Chieuti seems to be the low prestige associated with Arbëresh. According to 66% of the speakers, it is not worthwhile to pass the local language on to the new generations: it is not useful and therefore not needed. For the majority of speakers (52%), what they speak is a 'dialect', and only 48% declared that they spoke Albanian. However, the latter seem to agree that their linguistic variety is only a 'dialect' of Albanian that used to be spoken in the past in the community. All in all, the language variety they speak is perceived as a valueless 'dialect' associated with a backward society and for that reason they tend to abandon it (in interactions with their children).

Unlike Alghero (and, presumably, unlike other sociolinguistic situations in Italy), there seems to be no discrepancy between what the speakers say (their declared attitudes) and their real behaviour. In other words, the concept of 'political correctness' mentioned above does not seem to apply here, and the people interviewed are quite straightforward with regard their local language variety. There is a clear coherence between their negative attitudes and the lack of language loyalty, and only very few show some sense of identification with the Arbëresh language and culture.

The situation of Franco-Provençal in Faeto, on the other hand, seems to be quite different, as a high degree of vitality has been observed. A great percentage of people interviewed (98%) declared that they are actively competent in their local language and there does not seem to be a significant correlation between language use and socio-demographic variables such as age. One of the main differences between the two communities (i.e., Chieuti and Faeto) is that in Faeto the speakers clearly associate their linguistic variety with 'a language', not 'a dialect' as in

Chieuti. They are very proud of being part of their language community and this seems to be due to the fact that they tend to associate (mistakenly) Franco-Provençal with the French people and the French language. Accordingly, all the people interviewed expressed the will to pass the local language on to their children.

The sociolinguistic situation of the Arbëresh linguistic community has also been described, by Silvia Dal Negro (2005), in comparison with that of the German (Alemannic) dialects of north-western Italy (known as Walser). It emerges that both linguistic groups share with other similar communities 'the threat of language decay and death, with Italian and Italo-Romance dialects gaining ground on all levels of informal and in-group communication' (Dal Negro 2005: 120). According to Dal Negro, one issue to be taken into consideration is the distance between the local varieties and the corresponding standards, leading to very idiosyncratic, 'insular', linguistic forms which diverge greatly from mainland varieties (2005: 120).

However, Dal Negro's concern is not linguistic divergence as the cause of language shift but rather the inconvenience that such a phenomenon may cause as far as language planning is concerned. As in Alghero, these small communities are confronted with practical problems 'related to the very nature of which language or language variety should be sustained' (Dal Negro 2005: 120). The selection of the language variety to be used in public domains and education is a complex matter when it comes to small linguistic enclaves such as the Walser and the Arbëresh. Dal Negro suggests three possible main ways: the introduction of the corresponding standard language (standard German and standard Albanian), promoting bilingualism (Italian and German/Albanian) with diglossia; the implementation of each local variety in education and public domains; and the introduction of a superlocal elaborated variety as a written standard alongside local dialects (Da Negro 2005: 120-1).

It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss issues related to language planning, but it must be said that language revitalisation does not necessarily imply, in my view, the implementation of a standard variety alongside standard Italian. Provided that the main function of a standard is to facilitate in-group (written) communication, the adoption of a new standard variety can be seen as (and in certain instances is) redundant. Besides the fact that many of these communities perceive their local varieties as predominantly oral ones, the function of (written) inter-communication is well fulfilled (and not yet firmly questioned) by Italian. The use of

two standard varieties, in certain small enclaves, can only produce more conflict. In the case of Alghero, I have briefly suggested (Chessa 2008b: 190) the implementation of a situation of diglossia with bilingualism, by virtue of which Italian is used (in its written form) for official purposes and education whereas, by means of adequate strategies, oral use of the local variety is encouraged and supported.

What the language planner needs to know, in order to be successful in his/her language revitalisation efforts, is a clear picture of the sociolinguistic situation of the local community where he/she needs to intervene. It is important to know not only how many people speak the local language, but also (and most importantly) who speaks it, in what situations, to say what, etc. But, in particular, it is essential to understand why parents have 'decided' to abandon their mother tongue and pass Italian on to their own children. In other words, what are the socio-psychological reasons behind language shift?

One interesting study conducted by Perta (2004) on language shift in three Arbëresh communities in Molise (south of Italy) – Campomarino, Portocannone, and Ururi – aims to shed some light on the mechanisms that regulate linguistic behaviour within the Albanian-speaking community in Italy. According to Perta, until the first decade of the twentieth century, Arbëresh was found in a diglossic situation with the regional Romance varieties, with local Albanian in a dominant position. With the spread of standard Italian, however, the diglossia, or even triglossia (Italian vs regional variety vs Arbëresh), turned in favour of Italian, as the H variety, and local Albanian in a subordinate position.

With her investigation, Perta aimed to point out Arbëresh vitality in the three villages mentioned above as well as the Arbëresh community's attitudes towards both local and standard Albanian. Language vitality was measured, by means of both quantitative and qualitative techniques, according to the subjects' proficiency in Arbëresh and subjects' language use in different domains. Although with differences between the different communities, the data suggest that there is an overwhelming decline of local Albanian, which has nearly reached its final point in one of the villages investigated – Campomarino. All in all, the sociolinguistic situation described by Porta can be defined as clearly characterised by an age-related vitality: the speakers' competence and use of Arbëresh increase with their age.

However, the study seems to offer a mainly descriptive picture of what occurs in the Albanian-speaking communities, and not much attention is given to the reasons behind the language shift process. Although Perta follows the GAM model elaborated by Sasse (1992) to account for language death in the three communities, it is not clear what the extra-structural factors responsible for language abandonment are. On the other hand, the attitudes are mainly measured in terms of the intention to speak the language to the new generations, bilinguals' satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh (and monolinguals' desire to learn it), and opinions on the most important language for the villages. That is to say, with the data elicited in these studies it is difficult to understand the socio-psychological mechanisms responsible for the interruption of intergenerational language transmission.

Thus, my study is meant, on the one hand, to contribute to filling the gap, within the language-shift paradigm, of research on intergenerational language transmission, and, in particular, to studying the parental motivations for not passing on the minority language to their children. Additionally, it aims to check what similarities and differences, in terms of types of responses given by the informants, can be found in similar sociolinguistic situations, especially those conducted in Catalan-speaking areas by Querol (1989), Montoya (1996) and Torres & Montserrat (2003), briefly discussed above, since they followed a similar methodological pattern. As we will see in the next section, a study of this kind is highly justified in Alghero since, although a great deal of research has been conducted there, none is concerned with the reasons that inform the parental decision to speak Italian – the dominant language – with their children.

3.3 Research in Alghero

3.3.1 Introduction

When the eminent dialectologist, Joan Veny, refers to the Catalan variety of Alghero, he emphasises its exotic flavour (see Veny 1978: 70; 1991: 102). Indeed, Alghero is still seen by other Catalan-speakers (as well as by linguists and sociolinguists in general) as an exotic, appealing (linguistic) area. Such an appeal is partly due to the isolation of Alghero from the rest of the Catalan-speaking regions – a considerable

geographical distance and many years of political separation; partly because of the linguistic contact involved – between Catalan, varieties of Sardinian, and Italian (see 2.5); and partly because Alghero is a linguistic enclave – the sole Catalan-speaking area in the whole of Sardinia (Argenter 2008). These characteristics – according to Veny (1998: 559-560; 2001: 106) – have certainly converted *Alguerès* into the most distant and most dissident of all Catalan dialects. As a result of this peculiar status, it has both captured the attention of various scholars and favoured the proliferation of local linguistic and sociolinguistic studies (as well as cultural activities in general).

This cultural and linguistic fervour began when Alghero, at the end of the nineteenth century, was re-discovered by the Catalans. Since then, an important intellectual activity around the linguistic specificity of Alghero has developed. However, although the literature concerning Alghero and *Alguerès* is impressive in quantitative terms, there seem to be only a few noteworthy sociolinguistic studies available (3.3.3 and 3.3.4), none of them specifically related to intergenerational language transmission issues. Most importantly, none of them is concerned with the way the speakers see and interpret the sociolinguistic world around them and how such perceptions influence and therefore guide the linguistic choice in the interactions between parents and children, which is in fact the focus of this study (1.3 and Ch. 7).

In this section I will be exploring the relevant sociolinguistic discourse as it has developed around the community under discussion. The main aim is to both describing the different investigations conducted in Alghero and highlighting the relevance of my study to intergenerational language transmission, as the account of the current state of affairs will show that this is an issue not yet given proper attention. Special consideration will be devoted to those studies carried out in Alghero which are closest – in aims and/or methodology – to mine, although references to other related fields (such as dialectology, psycholinguistics, and language planning) will be also put forward, when needed.

3.3.2 Some preliminary considerations

In 1864, an archivist – Ignazio Pillito, from Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia – took part in the *Jocs Florals*, a Catalan literary contest, held, that year, in Barcelona. His

participation in the contest – making use of literary Catalan, which he acquired through the reading of (ancient) texts – aroused curiosity and interest among both the public and other contestants. Among them was the philologist, and eminent representative of the *Reinaixença* (Catalan movement of cultural revival), Manuel Milà i Fontanals, who would establish, a few years later, intellectual relationships with the intelligentsia in Alghero.[27] The small Catalan-speaking community on the north-west coast of Sardinia was then, after many years of isolation, enthusiastically re-discovered by the Catalans. And all this enthusiasm for the rediscovery of such a linguistic enclave was taken in by Eduard Toda i Güell, appointed consul in Sardinia in 1887, who had the opportunity to experience at first hand the supposed 'catalanitat' of Alghero; that is, by means of meeting the local people (see, for example, Bover 1997: 37-38; 2007: 113-41; Caria 1981: 13-14; 1982: 157; 1984; 1987: 12-14; Català i Roca 1961; 1998: 26; Milà 1908: 148-50; Scanu 1970: 10-11).

Within this incipient cultural fervour, Eduard Toda became a key figure with regard to both the renewal of the relationships between Alghero and Catalonia (and, to some extent, the Catalan-speaking regions as a whole) and the subsequent boom in linguistic and literary activity around *Alguerès* (Ballero de Candia 1961: 241; Català i Roca 1998: 19; Scanu 1970: 26). Eduard Toda himself is the author of interesting writings on Alghero and Sardinia in general, with special reference to Alghero (see Toda 1888; 1889; 1890; 1903; and Caria 1981). His most famous work on Alghero and *Alguerès* is, without doubt, *L' Alguer: un poble català d' Itàlia*, published in Barcelona in 1888 and translated into Italian by Rafael Caria in 1981. In this work, Toda gives a detailed – although at times too passionate and, therefore, subjective – description of Alghero, its language(s), its people and their customs.

An example of his description of Alghero is found in the first paragraph of chapter 2 where he says:

> vivíssima satisfacció experimentava al arribar á Alguer y trobarme en mitj d'una
> colonia eminentment catalana […] jo era pera ella [gent de l'Alguer] la
> representació de Catalunya; feya l'oficì [sic] de germà gran que torna á casa

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[27] It was actually the archaeologist Francesc Martorell i Peña who first established personal contacts with local people in Alghero, when he travelled to Sardinia for archaeological research, in 1868. After his return to Barcelona, he established links between intellectuals of both sides and, in particular, between Manuel Milà i Fontanals and Josep Frank, a secondary school teacher from Alghero and an expert in classical and oriental languages, who created the basis for a profitable, intellectual activity in town (see, for example, Bover 2007: 113-121; Caria 1981: 13-14; 1984; Scanu 1970: 10-11).

després de llarga ausencia, y rebut ab los brassos oberts per tota la familia. (Toda 1888: 23)

Alghero could not be (or even resemble) a '*colonia eminentment catalana*' by the end of the nineteenth century. Too many years of isolation coupled with a constant immigration of Sardophones from the rest of the island (2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) must have brought new cultural values, codes of behaviour and culinary habits, which must have alienated Alghero from the rest of the Catalan-speaking regions. With the fall of the political, cultural and economic barriers by the first half of the eighteenth century, which had to some extent isolated Alghero from the rest of the island during the Catalan domination, the loss of the former historical and ethnic ties was almost inevitable (Caria 1981: 22; 1984: 183; Ciuffo 1908: 171). Yet, the language, as if in a sort of mechanism of inertia, continued to be spoken by the population, though with numerous foreign elements (Sardinian, in particular) being incorporated into it (see Caria 1981: 16-22).

Antonio Ciuffo, better known under the pseudonym of *Ramon Clavellet*, in his paper delivered at the *Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana* (Ciuffo 1908: 174), is very clear about the Sardinian influence on the Catalan-speaking community of Alghero.[28] Not only the language – he says – has been modified, but habits and customs as well:

> Y no solament paraulas, s'és acontentada a portarnos l'influencia sarda, ma fins y tot, usos y costums de la terra; com fora *lo toco* en la taverna que fan amb-e 'l Calaf a mans y tirant de dits a qui té d'esser *patró* y *sota*; l'*atito*, o plorar los morts de cos present, mentovant los mèrits y les virtuts que tenen en vida. Lo txapador y'l pastor per alliviar llur fatigues, no més canten en sard; y en la festa de *Talia* que té lloch a l'Olmedo, lo primer de Maig, los algueresos se mesclen amb-e los pahisans de les viles y ballen tots junts su *ballu tundu*, ball sard. (Ciuffo 1908: 174)

Despite the excessively enthusiastic account of the Catalan reality of Sardinia, Toda's work can nevertheless be considered as the turning point in Alghero studies. Since its appearance, an extraordinary amount of attention has been devoted to the specificity of this tiny Catalan-speaking enclave of Sardinia. However, two

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28 For further details about Ramon Clavellet, see Nughes (1991).

previous studies, both published in 1886, conducted by two Italian dialectologists –
Pier Enea Guarnerio and Giuseppe Morosi –, must also be recalled. In both cases, the
main aim was to find out how, and how much, Catalan had been modified by contact
with Sardinian dialects, that is, 'quanto del patrimonio linguistico della colonia
catalana resti ad Alghero intatto e quanto siasi alterato e dove abbia esso ceduto al
sardo che da ogni parte lo stringe' (Morosi 1886: 313).

The methodological approach followed by these two scholars is quite
different. On the one hand, Morosi seems to rely on mainly written material of
literary and non-literary texts (e.g., proverbs) and the interview of a native speaker of
Alguerès that was carried out in Florence. On the other hand, Guarnerio sourced his
work directly from the speech of the people, by means of songs, fairy tales, short
stories, and proverbs, collected through the voices of fishermen and peasants. The
results obtained by both investigations can be summarised by quoting Guarnerio's
words:

> L'algherese non suona esattamente come il catalano, che meritamente diciamo
> letterario, ma ne è una varietà dialettale […]. L'algherese sta al catalano come vi
> sta il maiorchino, il barcellonese e via dicendo. (Guarnerio 1908: 166)

Such an empirical remark was soon confirmed by the speakers' linguistic
perceptions. As a result of the great interest shown by the Catalans (and Eduard Toda
in particular) towards *Alguerès*, and the subsequent intense (epistolary) contacts
between intellectuals on both sides, a certain linguistic awareness arose in part of
Alghero's population: an awareness of speaking Catalan as well as an awareness of
speaking a slightly different variety of it:

> L'aportació d'Eduard Toda fou decisiva per a la renaixença cultural de l'Alguer.
> […] En efecte, desvetllà una gran curiositat entre el jovent alguerés […]
> Experimentaven [els joves intel.lectuals algueresos] un plaer indescriptible en
> escoltar les paraules del cònsol estranger i en constatar que la seva llengua no era
> gaire different de l'alguerès, i que, parlant-lo, s'entenien perfectamente. […]
> captaren fácilmente les diferències en el lèxic, en la conjugación i en la sintaxi,
> les formes d'assimilació total o parcial de les consonants mudes, el fenomen del
> rotacisme. (Scanu 1970: 26)

All in all, the impulse and enthusiasm that had emerged among certain social, intellectual sectors of the population, as a result of such a cultural revival, served to highlight the problem of the language (*la questione della lingua*) which was predominantly about two issues: getting the speakers closer to the grammatical rules of their own local language and establishing the orthographic criteria to be adopted for *Alguerès* (see Caria 1981: 25; Nughes 1996; Scanu 1970: 27-28 for further details).[29] Although some local intellectuals expressed concern about an incipient process of language abandonment within the family (see 3.2), they were preoccupied mainly about how 'pure' the variety of Catalan spoken in Alghero still was. The contact with Catalan speakers from other Catalan-speaking regions created a widespread awareness about the Sardinian and Italian intrusions on *Alguerès*, which – as was pointed out by different parties involved in the cultural discourse – called for a prompt intervention.

Joan Pais, a musician with a degree in chemistry, was one of those local intellectuals who devoted a great deal of his time to linguistic matters. And, although he was among those who, within a process of codification in line with the criteria used for Catalan in Catalonia, defended some of the linguistic peculiarities, he certainly believed (at least in his first years of commitment to the linguistic cause) that a purifying intervention was also needed. This is made very clear in a letter dated 1 January 1902 and addressed to Rossend Serra i Pagès (a Catalan scholar of popular traditions):

> Yo, y molts altros amichs meus, nos havem, però, pres l'encàrrich de *purgar*, més que nos sarà possible, aquest fill de aquella Hermosa llengua qu'és la catalana; y això farem per medi de la gramàtica algueresa que entench de escriure y de moltas prosas y poesías que cercarem de espargir per la nostra ciutat. (Quoted by Armangué 1996b: 29; italics are mine)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, then, while some of the intellectuals committed to the cause cultivated their passion for poetry in Catalan, Joan Pais and Joan Palomba (a school teacher) began to write their grammars of

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[29] The *questione della lingua* arose in Alghero much later than in the rest of Sardinia, although, under the impulse of the Catalans, linguistic awareness in Alghero has intensified considerably in the past hundred years. Issues concerning the Sardinian language began to be discussed in Sardinia in the sixteenth century, as a sequel to the debate concerning Italian, very much alive in the peninsula (see Cossu 2001: 24-25; Dettori 2001: 78-80; and Sotgiu 1994: 543-545 for the events as they specifically occurred in the eighteenth century).

Alguerès. Palomba, whose grammar was eventually published in 1906 (see also Bertino 2001), in his talk given at the *Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana*, held in Barcelona in the same year, declared that one of the reasons that encouraged him to prepare such a prescriptive work was to provide the children of Alghero with a solid linguistic reference book. His work would have helped to create both the awareness among the population that *Alguerès* was a language variety as noble as Italian, and a solid protection against the continuous assaults coming from Sardinian as well as literary Italian (Palomba 1908: 168).[30] A clearly identifiable concern for the fate of the local, underprivileged variety (as opposed to the dominant, privileged Italian) shines through his writing.

A widespread language loyalty (Weinreich 1953: 99), at least among a clique of intellectuals was definitely arising. Gradually, the idea of *Alguerès* as a language variety to be protected began to emerge within the local intellectual elite. Thus, when the cultural association *La Palmavera* was founded at the beginning of the last century, its members aimed to defend 'la llengua i la cultura específiques de l'Alguer' (Nughes 1991: 17), not only from foreign interferences within the linguistic structure, but also from the intrusion of Italian within strategic domains. The Catalan spoken in Alghero was perceived not only as a (slightly) contaminated variety, but also as a variety subject to a process of language shift. The concern, however, was not with the general, widespread social and colloquial use, which – it has to be assumed (see, for example, Caria 1981: 23) – was still vital among the population as a whole, but rather with the absence of Catalan both from literary and official domains in general and from the upper classes (the literate).

The thorough research conducted by Armangué (see, for example Armangué & Manunta 1993: 17; Armangué 1996a; 1998a; 1999; 2002), though mainly from a literary viewpoint, is in this respect highly useful in order to understand the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The language spoken by the upper classes (close to political power), it emerges, had been subject to a process of abandonment since the eighteenth century, at least within specific, key contexts where Italian was becoming

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[30] In contrast, Pais's grammar was published posthumously in 1970, edited by Pasqual Scanu, and, unlike Palomba, Pais aimed to both offer a tool for those foreigners who wanted to learn Alguerès and compare the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero with Italian for the people from Alghero to be able to see the main differences (Scanu 1970: 55).

dominant. Thus, although (as we have seen) the use of *Alguerès* was well established among the lower socio-economic classes,

> Cal tenir en compte […] que els consellers, en llur tracte amb la capital de l'illa, havien de recórrer necessàriament al castellà, i posteriorment a l'italià, llengües comunes dins l'àmbit polític i administratiu; i […] que representaven precisament les classes noble i burgesa, o sigui, les que amb més facilitat havien acceptat el canvi lingüístic pel qual es bandejava el català. (Armangué 1996a: 53)

It follows that the process of shift in favour of Italian was underway, in Alghero as well as in Sardinia as a whole. It can be traced back to the first half of the eighteenth century, although the vast majority of people continued speaking Catalan at least until the first half of the twentieth century (7.1). The culmination of the process of Italianisation occurred when the reform of the educational system, also known as *riforma Bogino*, came into force in 1760 throughout Sardinia (2.6). This had notable repercussions on linguistic use, which, for official and literary purposes, became predominantly Italian, with only a sporadic use of Catalan (for issues related to the Catalan literary production in Alghero and Sardinia in general see Armangué & Manunta 1993; Armangué 1996a; 1998a; 1998b; 1999; 2002; and Armangué & Carbonell 2001; see also Sotgiu 1994).

3.3.3 Early linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses

3.3.3.1 First sociolinguistic considerations on language shift

The new political events, as they occurred from the eighteenth century onwards (2.6), the subsequent contact with Italian, and a series of reforms planned to promote the knowledge and use of Italian in the whole of Sardinia led to the emergence of concern about the lack of prestige that *Alguerès* was beginning to suffer. This concern arose as the new upper classes were in a clear process of abandonment of Catalan, at least within formal domains.

Thus, it should not be a surprise that Antonio Ciuffo, in his paper delivered at the *Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana* (Ciuffo 1908), supplies both linguistic and sociolinguistic information on *Alguerès*, with an interesting

reference to intergenerational language transmission. Although it is mainly focused on structural changes, his speech represents, without doubt, the earliest attempt at a sociolinguistic analysis of *Alguerès* (Caria 1987: 7; Nughes 1991: 25). His paper deals with the linguistic influence and interference in *Alguerès* from foreign languages (Sardinian and Italian) and the distance that has emerged between this and (literary) Catalan.[31] Such a distance is, according to Ciuffo, caused by the influences which come from both Sardinian – because of the considerable number of Sardinian-speaking villages around Alghero – and Italian – due to its use in the public sector (for example, school, public administration and church).[32]

Our main concern here, however, is about Italian gradually taking over the private domains and, consequently, leading to a break in intergenerational language transmission. Ciuffo, in his paper delivered at the *Primer Congrés*, was very clear about this issue:

> Aquella [la llengua italiana], intromesa en la vida pública, en los uficis gobernatius y administratius, en les escoles, en les iglesias, se n'entra a poch a poch en l'ambent [sic] del senyoriu que habita les plasses y vies principals, lo qual, també en la vida privada, emplea la llengua italiana y aquesta ensenya als fills de naixensa. (Ciuffo 1908: 170)

His careful scrutiny of the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero can be summarised as follows. He detected an incipient process of language shift that clearly shows itself through the interruption of language transmission from parents to children in certain socio-economic sectors ('*del senyoriu que habita les plasses y vies principals*'). And the reason for such shift from Catalan to Italian within the family has its roots in the 'new' socio-political frame, as the new language, by occupying those crucial public, official domains controlled by the government (see 7.1 and Ch. 4 for further discussion), is learned by the upper classes who begin to pass it on to their own children.

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[31] Ciuffo's linguistic approach is somewhat in contradiction to what had been said earlier by Guarnerio (1886) and Morosi (1886), who ascertained the close relation of Alguerès with the rest of the Catalan dialects.

[32] The effect Sardinian dialects have had on Catalan is mainly due to the contact between Catalan and Sardinian in Alghero, as discussed in 2.5. The adstratum – the speech of surrounding villages – has, of course, had an important role in the structural changes of Alguerès, but it can by no means be considered the main factor of change, despite Ciuffo's view, given that the principal contact between the two groups of speakers has taken place in town (see Chessa 2008a).

In addition, tourism seems to be – according to Ciuffo – another important root cause for both structural linguistic obsolescence and decline in use. Alghero used to attract numerous holidaymakers from Sassari (the capital of the province, and the town where Ciuffo was born) and from the rest of Sardinia, for at least three months every year. The linguistic interaction between the hosts and residents goes some way to explaining the sociolinguistic dynamics affecting the structure and use of *Alguerès*: the residents speak Italian with those who speak it, and Sardinian with Sardophones. Indeed, the natives seemed to be competent – due to trading, commercial needs – both in Italian and Sardinian (1908: 170-71).

Ciuffo, then, provides us with an interesting analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero at the beginning of the twentieth century, thus suggesting, as has been mentioned earlier, that the process of language shift is by no means a recent phenomenon. Although the intergenerational transmission of Italian gathered pace in the fifties and sixties to become a widespread phenomenon, the process in fact began (gradually and, most of all slowly) much earlier. I shall return to this point in more detail in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, but it is worth stressing here that what has been happening since the sixties onwards is what Dorian (1981: 48-54; 1986b: 74) describes as *language tip*. In other words, language death may appear to be sudden but may in fact occur as the result of a long period of gestation that can last years, if not decades (see also Craig 1997: 259).

3.3.3.2 Some salient linguistic studies

Apart from the above lucid sociolinguistic analysis – bearing in mind that Ciuffo was not a linguist: he worked as a printer and he did not even finish secondary education –, academic activity, in the first three quarters of the last century, is characterised – for obvious reasons – by the absence of sociolinguistics. [33] We have to wait until 1977 to find the first sociolinguistic study, carried out in Alghero by Maria Grossmann (published in 1980 and 1983). A further twenty-seven years elapse before another ambitious sociolinguistic study is carried out. In 2004, the department of Language Policy (*Política Lingüística*) of the Autonomous Government of

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[33] Although the idea of language as a social possession can be dated back at least to the nineteenth century, sociolinguistics as a discipline did not emerge until the 1960s (see, for discussion, Calvet 2003; Mesthrie et al. 2000: 2-5; Mollà & Palanca 1987: 16; Shuy 2003). Consequently, one cannot expect to find careful sociolinguistic approaches to Alghero's case earlier than that.

Catalonia conducted a sociolinguistic survey in Alghero (*Enquesta sobre els Usos Lingüístics a l'Alguer*, henceforth EULAL, see 3.3.4.2): the data contained therein have been discussed in Chessa (2007) and Querol et al. (2007).

Before Grossmann, only a few relevant works on lexical, morphological, and phonological aspects concerning *Alguerès* had been carried out. Among these, it is worth mentioning the unfinished work, undertaken by Joan de Giorgio Vitelli at the beginning of the twentieth century, on the phonological system of *Alguerès*. This incomplete study has only been published recently and can be consulted in Armangué & Bosch (1994; 1995). Griera (1922; 1950), who, despite some inaccuracies, has certainly made a significant contribution to the understanding of Sardinian influences on *Alguerès*, is also worth mentioning. His two articles are noteworthy not only for the content, but also because they are the results of linguistic research for a more global project: *L'Atlas Lingüístic de Catalunya*, the first volume of which was published in 1923 (see Griera 1923; 1924). Gina Serra (1927) was critical of the *Atlas* in relation to *Alguerès*, and her work represents a valid contribution to the understanding of variation and change of the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero.

But it was a German dialectologist, Heinreich Kuen, who contributed most to the understanding of *Alguerès* with his well-known article, *El dialecto de Alguer y su posición en la historia de la lengua catalana,* published in 1932 (the first part) and 1934 (the second half). It is also worth mentioning Saltarelli (1970), on morphology and phonology; and the first dialectological considerations on the lexical aspects of the language made by Veny in 1960 in his *Paralelismos léxicos*, among which he included *Alguerès*, although the work is mostly focused on the comparison between Balearic and Western dialects (see Veny 1960a; 1960b).

3.3.4 Sociolinguistic analysis in the last thirty years

As mentioned earlier, the first sociolinguistic data concerning Alghero are found in the 1970s, that is, immediately after the development of the discipline of social dialectology, which was later incorporated into sociolinguistics (Blasco 2002a: 55). Sociolinguists, whose aim is to investigate the relationship between language and society, soon turned their attention to Alghero too, meaning that, since the eighties,

the sociolinguistic dynamics of the linguistic community under consideration can be studied by means of empirical data.

3.3.4.1 Early sociolinguistic research

The first sociolinguistic research was conducted in Alghero between January and April 1977 by Maria Grossmann. All the results are gathered together in her book (1983), and a useful summary of the study can be found in Grossmann (1980) and Grossmann and Lörinczi (1979). With this study, carried out among the school population, the author aimed to understand how different factors (for example, social, political and economic) involved in the context she analysed, interact and determine the sociolinguistic situation observed. Moreover, this study should be taken – according to Grossmann – as the basis for future, more detailed and broader, research. But, most of all, it gives valuable guidelines on how to approach language planning in Alghero.

A questionnaire was the only formal instrument used to collect the data. The final report has however been supplemented with opinions, comments and impressions of both the researcher – as a result of her residence in Alghero – and the informants – as a result of either written or oral comments during the fieldwork. The questionnaire was distributed among 5,138 students of primary and secondary schools in Alghero, but not in the suburbs outside town. It was also completed by 165 adult students attending evening classes. In total, the sample consisted of 5,303 students, the youngest of whom was 7 years old, whilst the oldest was 67. The number of questions varied according to the age of the subjects: 28 questions for the 7-10 years old group; 38 for the 11-18; and 51 for the adults.[34]

The type of questions can be divided into three main groups:

1) linguistic competence, of both the respondent and some other person the subject is in contact with (for example his/her father); and the use of Catalan, Sardinian, and Italian in different language domains;

2) ethno-linguistic awareness; attitudes towards Catalan; and written abilities;

3) socio-demographic data of both the respondents and their parents.

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[34] Grossmann's data are obtained from three main groups of speakers: 1) those attending primary school (E) aged between 7 and 14; those attending secondary school (MS) aged between 11 and 14; and those adult students attending evening classes (C), aged between 17 and 67.

The results, which can be considered alarming, are set out in Ch. 6, where Grossmann's data are shown in comparison with the results of my study and the EULAL research (3.3.4.2).

Grossmann's sociolinguistic investigation, carried out thirty years ago, represents a useful starting point for a longitudinal analysis of Alghero's sociolinguistic evolution. Thus, by comparing different sets of data – mine, hers, and those of the EULAL – I will be able to assess the development of the language shift process, with special reference to intergenerational language transmission.

3.3.4.2 EULAL

The main aim of this ambitious study was to evaluate the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero by means of a ninety-question questionnaire. The most relevant questions are of three types, and all the respective answers are self-evaluative (the informant is the only one who provides information, which is accepted without further investigation). The different kinds of questions are:

1) On linguistic competence (each informant provides information on his/her proficiency – in understanding, speaking, reading and writing – assessing his/her level of knowledge in Catalan and Sardinian);

2) On linguistic attitudes (the informants express, by answering direct questions [e.g., 'do you think there should be more Catalan on TV?'], their attitudes towards the languages in contact);

3) On language use (by means of a series of different questions, the informants provide information on their use of Italian, Catalan and Sardinian in various domains and with different interlocutors).

The interviews were conducted during the first week of January 2004 by telephone and with the help of CATI (a computer program designed to conduct telephone interviews). The sample, chosen at random from the telephone directory, totalled 415 speakers over the age of eighteen, with a margin of error, calculated by the *Institut d'Estadística Catalana*, of 4.81%. The results, some of which will be discussed in Ch. 6, are well in line with the data produced by Maria Grossmann in her study, but with more alarming negative percentages on the use of *Alguerès*.

3.3.4.3 Other sociolinguistic studies

Apart from the EULAL and Maria Grossmann's research, there are only three other sociolinguistic studies to be mentioned. They are much more modest, both in scope and number of speakers analysed. They will be presented in chronological order of publication: Tessarolo (1990), on linguistic attitudes; Colledanchise (1994), on the general sociolinguistic situation of Alghero; and Blasco (2002a), which I will call a socio-psycholinguistic analysis.

3.3.4.3.1 A study on language attitudes

The sociolinguistic research conducted by Mariselda Tessarolo, although not solely concerned with Alghero (the study was carried out, in fact, among almost all the so-called minority languages within the Italian State) represents another significant scientific source for those seeking reliable sociolinguistic data on Alghero. The main aim was to elicit linguistic attitudes among Alghero's population, making use of a technique known as *semantic differential*. With this technique, which was conceived in order to avoid direct questions on the language(s) under investigation, the researcher can indirectly detect how the subject evaluates the language(s) concerned through a series of concepts presented in opposition (hot-cold; superior-inferior; good-bad; difficult-easy; public-private, and so on) associated with the language(s) to be analysed.

   The opinions, in terms of opposite pairs of attributes, were provided by the respondents in response to the following questions:

1. *Qual è la tua imagine del …* (name of the minority language)?
2. *Qual è la tua imagine della lingua italiana*?
3. *Qual è la tua imagine del tuo dialetto*?
4. *Qual è la tua imagine del dialetto dell'altro gruppo* (*o delle altre parlate locali*)?

The results, in terms of attitudes, fully support the language shift process described by Grossmann (1983).

Tessarolo, who – as mentioned earlier – investigated the speakers of the main minority languages that are found within the Italian territory (Slovenian, German, Albanian, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin, Sardinian, Catalan), interviewed sixty subjects for each linguistic area. The average age in the Alghero group was twenty-three and the language used for the study was Italian. Given that the community of Alghero does not possess (and indeed did not at the time of the study) a Catalan standard of reference, using Italian would have avoided – according to the author – dealing with variables that are not easily controllable. In other words, conducting the test in Catalan would probably have biased the results, as most of the subjects were not familiar with its written form.

3.3.4.3.2 A sociolinguistic survey

In 1980, a few years after Grossmann collected her data, the cultural association *Està Esclarint* conducted a quantitative sociolinguistic investigation among a group of people between the ages of fifteen and thirty (see Colledanchise 1994 for a full report of the results). The data are the result of 165 questions answered by a sample of informants, whose number is not mentioned by the author. Colledanchise highlights the three most relevant ones:

1. What language do you usually speak?

2. What language do you know (even if you don't speak it)?

3. What language do your parents usually speak?

Although the objectives of this research were not quite clear from the outset, the data obtained from this study are, though with some minor differences, in line with those of Grossmann (1983) and the EULAL.

3.3.4.3.3 A socio-psycholinguistic analysis

The research directed by Eduard Blasco i Ferrer, and published in 2002 (Blasco 2002a), is highly detailed in terms of objectives, methodology, and results obtained. However, the large number of objectives (which are at times unclear) make some of

the results rather obscure and even confusing. The main aim of the study is to provide data on the vitality of *Alguerès*, by means of a twofold analysis: socio- and psycholinguistic.

Blasco's sociolinguistic research, carried out making use of a questionnaire, presents his main objectives in the following terms:

1. To observe the relationship between the linguistic codes in contact (Italian-Catalan-Sardinian: bilingualism vs. diglossia);
2. To observe the linguistic competence in Catalan in apparent time, through the analysis of informants of different ages (showing monolingualism in Italian, bilingualism Italian-Catalan, trilingualism Italian-Catalan-Sardinian, loss of one code, strengthening of diglossia without bilingualism);
3. To observe the extra-linguistic contexts, and how these can either promote or impede a balanced bilingualism among future generations (domains and role-relations, familiar or extra-familiar contexts, formal or informal situations);
4. To record the informants' evaluation of their own competence;
5. To observe their degree of passive linguistic competence;
6. To observe the cultural knowledge about the historical community of Alghero, a factor to be correlated with linguistic competence and use;
7. To determine attitudes towards the everyday use of the languages in contact.

On the other hand, the psycholinguistic research was devised with the following objectives:

1. To deduce what values are attached by the speakers to the use, accessibility, status, and, more generally, to the idea of *Alguerès* and the other codes in contact;
2.   To deduce what are the covert attitudes towards the languages in contact, and their importance in consolidating linguistic identity.

In the psycholinguistic study, the language is represented with a certain number of dimensions (for example, prestige, usefulness, difficulty, precision), and

the subjects were asked to give their impressions of the languages in contact using the same technique used by Tessarolo (1990).

The questionnaires and the psycholinguistic tests were carried out among the school population (with some modifications according to age). However, although it is stated that the number of students who filled in the questionnaire is 906, it is not clear how many pupils were given the psycholinguistic test. A lack of clarity and some inaccuracies are also detected elsewhere in the study. For example, in table 5.1 on page 70, the data from totally different questions are compared. Moreover, the study arrives at some odd results, such as those related to the formal use of *Alguerès*, which show an extremely high percentage of use among the youngest and 0% among the oldest.

The conclusions, however, are quite pessimistic: for example, the data concerning the acquisition of *Alguerès* as a first language (transmitted from the parent[s]) are quite discouraging. Indeed, those who acquired Catalan as a first language within the family turned out to be very few. And most certainly – according to the author (Blasco 2002a: 85) – they will be fewer if a serious and effective language policy is not adopted very soon.

3.3.5 Other sociolinguistic analyses

The data obtained from the studies described above (and especially Grossmann's and the EULAL) represent an indication of the stage reached by the language shift process in Alghero. Most scholars refer to Grossmann's study when describing the sociolinguistic situation of the community under discussion. Nevertheless, some of these descriptions – both books and articles, which, in the last twenty years, have proliferated – are based more on the personal speculations of their proponents, rather than on the data available. A brief summary of the sociolinguistic descriptions of Alghero based on others' data and personal speculations will be given in this section.

Soon after Grossmann disclosed her findings in 1980, a young intellectual from Alghero – Antoni(o) Arca – tried to account for the process of language shift outlined in Grossmann's results. On three different occasions (Arca et al. 1981; Arca 1982; and Arca & Pueyo 1992), he refers to the data supplied by Grossmann to indicate the presence of a serious sociolinguistic problem: the disappearance of *Alguerès* from both the formal and informal domains.

Sharing the same pessimistic view, we find Bosch (1994a; 1994b; 1994c; 1995; 1996; 1997b; 2002a) and Bover (2002). Thus, Bosch (1994c; 1996: 27; 1997b: 239-41) is very clear about the process of language shift the community of Alghero is experiencing. According to his description, the social use of *Alguerès* is relegated to the liturgical domain and some sporadic colloquial situations, whilst the interruption of language transmission from parents to children is now a fact. He goes further and, by referring to some of the sociolinguistic data available, seems to go along with the view that the Catalan-speakers in Alghero number between 18,000 and 20,000 (1994a: 71; 1996: 27), a quite surprising figure, if we take it for granted that the process of language shift is a fact. [35]

On the other hand, Arenas, ignoring every previous study, is much more precise about the speaking population of Alghero, and states that 20,000 people 'parlen sempre el català malgrat que a finals dels anys setanta la ciutat ha sofert una immigració negativa' (1988: 94). By saying that 20,000 people *always* speak Catalan, he is denying the language shift process described by Grossmann, whose data he must have been aware of. It should also be said, though, that in an article published in the year 2000, Arenas – still not mentioning any major sociolinguistic investigation – states that as many as 11% of the total population of Alghero *usually* speak Catalan. The acknowledged source he takes his figures from is the *cens municipal de 31 de desembre de 1998*, which has been impossible to get hold of. Arenas, however, reaches the sharable conclusion that in Alghero many are latent active speakers of Catalan, and a linguistic stimulus may be enough for them to start using it (7.2.2). In other words, at least 48% of speakers in Alghero have an active competence in Catalan, but not all of them use it habitually because the context does not trigger it. This analysis has been made possible by means of sporadic, personal observations: for example, out of 78 times he has taken a taxi from the airport to the town, 56 times the drivers have answered in Catalan to him. Considering that in Alghero there were, at the time Arenas conducted his personal survey, only 15 taxis, it follows that statistically these considerations are not reliable (theoretically, he could always have met the same driver).

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[35] It is not only the figures proposed that are questioned here, but most of all the vagueness of the definition 'Catalan-speakers'. What does it mean? Does it refer to those who have an active competence? Or does it just refer to those who use it? And if so, when (i.e., in what contexts) must they use it to be considered 'Catalan-speakers'? What percentage of them uses it every day?

Writing in the same vein as Arenas, Caria (1992: 94), states – with extreme precision – that 28,517 people know Catalan, whilst 18,274 speak it habitually in everyday interactions. And he adds that, from the 1980s:

> Es va desenvolupar un nou interès [cap a la llengua] no sols entre la població, àdhuc en els partits polítics en els sindicats, que darrera el debat sobre la llengua veien un retorn electoral, els primers, i una perspectiva ocupacional, els segons. A aquesta nova atenció envers el problema de la llengua, certament han contribuït els mass media, a més dels locals, també els italians, segurament més sensibles a les disposicions europees en matèria de llengües minoritàries. És veritat que prou famílies han tornat a l'ús del dialecte català amb els nounats i que moltes persones s'han posat el problema de conèixer la llengua escrita fins al punt de sol.licitar la promoció de cursos. (Caria 1992: 105-06)

Although it is quite certain that in the last thirty years there has been an increase in interest in the Catalan language and cultural issues in general, Caria's description seems excessively positive. We can assume that people are willing to learn the language and its written norms. However, it seems hard to believe that within the family *Alguerès* is beginning to be transmitted from parents to children again. All the data at our disposal indicate a different tendency (see 6.2 for further details), especially if we consider that there has not been a significant political and socio-economic change to justify such a new sociolinguistic tendency.

A few years later, Caria (1997: 40) stated that between 14,000 and 16,000 people use Catalan regularly and 92.7% have acquired Italian, which, of course, means that 7.3% are monolingual in Catalan.[36] On the same track, Marc Leprêtre, based on the *Euromosaic*'s data, states that 41% of the population have Catalan 'com a llengua habitual' (1995: 60).[37] These assumptions, though, are quite common within the literature concerning *Alguerès*, and the figures are given with no reservations whatsoever. Francescato (1993: 332-33) and Sebastià (1995) are two significant examples in point: the latter says that 45% of the population speak Catalan, according to sociolinguistic investigations, whilst the former considers that

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[36] However, Caria has recently rectified his previous shallow approaches to the issue (2006). Based on his as well others empirical data, he describes a sociolinguistic situation characterised by a clear break in the intergenerational language transmission (2006: 37, 58 and 64).

[37] See: http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/archive/languages/langmin/euromosaic/it3_fr.html

20,000 speak it and the majority of the population have, at least, a passive competence.

Chapter 4: Theoretical frame

In 1.2.2 I pointed out the significance of Alghero as a bilingual setting, arguing that different types of linguistic contact occur or occurred there: between different varieties of Catalan during the settlement in the Middle Ages; between Sardinian- and Catalan-speakers once the Sardophones began to move to Alghero in numbers from the rest of the island; and, finally, between Italian and Catalan as a result of political readjustments beginning in the eighteenth century. I have also mentioned that the outcomes of such contact situations are varied: from the primarily linguistic koinéisation on the one hand, to the mainly sociological language shift on the other. In this chapter, still bearing in mind the specific sociolinguistic context of Alghero, I pay attention to more general, theoretical issues concerned with language contact, language shift, and language death (essentially, the extinction of one of the languages in contact).

An analysis of these phenomena will provide the theoretical framework by means of which we should be able to understand both the specific causes of language shift in Alghero and the mechanisms at the root of the rapid spread of Italian in the last sixty years, at the expense of Catalan. In particular, I analyse the dynamics at the root of the process leading to societal bilingualism, and the impact of socio-economic and socio-political factors (paying particular attention to the emergence of *modern nation-states*) on speakers' *ideologies* and how such ideologies affect their linguistic behaviour (Boix & Vila 1998: 157-58; Kroskrity 2004; Mollà 2001; Reboul 1980; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). In addition, I highlight the relevance of social networks in the spread of linguistic varieties within society.

4.1 Linguistic contact: causes and consequences

4.1.1 The causes

The complete isolation of peoples occurs only very rarely, as human communities are hardly ever totally self-sufficient. Where it might still occur (for example, among primitive, indigenous tribes around the world), it must be regarded as exceptional. It

therefore seems equally unlikely that we will find completely isolated language varieties, even among the earliest societies, such as those based on hunting and gathering activities (Giddens 1997: 46-49). Indeed, the need to interact, mainly for practical, utilitarian reasons, such as trade, has led speakers of different languages (perhaps, since the origins of mankind) into direct or indirect contact (Adler 1977: 99; Bloomfield 1933: 43; Grosjean 1982: 1; Romaine 1997: 9; Thomason 2001: 6-8).

The causes leading to contact cannot be reduced, however, to only practical needs, such as facilitating trading. The reasons at the root of it can, in fact, be several: for example, military conquest, political marriages, colonization, contact between neighbouring communities, and migration (Hoffmann 1991: 157-63). By and large, the causes behind language contact involve three main circumstances: *migrations*, such as the massive displacement of Sardophones into Alghero (2.2.1); *neighbourhood*, such as the contact between Catalanophones and Sardophones, these being contiguous communities; and *political circumstances*, such as the contact between Italian and Catalan as a result of socio-political changes (2.6). Migrations, the more or less massive displacement of people involving a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual residence (Clark & Souden 1987: 11; White & Woods 1980: 3-5), typically lead to instances of linguistic contact. Sociolinguistic change, however, is not conditional on speakers of different languages coming into social contact with one another as a result of migrations. Apart from contiguous communities (which, in many cases, are also the result of massive displacements of people), certain particular socio-economic and socio-political circumstances alone, such as changes of political borders, foreign language promotion, or internationalisation of the market, can induce speakers to adopt foreign language varieties with only minor or no contact with the actual speakers of the other language(s) (Winford 2003: 2).

4.1.2 The outcomes

4.1.2.1 Linguistic and sociological outcomes

Whenever linguistic contact occurs, two broad types of outcome can ensue: those affecting the *structure* of the languages involved (linguistic outcomes); and those affecting the *linguistic community* as a whole (sociological outcomes), such as

language conflict and shift. However, bearing in mind that contact always implies linguistic changes of some sort, it 'often takes the form of the spread of one tongue and its eventual dominance over another, or several others' (Hoffmann 1991: 158). If this is the case, *language shift* occurs and the subordinate variety is subject to a range of consequences: for example, loss of domains of use, a decrease in speakers, loss of competence on the part of a growing number of people and, subsequently, various kinds of linguistic reduction and simplification (Winford 2003: 256-64). If the entire community shifts totally to a new language, the outcome is *language death* (Crystal 2000: 11; Trudgill 2003: 74).

A number of factors suggest that *Alguerès* is at an advanced stage of language shift, clearly leading to its disappearance, as discussed in 7.4. The process of shift can be addressed in terms of gradual extinction (Campbell & Muntzel 1989), as the first, though timid, worrisome signs of it (i.e., acquisition and use of Italian on the part of a small, though influential, sector of the population) are to be dated back at least one hundred and fifty years, as documentary evidence shows. Ciuffo, for example, as we have already seen in 3.3.2, expressed, already in 1906, serious concern about the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero. He noticed that parents from upper social classes were abandoning Catalan as both their everyday language and the language to be transmitted to their children, which was being replaced by Italian (1908). Along these lines, Perea (quoting Alcover 1912-1913) reports that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, people were already 'too in love with the Italian language' and 'too cold for their own language' (2010: 134).[38]

Despite these (most probably still isolated) signs of an incipient process of both self-deprecation and language shift, however, the majority of people in Alghero seem to have maintained their autochthonous variety as the language for colloquial interactions until relatively recently (see 7.1). Italian, as a matter of fact, has gradually gained ground into the official and formal domains, but has substantially left intact the informal ones. It is only in the last few decades that the situation has become to change drastically (see, for example, Arca & Pueyo 1992: 298-300). The spread of Italian within the whole range of formal domains is now not counterbalanced by the maintenance of Catalan within the informal ones, so that the

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[38] Alcover spent only a few days in Alghero, as part of the fieldwork for his dictionary, so that, although with some truism in them, his comments are probably based on a quick and superficial 'sociolinguistic' analysis and must be taken with great care.

two languages are not coexisting in a diglossic relationship (Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967).

Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero tends to be defined in diglossic terms, and only few scholars, to the best of my knowledge, have, to date, rejected such an approach. So, whereas Arca (1981: 136) and Arca & Pueyo (1992), for example, are quite clear about the fact that describing Alghero as a case of diglossia is inadequate, since the languages in contact are indeed in conflict rather than in peaceful co-existence, other scholars (e.g., Arenas 2000: 49; Blasco 1994: 694-5; Caria 1987: 17, 1997: 41, 2006: 58; Grossmann 1980: 531, 1983: 149; Perea 2010: 132) see the sociolinguistic situation from a diglossic perspective.[39] Alghero, as Bosch (1994a: 70) rightly suggests, is in fact a clear case of unbalanced bilingualism, which explains why Italian, previously limited to official domains, is now ousting Catalan (and Sardinian) from even the most informal linguistic contexts (family, friendship, etc).

Diglossia, at least in its classical acceptation (Ferguson 1959), clearly implies relative stability and, consequently, (long-term) language maintenance, which does not seem to be the case of Alghero. As an in-depth scrutiny of all the social variables in play suggests (7.4), *Alguerès* seems to be facing extinction, that is, the end product of language conflict rather than diglossia. There are indeed serious reasons to believe that the process of shift in Alghero has already reached a point of no return, first and foremost, because the second generation of non-*Alguerès*-speaking children has been raised, and only very few young speakers seem to have Catalan as their primary language. Language extinction, then, seems to be quite imminent in spite of a generalised, explicitly declared, attachment to Catalan (7.3 and 7.4).

As a consequence of the 'disfunctionality' (Dressler 1982: 324) and the disappearance of Catalan from both formal and informal domains, as outlined above, we expect competence in *Alguerès* to become impoverished, especially among the younger generations, as opportunities to practise it become fewer and fewer. At present, however, we do not have access to substantial and exhaustive empirical data on the structural readjustments of *Alguerès* as a result of shift, but from a first, still

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[39] Grossmann conceives the sociolinguistic scenario as a 'situació de bilinguisme [...] diglòssic, on [...] l'alguerès i el sard són en competència amb l'italià' (1980: 531). Argenter (2008), on the other hand, taking into consideration a wider linguistic repertoire, prefers to define the situation in terms of heteroglossia.

approximate and provisional linguistic analysis of the audio-recordings discussed in 7.4.1 various forms of both simplification and reduction have emerged, primarily in the speech of younger speakers. It has been noted, for example, that more and more local Catalan elements have been either lost or replaced by their Italian (and/or foreign Catalan) counterparts (Winford 2003: 256-63).[40] Besides lexical loss, other effects of gradual death on language structure have also been observed, including loss in phonology, loss in morphology, and loss of synthetic constructions in favour of periphrastic ones, not all of them necessarily directly attributed to the model of the dominant language (see Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 186-95; Craig 1997; Dressler 1988; for further details on structural readjustments due to language shift).

Broadly speaking, the differences in degree of competence can be placed along a vertical axis with the older speakers at the top and the younger at the bottom. Thus, the older the speaker the greater the competence in Catalan (and/or Sardinian) whereas the younger the speaker the greater the competence in Italian. Although this study is not particularly concerned with structural issues, or the speakers' linguistic competences, a dividing line (though rather theoretical) between informants aged fifty and over and those who are younger has still been observed: the former showing a greater fluency in *Alguerès* than the latter, who, by contrast, are much more competent in Italian than in local Catalan, with a considerable amount of Italian monolinguals among them (see 7.4.1). This does not mean, however, that non-competent speakers in Catalan are not found among the older generations and vice-versa, but those who may be labelled as 'fully proficient' (Dorian 1981: 94-96, 114-117) are predominantly found among the older speakers.

4.2 Bilingualism and language shift

4.2.1 Societal and individual bilingualism

For the outcomes outlined above to occur, some form of both societal and individual bilingualism is required. Societal bilingualism is defined as the coexistence of two or more languages within the same territory and/or society (Hoffman 1991: 157),

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[40] I refer to 'foreign Catalan' to indicate Catalan varieties other than *Alguerès*, including standard Catalan. I will also refer to 'foreign Catalan-speakers' (and alike) to indicate those speakers of Catalan who are not from Alghero.

whereas individual bilingualism refers to the degree of bilingualism developed by speakers taken individually, and their ability to use two or more languages in different contexts (Hoffman 1991: 13-32; Romaine 1995: 11-19; Weinreich 1953: 1).[41] Thus, a bilingual society can be viewed as the aggregation of a more or less wide range of bilingual speakers. These rarely achieve exactly the same degree of competence in all the languages in contact; usually one language variety tends to dominate (in a lesser or greater extent) over the other(s). In many bilingual societies, bilingual speakers' competences range along a gradual scale that stretches from fully bilingualism to near-passive bilingualism (see Dorian 1981). More often than not, together with the bilingual speakers, one or more groups of monolinguals may also coexist.[42] The above means that several types of bilingual societies can ensue: for example, those where almost everyone is fully competent in both languages; or those in which two different monolingual groups (Lx and Ly) co-exist together with another group formed by a variety of bilingual speakers, whose degree of competence varies along a gradual scale that goes from near passive bilinguals in Lx to near passive bilinguals in Ly.

This last example is typical of those societies showing a certain degree of instability, leading to monolingualism in one of the two languages in contact (Ly, for instance). Societal bilingualism of this kind is, therefore, only part of a wider, transitional process leading towards language extinction, during which, whereas some speakers are bilingual, but maintain their own language (Lx) for interactions with their children, some others abandon the autochthonous variety, so raising new generations of semi-speakers and near-passive bilinguals (7.4.1). If this is the case, second generation speakers will lose fluency in Lx and, if the conditions are right (that is, if the wider context functions predominantly in Ly), their own children will be, in all likelihood, monolinguals. Broadly speaking (but this issue will be developed further in 7.4), in today's Alghero we find a group of (young) monolinguals in Italian, and a group of multilinguals (Italian-Catalan and Italian-Catalan-Sardinian) whose degree of bilingualism ranges from full proficiency in the two (or three) languages to near passive bilingualism in Catalan and/or Sardinian.

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[41] For Mackey (1962: 51-2), societal bilingualism as such does not exist and the bilingual community 'can only be regarded as a dependent collection of individuals who have reasons for being bilingual'.
[42] In theory, there are also bilingual societies in which two (or more) monolingual groups co-exist, but these are very rare and they are not relevant to our case study. In Western Europe, an example of it might be Belgium, although Flemish speakers are usually also competent in French.

4.2.2 Stable and unstable bilingualism

Two different types of societal bilingualism can develop: *stable* and *unstable*. In the former, as in those cases of classical diglossia described by Ferguson (1959), the languages in contact tend to coexist peacefully, and we therefore refer to these situations as being characterized by *language maintenance*, in which a complementary functional linguistic division (where each language fulfils a different social role) is by and large accepted by the community of speakers as a whole. Each variety will be viewed by the speakers as appropriate for certain sociolinguistic functions and inappropriate for others.

Calvet (2006: 24-27) explains bilingual stability and language maintenance, though mainly from a variationist perspective, by introducing the concept of '*limiting factor*', considered as the appropriate response to external stimuli (i.e., *dominant factors*), to which languages are subject at every moment (e.g., a drastic socio-political change, or a demographic imbalance between the communities in contact). It represents, in other words, the proper equipment that a linguistic community possesses, or acquires, as a form of defence against threatening dominant macro-factors, by means of which the threatened language should be able to oppose to structural changes and/or shift. In practical terms, this means that if, for instance, a language variety happens to be spoken by only a small number of speakers (as opposed to a demographically larger language-speaking community to which it has come into contact), this will not necessarily lead that particular language to go through major structural changes or shift. Some counterbalancing factors may come to play to correct the effects of the dominant factor(s): for example, the speakers viewing their own language as a highly salient marker of group identity, as it used to be the case of Gapun, a small village of around a hundred people in Papua New Guinea studied by Kulick (1992).

Thus, one important limiting factor is certainly the sense of *group identity*, which, in many instances, is displayed by fostering linguistic diversity. New Guinea villagers, for example, have traditionally realised that the language has a boundary-marking dimension, and they have cultivated linguistic differences as a way of 'exaggerating' themselves in relation to their neighbours and trading partners (Boon 1982, quoted by Kulick 1992: 17). In particular, within the Chambri-speaking

community, it was noted that one of the villages, in spite of the small size and the close proximity with other villages, had preserved its own dialect because of the villagers' awareness of their cultural uniqueness within the larger Chambri-speaking group (Kulick 1992: 1-2). On similar grounds, one would also expect language maintenance in Alghero, as the sense of group identity and 'cultural' uniqueness is indeed quite marked: the majority of informants have either openly expressed, or somehow insinuated, their pride in being part of Alghero's community, as discussed in Ch. 7 (7.3.3 in particular). In spite of such a strong sense of group identity, however, Catalan is still not longer transmitted from parents to children, and the highly valued perception of self that the informants express seems to be opposed by other factors, particularly the value of power and national identity that speakers assign to Italian, so creating a sociolinguistic imbalance.

We need to bear in mind, however, that sociolinguistic stability is a relative term, and we cannot expect the same norms of linguistic behaviour to be in place indefinitely, as society is in constant change (i.e., the relationship between dominant and limiting factors is always in a state of, more or less durable, precarious equilibrium). So, for example, the idea of Paraguay as a stable bilingual community, as seems to emerge from Rubin (1962; 1968a), must be put into perspective. In rural areas of Paraguay, the most appropriate language of interaction among family members and friends was, in the 1960s, Guaraní, the indigenous variety, as this used to be associated with values such as intimacy and group solidarity. By contrast, in public domains – for example religion –, the most appropriate variety was Spanish, as it was related to formality and rituality. In principle, and in general terms, the two varieties were not mutually intrusive, so preventing language conflict and shift. However, more recent data seem to indicate an incipient, though slow and gradual, process of language shift, promptly tackled by a successful language-planning process (Gynan 2005). It is interesting in this respect to note that Fishman, who considered Paraguay as a case of 'stable multilingualism', also expressed concern about the fate of Guaraní (the low variety), this being in contact with 'official' Spanish (1971a: 540).

Having said that, some bilingual communities can nevertheless be addressed as more unstable than others. In the case of clear instability, such as in today's Alghero, for example, one of the varieties is more likely to die out, unless some proper action – i.e., a successful language revitalization enterprise – is taken. These

instances are commonly defined, as mentioned in 1.2.3, as cases of *language death*, which can be considered as the end point of the process of *language shift* (Dressler 1988: 184). This study – I have already argued elsewhere (e.g., 1.1.2 and 1.2.2) – suggests that Alghero might turn out to be, in the more or less immediate future, another example of language death through language shift, in the light of the fact that there is factual evidence (Ch. 6 and 7.4) showing that the community of speakers is gradually, substantially, and steadily changing from the habitual use of its traditional, local language (either Catalan or Sardinian) to that of Italian, via a stage of transitional bilingualism (Romaine 1995: 39-40; Trudgill 2003: 77-8; Weinreich 1953: 68, 106).

4.2.3 Transitional bilingualism

Transitional bilingualism and subsequent shift in Alghero seems to follow, by and large, a general pattern, typical of other sociolinguistic contexts, as is explained in 7.1, beginning with the acquisition of Italian by a small segment of the population (most probably, the upper classes described by Ciuffo in 3.3.2).[43] We can assume that this segment of the population, initially very tiny, has gradually and slowly increased in numbers, dragging along other speakers, firstly, from the same social backgrounds and, later, from different social sectors.

In a later phase (most probably between the two World Wars, characterized by the rise of Fascism), then, following such a period of gradual, slow-paced and socially circumscribed process of bilingualism, the number of bilinguals (or, at least, of those who acquired some competence in Italian) must have increased considerably, at a faster speed. The growth in numbers of bilinguals may be partly due to a stronger Italian nationalistic and authoritarian policy that implied the establishment of a wider web of bureaucratic control even across the more remote areas in the country; partly because of an increasingly mass (and highly ideologised) educational system; partly because of emulation (upper, successful classes representing a model to be imitated); and partly because of increasing occasions for interactions with Italian speakers.

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[43] For the sake of argument, I am considering here a hypothetical/theoretical monolingual Catalan community, but it is well known that, in practice, there must have been both a large bilingual (Catalan and Sardinian, at least) segment of the population and isolated Sardinian monolinguals.

We need to bear in mind, however, that such an increase in bilingual speakers could not affect the community as a whole (i.e., there must have been quite a few members, at the margins of society, with a nil or very low competence of Italian); in any case, it does not necessarily imply the use of Italian for in-group interactions, especially the most intimate ones – e.g., between family members, friends, relatives, etc. Instead, we must assume that *Alguerès* was still the dominant language for everyday, colloquial interactions within the endogenous community, whereas a small but significant part of the population (socio-economic elite) had assumed Italian as their main code of interaction (see 7.1).

4.2.4 From predominant use of Catalan to predominant use of Italian

Despite the use of Italian (within the household) by a number of (isolated) families, then, the main (if not the sole) language of communication among members of the Catalan linguistic community must have been, at least until the end of the first half of the last century, still *Alguerès*, as emerges from the data discussed in Ch. 7. Census data show that, in 1921, virtually everyone (99.64%) could be considered as a Catalan-speaker (Arca & Pueyo 1992: 298; Grossmann 1983: 13). In spite of the possible statistical errors and inaccuracies in surveys carried out in those days, due to lack of technical support and practical problems in conducting fieldwork, we do not have reasons to doubt about a widespread active competence of *Alguerès* among the population. That *Alguerès* must have been, at that time, the predominant colloquial language for in-group interactions is, as a matter of fact, supported by some of the informants' stories analysed in Ch. 7.

As we will see in greater detail in 7.1.1.2, however, Italian soon became to be used (outside the family) for both inter- and intra-group interactions. Mostly because of the pressure exerted by the school system, new generations began to use the dominant language to communicate with Catalan-speaker schoolmates. This new linguistic practice was particularly common among (young) speakers living outside the old town where, by contrast, *Alguerès* continued to be spoken by the majority of the population, and across all age groups, until relatively recently. In the sixties and seventies, when local residents moved in numbers to the new peripheral urbanisations, *Alguerès* also began to disappear from the old town (2.3.1).

4.3 Intergenerational language transmission

4.3.1 Mixed language marriages

The crucial moment, in a situation of societal bilingualism, is when the break in the intergenerational transmission of the minority language occurs. Thus, some of those speakers who have become familiar with the new dominant language may decide, for reasons that are discussed in 7.3, to pass it on to their own children. This may be the case of those mixed language marriages where one of the partners is either an outsider who has not integrated (either totally or partially) to the new linguistic context or an autochthonous speaker already brought up in the new language, whereas the other is a Catalan-speaker. Partners from different linguistic backgrounds may well end up speaking the common language (usually, the dominant one), in the interactions between both the parents and, most of all, parents and children, unless a conscious effort to adopt the 'one parent, one language' strategy is made (see Döpke 1992 for further details). For example, in the cases discussed in 7.3, the use of Italian in the interactions with the children is either a Hobson's choice (due to the different linguistic backgrounds of the partners), or a 'natural', automatic behaviour (i.e., the result of *habitus*, as briefly described in 7.1.1.3).

Intermarriage between different linguistic groups (and the transmission of the dominant language), however, is not necessarily a direct cause of language shift. In the particular instance of Alghero, mixed-language marriages and the transmission of Italian seem to be a consequence of the language shift process rather than a cause (or co-cause) of it. In the light of what is observed among homogeneous Catalan-speaking marriages, also transmitting Italian to their own children (see discussion in Ch. 7), the crucial question to be considered here is, indeed, the following: would those Catalan-speaking parents of mixed couples have transmitted *Alguerès* to their children if their partners were also Catalan-speakers? I will try to give an answer to this question in Ch. 7, where intergenerational language transmission is discussed in great detail.

In some multilingual societies, such as the Tucanoan in Brazil and Colombia mentioned by Piller & Pavlenko, on the other hand, mixed language marriages are not associated to language shift; they, in fact, ensure bilingual stability.

In these societies, intermarriages are a normal, cultural practice, as partners must be sought 'by norm' from another language group. The 'rule' of such exogamy practice 'requires' that both husband and wife continue to use their native language actively and receive the other's language in return. As a result, language maintenance is ensured: there is indeed evidence to suggest that multilingual groups in which each member uses predominantly one language and understands several others are well equipped to deal with the threat of globalization so ensuring bilingual stability (2004: 495).

In a number of other cases, however, intermarriages are not associated with language maintenance: they rather accelerate the process of language shift, since the majority language tends to be predominant in the home (Romaine 1995: 42). Janet Holmes, for example, has observed that when, in Australia, a German-speaking man marries an English-speaking Australian woman, English is usually the language of the home, and the main language used to children (2008: 62). In Alghero, until recently, those couples in which one partner was a Sardinian-speaker whereas the other was a Catalan-speaker usually adopted *Alguerès* as the predominant language to be transmitted to their children, since Sardinian, for socio-historical reasons discussed in Ch. 2, was the minority language (of the immigrant community) and Catalan the dominant, prestigious one. This linguistic behaviour, typical of those societies characterised by immigration with no (or little) group segregation, has also been observed in different indigenous minority language communities, not characterised by massive immigration. Thus, for example, it has been noted that in Oklahoma, in every family where a Cherokee speaker has married outside the Cherokee community, the children speak only English (Holmes 2008: 62). Along the same lines, Williams describes the sociolinguistics of Wales in the seventies of the last century as characterised by a high rate of transmission of English among mixed-language (Welsh and English) families (1987).[44]

There is certainly some truth behind the statement that 'where a mixed language community exists, the loss rate is highest' (Romaine 1995: 42), but it is also true that this is not always so, nor everywhere, and the issue of intermarriage in relation to language shift must be put into perspective. In some Catalan-speaking regions, for example, there seems to be an increasing tendency to adopt Catalan (the

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[44] Wales is a country where English-speaking migrations occur, but English speakers are not necessarily foreigners.

minority language), rather than Spanish (the dominant one), within mixed language families. In some others (including Alghero), by contrast, the majority language clearly prevails over Catalan (e.g., Montoya 1996). Thus, although we cannot deny that the loss rate tends to be higher within mixed-language families than within more linguistically homogeneous ones, the causes of language abandonment should be sought in a number of factors outside the family rather than in the intermarriage itself.

Hywel Jones has noted that in Wales the rates of use of Welsh within the family are, as expected, at the highest where both parents are Welsh-speakers; and it has also been observed that Welsh-speaking lone parents have higher rates of use of Welsh with the children than those parents in mixed-language families. Nevertheless, although it clearly emerges that non-Welsh speaking parents are to be considered as a constraint with regard to language transmission of Welsh within mixed-language families, other factors (i.e., not intermarriage *per se*) are responsible for language transmission of English. The rates of language transmission among mixed-language families change considerably across Wales, meaning that Welsh-speaking parents in mixed-language marriages respond to different social conditions with different linguistic behaviours: in some areas, that is, they tend to use English more, whereas in some others Welsh is more widely used (2009).

One important factor responsible for language choice within the household is obviously speakers' degree of proficiency in the languages in contact. More often than not, linguistic communities (in Western Europe) are characterised by the presence of a minority bilingual group (usually the autochthonous one), whose members are usually (equally) competent in both languages (i.e., the minority and the dominant language), and another group (of foreigners as well as locals), whose members are either clearly more competent in the dominant variety or, even, monolingual. It goes without saying that intermarriages between members of such linguistically different groups will be characterised, in all likelihood, by the use of the most widespread language, that is, the dominant linguistic code. In Canada, for example, it was noticed that linguistically mixed (Anglophone and Francophone) couples usually opted to choose English, as their interactional language, since this was the common code, that is, the code known by both partners (Heller & Levy 1992, 1994, quoted by Piller & Pavlenko 2004: 497-8).

If linguistic competence (together with *social networks*, as discussed in 4.3.2.2) plays a leading role in the choice of the language that parents speak to each other, strategies adopted for language transmission from parents to children, on the other hand, may vary according to a number of other factors (also including linguistic competence). Socio-political circumstances or cultural practices, for example, are among those factors that are found at the root of language choice. Because of a strong patriarchal culture, as has been observed among the Greek and Italian communities in Australia, for example, the father's support for the minority language in the home proves effective, and the use of their languages is actively encouraged (Holmes 2008: 62).

In Mallorca, on the other hand, Melià & Villaverde have observed that language transmission within mixed-language families is conditioned by socio-political circumstances. Language behaviour, in those families where one partner is a Catalan-speaker whereas the other is not (usually, but not necessarily, a Spanish-speaker), varies according to the generation of the parents involved. Thus, the fact that younger parents are more prone to the use of Catalan than older ones seems to be, partly, the result of changing socio-political circumstances in Spain in the last few years, much more favourable to Catalan in recent times (2008). Along the same lines, Querol (2004) has observed that in Catalonia there is also a trend, clearly in favour of Catalan, within mixed-language marriages. In both cases, what emerges is that the linguistic outcomes show a growing appeal on the part of Catalan, as opposed to Spanish, both in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands (see also Torres 2007 for an exhaustive account of Catalan language transmission in the whole area where it is spoken).

Thus, intergenerational language transmission, in those instances characterised by parents from different linguistic backgrounds, is not a simple matter (see, for example, Boix 2009). In Alghero, however, the situation seems to be less complex than in other sociolinguistic contexts, since substantial differences in linguistic behaviour between heterogeneous and homogeneous families are not observed, due to the fact that – it can be assumed – language shift is at an advanced stage and the dominant norms of linguistic behaviour are overall in favour of Italian, that is, regardless of the type of family involved. Mixed-language families are clearly characterised by the (predominant) use of Italian in the interactions between parents and between parents and children, but a direct correlation between mixed-language

marriages (as a cause) and the process of language shift (as an effect) cannot be established. Italian is the intergenerational language in those instances where parents come from different linguistic backgrounds, just as within a great number of those families where the parents speak Catalan to each other. The high rate of intermarriages is most probably contributing to accelerate the process of shift (triggered by homogeneous families in the first place), but language abandonment is mainly the consequence of a wider sociolinguistic phenomenon characterised by a number of factors, and cannot be limited only to mixed-language marriages.

4.3.2 Factors responsible for language choice

4.3.2.1 Linguistic competence

In general terms (but this issue will be developed further in 7.4.2), a number of factors are responsible for language choice, in Alghero, within the household (in the interactions between both parents and parents and children), of which three are considered here as the most influential. These are: *linguistic competence*, *social networks*, and *motivations*. Linguistic competence refers to the parents' proficiency in the languages in contact, and is defined, here, simply as the (degree of) knowledge of the languages concerned (Italian and Catalan in our case). According to the parents' linguistic competences, I shall suggest, in 7.3.1, the possible different types of families that can be found in Alghero. Based on the combination of all three factors, on the other hand, I shall account for the different types of linguistic behaviour, or linguistic strategies that might ensue in Alghero, in the interactions between the two parents (7.3.1.1) and between parents and children (7.3.1.2 and 7.4).

4.3.2.2 Social networks

Social networks, on the other hand, can be described as those webs of personal contacts (whether informal or formal), in which individuals are connected to each other by means of one or more ties (e.g., friendship and professional relationships), and linked to each other through (predominantly) one of the languages in contact, or both. The density of social networks is one of the co-occurring factors responsible for: maintenance or shift of the languages in contact; the spread of one linguistic

code within (part of) the community of speakers; structural changes; linguistic competence; and linguistic behaviour (language use) of the speakers involved. In this study, social networks are primarily related to the parents' linguistic behaviour (i.e., the language that they speak to each other), as the types of social networks in place are a crucial factor behind the interactional language of couples: the greater the density of Catalan-speaking networks the greater the chances of finding couples interacting in *Alguerès*, and vice-versa (see 7.1.3).

The rapid spread of Italian among the population in Alghero is partly related to the relocation of speakers from the historical centre (an area highly characterised by the presence of Catalan-speaking families) to new areas (characterised by an increasing presence of immigrants) as a result of radical socio-economic changes in the last sixty years, as seen in 2.3.1. One of the main sociolinguistic consequences of this is the disappearance of close-knit Catalan-speaking networks (mainly located in the old town) and the emergence of loose-knit ones instead. This means that Italian, together with other socio-cultural innovations, has easily breached the local community, thanks in all likelihood to the weak ties that, after the 'diaspora', link Catalan speakers together. We need to bear in mind, however, that the emergence of loose-knit Catalan-speaking networks is not only the result of the 'diaspora', coupled with a high presence of Italianophones and Sardophones in the outskirts of Alghero, but also of an increased number of children raised in Italian by Catalan-speaking families.

Metaphorically, social networks can be represented as a net in which knots and strings stand for the individuals and their connections respectively. However, we need to bear in mind that the types of connections between individuals can be more complex than those represented by the net metaphor. The structure and type of interpersonal relationships vary considerably, according to two different characteristics: *density* and *multiplexity* (Penny 2000: 64). A network is qualified as low-density if each individual comes in contact with (and therefore interacts with) only one other member. By contrast, if members of a network know each other on several levels, and they interact regularly, the network is said to be high-density. Multiplexity, on the other hand, refers to the content of the network links. When individuals in a network are linked to each other in more than one function (for example, through kinship, living in the same neighbourhood, or working in the same company), the ties are multiplex. By contrast, if the individuals are linked to each

other in only one capacity (for example, co-employee), the ties are said to be simplex, or uniplex (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 123-24; Milroy 1980: 20-52).

Rural villages (and rural areas in general), as well as traditional urban working-class communities, are characterised by networks that are dense, and by links between social actors that are, in general, multiplex. If this is the case, *strong ties* bind the individuals. On the other hand, relationships in geographically and socially mobile industrial societies tend towards sparseness, and the links between people are simplex.[45] If this is the case, the individuals are said to be joined by *weak ties*. Communities of people where individuals are mutually linked by strong ties are most likely to follow traditional norms of language use and will be resistant to innovations coming from outside the group (Penny 2000: 64). It follows that dense-network communities function as norm-reinforcement mechanisms, as a barrier against change in general. In such contexts, deviations from the traditional norm are regarded with disapproval and, at times, are subject to social sanctions (Chambers 2003: 75; Mesthrie et al. 2000: 124).

What emerges from the above discussion is that individuals link to each other with either strong or weak ties, but linguistic change (in terms of change of specific features as well as of linguistic varieties as a whole) can be propagated from group to group only via weak ties (Penny 2000: 65). In other words, the weaker the ties between individuals, the better the conditions for change. Thus, close-knit networks come to be conservative forces opposing the possible change originating from outside the network, whereas weak ties act as channels along which information and influence are diffused. Although the relationship between languages and social networks is mostly a concern for scholars interested in linguistic variation and change, there are reasons to believe that the same principles behind linguistic change can be applied, by and large, to language maintenance and shift.

Lesley Milroy, drawing on studies conducted in Norway and Austria, points out that 'bilingualism may be seen in some respects as functionally equivalent to vernacular loyalty in a monolingual society' (1987: 181). And then she adds that:

> A close-knit network structure is an important mechanism of language
> maintenance, in that speakers are able to form a cohesive group capable of

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[45] This is, however, a characteristic that is becoming more and more common in the Western world because of the high mobility that characterises the era of globalisation.

resisting pressure, linguistic and social, from outside the group. (Milroy 1987: 182).

As we will see in 7.1.3, in Alghero there seems to be a close correlation between language use and social networks. Argenter, for example, is very clear about the fact that, besides reasons related to demographic issues, economic changes, the increase of the touristic industry, mixed marriages, the educational system, and the mass media, language shift in Alghero is strictly connected to 'a decrease in the density of traditional social networks' (2008: 212).

Thus, whenever a speaker weakens his/her ties with his/her linguistic group, the chances to adopt new features or, in our case, new linguistic varieties, through new, stronger ties, are quite high. This means that those speakers connected through weak ties with their localised network are more exposed to external pressure for change (Milroy & Milroy 1997: 199-200):

If an individual is embedded in such a [close-knit] network, s/he is more liable than one whose network is relatively loose-knit to be vulnerable to pressure exerted by everyday social contacts. (Milroy 1987: 106)

Even in those instances where varieties are clearly stigmatised, because of lack of prestige, the presence of close-knit networks can play an important role in opposing linguistic change and/or shift. In Belfast, for example (Milroy 1980; Milroy 1987; Milroy & Milroy 1997), those speakers whose personal networks were close-knit showed a tendency to approximate closely to stigmatised vernacular norms. In Belfast, close-knit networks are responsible for the flourishing and/or consolidation of a strong sense of solidarity. Such a sense of solidarity is symbolised by the use of the traditional norm in opposition to the new one, as a manifestation of language loyalty (Milroy 1987: 106). The concept of language loyalty can be defined as a set of behavioural norms followed by the speakers of a particular community 'to resist changes in either the functions of their language or in the structure or vocabulary' (Weinreich 1953: 99).

My approach to social networks in relation to language shift (compared to the way scholars such as the Milroys deal with variation and change) is, however, slightly more socio-anthropological. From this perspective, actors and their actions

are viewed as interdependent rather than independent, autonomous units. Within this frame, following Banck (1973: 37-38), three notions need to be considered about social networks:

a. Ego has social relations with other individuals, who in their turn have social relations with others, these being linked directly with ego or not, and so on;

b. Ego is entangled in a network of social relations, the structure of which influences the behaviour of ego;

c. the individual is supposed to be able to manipulate to a certain extent his social network for his own ends.

Conceived within this theoretical frame, language shift is not only considered by taking into account the single units, that is, the speakers and their linguistic behaviour (e.g., do they or do they not transmit local Catalan?), but also in terms of the type of relationships that the Catalan-speakers maintain within a limited geographical area. According to the conformation of the social network (i.e., the types of relationships in place), speakers will show different behaviours. If, for example, Catalan-speakers are, as they are in Alghero, scattered around, it is most likely that the majority of interactions will take place in Italian (see 7.1.3). If, by contrast, there is a compact Catalan-speaking community, as there used to be in Alghero's old town before the diaspora (see 2.3.1), social norms of linguistic behaviour are most likely to be maintained and newcomers are linguistically assimilated into the new context (as, for example, LP.05.02.09 of Fragment 7.7).

The Social Network questionnaire (5.2.2.4) has been devised precisely to highlight how the environment, in terms of relationships (linkages), can affect the linguistic behaviour of a community's members (in Alghero). The speakers in Fragment 7.39 (and 7.1.3, Figure 7.3) are excellent cases in point. Under different environmental circumstances (i.e., a close-knit, compact Catalan-speaking network), they would most probably adopted local Catalan, instead of Italian as they in fact did, as their main language of interaction and, later, they may have transmitted it to their child. This is why social networks so conceived are an important element in the model of language vitality developed in 7.4. Regardless of the linguistic variety the individual speaker has received at home as his/her primary language, the relationships, the linkages he/she is involved in have an impact on his/her linguistic

competence through a set of norms that privilege the minority language (*Alguerès* in our case).

What is of interest in relation to the imposition (or inhibition) of new norms is an understanding of the circumstances under which a community modifies its internal structure and becomes vulnerable to external pressure. Mass migrations, such as those that took place in Alghero (2.2.1), are one of the possible circumstances that led to the formation of loose-knit networks, and therefore language shift. Whenever groups of people are displaced massively from one area to another, some readjustment in the links between the community's members should be expected. For instance, continuous and massive migrations of people into a specific community may result in the breaking of strong ties and the formation of weak links. However, under favourable conditions, new close-knit networks can be re-established over a relatively long period of time, during which new linguistic forms may emerge (see Penny 2000: 65).

Alghero is an excellent case in point with regard to the salience of social networks in the process of language shift. It is worth pointing out here that in Alghero the displacement of people has played an important role in the disappearance of Catalan (and Sardinian). The type of migration in Alghero is variable. On the one hand, we have the classical migrations both from outside the community (immigration) and from the community to other geographical areas (emigration). On the other hand, however, we have internal displacements of people from one area of Alghero to different areas of the town. All of them have been involved in breaking the strong ties among Catalan- and Sardinian-speakers and the subsequent readjustment of social ties, which have come to be weak.

4.3.2.3 Motivations

Motivation is a crucial factor, and is defined, following Lambert (2008: 21), as a highly complex phenomenon fundamental to the realization of people's hopes, dreams and ambitions, and is at the core of attempts to understand human behaviour. In other words, people will adopt certain behavioural patterns in order to achieve specific goals in life, which motivate (and therefore regulate) their actions. Motivations can be of different types, and, as Sirén (1991: 30) suggests, they are the result of both personal needs and the speakers' background situation. Personal needs

(e.g., the search for proficiency in the minority language to maintain family cohesion) are likely to play a relevant role in private settings and when the function of language is primarily self-expression. In these cases, then, the parent's mother tongue is usually used for primary relationships, including parents-children interactions. It is also true, however, that for some parents the wish to convey the dominant language to their children may become a personal need: for example, because they want their children to feel integrated into the majority group, or because they think it will contribute to the children's success in life. Personal needs, it follows, are not static, predefined necessities and aspirations; they vary according to the way people perceive and interpret the social reality in which they live (4.4). On the other hand, the background situation refers to the social norms of the group in the wider environment, and the speaker can be more or less motivated, according to his/her interpretation of the social context, to comply with them, that is, with what is believed to be the expectations of the group.

Motivations, it emerges from the above discussion, are consequential to the idea, or social representations, that people hold about the social environment they live in, as strategies to achieve short- and long-term goals are elaborated according to the 'subjective' way in which social actors define their world and, accordingly, their personal and social needs. As discussed in 4.4, it is not the social context *per se* (i.e., the 'objective' world) that determines human behaviour (including linguistic interactions); interactional patterns are rather the result of how human beings describe the social world where they live, act and interact. Lambert considers motivations as the result of a mental elaboration of the context (in terms of – precisely – personal and social needs), according to which human beings are activated to pursue a goal, to fulfil a desire, to satisfy a need, or to accomplish a purpose (2008: 21).

Motivations can be of different types, but, by and large, they have usually been described in a binary fashion. Thus, for example, we have motives that can be associated to either *intimacy* – i.e., solidarity, shared values, friendship, love, and family – or *pragmatism* – i.e., material and professional rewards related to language knowledge and use (Sirén 1991: 35). That is, on the one hand, speakers may be motivated to use one linguistic variety for its emotional implications (e.g., this being the language of a particular group of people they feel part of), whereas, on the other hand, they might be attracted by another code for the practical, positive

consequences that such a choice implies. As we will see in 7.3, to be guided by intimate motives to speak a certain linguistic variety does not exclude the influence, at the same time, of pragmatic motives leading to the use of the other variety. If this is the case, the speakers will most likely be engaged in a conflictive, tense situation in which the search for solidarity might be overwhelmed by the claim for more social power, and vice-versa.

In a parallel fashion, linguistic behaviour has also been defined in terms of *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivations (Deci & Ryan 1985, quoted by Lambert 2008: 25-27). Extrinsically motivated behaviour is geared to the attainment of external and material rewards. On the other hand, intrinsically motivated behaviour arises from interest in or an innate curiosity about an object, an enjoyment of the task itself and the personal satisfaction gained from its accomplishment. Gardner & Lambert (1972: 14-5, quoted by Lambert 2008: 25-27), along the same lines, refer to linguistic behaviour in terms of *instrumental* and *integrative* motivations. Instrumental motivated behaviour, in line with extrinsic motivations, is related to practical values and advantages of different kinds associated to the knowledge and use of a particular linguistic variety. Integrative motivations, on the other hand, refer to a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture associated with a given language and can be viewed as the desire to integrate into a particular language community.

All the above motivations can be associated to the concepts of *power* and *solidarity* discussed in 1.2.3.2. More often than not, speakers living in bilingual settings are engaged in a conflict between the quest for social advancement and the (linguistic) loyalty to their group of reference. As the languages in contact are, usually, for a number of socio-cultural reasons, assigned different values, choice becomes ideologically driven. So, one of the codes in contact may be viewed as the prestigious variety (i.e., the language with instrumental values), which might become to be adopted by (part of) the community of speakers as its knowledge is associated to more opportunities for socio-economic improvement. On the other hand, the other variety (usually the minority language) may be viewed in terms of closeness to the members of a particular group: being loyal to the language by continuing to speak it (with the in-group members), will show a certain degree of bond to the original group of reference; language abandonment, by contrast, may be interpreted (by part of the community) as a challenge or betrayal.

The motives that lead to the choice of one or the other language (or both) are therefore crucial in understanding language transmission in bilingual settings (or in bilingual families). But, what is there behind motivations? That is, what makes the speakers to be inclined towards one language variety or the other (or both)? In other words, how do different needs and motivations emerge? What are the macro-factors behind motivations? How do macro-factors create needs and, then, motivations? A number of social circumstances are responsible for the emergence of needs and motivations, so that the answer to these questions is not an easy one. Socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural factors are certainly behind speakers' motives and these will be discussed in 4.4, bearing in mind, however, that they are not directly related to linguistic behaviour; human behaviour is intended here as conditional not on the 'objective' world, but rather on the people's interpretation of it. In this thesis I intend to investigate what socio-psychological factors (in terms of speakers' perceptions, beliefs, and values) are at the root of linguistic motivations, and how such socio-psychological interpretations are generated.

4.4 Macro-social factors and language shift

In 4.3.2.3, I have discussed how motivations regulate language choice (in interactions between parents and children). There, I also posed a number of questions, the aim at the core of which was to find out what are the factors behind speakers' motivations. With the intention of making sense of those questions, I shall now look into those macro-social factors that, in certain instances of linguistic contact like the one under discussion in this thesis, lead to the emergence of specific personal and social needs and, therefore, specific motivations for linguistic choice. Through this analysis we will see how macro-factors at the root of speakers' motivations may lead to a situation of bilingual instability and, gradually, to the spread of one language and its eventual dominance over another, or several others. The discussion, then, is determined by an initial, provisional outline of language shift that can be represented as follows:

Figure 4.1: *Provisional outline showing the relationship between macro-factors and linguistic behaviour*

MACRO-FACTORS	→	SPEAKER'S NEEDS	→	SPEAKER'S MOTIVATIONS	→	LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR
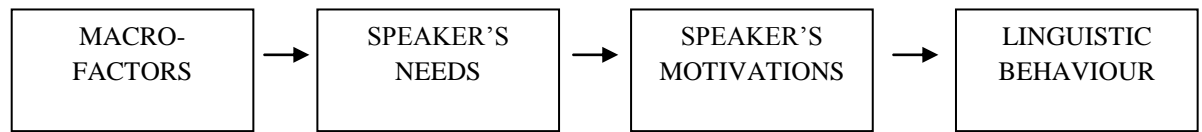
Macro factors seem to be the main triggers of the whole process, the prime cause of it, so that their analysis is crucial for the understanding of the norms of language use, subsequent linguistic behaviour, and, eventually, language shift. Bearing this in mind, I will focus this discussion, however, from the assumption that there is no simple answer to what macro-causes lead to bilingual instability, as a combination of interrelated circumstances is usually responsible for either maintenance or shift. Attention, then, must be focused on different socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural factors, although, in Western Europe, special emphasis has been placed on one main aspect – the emergence of the nation-state (and its related implications) –, at the root of major sociolinguistic changes and subsequent language shift in different minority language situations, including Alghero (see, for example, Tsitsipis 1989; 1998).

Social factors and social change *per se*, however, cannot be automatically or directly connected to bilingual instability, subsequent language shift and eventual death. The presence of certain macro-factors (e.g., political circumstances, industrialization, urbanization, and migration), as we will see in the following sections, is not a sufficient condition for language shift to obtain. Language shift is a much more complex phenomenon: the result of an interrelated set of causes, first and foremost the way social factors combine together and, in the last instance, how speakers perceive and interpret such social factors; how they view them, and how they view the world around them. Accordingly, the discussion on language shift must necessarily move towards a new, more dynamic outline of linguistic behaviour, according to which, the role of the mind (i.e., the way the speakers perceive the reality around them) can explain why, given the same macro-factors, different outcomes can ensue, as illustrated in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: *Second outline showing the relationship between macro-factors and linguistic behaviour*

COMBINATION OF MACRO-FACTORS	→	SPEAKER'S PERCEPTIONS	→	NEEDS	→	MOTIVATIONS	→	BEHAVIOUR X
		SPEAKER'S PERCEPTIONS	→	NEEDS	→	MOTIVATIONS	→	BEHAVIOUR Y
		SPEAKER'S PERCEPTIONS	→	NEEDS	→	MOTIVATIONS	→	BEHAVIOUR Z
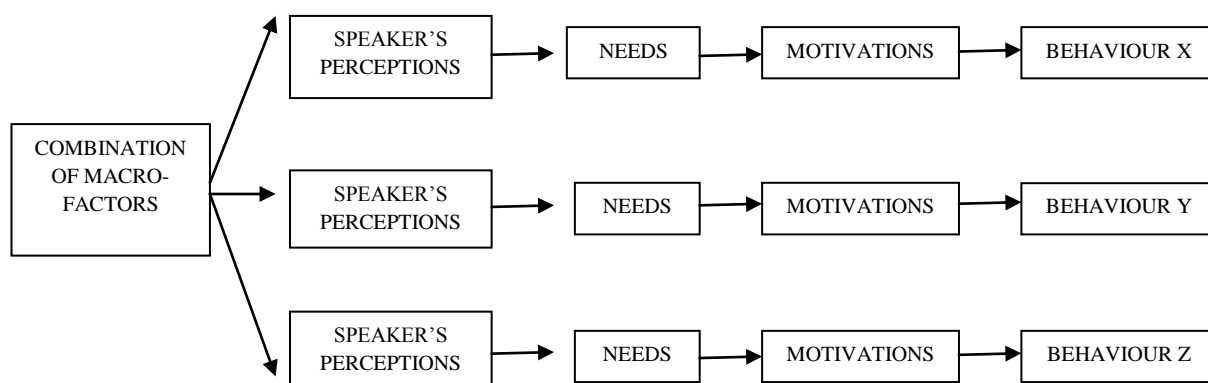
In the following sections, and bearing in mind the outline above (Figure 4.2), I will try to construct a frame according to which it will be possible to make sense of the mechanisms at the root of language shift in Alghero. Particular attention is given to both the interconnections between the macro- and micro-factors in play and, overall, the socio-psychological mechanisms that guide, regulate, and, to some extent, constrain linguistic behaviour. Micro-factors are primarily concerned, here, with the resources, knowledge, and understandings that individuals and small-scale social systems (e.g., the family) possess. In particular, they represent private motives and specific (family) socio-cultural backgrounds, and can be understood as the individual façade of a community response to dominant factors. The sum of these individual responses can be defined as the worldview of a specific group of people and they are the key to the understanding of social behaviour (including linguistic interactions).

4.4.1 The role of the mind

Macro-sociological factors, such as migration, industrialisation, urbanisation, government policies, and mass media cannot by themselves predict, or indeed explain, language shift (Gal 1979: 3; Kulick 1992: 9). Their impact on human behaviour (language use, for that matter) can only make sense if we consider these factors as parts of a wider web of interconnections. Within this frame, the speakers are viewed in constant interaction with both each other and the social environment, in an ongoing process of *interpretation*, *elaboration*, and *construction* of the world

around them, by means of which the patterns of social behaviour are both set and followed by the members of a specific group of people. The mind, it follows, plays a crucial role in shaping cultural practices, on the one hand, and generating, maintaining, and changing norms of behaviour (including linguistic ones), on the other. In this sense, 'language ecology' (a profitable approach to the understanding of language contact and its related topics) cannot simply be the 'study of interactions between any given language and its environment' (Haugen 1972: 325). It should rather be conceived as the interactions between the speakers (as intelligent creatures making sense, through a constant interchange of information, to the world around them) and their social context.[46]

Don Kulick (1992), in his stimulating, ethnographic study on language shift in Papua New Guinea, is very clear about the influence that the mind (i.e., the speakers' perceptions, and their interpretative elaboration of social reality) has on linguistic behaviour. He is firmly convinced of the salience of ideological transformations within a community of speakers, rather than material changes alone, to the understanding of language shift. This does not mean that macro-factors are unimportant, in relation to the study of language contact and shift, but the primary sense in which these factors are significant, however, is that they become interpreted by the speakers in ways that have direct bearing on language (1992: 17).

As Kulick points out, studies on language shift, unfortunately, tend to overlook this interpretative dimension, despite the fact that it is always present whenever language displacement occurs. Students of language shift tend to simplify the phenomenon by identifying a number of factors – e.g., industrialisation, urbanisation, mass education, and migrations – as the direct causes of shift. These are certainly relevant factors, but their presence (or, else, their absence) alone is not a sufficient condition for either language maintenance or shift to obtain. Shift is caused ultimately by shifts in personal and group values and goals, which are certainly the result of specific social changes that may lead people to revise their perceptions of themselves and the world, but a straight, mechanical association between social factors and shift cannot be established (1992: 9 and 17). A more interpretative view

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[46] Louis-Jean Calvet goes along with Haugen's view by saying that the task of an ecological approach to language and linguistic situations 'is to construct a theoretical model that goes beyond the artificial opposition between linguistics and sociolinguistics, and to integrate languages into their social context' (2006: 9). This, however, is a redundant definition, as sociolinguistics, by definition, tends to put into relation languages and their social context.

(i.e., a more holistic perspective), according to which every single socio-cultural element in play is considered in relation to both each other and the speakers, is therefore needed. This perspective would partly explain why, for example, given the same socio-political and socio-economic circumstances, 'shift sometimes does not happen' (Gal 1979: 3), as interpretations of reality vary from community to community.

Thus, besides specific, practical circumstances constraining language use, the process of language shift should be seen within a broader framework of expressively and symbolically used linguistic variation (Gal 1979: 3), by virtue of which speakers learn the social meanings conveyed by alternative modes of communication. Accordingly, they will be able to choose the appropriate code in each different linguistic situation. The ability to choose the 'right' linguistic variety at the right moment, in the right context and with the right interlocutor is called communicative competence. Needless to say, the particular meanings and information carried by each variety, as well as the subsequent appropriate choices, are conditional on the speakers' interpretative elaboration of the social reality as a whole. Every single item of the world around us goes indeed through an ongoing interpretative process, as 'the world doesn't yield to us directly, its description stands in between' (Castaneda 1972, quoted by Talbot 1993: 6). According to the way human beings describe the social reality, different codes of behaviour will emerge (i.e., besides the mere presence [or absence] of certain macro-and micro-factors), characterised by the choice of either specific features or linguistic varieties in different situations.

4.4.1.1 Languages and meaning

More often than not, when two or more groups of people speaking different language varieties come into contact, some problems of communication (depending on the structural distance between the varieties in contact) will emerge (Winford 2003: 2). The acquisition of competence in a second language by some or all of the speakers becomes, therefore, a necessary strategy in order to overcome communication problems in situations of contact. It is an oversimplification, however, to define the process of acquisition and use of a second language solely in terms of strategies adopted in order to bypass communication problems. Although communication is the

main function fulfilled by language, linguistic codes are also evaluated by speakers in ways that go beyond their strict instrumental role. In other words, languages are not only a practical means of communication; they are also symbols of both power and authority (Bourdieu 1982; 1991) and group loyalty or social identity (Pap 1979: 198). During linguistic interactions, speakers express the power they hold: their utterances are 'signs of wealth', to be evaluated and appreciated, and 'signs of authority', to be believed and obeyed (Bourdieu 1991: 66).

Language varieties are meaningful: they are indicative of the speakers' origin and/or aspects of their ethnic or socio-economic identity (Jaworski 2001: 127-28; Mesthrie *et al.* 2000: 148). Thus, if a certain group of people is, by and large, valued positively (by both the in- and out-group members), the language they speak will automatically be endowed with the same positive values, and vice-versa.[47] A standard variety, for instance, acquires prestige from the position and status of those who are most likely to use it, usually those at the highest socio-economic level of a society. Moreover, the prestige and acceptance of the standard variety, which comes to be regarded as a superior form, is usually enhanced by such agencies as the government, the educational system, and the mass media (Giles & Powesland 1975: 9-23). By contrast, the other varieties available within a certain community are considered (whether explicitly or implicitly) as less valued and less desirable and come to be regarded as inferior forms.

4.4.1.2 Linguistic hierarchies

The different positions occupied by Catalan and Italian, and most of all the different meanings conveyed by each explain why speakers tend to abandon their own linguistic variety while they acquire and use, even in the most intimate interactions, the 'national' language. There seems to be general agreement among speakers (see Ch. 7) that the standard, national variety, Italian, is, simply put, 'better' than Catalan and Sardinian, and this is so because of its connotations of power (Nichols 1984: 25). From the data presented in this thesis, it emerges that adopting the language of power has proved to be an excellent strategy in order to gain both social prestige and an overall social improvement. According to the speakers' views (see Ch. 7), a great

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[47] The hierarchical position of the interlocutors (and the bond of solidarity between the speakers) is clearly described by Brown & Gilman (1960).

deal of commitment to Italian would provide them with more chances to move up the socio-economic ladder: more and better job opportunities, more chances for a professional career and, all in all, a higher level of social recognition.

It is clear from the qualitative study that the ambitious objectives and life projects that the parents interviewed have set for their own children (typically, socio-economic success and emancipation) are closely connected to the language they choose to transmit to them: Italian will definitely make their children's life smoother and successful; Catalan, however, is also earning more and more trust in the eyes of speakers in Alghero, but this does not necessarily mean, as we will see in 7.3.3, that *Alguerès*, as a local dialect of it, is also viewed as a prestigious variety. There seems to be a growing tendency for *Alguerès* to converge (mainly lexically and morphologically) with standard Catalan, and this has been noticed not only in interactions with other Catalan-speakers, but also in the interviews and in (written) interactions (7.3.3.1) with other speakers from Alghero. With regard to language choice in the interactions with children, however, the main point seems to be that the goals, dreams and aspirations the parents hold for their children are still closely associated with those instrumental motivations seen in 7.3 that see in for the use of Italian a way to fulfil such goals. This hierarchical distribution of linguistic varieties and its socio-psychological implications, which is quite common among minority language groups in Western Europe, has proved to be a key contributory factor in language death (see, for example, Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter 1977; Gal 1979; Schlieben-Lange 1977; Tsitsipis 1989; 1998).

Languages can easily become key elements for either social acceptance (inclusion) or exclusion (ostracism), according to the hierarchical position – in terms of the degree of power and legitimacy conveyed – that they hold within society. By using a particular linguistic variety in certain sociolinguistic contexts, the speaker can either be accepted or rejected (whether explicitly or not) by the members of a given community or group (Boix 1993: 28). This being the case, speakers will tend to follow those behavioural norms with positive connotations, which determine social acceptance rather than exclusion (Bastardas 1991: 41-46; 1996: 47-62 and 84-88). Thus, in the same way that I will be wearing certain clothes according to fashion patterns generally accepted within my group of reference, I will also be more prone to use a certain linguistic code, highly accepted within my group of reference, rather than the disadvantaged one. The practical consequence of such linguistic hierarchies

clearly emerges from the quantitative study (Ch. 6). Within a period of little more than twenty years (1977-1998), the use of Catalan in households has decreased considerably. If we look at intergenerational language transmission, the data show a drastic decline of parents using Catalan in the interactions with their children and an increase in the use of Italian, the language that is more highly valued and accepted within the community. While in 1977 almost 20% of the parents used to speak Catalan with their children, by 1998, Italian has become the main variety of interaction (around 70%) while only about 2% of the parents still use Catalan.

4.4.2 The emergence of nation-states

The hierarchical distribution of language varieties in Alghero is closely related to the emergence of the Italian state, and its socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural implications. This is certainly not an isolated case and various sociolinguistic contexts in Western Europe resemble our case study. As in the case of Arvanítika, an Albanian peripheral dialect of Greece thoroughly described by Tsitsipis (1989; 1998), the emergence of the modern nation-state has gradually affected the linguistic perceptions of the speakers. In Alghero, this has led both Catalan- and Sardinian-speakers to view their traditional language in negative terms, as opposed to the Italian *national* one, which instead has gradually acquired social recognition. The emergence of the Italian state in the nineteenth century is one of the keys to understanding the process of language decline in the Catalan-speaking community of Sardinia. The accompanying socio-political and economic factors, including the development of easy transport, the mechanisation of agriculture, the introduction of advanced technology in communication systems, and compulsory monolingual primary education in Italian, would not have been so powerful without the emergence of a strong sense of belonging to the Italian 'national' community. As a consequence, new attitudes have arisen inside the Catalan-speaking communities, which have led to a process of *self-deprecation*. Increasingly, the question 'what is a proper language?' comes to have just one answer: Italian.

Without doubt, the emergence of the nation-state can be considered as one of the major causes of language conflict, shift, and extinction in Western Europe. Though language and political power have always gone hand in hand, there are at least two good reasons to support the view that their interrelationship has become

stronger in the modern era with the emergence of nation-states. One of the reasons relies on socio-economic factors whereas the other is based upon strictly socio-political considerations. The socio-economic factors are also responsible for the emergence, in Western societies, of a new more calculated approach to life, which lies at the root of language shift (Siguan 1996: 32).

Although the above is true, we should not lose sight of the fact that current economic, political and social developments might be undermining the very essence of nationalism: cohesiveness, unity, and, in the last instance, national identity. Different factors – for example, capitalism no longer strictly bound to national interests, people easily migrating from one area to another, new technologies allowing interconnectivity between people despite the distance – are at the root of the crisis of both national identity and the institutions devoted to fostering the idea of the nation-state. In other words, the new conditions resulting from the emergence of the global village are probably calling into question the relationship between nation-states and linguistic minority groups (Heller 2006: 9). As Smith puts it,

> The advanced industrial societies only hold up a mirror to the future of the planet, when nations and nationalism will be revealed as transient forces which are fast becoming obsolete in a world of vast transnational markets, power blocs, global consumerism and mass communications. (1998: 2)

Bearing the above considerations in mind, one would argue that, within such a new socio-economic scenario, in the hearts and minds of many speakers the idea of the nation-state as the sole (linguistic) reference is no longer valid. Indeed, with particular reference to our case study, it cannot be denied that in the last ten years, and among younger generations in particular, the perception of social reality has changed. An increasing sense of belonging to the Sardinian nation (as opposed to the Italian state), on the one hand, and an increasing interconnection (by means of new technologies and transportation) with other Catalan-speaking regions are the new facets of the community under investigation to be taken into account in relation to new social practices and linguistic behaviour. However, the data, as they emerged from the qualitative study, still reveal the relationship that exists between the process of language shift and the classical idea of the nation-state.

4.4.2.1 Socio-economic factors

The emergence of the Italian state, in common with other modern Western European states, can be considered a political consequence of the Industrial Revolution (see Gellner 1983). One of the main socio-economic effects brought about by the Industrial Revolution was the large-scale production of goods and, therefore, the need for producers and manufacturers to rely on a wider, profitable market. And one of the main political consequences was the organisation of previously disparate states into unitary political entities.[48]

Within this new socio-economic context, Italian, along with all other new 'national' languages in Europe, became an essential tool at the service of the market. The smooth and rapid interchange of people and goods required a new means of intercommunication for a community (of customers) much larger than the local one. This implied not only the construction of an efficient network of roads, railways, and banks, but also the existence of a common code of intercommunication, without which trade would be difficult (Boix & Vila 1998: 49-50).

The Industrial Revolution also brought about a new way of thinking, as mercantile practices infiltrated all areas of society, not just the traffic of goods. Thus, besides the practical consequences of the new linguistic market, namely a common code of intercommunication (Bourdieu 1982; 1991), the language shift process in Alghero is closely connected with a new approach to life. The qualitative study in this thesis demonstrates that parents' decision to use Italian with their own children is determined in great measure by a capitalistic, rational and calculated way of thinking, as a consequence of the substantial socio-economic changes that have taken place in the last hundred years in Sardinia, and in Alghero in particular (Arca & Pueyo 1992: 299; Blasco 1994: 692; Caria 1982: 158; 1987: 15-24; 1992: 93-4). Thus, while the major impact that practical constraints have had (and still have) on language use should not be denied or underestimated, there can be no doubt that a

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[48] According to this position, the emergence of the nation-state is associated with the development of industrial societies as opposed to the primordialist approach that considers the nation as the natural continuation of pre-modern ethnic communities (Smith 1994). In the mind of many Italian intellectuals of the *Risorgimento*, Italy represented a unitary cultural entity in need of political recognition, but for many Italians the Italian nation simply meant nothing (Duggan 1994: 2; Smith 1999: ix). The practical reasons at the root of its unification, however, cannot be denied. Some patriots viewed the path towards unification as a way to achieve national economic goals, such as a broader internal market, a uniform currency, and the removal of customs duties (Duggan 1994: 6; Smith 1999: 152-58).

rational approach to linguistic behaviour has played a crucial role in the language shift process.

Unlike Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim, who believed that modern society's social phenomena are the result of new technological advances and capitalism, Max Weber has pointed out that practical restrictions cannot have an immediate effect on social actors (see, for example, Macionis & Plummer 1998: 81-87; Torres 2003: 338-42). Human behaviour – he believes – is primarily the result of new ideas, emerging from a process of interpretation of social reality. From a perspective of symbolic interaction, individuals are constantly engaged in an interplay with the world around them, and social action can only take place after objects and events are scanned through a mental filter (Blumer 1969; Charon 2001; Giner *et al.* 1998: 389-91; Marshall 1998).

This mental filter has been described by Alfred Shutz as the *stock of knowledge*: a set of recipes (strategies), rules of thumb, social types, maxims, and definitions by means of which social actors orient themselves in everyday life situations (for further discussion, see Leiter 1980: 5; Wagner 1970). In other words, all the information filed within the stock of knowledge works as a guide for appropriate action: as we set objectives or elaborate a life project, we search within our stock of knowledge for the recipes available to enable us to achieve our aims. It therefore follows that we can only gain insight into the mechanisms that regulate linguistic behaviour by exploring this relationship between the speakers' objectives and/or life plans and the strategies (i.e., means), filed in the stock of knowledge, by means of which these objectives are fulfilled.

It is assumed here that human beings, while choosing and/or elaborating the recipes and strategies for the most appropriate behaviour, are driven by a rational inclination, typical of capitalist societies. In our case study, the plans and objectives that parents in Alghero adopt on behalf of their children (7.3) reflect somehow this capitalist, materialistic view of life, characteristic of industrialised societies. What they wish for their children can be summarised in terms of Western society's dominant values, namely professional success, acquisition of wealth, and sustained social progress. In a parallel fashion, their linguistic behaviour is also dominated by a mostly rational, utilitarian approach, according to which linguistic choices in the interactions with their own children are the result of a profit-and-loss calculation (Macionis & Plummer 1998: 81-87; Morrison 1995: 217-20).

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Mimicking the business model, intergenerational language transmission in Alghero seems to be perceived and interpreted, in some cases, in terms of 'balances', following a profit and loss ledger pattern. Thus, at the beginning of the enterprise (linguistic interaction with the children), the initial balance includes a consideration of socio-economic status (the speaker's current socio-economic situation) and social recognition (speaker's current position within society) among other factors. After that, before any decision is made, social actors, just as in any business enterprise, will set their aims, objectives and targets, which are elaborated in terms of profit: how can our/our child's socio-economic position be improved by adopting either Catalan or Italian? By achieving these objectives, the social actors aim to gain a better position in society (more social recognition), but this will occur only if an adequate calculation of profitability is made beforehand (see Morrison 1995: 219-20 for further discussion).

All in all, with the emergence of capitalism, society can be viewed as an extensive market (Bourdieu 1982) where goods (including languages) are interchanged according to calculated, rational patterns. According to Max Weber (see Morrison 1995; Macionis & Plummer 1998: 81-87; Turner 1997) the Industrial Revolution brought with it *rationality*, a calculated way both to define objects and events and to perform acts. It follows that in *post-industrial* Alghero (see 2.3) language choice seems to have become a matter of 'convenience'. Languages are goods to be acquired (adopted) or sold (abandoned). In other words, they are traded – through negotiations – following a business-like approach that takes into consideration the costs and benefits involved. Parents make an appropriate linguistic choice, which happens to be Italian, according to their initial budget (for example, their linguistic competence), the values that Italian and Catalan hold within the market (for example, socio-economic prestige), and the targets that they want to meet (for example, social recognition for themselves and their children).

4.4.2.2 Socio-political factors

The emergence of modern nation-states is also the result of political ideologies developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in connection with the French Revolution. 'One nation, one language' is the assumption upon which the modern state has been constructed (Heywood 2003: 155-73), unlike earlier forms of political

entity, such as Empires, which were conceived as systems made of 'semi-sovereign components tied to an imperial centre by relations of subordination' (see Poggi 1978: 87). However, despite the principle of unity stressed by the sponsors of modern states, their political and cultural borders rarely coincide (Gellner 1983), to the extent that the homogeneity of modern nations, whenever achieved, is 'constructed' or 'imagined' (Anderson 1983). The famous sentence pronounced by Carlo D'Azeglio just after the unification of Italy – 'We have made Italy, now let's make the Italians' – clearly exemplifies this man-made, manufactured enterprise, although Italy still remains a world of different worlds (Spotts & Wieser 1986: 222).

In order to achieve such an internal homogeneity, the ruling class has at its disposal a range of instruments, such as the educational system, the media, bureaucratic apparatus, and compulsory military service, which have a great impact on the citizens' sense of identity. Through a social domain such as the school, for example, not only is the official language learned, but the 'national' dominant ideologies are also diffused among the 'national' community. One of the main reasons why parents in Alghero adopt Italian is their marked sense of membership of the Italian community. And, although the merging of 'core' and 'peripheral' cultures (Hetcher 1975) has not yet been fully achieved, the majority of the parents interviewed in this study display a strong sense of Italian identity. In other words, while they express concern for their local, peripheral language variety, they show great commitment to the dominant culture. Their awareness of being Italian and their attachment to the Italian language as a manifestation of their sense of identity is clearly stated by the parents during the semi-structured interviews. They declare, albeit in different ways, that Italian is their 'national language' (see, for example, 7.2.1).

There are two approaches to ideology presented in this study. The first is a more general, generic perspective which refers to the ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values that speakers hold about the world around them and – particularly in the context of this study - the languages in contact (Johnson 1995: 137; Ritzer 2007: 2230). It is this approach that informs the analysis of the reasons and motives behind language abandonment in Alghero (Ch. 7). The other approach is closely connected to the former, but is more specific: it views ideology from a Marxist perspective, according to which ideologies reflect the interests of dominant groups as a way of protecting and reinforcing their privileged position in society, and imposing their

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worldview (Eagleton 1991: 1-31; Freeden 2003: 12-30; Johnson 1995: 137; Kroskrity 2004; Reboul 1980: 15-54; Ritzer 2007: 2230-31; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). Dominant ideologies, according to Marx, lead to false consciousness, a distorted view of reality and can affect those areas that inform our perception of reality, including the languages we speak and our sense of identity.

4.4.3 Standard languages

Closely related to the emergence of modern nation states is the concept of standard language. According to Haugen (1972b: 103-04), every 'self-respecting nation' has to have its own language, not just as a medium of communication, but a fully developed language: a *standard* the speakers can refer to. Thus, a standard language is needed in order to both minimise internal differences and maximise external ones, as the ideal nation is based upon the principle of 'internal cohesion and external distinction' (Haugen 1972b: 104). And since the new national market, as well as the encouragement of national loyalty, requires free and intense communication among its members, the national idea demands that there be a single linguistic code by means of which this communication can take place (Mackey 1967: 18; Marí 1994: 703; Mollà & Palanca 1989: 92; Vallverdú 1988: 66).

As a result, then, those implicit beliefs and values that speakers hold about both the linguistic structure and use of the languages in contact, which we could call their linguistic ideologies (Boix & Vila 1998: 156-57), tend to be more in favour of standard, national varieties (unless a strong sense of identity, and a subsequent language loyalty, develops among the minority group). Socio-political and socio-economic factors rather than strictly linguistic ones govern the way speakers form an idea of their own local variety, of the standard language to which they refer, and of language varieties in general. This idea, the perception speakers have of the linguistic reality around them, must affect, in one way or another, their linguistic behaviour. In other words, speakers categorise language varieties and styles in terms of proper/improper speech, and they are more willing to use a certain variety rather than another accordingly.

The extra-linguistic circumstances (who uses a particular language variety and for what purposes, and so on) will make the standard look 'good', as opposed to minority languages, which, by contrast, are automatically converted into 'bad'

varieties. Among the different dialects spoken within a certain community of speakers, there is always one that stands out, usually the variety spoken by the members of a highly influential, dominant community. This language variety is therefore likely to become the language *par excellence* and, eventually, to be used for crucial functions and in important domains which concern a region that is wider than its original area of reference – usually a state (Joseph 1987: 1-2). The diffusion of knowledge of the standard variety through the educational system, and its promotion in a wide range of functions, especially public and official, make it the legitimate form (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001). This is, for example, what happened in the Italian peninsula during the late medieval period where, for socio-cultural and socio-political reasons, Florentine (the dialect of the flourishing city-state of Florence as well as that used by Dante) achieved the status of language. It came to be recognised as 'the Italian language' and was widely used – in its written form – throughout Italy, albeit by only a small percentage of erudite people. It eventually became the national standard language of the Italian state, and the language variety the majority of Italians identify with, following the unification of Italy (Bruni 1984: 67-68; De Mauro 1991: 27-35; Tosi 2001: 1).

This process of standardisation highlights two key questions. Firstly, if the standard is a written form (and strictly speaking it is), how can it replace another variety within informal domains, such as the family? The answer is that a standard variety as such cannot replace a colloquial variety; speakers rather create a third variety midway between the two. My position, following the Italian linguistic tradition (Berruto 1977: 59-69; 1987b: 111-14; 1993; 2005; Bruni 1984; De Mauro 1991; Lepschy & Lepschy 1993; Pellegrini 1975), is founded on the assumption that the variety chosen for the standard may become (in its morphological and syntactic forms) a model of speech for the entire community. This variety, which will have more variants than the written form, will however be identified (ideologically) with certain morphological, syntactical, and, in certain circumstances, phonetic characteristics. The 'national' language is an idea which is realised through the 'regional' varieties lying on a continuum that goes from 'spoken-spoken' to 'written-written' according to the degree of formality (Berruto 1993: 3-10). Thus, this (ideal) linguistic system, based on a concrete dialect, is the language variety we refer to when cases of language shift are analysed. The second question, by contrast, refers to the role of Catalan as a standardised language and the perceptions that the inhabitants

of Alghero hold about *Alguerès* as the variety of Catalan spoken in Alghero. In other words, why is *Alguerès*, a variety of Catalan – a standardised language –, still threatened by Italian? The answer to this question is provided by the parents interviewed for this study. In expressing their views on the languages in contact in Alghero, it is clear that they do not associate *Alguerès* with Catalan as an official, standard variety, but rather regard it as a dialect of it with limited or no value (7.3.3.1). The reasons behind this linguistic disjunction lie in the socio-political and socio-geographical context.

4.4.3.1 The case of Italy

Since the imposition of standard Italian as a common language, following the unification of Italy in 1861 (2.6), all other varieties within the country had to readjust their functional role, by conceding some space to the national language (mainly those associated to new domains, such as administration, mass media, and, of course, education) (Grassi 1993: 280). In general terms, then, starting with the unification of Italy, part of the population have gradually adopted a new language variety – standard Italian – that has been used mainly for writing and in highly formal situations. Other varieties, on the other hand, were still spoken (with some exceptions) within the family, with friends, and in informal contexts. Dessì describes the situation in Italy in the first half of the last century, as follows:

> Anche se molti italiani, borghesi e specialmente piccolo-borghesi, per la tendenza a isolare i propri figli dall'ambiente circostante, impongono loro con scrupolosa cura di evitare il dialetto, quasi a rendere piú deciso il distacco dalla classe d'origine, ossia dal popolo minuto, ciò non toglie che la grande massa cominci col parlare il dialetto e arrivi a parlare la lingua comune, o che per lo meno parli contemporaneamente l'uno e l'altra. (Dessì 1951: 965)

A strict functional distinction between standard and dialect ('dialetto schietto' in the words of Pellegrini 1975), however, has never been widely accepted by speakers. The two varieties soon engaged in competition and, therefore, conflict, the result of which seems to be the abandonment of the dialect (Berruto 1993: 4-5; Lepschy & Lepschy 1993: 10). In a parallel process, dialects and standard Italian, under mutual pressure, have gradually given rise to new geographically differentiated

varieties, generally defined as *popular regional Italians* (Berruto 2005; Bruni 1984; De Mauro 1991; Pellegrini 1975; Telmon 1993), which are spoken, with phonetic, morphological and syntactic differences, in different parts of the country. The sociolinguistic outcome of this is a readjustment of functions based on the new linguistic configuration: written standard Italian, on the one hand, different dialectal forms on the other, and popular regional varieties of Italian in between.

The specific sociolinguistic situation of Sardinia in general, and Alghero in particular, can also be explained following this same pattern of analysis. During the process of acquisition of Italian by means of education, Sardinian-speakers would insert linguistic elements (lexical, phonetic, morphological, and syntactical) from their local variety of Sardinian into the new variety (Italian). Some of these features have become permanent in the speech of Sardinians, so creating a variety of colloquial Italian, which has partially converged with standard Italian, by the same process mentioned above, giving rise to the regional variety of Italian spoken in Sardinia.[49] Thus,

> L'italiano che i ragazzi sardi parlano non è l'italiano standard, ma un italiano con proprie peculiarità derivate dalla struttura della lingua sarda, che coesistono insieme ai costrutti italiani. (Mercurio Gregorini 1979: 545)

This new variety can be placed, structurally speaking, in between the standard and either Catalan or Sardinian. After a period of coexistence, the regional variety is now taking over all the informal domains that were once the prerogative of Sardinian and Catalan.

4.5 Norms of language use

The norms of linguistic behaviour (including those that regulate language transmission from parents to children) are social conventions, a set of guidelines that prepare the speakers to potential interactions. It follows that most of the rules 'suggesting' what linguistic variety is more appropriate in a certain setting, to speak to a certain interlocutor, and of a certain topic are generally known by the speakers

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[49] This is obviously an oversimplification: there is not only one regional variety of Italian in Sardinia, but different, geographically differentiated varieties.

before the interactions take place. They are generated, acquired, maintained (or, else, modified) through regular interactions among people of the same community or group, in different stages of socialisation, and imply the performing of actions that are somehow predetermined (Boix 1993: 19). This means that the speakers (e.g., parents) are well aware of what variety is more acceptable to be used in a certain setting (e.g., at home), with a certain interlocutor (e.g., the child), and to speak about a certain topic (e.g., school matters), so that they can 'plan in advance' what language (and/or linguistic feature) to be used according to specific contextual characteristics.

On the other hand, however, linguistic behaviour may also be the result of automatic, unconscious, and non-predetermined actions (Hoffmann 1991: 175), so that, in certain communicative situations, a minimal (or even nil) rational effort is required in order to select the appropriate variety. This is most of all the case of those types of linguistic behaviour (such as greeting someone, for example) that have become a routine and that Pierre Bourdieu defines as *habitus*. In the case study that is analysed in this thesis, we will see that intergenerational language transmission (as well as other types of linguistic behaviour) is governed by both a rational, conscious decision and the inertia of automatic, 'natural' behaviours.

The values, beliefs, recipes, and ideas, filed in the stock of knowledge (4.4.1.1), are at the root of the norms of social behaviour, which include linguistic interactions. All in all, what emerges from the above overall discussion is that linguistic interactions are never the chance expression of individual options. The speakers are always guided by a set of *norms of language use* that ensure their speech is appropriate for given communicative situations. Human behaviour is never chaotic or meaningless, but in fact, highly organised and meaningful. And so is speech, a particular aspect of human behaviour, which is structured according to specific *sociolinguistic norms of code-selection* (Bastardas 1996: 59-64; Ninyoles 1989: 26; Sankoff 1972: 34). Hymes argues that children learn not only the grammatical rules of their language(s), but they also acquire what he calls *communicative competence*, the knowledge of a set of ways in which sentences are used. Depending on their socio-cultural context, speakers 'develop a general theory of the speaking appropriate in their community, which they employ, like other forms of tacit cultural knowledge (competence), in conducting and interpreting social life' (1972b: 279).

Speakers acquire knowledge of how to use their language(s) appropriately by learning (through the process of socialisation) the social meaning that, within a specific community, is conveyed by each language variety, style, and/or sociolinguistic variant. The linguistic choice is therefore interpreted and evaluated by the members of the community or group according to the (social) meaning associated with the use of the language(s). It follows that speakers can therefore be evaluated either positively or negatively depending on the degree of adequacy of their linguistic behaviour to socially accepted habits (Bastardas 1996: 60; Boix & Vila 1998: 144-5).

By virtue of such norms, in everyday interactions individuals will tend to follow (either consciously or unconsciously) those patterns that are socially consolidated. In the case of conscious behaviour, we have to take into consideration the mutual expectations: *I do (and/or say) what you expect me to do (and/or say)*. In other words, individuals will act (speak, dress, gesticulate) well aware of how others will interpret (and judge) their behaviour, and according to the stock of knowledge of both parties (4.4.1.1). Thus, in order to give a good impression to others, we tend to follow those norms of behaviour positively characterised, which, subsequently, will generate acceptance rather than social rejection (Bastardas 1991: 41-46; 1996: 47-62 and 84-88). Language use in general, and in particular the interruption of intergenerational language transmission of Catalan (and/or Sardinian) in Alghero, can be explained in part according to these mutual expectations. The lack of symbolic power of both Catalan and Sardinian has led speakers in Alghero to perceive these two varieties as subordinate to Italian, which is socially more highly valued and holding much more symbolic and economic capital attached to it. Thus, one can assume that the perception that people from Alghero have of Catalan and those who speak it can be deciphered in terms of low category, low social level, and as an obstacle to educational achievement, as in the case of Alicante described by Montoya (1996: 173-214).

In practical terms, this means that when bilingual parents have to decide in which language to speak to their children, they will evaluate, according to their stock of knowledge (Bastardas 1996: 48-50), what the social costs and profits are in choosing one or the other of the codes. Before they take such a delicate decision, they will consider how the context (neighbours, friends, family) will evaluate their linguistic choice and what social sanctions there might be. Italian clearly conveys a

much higher symbolic power than Catalan and Sardinian, and language choice, it is noted (Ch. 7), seems to be guided, to a great extent, by this hierarchical relationship. It is by virtue of these psychological mechanisms that Italian has become, progressively, the primary language within the family domain (Bosch 1998: 383; 2002a: 15).

With this study, I aim to investigate and define the norms of language use, primarily within the household. I will try to find out how the norms are generated, that is, what socio-psychological mechanisms are at the root of the emergence (and consolidation) of specific behavioural patterns, and what characteristics (in terms of actual use) such norms display. But not only that; as well as the socio-psychological mechanisms, I will also try to account for those practical constraints, such as social networks, that also regulate linguistic behaviour. The type of behaviour analysed in this thesis is not only the oral one, but, though to a minimal extent, written Catalan, as this emerges through the new technologies, such as the internet (e.g., Facebook and fora of discussion).

Chapter 5: Methodology

In this chapter, the methodological approach that has been adopted to collect, interpret, and understand the data presented in chapters 6 and 7 will be discussed in detail. In these chapters, I provide an in-depth analysis of the sociolinguistic situation under investigation, in terms of which language parents use when speaking to their children, what the dominant norms of language use in Alghero are, and what linguistic ideologies lie behind parents' decision to give priority to one or other of the varieties available.

The two main objectives (what language is most widely spoken within the family and what the dominant linguistic ideologies are) have a single overarching aim: to investigate the language use within households in Alghero. The data presented in chapters 6 and 7 test the initial hypotheses (1.3), according to which:

1) Only within a tiny percentage of families is *Alguerès* still used as the intergenerational language, whereas Italian has become the dominant code of interaction. Italian is today the main code of communication, not only within the family but also in the majority of both formal and informal domains.

2) The speakers perceive and experience the linguistic contact in Alghero in terms of the functionality and symbolic power associated with Italian. In practical terms, this has come to be the sole language worth maintaining whereas *Alguerès*, as a symbol of cultural uniqueness, conveys some solidarity values which, however, are not strong enough to counterbalance the instrumental values associated with Italian. Borrowing a dichotomy elaborated by Taussig (1993, quoted by House 2002: 23-33), speakers in Alghero seem to be engaged, at present, in a struggle between the need of '*mimesis*' and the desire of '*alterity*' (7.3.3.3).[50]

Thus, on the one hand, there is the need to obtain numerical, statistical data, according to which a broad (though partial) picture of intergenerational language transmission is provided. On the other hand, an interpretative approach is needed in

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[50] This second statement must be considered as a general assumption rather than as a hypothesis, since speakers' opinions go beyond the simple association of language with functionality and symbolic power.

order to investigate the meanings and motives at the root of the parents' linguistic choices. In other words, the focus of this study is not exclusively aimed at determining *what* is happening (a *descriptive* outlook), that is whether Catalan is still transmitted from parents to children. It is also concerned with the dominant norms that regulate parents' linguistic behaviour (an *explanatory* approach) (McNeill 1990: 9).

This research is therefore the result of a combination of a quantitative approach (a questionnaire, by means of which numerical data have been collected) and a qualitative one (semi-structured interviews, to gather opinions, beliefs, perceptions, and ideas). The qualitative questionnaire, as will be explained in detail later (5.2.2.2), has been devised in order to elicit relevant sociolinguistic information through the *life histories* of the informants, with the main aim of understanding how and why people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon one of their languages (Montoya 1996; Querol 1989; Sallabank 2007). Both the quantitative questionnaire and the recounting of personal experiences (through semi-structured interviews) are the core of my investigation, by means of which, that is, the most relevant data on intergenerational language transmission has been elicited. However, besides the self-administered questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews, other techniques have been devised to support and complement the information obtained.

Thus, in line with Montoya (1996), for example, I have been able to trace back the interruption of the intergenerational transmission of Catalan by means of a *family tree diagram* which will be discussed in 5.2.2.3 and 7.1.1.3. I have also investigated, through a set of focussed questions, the social networks the informants are part of and the main language of interaction of the members involved (5.2.2.4). I have also looked at conversations and/or comments as these occur on F*acebook* among those informants who can clearly be identified as from Alghero; I have analysed online fora of discussion; I have gone through videos (debates, interviews, reports) and news that have relevance to sociolinguistic issues; and I have observed (from a privileged position, as part of the community) the everyday life of people in Alghero of the last fifteen years, noting down what I saw and considered important for the understanding of the sociolinguistic context under investigation. By analysing different texts and talks, I aimed at gaining insights into both the (opaque) power relations involved in the linguistic contact in Alghero and the way the dominant

discourse reproduces (and maintains) the domination of Italian over Catalan (see Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 447-49).

5.1 Empirical research

The main aim of social research is to obtain information about human behaviour, in an attempt to shed light on the relationships between social actors, acts, variables, and the perceptions those actors have of the world around them (Black, 1993: 1). By and large, one orientation of the discipline is concerned with the mere description of what happens, whereas another is focused on analysing human activity through the understanding of the dominant ideologies that are found at the root of social norms. The data obtained can also be seen either in terms of 'scientific laws' (the positivist view), by establishing an objective, cause-and-effect relationship between social variables and social acts (for example, poverty as the main cause of criminality), or intentions, motives, feelings, and emotions of individuals (the phenomenological view).

According to the phenomenological approach, people do not react automatically to external stimuli, as the external world is first filtered through their minds (Harralambos & Holborn 1990: 678-711). This means that, as Kulick clearly points out (1992: 9), simple, automatic and direct correlations between macro-social factors and sociolinguistic phenomena, such as language maintenance or shift, need to be avoided. Instead, the researcher should try to understand how social change has come to be interpreted by the speakers it is supposed to be influencing. Evoking macro-sociological changes as a cause of shift is to leave out the step of explaining how such change has come to be interpreted in a way that dramatically affects everyday language use in a community. Investigations of language shift must necessarily include such a step and one of the main questions to be answered should be: what *socio-psychological* and *socio-cultural patterns* (in terms of worldviews) regulate, guide, and justify social behaviour? Thus conceived, the study of language shift becomes ethnographic in nature, that is, the study of people's conceptions of themselves, in relation to one another and to their changing social world, and of how those conceptions are encoded by interchange of information and mediated through language

Broadly speaking, ethnography (in its more anthropological acceptation) is to be conceived as the discipline that studies groups of people and their way of life; that is, their cultural practices and behavioural patterns (Hymes 1996: 4). This main aim is usually fulfilled by means of adequate qualitative methodologies, typically participant observation. In more recent times, however, ethnographic fieldwork has come not to be restricted only to this particular technique, although participation (i.e., the researcher's immersion in a society) and observation remain key features of ethnographic studies. Contemporary ethnographers make use of other, complementary techniques of investigation, such as interviewing, primarily by means of semi-structured questionnaires. Regardless of the specific technique and instruments used to collect data, however, the ethnographer is particularly concerned with the daily life of the community's members, so that he/she will be *watching* what happens and *listening* to what is said, with the main aim of finding out what *norms of social behaviour* are in place and how these are originated, maintained or modified (Bryman 2001: ix-iiv).

Since social norms are the result of meaningful associations within the social world where they are in place, in order to make sense to human behaviour, as Hymes clearly says, accurate knowledge of the meanings that people assign to different social items (whether material or immaterial) is essential in any ethnographic study. The more accurate the knowledge of meaning is, the more valid the knowledge (and, therefore, the findings) about the community under investigation will become. Once again, we need to bear in mind that, although the overt forms, such as words, objects, buildings, etc., may be familiar to the researcher, the interpretation given to them by the social actors is subject to shift, and varies from community to community (1996: 8-9). Meaning, in other words, is not a static concept (i.e., it changes across generations, social strata, genders, ethnic communities, nations, etc.), as it is constantly reinterpreted and recreated. It is the researcher's task to discover how and why symbolic associations vary from group to group (e.g., from generation to generation) and, therefore, when new behavioural patterns are beginning to emerge. This is not an easy task, as meanings can be either explicit (i.e., the social actors openly express their views and values) or implicit, in which case the researcher should be able to read between the lines of social activities, oral and written texts, gestures, and all the available material within the specific society under investigation.

The ethnographic approach, as has been outlined above, is the outlook that has been followed in this analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero in order to fill the methodological gap that characterises sociolinguistic research on the Catalan-speaking community of Sardinia. Several attempts to explain the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero have been made in the last thirty years (3.3), but all of them seem to follow a rather speculative approach, as a consequence of which a mechanical correlation between macro-factors and language shift is established. Probably, as we have discussed in 3.3.4, the best documented description of the causes behind language abandonment in Alghero is represented by Grossmann (1980, 1983), but her conclusions are mainly the result of quantitative data. In Grossmann, there is no proper in-depth, qualitative analysis, so that explanations of language shift do not go beyond stereotypical definitions (not necessarily irrelevant), such as 'speaking *Alguerès* can make the acquisition of proper Italian at school difficult', '*Alguerès* is a sub-variety, with which is impossible to express the external world', or '*Alguerès* is only spoken in Alghero' (see also Caria 1997).

Thus, despite quite a few attempts to explain the causes behind language shift in Alghero, no ethnographic studies have been conducted, to date, meaning that the underlying, socio-psychological factors responsible for language abandonment may be, to a great extent, still unknown. This does not necessarily mean that the conclusions reached by some of the scholars mentioned in 3.3 are wrong, but the lack of empirical, ethnographically-oriented studies necessarily implies wavering attempts to define the norms of language use, as well as the mechanisms and reasons behind them. A more accurate investigation is therefore needed, and different sociolinguistic aspects are to be considered for a better understanding of behavioural norms, along the lines followed in other sociolinguistic contexts, such as the study of language death within the Judeo-Spanish-speaking community in Istanbul by Mary Altabev (2003).

Along these lines, the researcher should try to answer, for example, the following types of questions: What norms in Alghero govern the basic communicative strategies? What underlying factors are at the root of them? What are the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication? What are the reasons for shift in terms of members' own opinions, attitudes, behaviour, and worldviews relating to intra-community discourse? What types of discourses regulate linguistic interactions? Is there a deep structure within the general sociolinguistic

discourse that can help us to better understand the linguistic behaviour? How are the discourses changing in the new global era? Are there members developing a new awareness of saving cultural heritage? How does it affect language use?

The above questions can only be answered by bearing in mind that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1967; Cicourel 1964) and that the members of a specific community make sense of their everyday lives by assigning meanings to (and/or interpreting) their surroundings (Bailey 1995: 325; Bell 1993: 10; Garfinkel 1967: 1-34; Moore 1995: 381-82; Silverman 1993: 23-25; Wardhaugh1998: 237-48). In other words, the researcher should investigate how people make sense of what they themselves, as well as others, do (Giddens 1997: 72-73). With reference to this specific thesis, the main outlook that has been adopted is therefore based on the assumption that, in order to understand why language shift is occurring, the socio-psychological mechanisms behind linguistic behaviour in Alghero need to be carefully investigated.

It follows that, in this study, the stress is on qualitative analysis, although the quantitative data must also be taken carefully into account as a picture of *what* is happening. The differences between a quantitative and a qualitative approach can be enormous, but the two can complement each other. It is worth stressing that one approach is not better than the other, as they are only 'different ways of conducting research, and the choice between them should be made in terms of their appropriateness in answering particular research questions' (Bryman 1988: 10). For this study I have opted to combine both approaches in order to achieve a better, and broader, understanding of the sociolinguistic context under discussion. This reflects my view that in order to offer a comprehensive explanation of sociolinguistic phenomena, these need to be tackled from different angles.

By making use of a quantitative approach (see 5.2.2.1 and Ch. 6), I have collected and analysed data in numerical form (for example, the percentages of parents speaking Catalan with their children), which provide information on the linguistic situation within households in Alghero (Bell 1993: 5-6). By making use of a qualitative approach, by contrast, I aimed to understand what happens in the minds of the speakers. The idea of approaching language shift in Alghero from a qualitative point of view as well as from a quantitative angle stems from my intention to look at the problem in a detailed manner. Thus, a small sample of speakers were interviewed in order to contrast the facts, obtained from the quantitative study, with qualitative

data, which, in principle, should explain why those facts emerged (Ch. 7) (Blaxter et al. 1996: 60; Marsh, 1996: 109).

5.2 The study

Scholars agree that, in order to carry out a research project successfully, different stages must be carefully followed (see, for discussion, Bailey 1995: 27-28; Bell 1993: 15-23; Black 1993: 1-10; Blaxter et al. 1996: 10; Johnson 1984: 6-7; Kaplov 1977: 125–62; Marsh 1996; Nachmias & Nachmias 1976: 10-13; Richardson 1993). These can be summarised as follows:

1) Choosing a topic

2) Stating the aim and the objectives (usually in terms of a hypothesis)

3) Choosing the methods

4) Collecting data

5) Analysing data

6) Writing the report

Based on the above outline, I will now go through the main steps that have been followed to conduct my study. I will start with the aim and objectives and go on to detail the approaches that were adopted, the specific techniques that were used, the sample chosen, and the technical peculiarities of this specific study.

5.2.1 Aims and objectives

Whenever language contact occurs (1.2.1), the state of the sociolinguistic situation of the community under investigation (in terms of either maintenance or shift) can be elicited both by looking at the percentage of speakers of the endangered variety and by searching for more substantial, detailed information about the speakers. Thus, together with general questions, such as '*how many people speak Lx?*', one may also ask *who* speaks it, to say *what*, *when*, and to *whom*. Similarly, it is crucial to investigate how the speakers perceive the (linguistic) world around them to be able to comprehend the *motivation* behind their language choices (see Bastardas 1996).

Perceptions and interpretations (the speakers' worldview) can therefore provide important clues to the understanding of the socio-psychological mechanisms that govern (linguistic) behaviour and of the dominant norms of linguistic interactions.

The aim of this study is to capture both *what* is happening and *why* within households in Alghero, given that the family is a crucial linguistic domain and, therefore, a valuable indicator of the state of the sociolinguistic situation (Fishman 1991: 92-95). Fishman states that, if the minority language (Lx) is spoken by three generations, this variety enjoys a high degree of vitality, and there exists a high probability of maintaining intergenerational transmission, even if the dominant language (Ly) outside the household is another (1991: 92-95). Family, in this case, is seen as an element of linguistic maintenance (see also Migliorini 1957: 10). By contrast, if the youngest generation does not actively use *Lx* with their parents, or with their grandparents, language extinction can be considered to be imminent, unless a major effort to halt the language-shift process is made (see also Boix 1993: 34).

The main aim of this study is to gather significant information about the language contact in Alghero where different linguistic varieties (mainly, Catalan, Sardinian, and Italian) have coexisted for many centuries (Ch. 2). Since there is evidence that contact is promoting an advanced shift in favour of Italian (see, for example, Grossmann & Lörinczi Angioni 1979; Grossmann 1980; Grossman 1983), it is essential to assess the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero in order to understand how far the community under discussion is from language extinction (7.4).

Following a classic dichotomy adopted in sociology, this study seeks to be both *descriptive* and *explanatory* (Bailey 1995: 57-58; McNeill 1990: 9). It is both broad in scope and narrow in focus: on the one hand, some of the data that emerge from this study are descriptive of the linguistic patterns of interaction within the family in Alghero; on the other hand, the results of a small-scale in-depth study go some way to explaining the sociolinguistic situation, in terms of how speakers perceive the languages in contact (Blaxter et al. 1996: 60; Johnson 1984: 23; Marsh 1996: 109-10; Nordberg 1987: 866-67).

In accordance with what has been discussed above, the main general questions to be answered are the following:

1) '*How can the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero be assessed*?'

2) '*What are the main linguistic patterns of interaction between parents and children?*'

These two general questions summarise the aims of this study, whereas the particular objectives can be expressed, more specifically, as follows:

1) *What is the dominant language within the family domain in Alghero*?
2) *What language is spoken by 11- to 15-year-old children with their parents and grandparents*?
3) *In what language do parents speak to each other*?
4) *What makes parents choose one linguistic variety rather than another or others*?
5) *What are the main reasons for language shift in Alghero*?
6) *What is the meaning that parents assign to Italian and what is, by contrast, the meaning associated with Catalan (and/or Sardinian)*?

5.2.2 The instruments

In order to achieve the aims and objectives stated above, different techniques have been devised and elaborated:

a) A *self-administered questionnaire.*

b) A *semi-structured interview*.

c) A *family-tree diagram.*

d) A *social networks questionnaire.*

The self-administered questionnaire was devised in order to obtain information about language use within the family, and was filled in by eleven- to fifteen-year-old children. The semi-structured interview, on the other hand, was conducted with a number of speakers of different ages, with or without children, to explore the process of bilingualism and the reasons that have led, either the informants or their ancestors (parents and/or grandparents), to abandon Catalan as the family language. A family-tree questionnaire has been devised to trace back the break of the intergenerational transmission of Catalan, whereas by means of the social networks questionnaire I

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have been able to partially investigate the main language that both the informants and, to a lesser extent, their partners use with the people they are mostly connected with. On the other hand, the analysis of both oral and written texts has been useful in order to understand what is (are) the dominant discourse(s) behind linguistic behaviour in Alghero.

5.2.2.1 The self-administered questionnaire

A self-administered questionnaire consists of questions that 'an individual completes by oneself. Self-administered questionnaires can be mailed or completed "on site", say, on a computer or by hand in a classroom, waiting room, or office' (Fink 1995: 42). The self-administered questionnaire I devised (see Annex 2) was completed 'on site', that is, in different classrooms of different schools in Alghero, by eleven- to fifteen-year-old children, and returned to me shortly after it had been filled in.

Questionnaires are one of the most widely used techniques in sociology and sociolinguistics. They have several practical strengths. They are, for instance, cheap and easy to administer. They enable the researcher to obtain information on a variety of subjects from a large number of informants in a relatively short period of time. They are, in short, highly functional. However, there are several problems related to questionnaires (Baker 1985: 2-5). Firstly, there is a problem of ambiguity related to the questions and the way they are formulated. They are not always either clearly expressed or easily understood by the informants. Are the informants fully aware, for example, of the exact meaning of questions such as '*Do you speak Catalan*?' What does '*speak Catalan*' mean? Who can be considered as a Catalan speaker? Is it only those who speak it fluently? Or, can 'Catalan speakers' include those who can only say a few words? Those who speak Catalan all the time in a variety of contexts or those who speak it for a minute or less in a year can therefore both give a positive answer to the initial questions.

Another problem highlighted by Colin Baker (1985: 2-5) is related to 'social desirability': answering a question in a certain way can be perceived as socially desirable. If, for instance, we are asked '*are you a friendly type of person*?' we would tend to answer 'yes' as *being friendly* is perceived as socially desirable. There may be the risk that the informants of my study perceive (or perceived at the time the

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study was conducted) 'speaking Italian' as socially desirable, as opposed to 'speaking *Alguerès'*, seen as embarrassing and with no social prestige.

It is not an easy task to solve these sorts of problems. Some of them will always be there, such as the different interpretation that informants give to the same question, even if we try to formulate it in the clearest way. Thus, '*Do you understand Catalan*?' may be answered in the same positive way by two groups of speakers, although they possess a totally different knowledge of the language in question, because they assign different meanings to the word 'understand'. One group may be made up of native speakers of the language, with a high competence, a good knowledge of both its vocabulary and the rules of word formation, a good knowledge of the morpho-syntactic rules, and well aware of communicative norms. By contrast, other speakers may well be passive users of the language, and only able to understand part of the sentences they hear. Nevertheless, they may perceive their competence in a positive manner (though they may well be aware their listening comprehension is not perfect) and therefore declare that they understand the language. On this ground, both groups of speakers – judging from their answers – must be considered by the researcher as belonging to the same linguistic level, although in real terms they are not.

Such problems need to be borne in mind both when devising a questionnaire and when analysing the data obtained. This is especially pertinent with regard to this study, as the informants were eleven- to fifteen–year-old children and therefore more prone to 'manipulate' the answers. The strategy adopted to minimise the problems relies on two key points:

1) Keeping the questionnaire simple, both in terms of the information to be elicited and the way the questions have been formulated. The questionnaire was designed solely to extrapolate data strictly related to the main linguistic interactions within the family and the relevant background information of both the children and the parents.

2) Several pilot studies were conducted (see 5.2.3), enabling me to simplify the questionnaire further and reformulate some of the questions.

The general purpose of the self-administered questionnaire used for this study is to elicit information about the language spoken within the family. The specific objectives that I have tried to fulfil by using this specific technique can be formulated as follows:

1) *What is the dominant language within the family domain in Alghero*?

2) *What language is transmitted from parents to 11- to 15-year-old children (especially in those cases where both parents are Catalan or Sardinian speakers)*?

3) *In what language do parents speak to each other*?

4) *In what language do grandparents speak to the informant?*

5) *Does language use change according to variables such as place of birth, age, and status?*

In order to answer all these questions, a simple and straightforward questionnaire of twenty-three questions was devised (see Annex 2).[51] The questions are all closed questions, with multiple-choice answers, and can be divided into two main parts:

1. General background information of both children and parents, such as age, gender and place of birth (questions 1-10)

2. Specific data on language use (questions 11-23).

In the first part, the questions we are most concerned with are those related to the parents' place of birth and age. The parents' place of birth is a salient variable, since a high percentage of the residents in Alghero come from outside the town (Chessa 2007: 13; 2.1 and 2.2.1). The questionnaires were completed by a sample of 292 children and their language use has been analysed under three main communicative headings:

1. The language spoken around the informant: what the informants hear spoken around them, but without them necessarily being involved in the conversation, for example, the language that the parents speak to each other.

2. The language spoken by other family members (for example, father, grandfather) to the informant.

3. The language that is spoken by the informant to other family members.

Since this study mainly concerns intergenerational language transmission, the following role-relations have been taken into consideration: mother-father, mother-child, father-child, grandmother-child, and grandfather-child. Other role-relations within the family (sibling-sibling, aunt-child, uncle-child, etc.) were not considered, as they are not relevant to this study's aims and objectives. The questions related to

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[51] Annex 2 shows the final version of the questionnaire, which was arrived at after different pilot studies.

language use were formulated following the same structural pattern: the question itself, followed by nine (or eight for question eleven) possible answers, as in the following example:

In che lingua ti parla, o ti parlava, tuo padre?
a. Sempre in italiano
b. Sempre in algherese
c. Sempre in sardo
d. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
e. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
f. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
g. Alterna/alternava italiano algherese e sardo
h. Altre
i. Non l'ho conosciuto

Because switching is common practice in Alghero (Grossmann 1983), as well as in many other similar bilingual situations, the questions required different types of answers. In many instances, the answers could not be a matter of simply one code or another ('I only speak Catalan', for instance), but a mix of the codes available (according to the topic of conversation, for instance). For example, Grossmann (1983: 148) and Piga (1994, quoted by Bosch 1998: 384) noticed that in many situations, Catalan was used either to make jokes or to scold, whereas Italian was the code of communication in all other contexts (see 7.2.3). So, in order to account (at least partially) for code-switching within the family, the answers had to take into consideration the different linguistic alternations (for example, '*alterna/alternava italiano e algherese*'). The use of the past tense ('*alternava*') is justified by the fact that the informants may have known one (or both) of their parents or grandparents for only a limited period of time (due to death or separation). In the case of those informants who never knew one or more of their parents or grandparents, they were given the option *non l'ho conosciuto/a*.

As the local variety is known by the people in Alghero mainly as *Alguerès*, I have used the adjective '*algherese*' rather than the more general 'c*atalano*', as the former seems to be more widely accepted among the community. It is the adjective speakers use when referring to their local linguistic variety and I therefore considered that informants would feel more comfortable if the local terminology was used.

The questionnaires were completed anonymously, but every student was assigned a six-digit code, which was agreed with the teacher according to a very simple criterion. The first two digits refer to the school (e.g., Media Numero 3: M3), the following two to the class (e.g., Classe prima, sezione A: 1A) whereas the last two were a sequential number given arbitrarily by the teacher to each student of the class. The same teacher had the task of communicating the code to each student and I was thus unaware of any link between codes and names of students. So, for example, one of the questionnaires completed on 14 December 1998 belongs to M3.1A.20 whose name I was never given. I was able to identify only the questionnaires of those twenty-three informants selected for the follow-up, in-depth interview with the parent(s) (5.2.2.2). In those cases, previous written parental consent for the interview was requested through the teachers, who were the only people aware of their assigned codes. The teachers never had access to the completed questionnaires.

Prior to completion of the questionnaire, precise instructions were given to the informants (see Annex 3). I introduced myself and explained the reason why I was there: I was conducting research, the type of research I was conducting, and why I had chosen Alghero as a case study. Then I went into the details about the questionnaire: its length, its structure, and the way questions had been formulated. Most of all, I stressed the importance of the study for me and, therefore, how helpful their collaboration would be. I asked them to be as sincere as they could in answering the questions, as the reliability of my study relied heavily on the degree of accuracy of the answers given. I told them that this was not an exam or a competition so there were neither winners nor losers, but all the completed questionnaires were to be considered as good questionnaires as long as they had been filled in with the sincerity I requested. I also requested that the informants seek help from me rather than their neighbouring classmates, if some of the questions were not clear enough. Finally, I asked them to read the questions very carefully before giving answers, and not to look at the answers given by their classmates, as I was looking for personal information rather than correct answers.

5.2.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

In-depth interviewing can assume different forms. At one extreme, tightly structured interviews are found; they are characterised by a set of questions requiring specific

answers. Such questionnaires resemble the one devised for the quantitative study. They are not self-administered, but instead conducted by an interviewer face-to-face with the interviewee or group of interviewees. At the other extreme, there is the open-ended interview, which takes the form of a discussion or a conversation. These are completely informal unstructured interviews, centred round a topic with the aim of producing a wealth of valuable data. Open-ended questions, if well administered by the researcher, should allow respondents to say what they think, and to do so with greater richness and spontaneity (see, for further discussion, Bell 1993: 93; Blaxter et al. 1996: 154; Oppenheim 1992: 81).

Semi-structured interviews fall between these two extremes. These are also known as guided or focused interviews and are devised by setting a framework of topics around which the interview is guided. Thus, the informants are allowed a considerable margin of digression within the framework, as respondents are given a degree of freedom to talk about the topic(s) and give views in their own time. Complete freedom of speaking, as in the unstructured interviews, is encouraged, but some guidelines are used to ensure that the conversation is always in line with the topic(s) studied (Bell 1993: 93-95).

Semi-structured interviews therefore allow the investigator to conduct a discussion with the informants by using a guideline, or a framework of reference. It is, in other words, a format for talking to the informants in a relaxed and, depending on the interviewer's ability, spontaneous way about a certain topic. They can be defined as 'conversations with a purpose' (Kahn & Cannell 1957: 149 quoted by Marshall & Rossman 1995: 80). Broadly speaking, a semi-structured questionnaire consists of some specific questions, a number of which are completely open-ended. This technique facilitates the collection of discursive, qualitative information, which usually contains a high degree of opinion or expression of attitudes.

The reason for using this technique in this study is to further our understanding of the motives for parents' language choice in their interactions with their own children. The semi-structured interview that was used in this study was specifically designed to identify the speakers' linguistic ideologies and make sense of the language-shift process from a socio-psychological perspective. Following a phenomenological interview approach (see, for further discussion, Marshall & Rossman 1995: 82-83), I analysed speakers' experiences and how these influence the configuration of their worldview. Furthermore, with these interviews I was also able

to clarify some of the answers that had been given by the children in the self-administered questionnaires. For example, I was able to investigate further those instances of linguistic alternations that emerged from the quantitative study. By means of the interview I was able to clarify which variety was mainly used in the case of interactions characterised by alternations, in what percentage, in which situations, and to say which things. For these reasons, this part of the study is the core of my investigation, as it offers invaluable information regarding the process of language decline in Alghero.

However, the results obtained in this way provide us with only a partial view of the reasons behind language shift, as such phenomena are the result of a combination of causes. Some of these causes are more practical than socio-psychological, with little (if any) relation to linguistic ideologies.

The guideline used to conduct the interviews consists of a number of 'triggering' questions by means of which I have been able to follow the life of the informants and the way the latter have interpreted it (see Annex 4). The result is the recounting of *life histories* through which the worldview and the informants' (as well as others') linguistic behaviour throughout the years is accounted for. The majority of the 'questions' are open-ended, which enabled me to establish a relaxed and spontaneous conversation with the informants.

The majority of interviews were recorded and were conducted at the interviewees' homes, in a period of time between December 2008 and September 2010. In total, ninety-four audio-recorded interviews were completed, although the core interviews, specifically conceived to elicit information according to the aim and objectives of the study, must be considered to be those conducted between July 13th and September 18th 2010 (forty in total). The remaining fifty-four interviews carried out between December 2008 and September 2009, on the other hand, are recordings conducted for a more linguistically-oriented study which, however, provide some relevant information on ideologies and other relevant sociolinguistic aspects.[52] As already mentioned above, I will be also using data from non-recorded semi-structured interviews carried out in the year 1999. These interviews were conducted with twenty-three selected parents of those children who completed the self-administered questionnaire, but they proved, however, to be weak in some aspects

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[52] These interviews are part of a project on linguistic enclaves (HUM2006-13621-C04-01) directed by Dr Joan Argenter (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

and have been considered mostly as part of the pilot study. Nonetheless, they still provide some relevant information which has been used in support of the data collected later.

The duration of the interviews varied according to the type of interviewee (more or less talkative, more or less passionate about the subject, etc.), but none was longer than three hours or shorter than fifteen minutes. The features of each informant (identified with a code of two letters and six numbers) of the ninety-five recorded interviews are found in Annex 5.

5.2.2.3 The family tree diagram

The family tree diagram is the result of a set of questions about the place of birth and the language spoken by different members of both the informant's and (whenever possible) the partner's family to each other. At the end of each interview, the informants were asked about the place of birth of their grandparents, the language the latter used to speak to each other in and the language they used to speak to their children (i.e., the informants' parents). The informants were also asked about the language that their parents spoke both to each other and to the informant, and then about the language spoken with siblings, parents, and children, so making explicit what had already emerged from the interview. Finally, whenever applicable, the same type of information was asked in relation to the partner and his/her family.

Based on both the age of the informants and the average age of other members of the family, I have been able to reconstruct, diachronically, the break in intergenerational transmission of Catalan. The total number of diagrams is thirty-five, and the reconstruction will be discussed in 7.1.1.3, whereas a variety of samples of the resulting diagram is shown in Annex 6, where the possible linguistic links between the family members are graphically accounted for.

5.2.2.4 The social networks questionnaire

The social network questionnaire was conducted with twenty informants (either married or in a partnership) either at the end or at the beginning of each interview. The questions that the informants were asked were about their (and their partners') contacts. Basically, they were asked to think of the three people they had been

mostly in contact with before they settled down as a family, what type of relationship there was between the informant and these three persons, and the main language used in interactions. They were also asked whether these three people knew each other and whether there was some connection between them.

The main objectives behind the social networks questionnaire can be schematically defined as follows:

1. To disclose, albeit partially, the type of social network the informant is part of, particularly the main language variety that links all the members together.

2. To find out how the type of social network has affected the linguistic relationship between the informant and the partner.

The social network questionnaire, and the resulting map (a sample of which can be seen in Annex 7), will be complemented with the information obtained through the interviews and the issue of social networks will be discussed in 7.1.3.

5.2.3 Data-gathering

The fieldwork to collect data from the self-administered questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews was carried out in two different periods of time: between December 1996 and January 1999, I managed to pilot the questionnaires and collect the first set of data from the self-administered questionnaires (February, December 1998 and January 1999); between December 2008 and September 2010, by contrast, I was able to conduct the ninety-five semi-structured interviews. In the first two years of fieldwork, four pilot studies for the self-administered questionnaire were carried out in Alghero with informants of the same age (11- to 15-year-old children) as in the definitive study. However, the pilot studies were conducted among recreational youth groups, church groups, and the scouts, while the definitive study was carried out in schools during teaching hours.

Through pilot studies I was able to check various aspects, such as the timing, the accuracy and clarity of the questions, the clarity of the instructions, and any possible misunderstandings. I was also able to consider any element (for example, specific questions, and other tests that had been previously planned) that was not fit for purpose, that is, any parts which did not respond to the objectives that

had been set. These irrelevant parts were therefore removed (see, for discussion, Bell 1993: 84; De Vaus 1996: 99-105).

The validity of the instruments, which determines whether an instrument measures or describes what it is supposed to (Bell 1993: 65; Black 1993: 68), was also partly checked through the pilot studies. For my study, the so-called 'criterion group' was adopted to test the validity of the instruments. This is a group of people whose tendencies and behaviour we already know – however approximately – and who are therefore used to test an instrument. Thus, for example, a new measure of political conservatism might be given to members of conservative and radical political groups. If the members of the conservative group come out as conservative and the radical group members as radical, this provides good evidence for the measure's validity. My 'criterion groups' were made up of my family and friends. In addition, some experts in the field, such as my supervisor, were consulted to detect any irrelevant or missing questions.

During the first phase of piloting, the respondents were fully aware that this was not the definitive data collection but rather a phase of the study in order to test the instruments and procedures in general. At times, they were also asked to help me improve the way the study might be carried out. Thus, different pilot studies indirectly checked different aspects of the questionnaire, such as the clarity of the directions given and any ambiguity in the questions (by, for instance, a careful scrutiny of the answers given); however, in some cases, the informants were directly involved in the revision process by being asked, for example, how they would have rephrased questions to make them clearer, or for suggestions of possible missing alternatives in the sets of answers.

5.3 The language used to conduct the fieldwork

Italian was the only language variety used both to draw up the self-administered questionnaire and for the interactions with informants, teachers, headmasters, and people responsible for the study of the pilot groups. The self-administered questionnaire is therefore monolingual, as well as the directions given to the informants at the beginning of each test. There were three linguistic options I could choose from:

1) To use only Italian

2) To use only *Alguerès*

3) To use both varieties.

After careful consideration, I decided to conduct the fieldwork in Italian, for one key reason. Italian is the common code that has been used among the population of Alghero in the last thirty years. It is, in other words, the variety considered as 'most normal', particularly when the interactions acquire formal connotations, such as a survey or an interview, or a study in general. In other words, Italian is the *unmarked code*, which is spontaneously used when two strangers meet for the first time. The use of *Alguerès* in a first interaction can, by contrast, take the interlocutor by surprise. It follows that conducting the fieldwork in *Alguerès* (or even using both language varieties) would have been perceived by the informants as unusual. Furthermore, they might also have identified the study as being in defence of a minority language and this would have biased the answers.

On the other hand, the use of the language for the semi-structured interviews (as well as for establishing the family-tree diagram and the social networks questionnaire) was subject to three factors: 1. the language that I usually use with those informants I know; 2. the linguistic competence of the informant; and 3. whether or not I wanted to test the level of Italian of those older parents who I knew spoke it with their children. In any case, the informants were not aware that I was conducting a study of linguistic ideologies: they were instead told that I was conducting a linguistic study and what was important was not what they said, but how they said it. This strategy allowed me to avoid, to a certain extent, tension and put the informants in a condition to speak freely.

Chapter 6: The quantitative study

This chapter contains a detailed scrutiny of the data collected through the semi-structured questionnaire. Language use within the family domain will be presented here by means of statistical data and displayed through the use of tables, graphs and histograms. Results in percentages are shown in tables, whereas the more complex proportions of different variables will be illustrated in graph form in order to provide optimal clarity. The data presented in this chapter will be compared with the results from similar, quantitative investigations. In particular, I will establish a parallel with the study carried out by Grossmann (1983) in 1977 (3.3.4). This comparison will reveal how the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero has changed within a span of just over twenty years.[53] My study will also be compared with the most significant results of EULAL, the sociolinguistic survey conducted in 2004 (3.3.4.2). Broadly speaking, the aim of this chapter is to use statistical information to give a detailed description of linguistic interactions within the family domain.

6.1 Socio-demographic data

The self-administered questionnaire was completed by 292 informants, all of whom were between eleven and fifteen years old (5.2.2). At the time of the study, the total number of children within this age group resident in Alghero was 1,414, 48% of whom were female and 52% male: these proportions are reflected in the sample.[54] As for the parents, their main characteristics have been highlighted in terms of origin, age, and social status.

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[53] The two studies are not exactly comparable because of some methodological differences. For example, the age range is wider in Grossmann's research; in my study, the whole territory of Alghero has been investigated, including rural agglomerations which Grossmann did not include. Nevertheless, the comparison of the two sets of data is a valid indicator of the sociolinguistic trend.

[54] These data were provided by the local education authority (*Provveditorato agli Studi di Sassari*).

6.1.1 Parents' age and social status

The profile of the parents under discussion, in terms of age and social status, is given in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 and Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

Table 6.1: Age *of parents*

Age		30-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61 +
%	Father	8.65	25.61	29.76	22.84	10.38	2.07	0.69
	Mother	20.61	36.77	27.15	13.06	2.41	0.00	0.00

Figure 6.1: Age *of father*
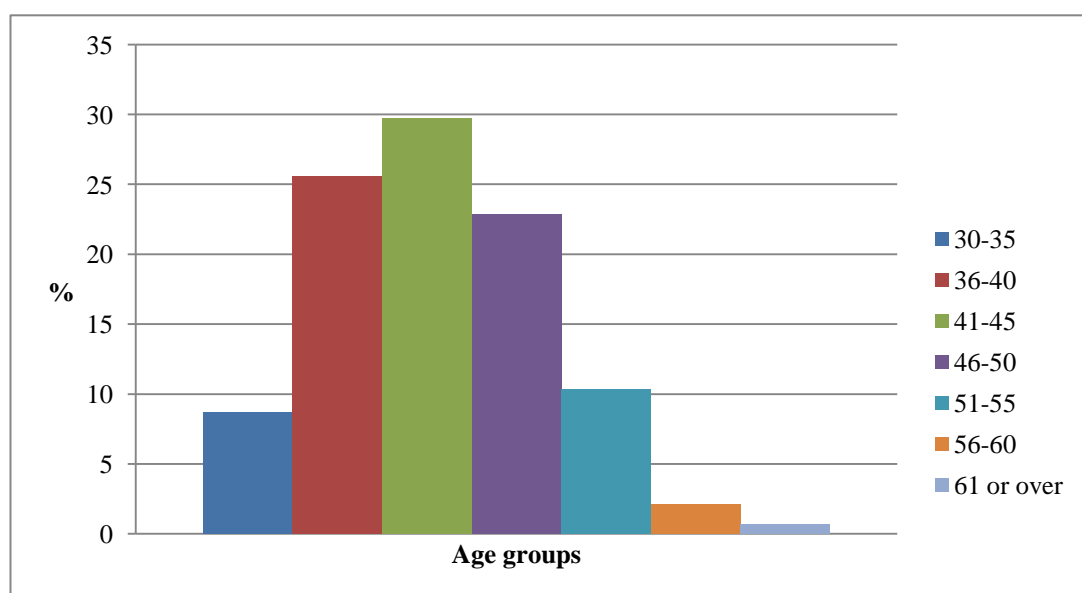
The majority of fathers were aged between 36 and 50, whereas the majority of mothers were between 30 and 45. As for social class, the division that emerges (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3 below) must be considered as an approximation of the real situation, not as a precise categorisation. This is because the range of variables that shape an individual's status means that defining social class is an inexact science.

Figure 6.2: *Age of mother*
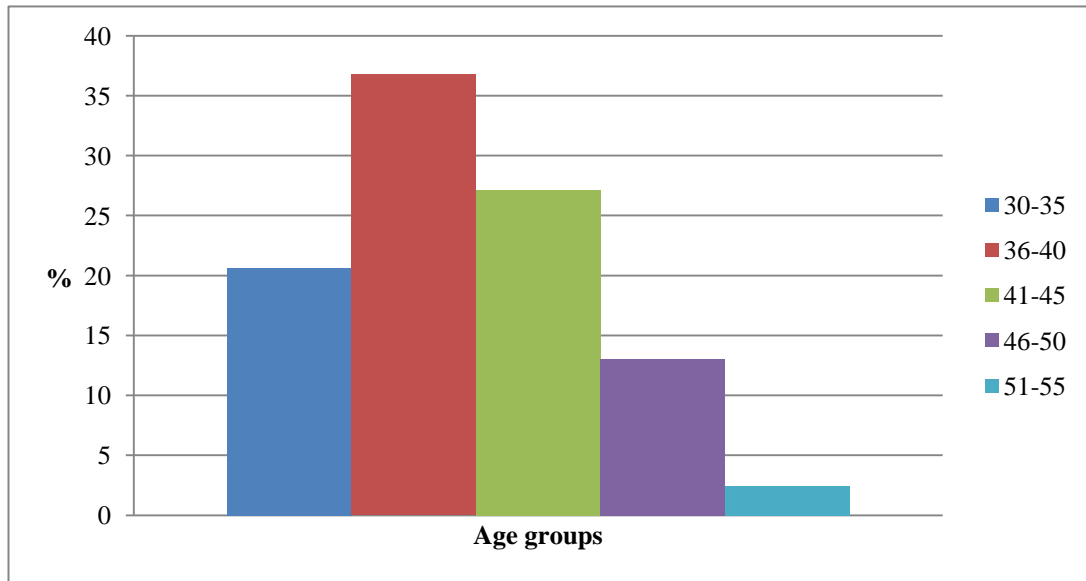
For reasons of practicality and simplicity, in this study, occupation was the only parameter adopted to define the informants' social class. It would have been too complicated for the children to answer more questions related to areas of their parents' lives of which most of them would not have been aware. The types of jobs carried out by their parents have been grouped and divided into three main blocks, according to the presumed income related to each job and to the type of education (elementary, BA, degree, etc.) that each specific job may require.

Table 6.2: Social *class of father*

Social Class	Percentages	Numbers
Lower	51.76	147
Middle	24.65	70
Upper	23.59	67
Total	100.00	284
Do not know		6
No answer		2
Total		292

The three resulting socio-economic groups are *lower*, *middle*, and *upper* class, and the highest percentages of informants are found within the lower class (51.76% of fathers, 64.8% of mothers). Around 20% come from a middle class family, whereas the remainder are to be allocated to the upper class. The same

picture emerges from Grossmann's study (1983: 22-23), in which the majority of informants belong to either the '*proletariat industrial*' or '*proletariat de serveis*'.

Table 6.3: *Social class of mother*

Social Class	Percentages	Numbers
Lower	64.80	186
Middle	23.00	66
Upper	12.20	35
Total	100.00	287
Do not know		4
No answer		1
Total		292

Figure 6.3: *Parents' social class*
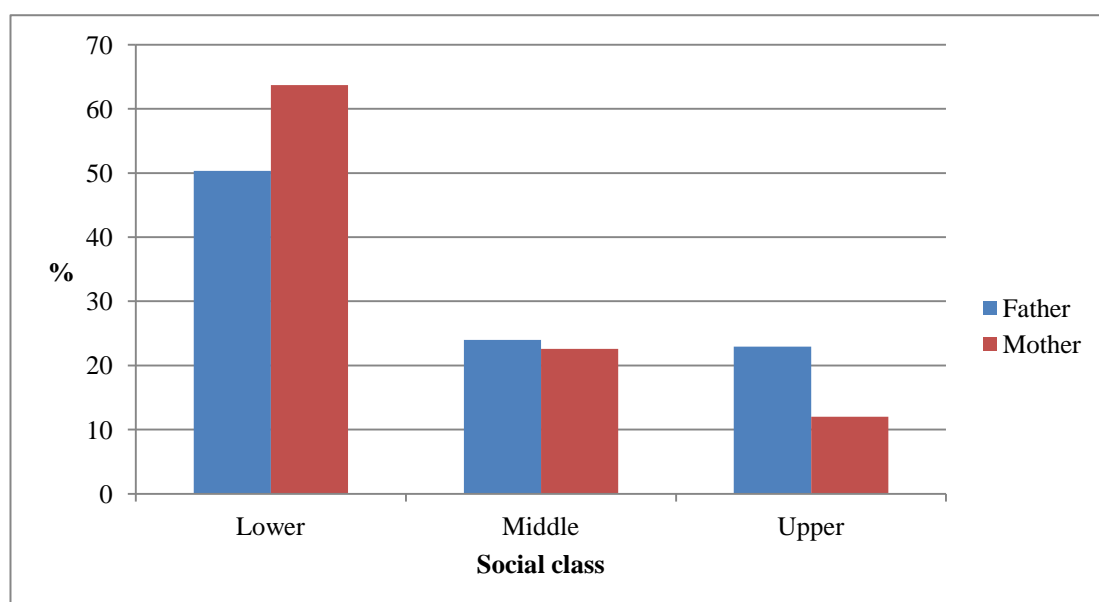
6.1.2 Place of birth

Place of birth is a crucial variable in relation to both language maintenance and language shift, in Alghero as well as in many other sociolinguistic contexts. The origin of the speakers (and therefore the phenomenon of immigration and emigration) is closely related to both the maintenance and decline of language use. Here, I provide data on the origins of the speakers involved in this study, which will be combined with data on language use at a later stage (6.3).

6.1.2.1 The parents' place of birth

As we can see from Table 6.4, just under 60% of the parents were born in Alghero. The majority of non-natives are from either other areas within the province of Sassari (20.55% of mothers and 22% of fathers) or mainland Italy (9.59% and 8.23% respectively).[55] We expect most of the parents who were born in the province of Sassari to come from the nearest Logudorese-speaking villages of *Villanova Monteleone*, *Ittiri*, *Putifigari* and *Thiesi*, the areas from which the majority of immigrants traditionally come (see 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 6.4: *Place of birth of parents*

Place of Birth		Alghero	Prov. Sassari	Italy	Prov. Nuoro	Others	Prov. Oristano	Prov. Cagliari	Europe
%	Father	58.56	22.00	8.23	3.10	2.90	2.50	1.71	1.00
	Mother	56.16	20.55	9.59	4.46	3.08	2.40	2.05	1.71

In principle, those parents who were born outside Alghero are not Catalan-speakers. However, it has to be assumed that some of the immigrants may have a Catalan linguistic background, as in the case of those who, although not born in Alghero, come from a Catalan-speaking family (e.g., emigrants who have moved back to Alghero after a relatively long period of time living elsewhere).

Thus, immigrants account for over 40% of the population in Alghero, most of them (22%) being from nearby villages (prov. Sassari). Within such a context characterised by high percentages of migrants, mixed marriages, and their sociolinguistic repercussions, become more and more common. By the end of the seventies, only 39% of partners were both born in Alghero; in 25.4% of the cases, one was born elsewhere; whereas in the remaining 35.6% of the couples both partners were born outside Alghero (Grossmann 1983: 24). In 1998, this distribution had not undergone significant change (see Table 6.5): in 38.06% of the cases, both partners were born in Alghero; both partners, by contrast, were born somewhere else

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[55] These results are in line with Grossmann's findings (1983: 23), but differ slightly from the EULAL data (3.3.4.2).

in 23.53% of cases, and 38.41% are mixed couples (one partner born in Alghero while the other was born outside).

Table 6.5: Typology *of couples by place of birth*

Place of birth of both parents	Alghero	Outside Alghero	mixed marriages
%	38.06	23.53	38.41

6.1.2.2 The informants' place of birth

The percentage of informants who were born in Alghero is much higher than in the case of their parents. Tables 6.6 and 6.7 show that only 14.73% of the informants were born outside Alghero, 6.51% of whom come from areas which are not far from the new place of residence.

Table 6.6: Place *of birth of informants*

Place of Birth	Alghero	Prov. Sassari	Italy	Europe	Others	Prov. Nuoro
%	85.27	6.51	4.45	1.37	1.37	0.68

Table 6.7: *Place of birth of both parents and informants*

Place of Birth	Mother	Father	Informant
Alghero	56.16	58.56	85.27
Rest of Sardinia	29.46	29.31	7.19
Italy	9.59	8.23	4.45
Europe	1.71	1.00	1.37
Others	3.08	2.90	1.37

Figure 6.4: *Place of birth of informants*
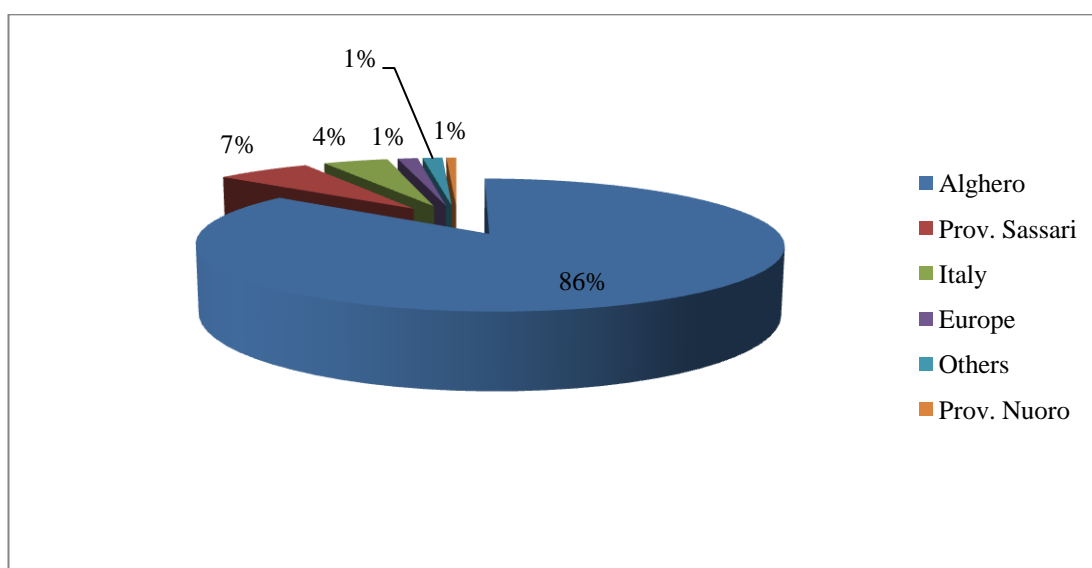
Figure 6.5: *Place of birth of both parents and informants*
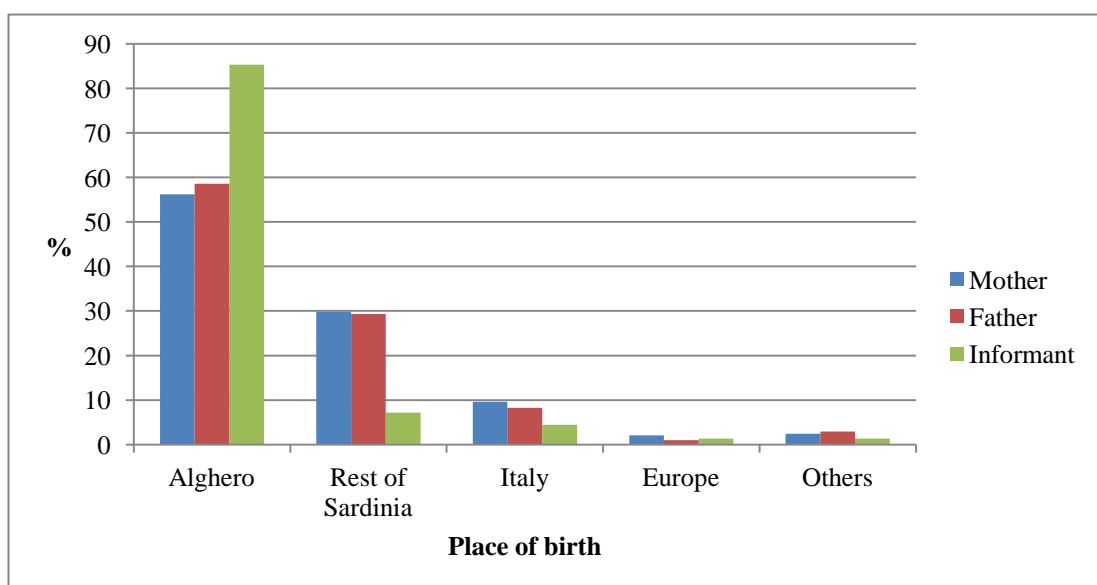
6.2 Language use

This section contains the key data for this quantitative study: the linguistic interactions within households in Alghero. The analysis and discussion of language use is based on the following linguistic interactions:

a) the language(s) that parents speak to each other;

b) the language(s) that parents speak to the informants;

c) the language(s) that the informants speak to the parents;

d) the language(s) that grandparents speak to the informants, and

e) the language(s) that the informants speak to the grandparents.

6.2.1 The language(s) that parents speak to each other

When language shift occurs, a more or less noticeable mismatch (depending on the degree of shift) between the language that parents speak to each other, on the one hand, and to their own children, on the other, must be expected (see Fishman 1991: 87-109). However, a discrete divide – interactions between parents in one language and with children in a different one – is not the rule. Even when shift is at an advanced stage, different types of interactions may still be observed and those isolated instances where the parents still speak the minority language, both to each other and their own children, can still be found. This only occurs rarely, however, and when it does it is associated primarily with the after-effects of individual, sporadic forms of language loyalty: an open rejection of the language shift process.

At the other extreme, there are those parents who use the dominant language as their sole variety of interaction, and this is transmitted to their children. When the entire population follows such a behavioural pattern, language shift is said to have reached its final stage and the chances of reversal are minimal (Fishman 1991: 87-109). In Alghero, the majority of couples, within the age group of the parents concerned here, no longer use the subordinate variety to speak to each other and only a few couples use it as the sole medium of communication with their own children. It is worth noting, however, that Italian-dominated interactions are, in some cases, characterised by more or less constant switches from one variety to the other. As a consequence, it is to be assumed, competence in *Alguerès* must have suffered widespread impoverishment, language attrition must have occurred and, consequently, the ability of the majority of speakers to use *Alguerès* in a natural and spontaneous fashion must have diminished considerably.

Within this sociolinguistic scenario, *context*, *behaviour*, and *competence* are closely interrelated and mutually influence one another (Bastardas 1986: 16–17). The low percentage of parents speaking to each other in *Alguerès* (see Table 6.8 below) is in itself both the result and the cause of language decline, in that the linguistic

interactions between partners can be seen as the starting point of a vicious circle of language acquisition and use, represented in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: *The vicious circle of language shift*[56]
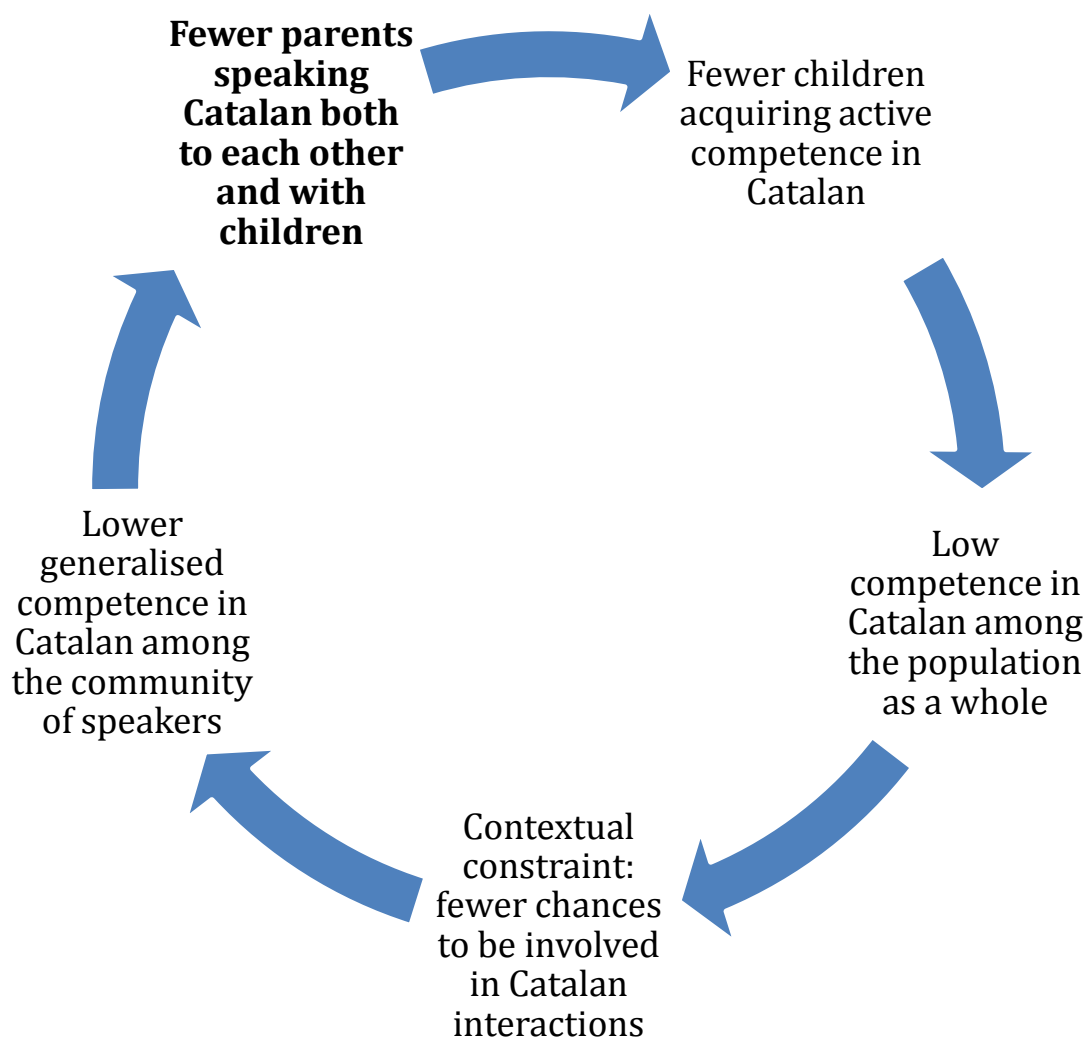
The simple logic behind this circular process is that, the fewer the parents speaking *Alguerès* to each other, the fewer the children acquiring full competence in this variety; and the fewer the children competent in *Alguerès*, the fewer the chances they have to get involved in interactions (outside the households) in this variety; the

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[56] This is an adapted version of the Catherine wheel elaborated by Strubell (1998; 1999).

fewer the conversations in *Alguerès*, the lower the competence among the population; the more frequent the interactions in Italian among the population, the fewer the chances of finding couples who speak Catalan to each other; the fewer the families using *Alguerès*, the lower the competence; and so on until the extinction of the subordinate variety. It is just such a dynamic that has led to a drastic decrease of Catalan-speaking couples since 1977 (see Tables 6.8, 6.9, and Figuers 6.7, 6.8, 6.9).

Table 6.8: *Language(s) parents speak to each other (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	46.05	134
Alt. It./Cat.	20.62	60
Alt. It./Sar.	8.59	25
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	7.22	21
Always Cat.	6.53	19
Always Sar.	5.50	16
Others	4.47	13
Alt. Cat./Sar.	1.02	3
Total	100	291

Table 6.9: *Language(s) parents speak to each other (1977)*[57]

Language(s)	Percentages	Raw Numbers
Always Cat.	40.6	1188
Always It.	31.4	764
Always Sar.	14.9	466
Alt. It./Cat.	4.5	170
Alt. It./Sar.	3.4	159
Others	2.2	65
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	1.4	40
Alt. Cat./Sar.	1.2	36

Despite the predominance of Italian as the sole medium of communication, a significant percentage of parents tend to alternate between the different languages available: 20.62% of them alternate between Italian and Catalan, whereas 8.59% switch between Italian and Sardinian and vice-versa. Some (7.22%) alternate between the three main languages (Italian, Catalan, and Sardinian), whereas only 1.03% switch between Sardinian and Catalan. In 1977, by contrast, the percentage of couples interacting always in Catalan and Sardinian was still relatively high, as indicated in Table 6.9 and Figure 6.8 below.

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[57] The percentages concerning 1977 data do not always add up 100, as not all linguistic situations are shown.

Figure 6.7: *Language(s) parents speak to each other (1998)*
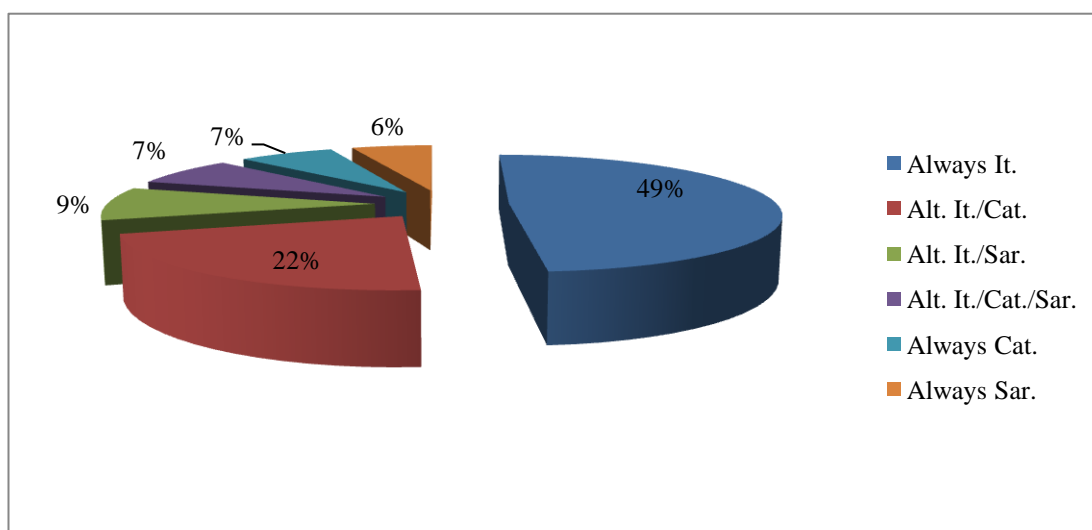
Figure 6.8: *Language(s) parents speak to each other (1977)*
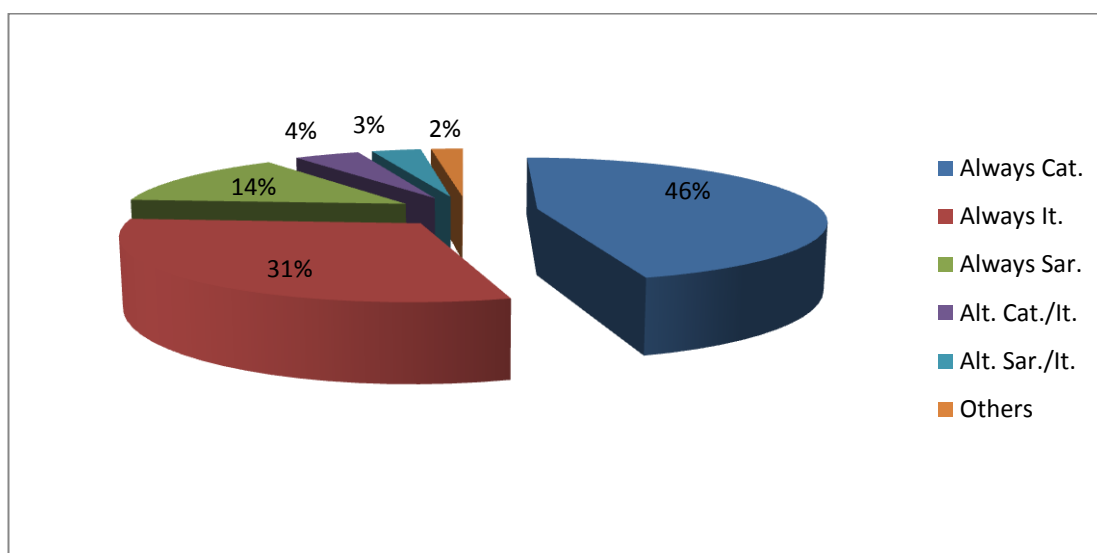
Grossmann noticed that in the 1970s the main language of interaction between partners was, in more and more instances, Italian (1983: 146). It was, for many informants, also the main language of interaction with the parents-in-law, even in those instances where both interlocutors had a perfect command of *Alguerès*. The chief reason for this Italian-dominated linguistic behaviour seems to be 'el desig d'exhibir un estatus superior' (Grossmann 1983: 146). Indeed, from the qualitative study presented in this thesis, it emerges that language choice is still a strategy through which speakers try to achieve social recognition (Ch. 7). In the majority of cases, the parents interviewed have opted to use Italian because, as it is valued more

highly in social terms, by speaking it they are striving to adopt a different social status.

Figure 6.9: *Language(s) parents speak to each other (1977-1998)*
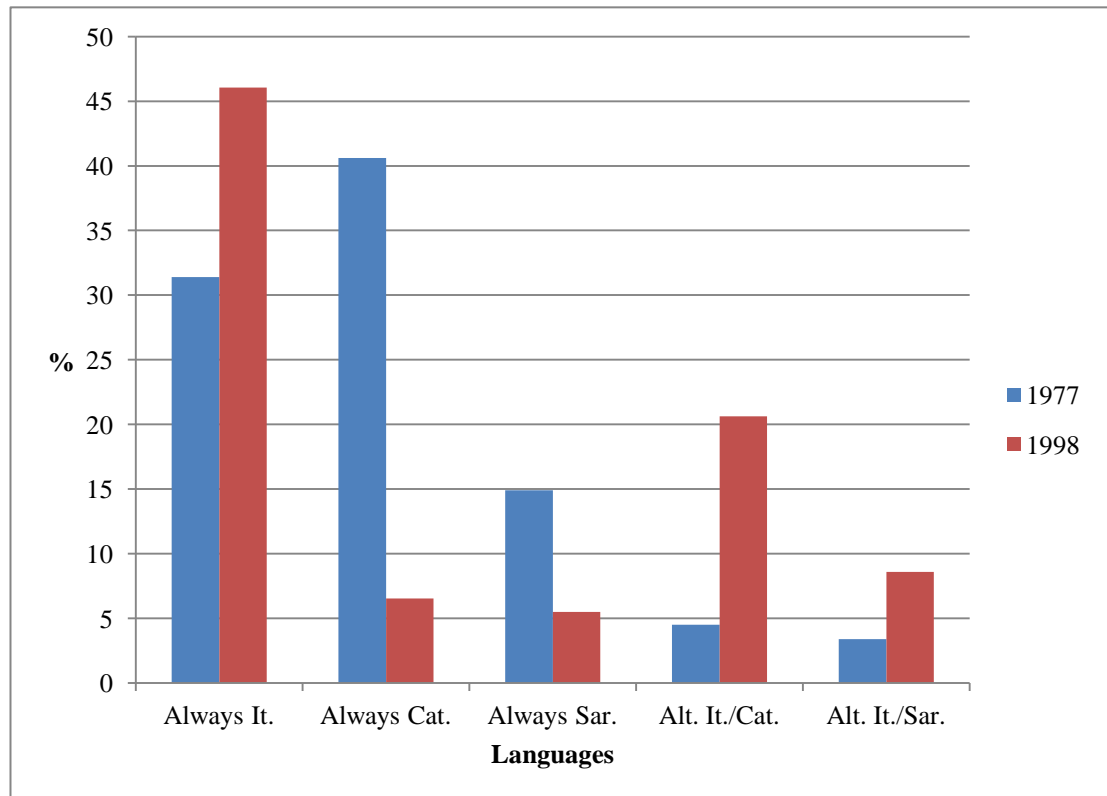
Looking at the interactions between grandparents and parents as these were recorded in 1977, we notice that the percentage related to the use of Catalan is not dissimilar (Tables 6.9, 6.10, 6.11): 43.2% of grandparents and 40.6% of parents always use Catalan to speak to each other. On the other hand, there is a considerable decrease in the use of Sardinian: 30.1% of grandparents always use Sardinian compared to only 14.9% of parents. It follows that the decrease in the use of Catalan within the family was minimal (quite steady, perhaps, but not drastic) until relatively recently. Furthermore, Sardinian is drastically abandoned by the middle generation, who adopt and use Italian, the language variety everyone is competent in. On these grounds, we can assume that language tip took place in the last thirty years, as, within this period of time, there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of couples speaking to each other in Catalan (see Figure 6.11).

It has been noted elsewhere (Chessa 2007: 56), however, that 26.3% of the population aged between 30 and 44 are still able to speak Catalan quite fluently. Thus, why do only a very small percentage of couples use it to speak to each other? One of the reasons behind the dominance of Italian between partners is related to the weakening of the Catalan-speaking social networks analysed in 4.4.1, which implies more opportunities for speakers to mingle and interact in Italian rather than in Catalan (and or Sardinian).

Table 6.10: *Language(s) grandparents speak to each other (1977)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Raw Numbers
Always Cat.	43.2	1006
Always Sar.	30.1	702
Always It.	9.7	225
Alt. Cat./Sar.	5.4	125
Alt. It./Sar.	2.3	53
Alt. It./Cat.	2.0	47

Table 6.11: *Language(s) grandparents and parents speak to each other (1977 – 1998)*

	Gpar.-Gpar. 1977	Par.-Par. 1977	Par.-Par. 1998
Language(s)	%		
Always Cat.	43.2	40.6	6.53
Always Sar.	30.1	14.9	5.50
Always It.	9.7	31.4	46.05
Alt. Cat./Sar.	5.4	1.2	1.02
Alt. It./Sar.	2.3	3.4	8.59
Alt. It./Cat.	2.0	5.8	20.62

Figure 6.10: *Language(s) both grandparents and parents speak to each other (1977 – 1998)*
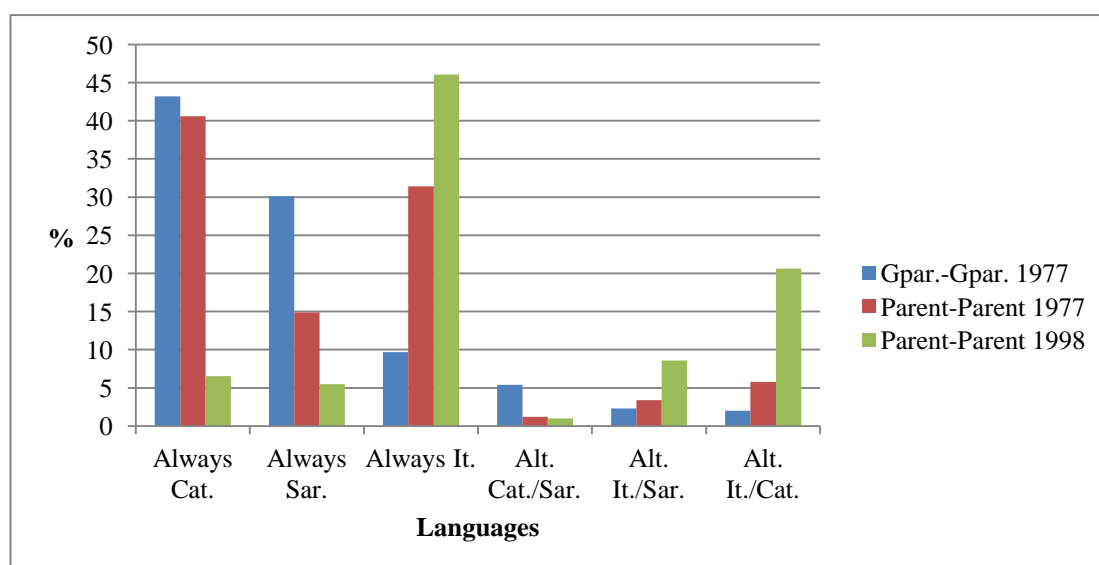
Figure 6.11: *Language(s) both grandparents and parents speak to each other (1977 – 1998)*
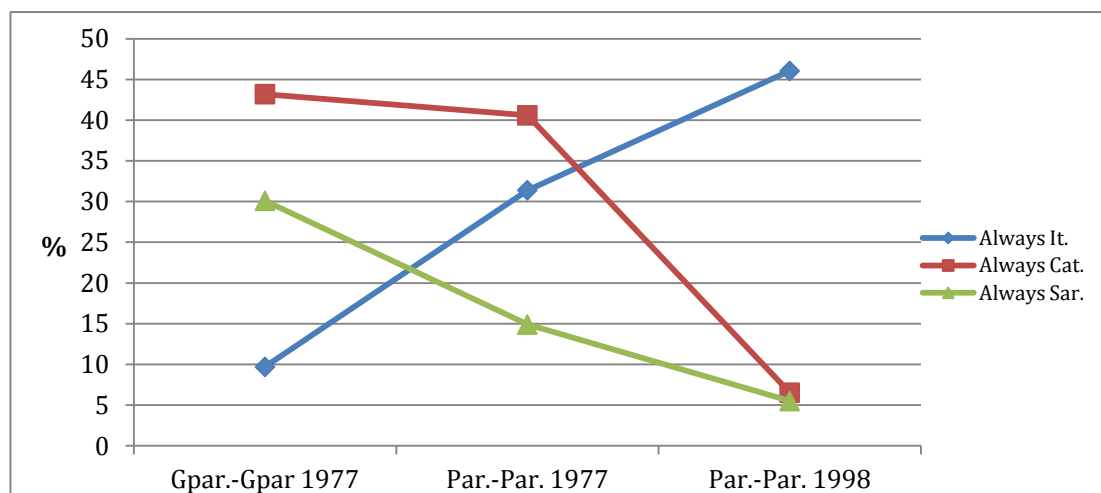
6.2.2 The language(s) that parents speak to their children

Interactions between parents and children are dominated by the presence of Italian as the sole medium of communication. 70.49% of fathers and 75.43% of mothers interact with their own children using solely Italian. Catalan, as the only (or predominant) language of interaction is used by 2.43% of fathers and 1.73% of mothers, whereas only 2.08% of fathers (but no mothers) always speak Sardinian.

Table 6.12: *Language(s) spoken by father to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	70.49	203
Alt. It./Cat.	14.58	42
Alt. It./Sar.	7.29	21
Always Cat.	2.43	7
Always Sar.	2.08	6
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	2.08	6
Others	1.05	3
Total	100	288
Not known		3
No answer		1
Total		292

On the other hand, 14.58% of the fathers and 11.07% of mothers alternate between Italian and Catalan, whereas 7.29% and 9.00% of fathers and mothers respectively

alternate between Italian and Sardinian (Tables 6.12 and 6.13). Such alternations, however, occur only when the parents want to express either anger or hilarity, for which they use either Catalan or Sardinian, and which account for no more than 20% of all interactions.

Table 6.13: *Language(s) spoken by mother to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	75.43	218
Alt. It./Cat.	11.07	32
Alt. It./Sar.	9.00	26
Others	2.08	6
Always Cat.	1.73	5
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.69	2
Total	100	289
No answer		3
Total		292

Figure 6.12: *Language(s) spoken by father to child (1998)*
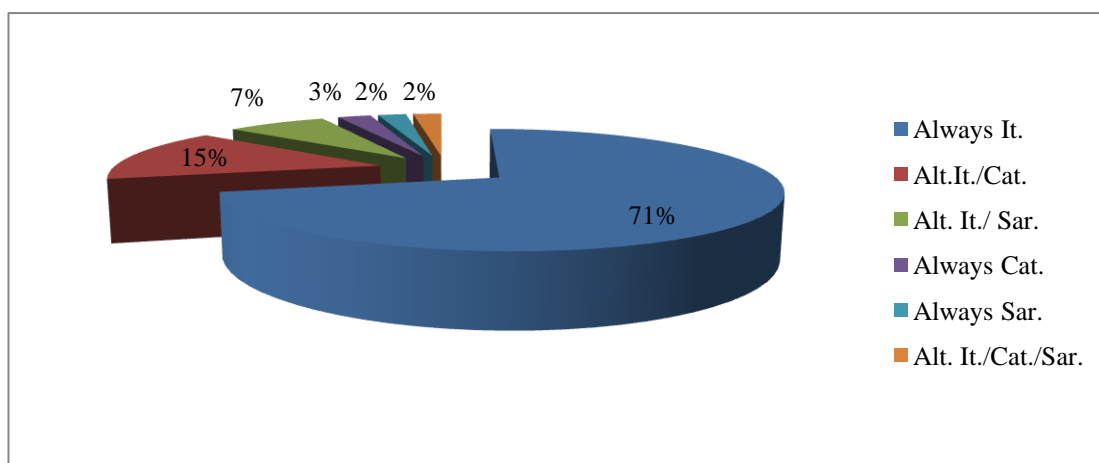
Figure 6.13: *Language(s) spoken by mother to child (1998)*
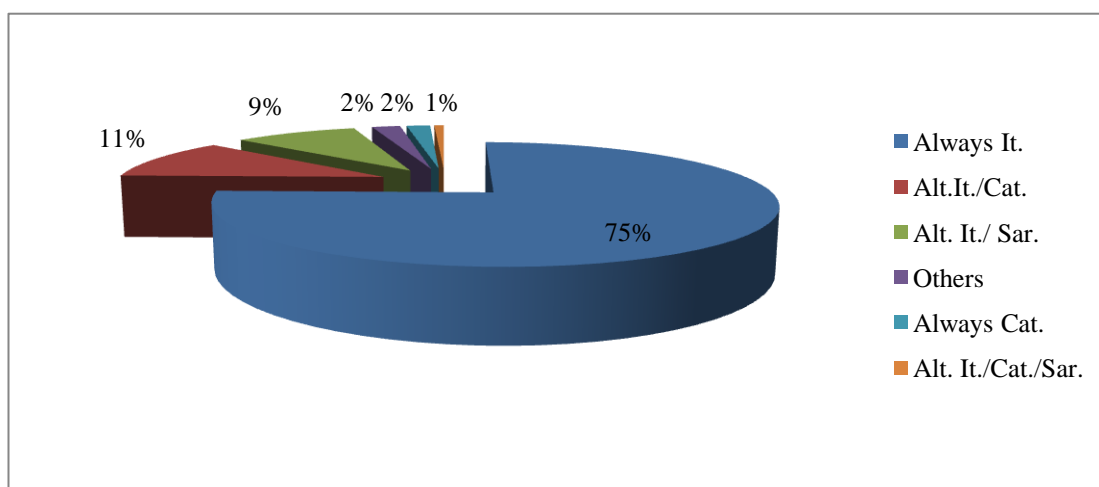
If the above results are compared with the data collected by Grossmann (1983: 29), the dramatic nature of the process of language shift becomes evident (Table 6.14 and Figures 6.14, 6.15): in the 1977 study, 19.4% of parents claimed to speak always in Catalan with their children. This means that, since then, there has been a loss of 18% of parents interacting always in *Alguerès* with their offspring: an annual fall of 1%.

Table 6.14: *Language(s) spoken by parents to child (1977)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	53.5	1581
Always Cat.	19.4	574
Alt. It./ Cat.	11.6	343
Alt. It./Sar.	6.3	185
Always Sar.	4.0	118
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	1.6	48
Others	1.1	33

Figure 6.14: *Language(s) spoken by parents to child (1977)*
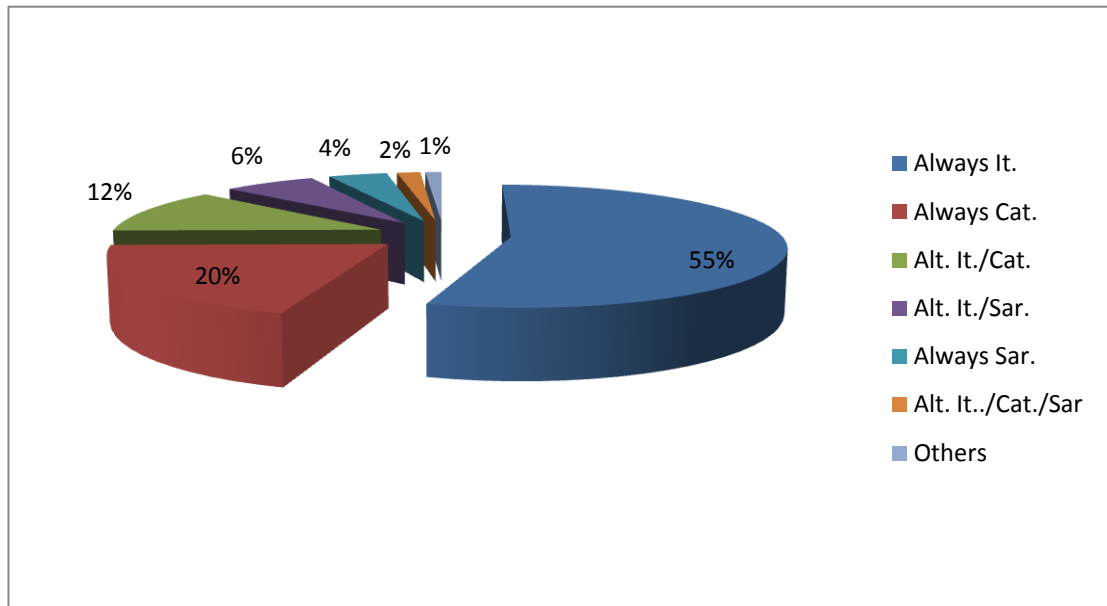
This break in the intergenerational language transmission is not a recent phenomenon (3.2.1). Although in the last thirty years the acceleration of the process of language abandonment has been significant, the first signs were already evident in the early 1900s. Those families belonging to either the aristocracy or the bourgeoisie, in the wake of a process of Italianisation that had started with the Piedmontese administration of Sardinia (see Armangué 1996b: 15-22 e 31-45; 1998a: 7-10), were gradually abandoning the local language and adopting Italian (Caria 1981: 23; 1997: 41). Thus, this purportedly modern phenomenon is in fact just the *tip* of an earlier process (see Dorian 1981: 48-54; Craig 1997 for the concept of *language tip*).

Figure 6.15: *Language(s) spoken by parents to child (1977 – 1998)*
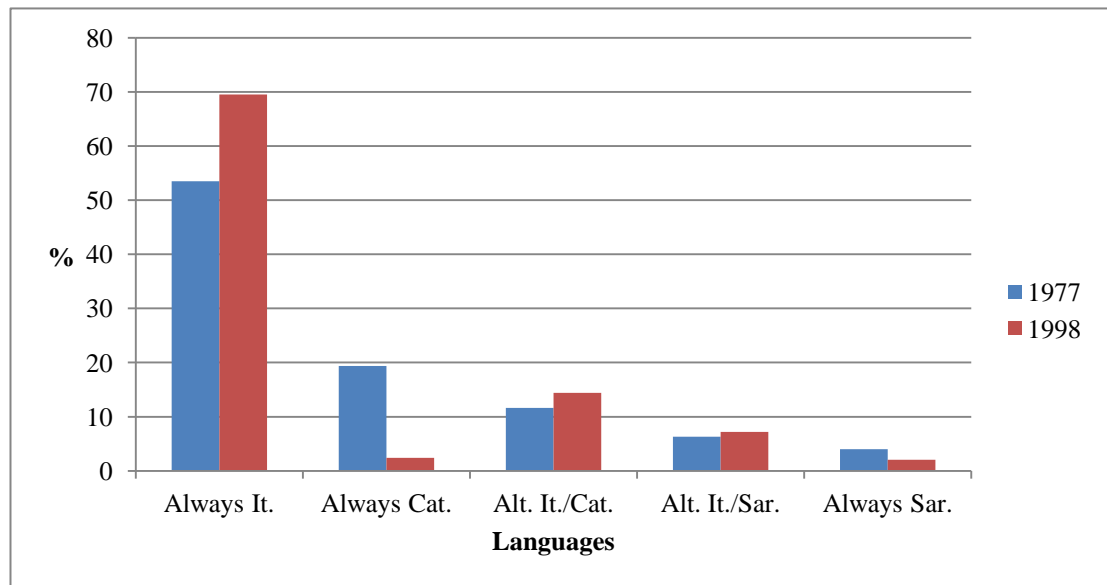
Further support for the language tip theory can be found by complementing these data with what has been observed by Torres (2007: 49-58) with regard to intergenerational language transmission in all the Catalan-speaking territories. By deducting the percentage of those interviewed who claimed to speak Catalan with their parents from the percentage of those who claimed to speak Catalan to their children and dividing it by 100, Torres has obtained an *intergenerational transmission rate*. The score, in a range between -1 and +1 (see Figure 6.18), is an indicator of either the advance or recession of the language from one generation to the next. Within all the Catalan-speaking regions analysed (Alghero, Andorra, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, la Franja), Alghero obtained the most negative rate (-0.16) by a considerable margin (Torres 2007: 53), indicating that in recent years a significant number of parents with a native competence in Catalan have decided to pass Italian on to their own children.

Figure 6.16: *Intergenerational transmission rates throughout the Catalan-speaking regions*
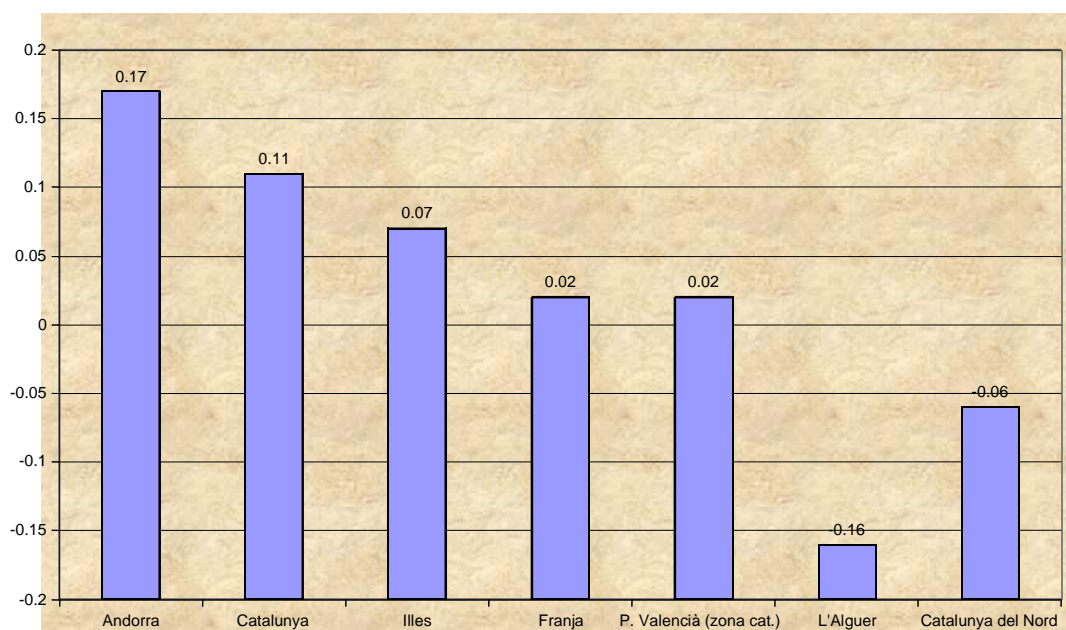
Source: Torres (2007: 53)

However, Italian is not only the main language of interaction within the family; it is also becoming the major language outside the household (Chessa 2007: 105-16). This means that the linguistic input the children receive from the family does not make them competent enough to use *Alguerès* in those limited situations (in shops, at the market, for example) where they may meet and interact with fluent adult speakers. Instead, this context enhances their competence in Italian by reducing the use of Catalan. Proficiency in Catalan (as well as in Sardinian, it has to be assumed) is by and large minimal among the younger generations: they may have some passive knowledge, but are unable to produce sentences or maintain a conversation in *Alguerès*, as has been discussed in 7.4.1.

6.2.3 The language(s) that children speak to their parents

The sociolinguistic situation appears even more acute if the interactions between parents and children are observed from the reverse angle: the language that the children speak to their parents. Among those children who are addressed by their

parents always in Catalan, quite a few claimed not to follow the same linguistic pattern. They may alternate between Italian and Catalan, but do not always use Catalan as their parents do.

The rationale behind this behaviour could be explained in a variety of ways. Speaking (predominantly) Italian may be a strategic device to make it clear that they do not want to be associated with a family background viewed as backward. There may be, however, more practical reasons: given that the dominant norms of linguistic interaction outside the household (at school, in the street, and on the football pitch, etc.) impose the use of Italian among peers, those children who have *Alguerès* as their primary language would be exposed to a considerable amount of Italian. It follows that, in those instances where siblings interact with the same playmates, the language used between brothers and sisters may become Italian, even in those cases in which their primary language is *Alguerès*. Such linguistic conduct, which becomes a habit in the interactions between siblings, may be continued when they speak with their parents.

Only a tiny percent of the children interviewed always use Catalan to speak to their parents, as opposed to 2.39% and 1.72% of fathers and mothers respectively who always use *Alguerès* with them (Tables 6.12, 6.13, and 6.17). The percentages of subjects declaring that they alternate between the languages available are also quite low. Only 8.39% of the sample claim to alternate between Catalan and Italian with their fathers, whereas 5.84% do so with their mothers. Italian, by contrast, is spoken by 86.36% of the informants when they address their fathers and by 86.94% when they address their mothers.

Table 6.15: *Language(s) spoken by child to father (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	86.36	247
Alt. It./Cat.	8.39	24
Alt. It./Sar.	3.85	11
Always Cat.	0.70	2
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.70	2
Total	100	286
Not known		4
No answer		2
Total		292

Figure 6.17: *Language(s) spoken by child to father (1998)*
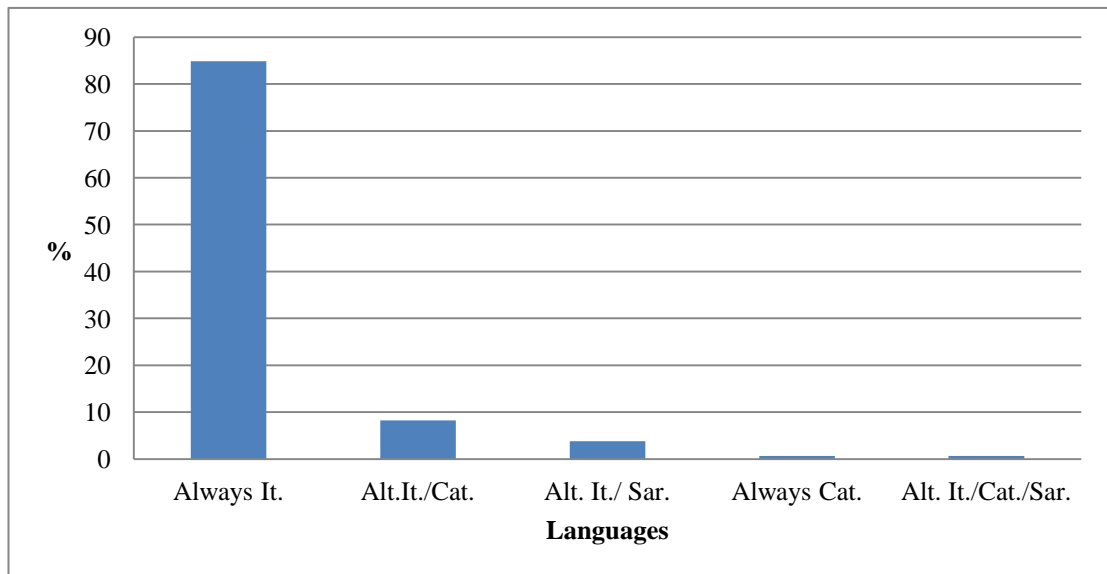
Table 6.16: *Language(s) spoken by child to mother (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	86.94	253
Alt. It./Cat.	5.84	17
Alt. It./Sar.	4.12	12
Others	1.03	3
Always Cat.	0.69	2
Always Sar.	0.69	2
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.69	2
Total	100	291

Figure 6.18: *Language(s) spoken by child to mother (1998)*
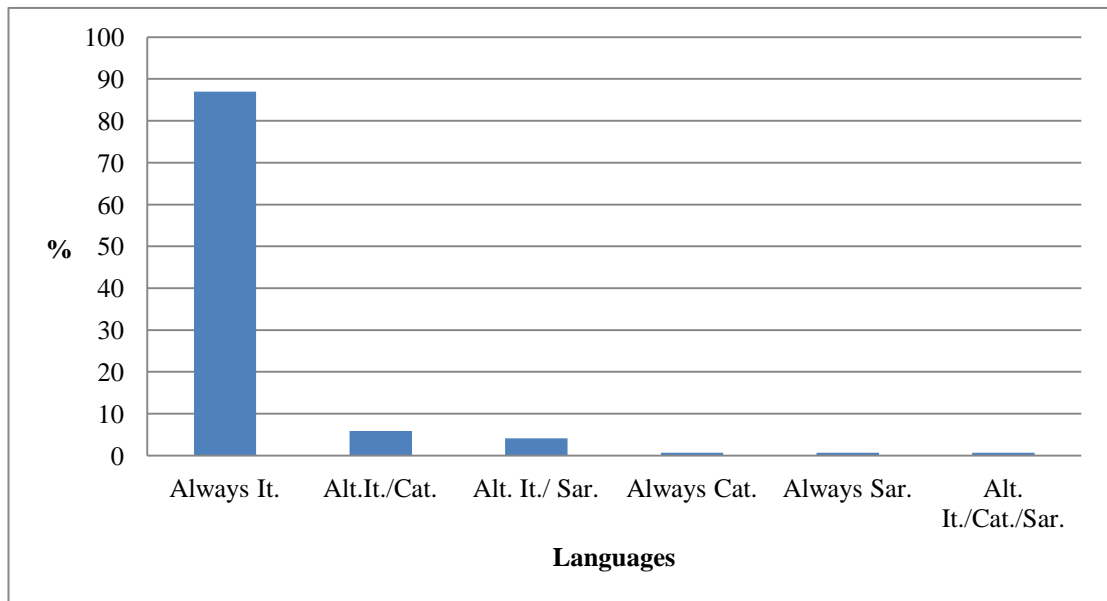
Table 6.17: *Language(s) parents speak to child and vice-versa (1998)*

	Parents-child	Child-Parents
Language	%	
Always It.	72.96	86.65
Alt. It./Cat.	12.82	7.11
Alt. It./Sar.	8.14	3.98
Always Cat.	2.08	0.69
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	1.38	0.69
Always Sar.	1.04	0.34

Figure 6.19: *Language(s) parents speak to child and vice-versa (1998)*
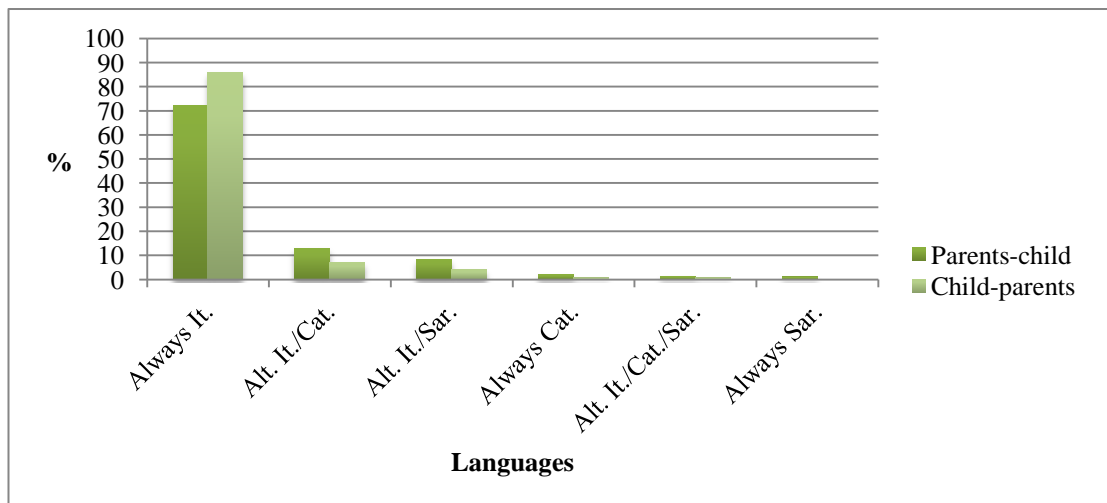
The mismatch between the language that parents speak to the informant and vice-versa can clearly be seen in Table 6.17 and Figure 6.21 below. The percentages shown are the average of the separate outcomes of Tables 6.12, 6.13, 6.15, and 6.16.

By comparing the data in this study with the results obtained by Grossmann in 1977 we can see the extent of the process of shift. While the percentage of children using Italian was still considerable (65.9%) in the 1970s, the number who claimed to have *Alguerès* as their prevalent language of interaction when speaking to their parents was also significant: 17.3% (Table 6.18).

Table 6.18: *Language(s) spoken by child to parents (1977)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	65.9	1949
Always Cat.	17.3	511
Alt. It./Cat.	8.5	252
Alt. It./Sar.	3	88
Always Sar.	1.9	56
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.7	22
Alt. Cat./Sar.	0.4	12

Figure 6.20: *Language(s) spoken by child to parents (1977)*
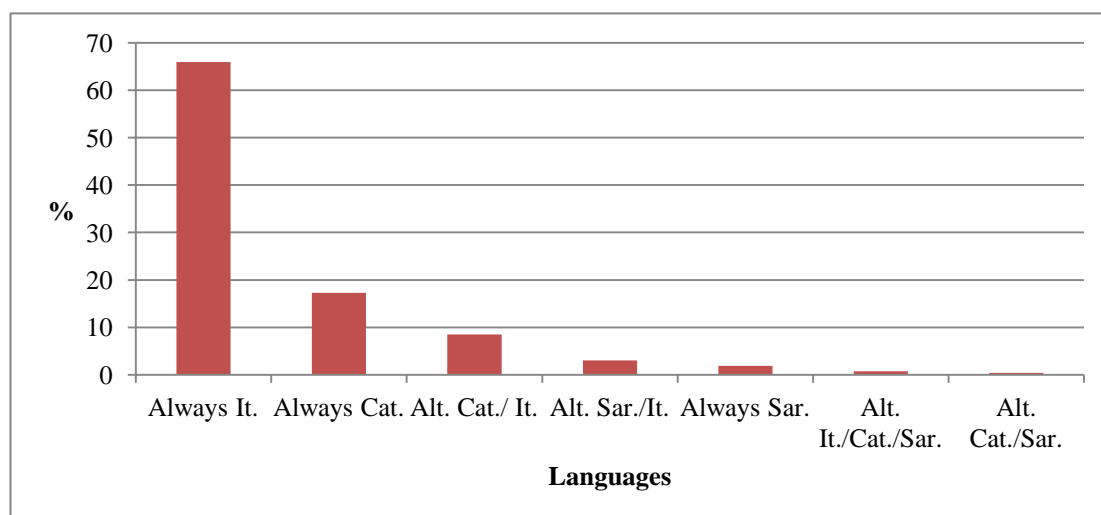
It must be pointed out that, despite a more solid presence of Catalan (and Sardinian) in the 1970s, we can also see the same mismatch as in the 1990s between the language that parents speak to the children and vice-versa, with a trend clearly in favour of Italian (Table 6.19 and Figure 6.21).

Table 6.19: *Language(s) parents speak to child and vice-versa (1977)*

Language(s)	Parents-child	Child-parents
	%	
Always It.	53.5	65.9
Always Cat.	19.4	17.3
Alt. It./Cat.	11.6	8.5
Alt. It./Sar.	6.3	3.0
Always Sar.	4.0	1.9
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	1.6	0.7

Figure 6.21: *Language(s) parents speak to child and vice-versa (1977)*
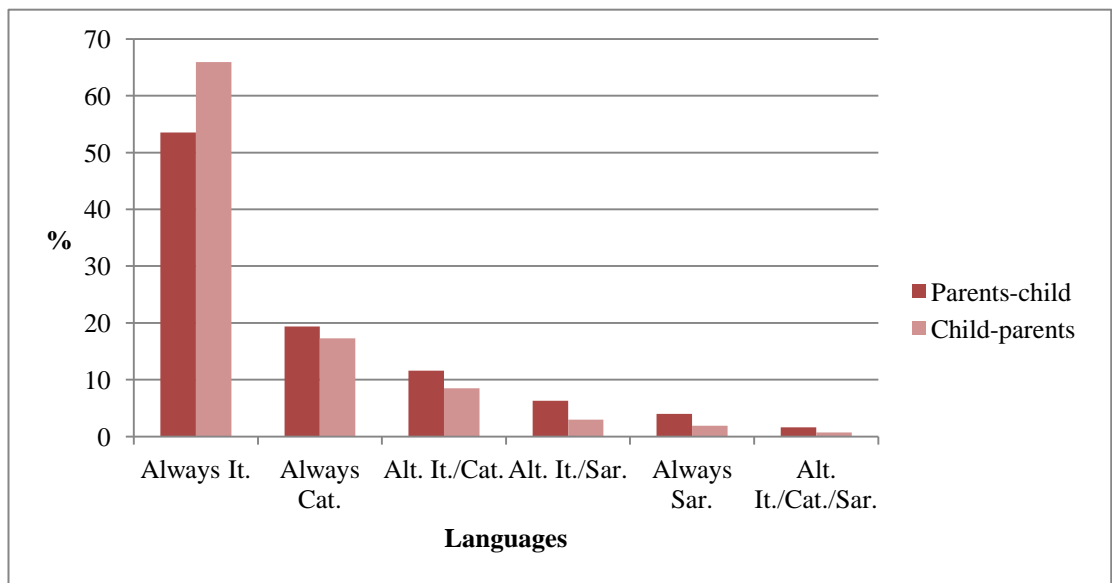
Figure 6.22: *Language(s) spoken by child to parents (1977 – 1998)*

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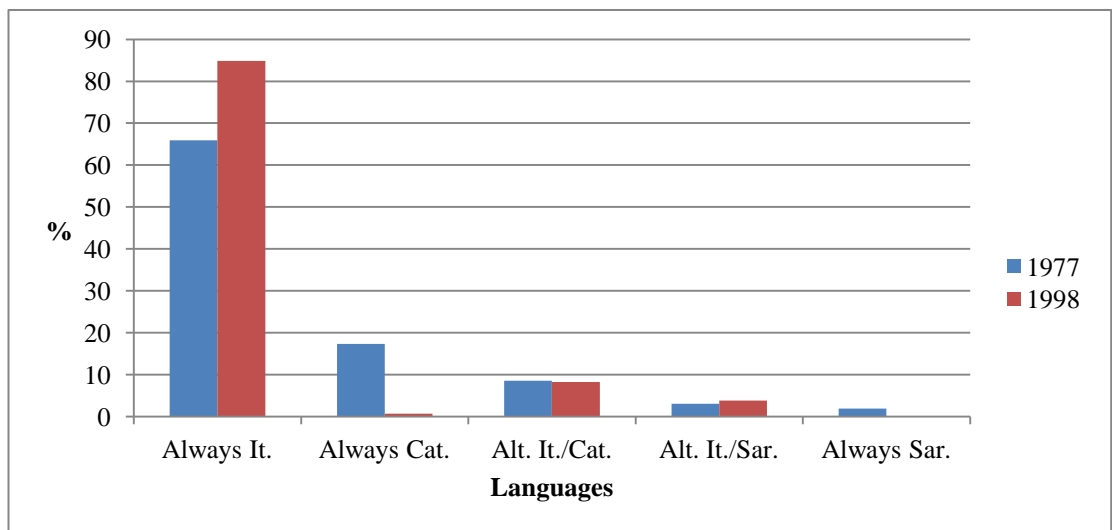
The trend towards the systematic adoption of Italian and consequent abandonment of Catalan becomes much more evident when we compare the set of data collected in 1998 with that from 1977, as in Figure 6.22.

6.2.4 The language(s) that grandparents speak to grandchildren

Interactions between grandparents and grandchildren are particularly important in regard to the process of language abandonment, as the role played by grandparents can be as decisive as that of the parents. In some instances, the break in the intergenerational language transmission can be compensated - albeit partially - by interactions with grandparents when they are using the minority language, thus allowing young speakers to acquire a certain level of active competence. In other words, some of what may be lost in terms of competence through interactions with parents can be regained by communicating with grandparents, as discussed in 7.4.1.

In many instances, when the use of the minority language with the parents is minimal or nil, it is nevertheless maintained provisionally, and in the majority of cases unidirectionally, in interactions with grandparents. The study conducted by Cappai-Cadeddu (2002: 67-69) in a small village near Alghero is a case in point. According to his findings, the majority of speakers under the age of 30 spoke Italian as their primary language. However, 68.4% of them had a fairly good active competence in their local variety of Sardinian, which had been acquired mainly through the interactions with their grandparents.

The results of my research show that the use of Catalan is more frequent in interactions between grandparents and grandchildren than between parents and children. However, the percentages reflecting such a use are still relatively low, as they are all under 10% (see Tables 6.20 to 6.24). On the other hand, the overall predominance of Sardinian is striking: 13.43% of paternal grandfathers, 4.08% of paternal grandmothers, 7.84% of maternal grandfathers, and 5.95% of maternal grandmothers have Sardinian as their main language of communication when they speak to their grandchildren. The average percentage of grandparents speaking Sardinian to the informants is 7.79%, as opposed to 6.69 of grandparents who always use Catalan (Table 6.24).

Table 6.20: *Language(s) spoken by paternal grandfather to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	51.74	104
Always Sar.	13.43	27
Alt. It./Cat.	12.94	26
Always Cat.	8.96	18
Alt. It./Sar.	8.46	17
Others	2.98	6
Alt. Cat./Sar.	1.49	3
Total	100	201
Not known		91
Total		292

Figure 6.23: *Language(s) spoken by paternal grandfather to child (1998)*
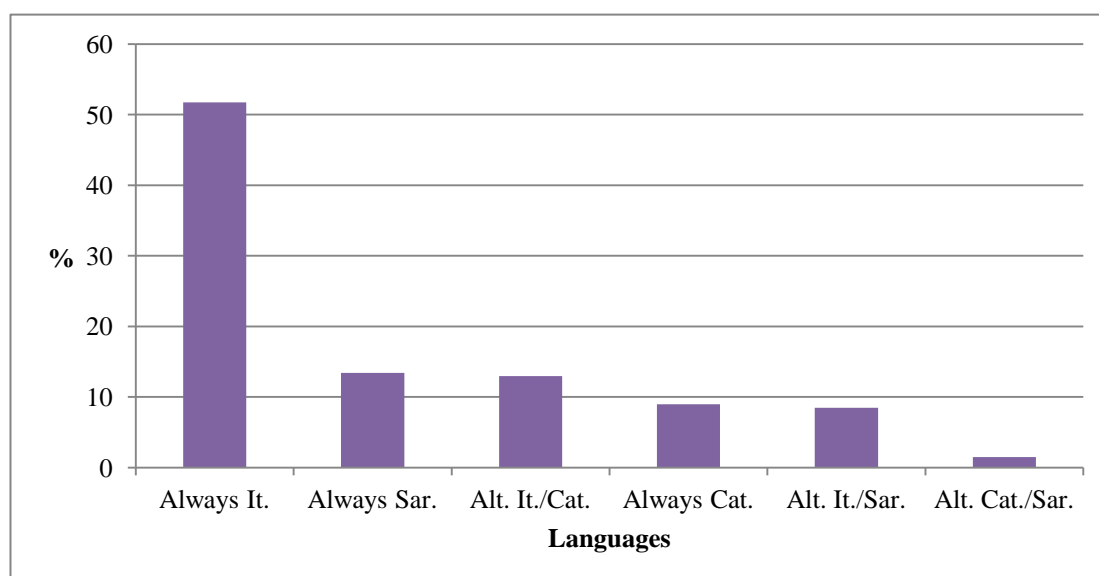
Table 6.21: *Language(s) spoken by paternal grandmother to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	64.90	159
Alternate It./Cat.	12.24	30
Alternate It./Sar.	10.61	26
Always Cat.	5.31	13
Always Sar.	4.08	10
Others	1.63	4
Alternate It./Cat./Sar.	0.82	2
Alternate Cat./Sar.	0.41	1
Total	100.00	245
Not known		47
Total		292

Figure 6.24: *Language(s) spoken by paternal grandmother to child (1998)*
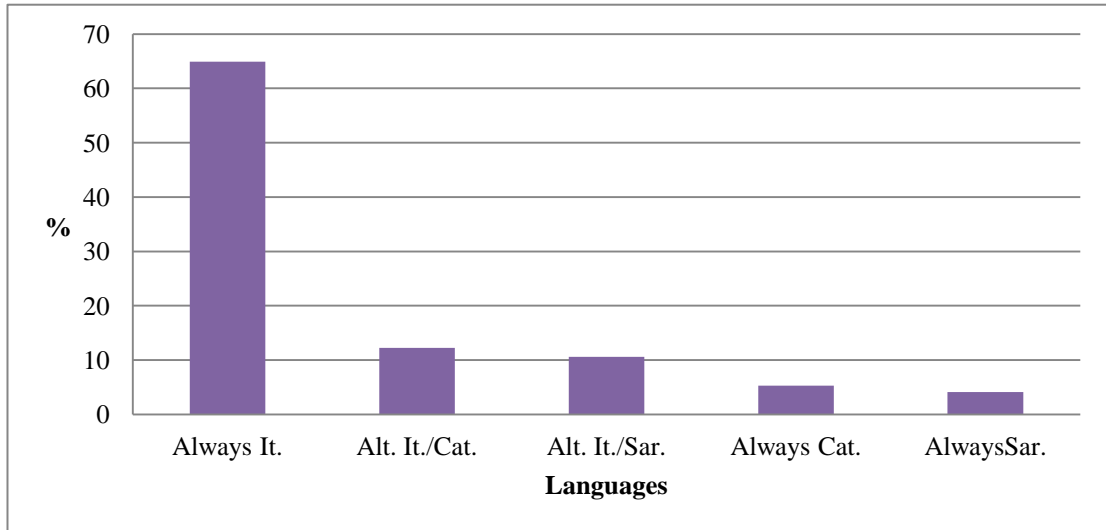
Table 6.22: *Language(s) spoken by maternal grandfather to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	55.88	114
Alt. It./Sar.	13.73	28
Alt. It./Cat.	11.76	24
Always Sar.	7.84	16
Always Cat.	7.35	15
Others	3.44	7
Total	100	204
Not known		88
Total		292

Figure 6.25: *Language(s) spoken by maternal grandfather to child (1998)*
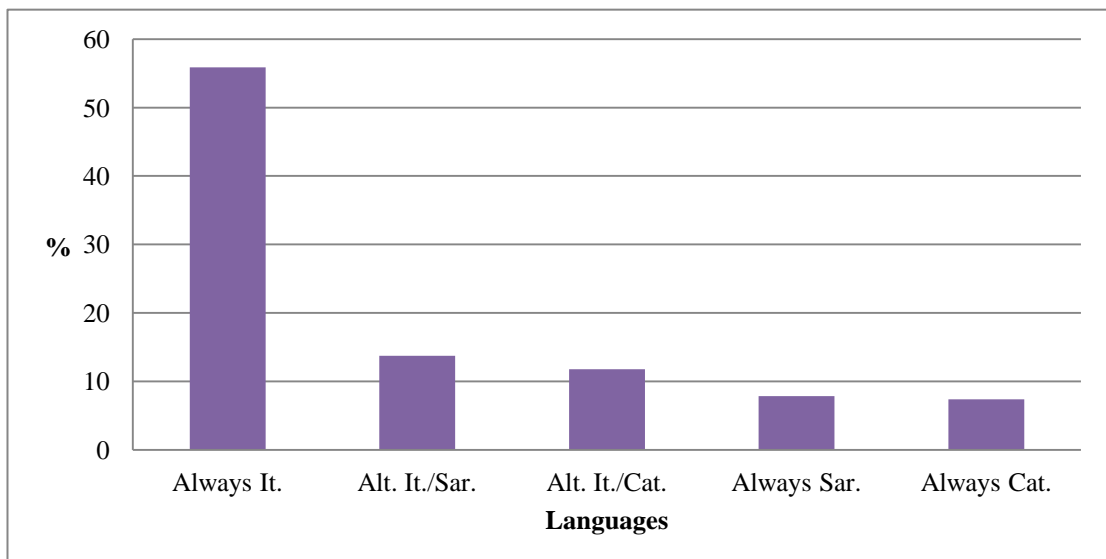
Table 6.23: *Language(s) spoken by maternal grandmother to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	56.75	143
Alt. It./Cat.	16.27	41
Alt. It./Sar.	12.30	31
Always Sar.	5.95	15
Always Cat.	5.16	13
Others	2.78	7
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.79	2
Total	100	252
Not known		38
No answer		2
Total		292

Table 6.24: *Average percentages of language(s) spoken by grandparents to child (1998)*

Language(s)	Always It.	Alt. It./Cat.	Alt. It./Sar.	Always Sar.	Always Cat.
%	57.32	13.30	11.27	7.79	6.69

Figure 6.26: *Language(s) spoken by maternal grandmother to child (1998)*
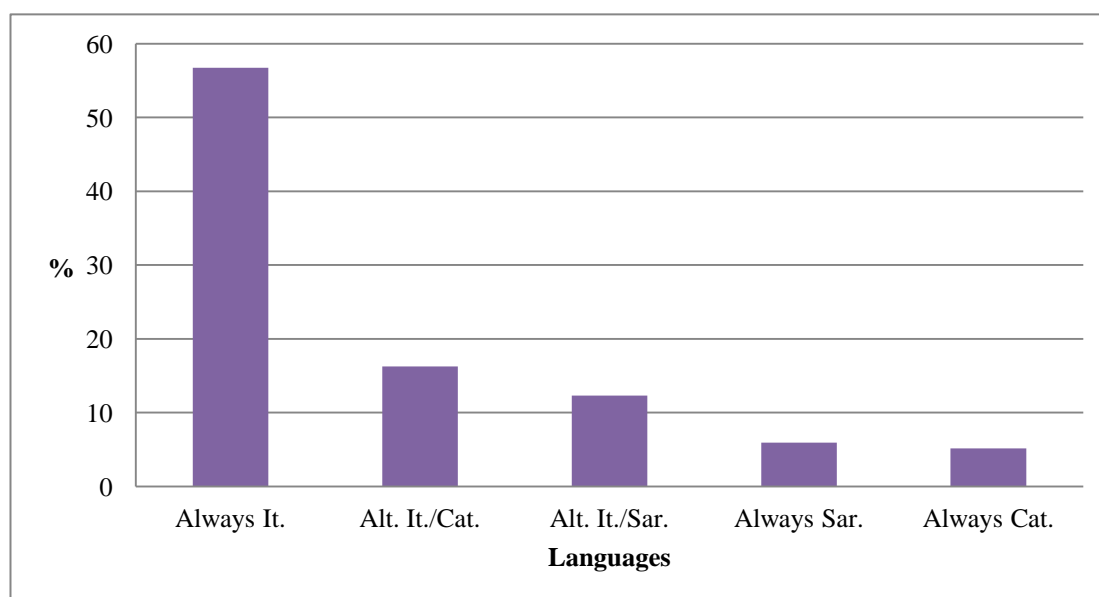
Figure 6.27: *Average percentages of language(s) spoken by grandparents to child (1998)*
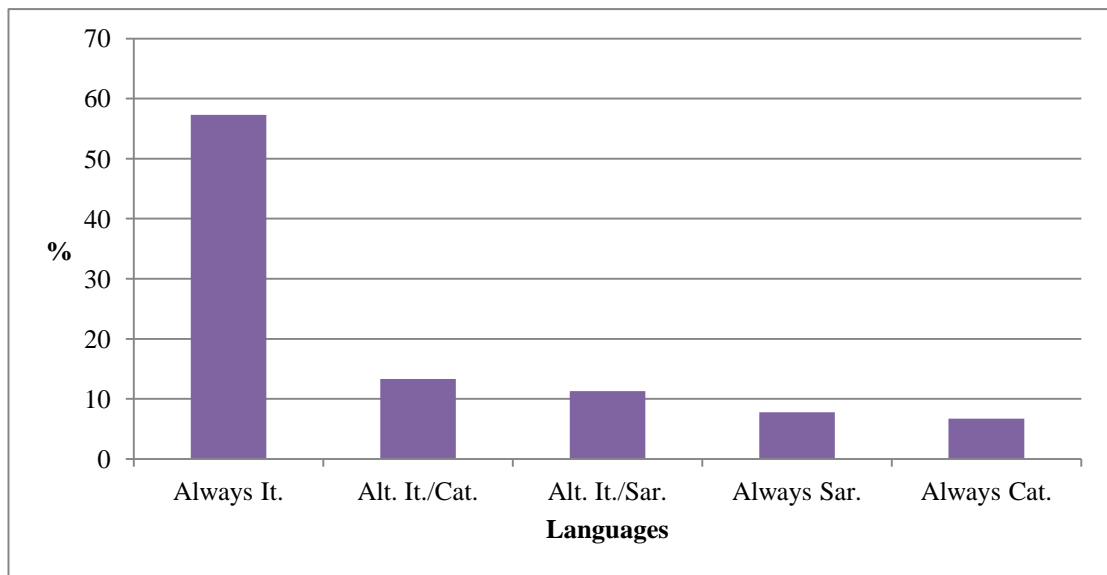
It is interesting to note how different the linguistic behaviour of grandparents is from that of parents (see Figure 6.28 below). The use of Italian is, not surprisingly, higher among parents.

Figure 6.28: *Language(s) grandparents and parents speak to child (1998)*
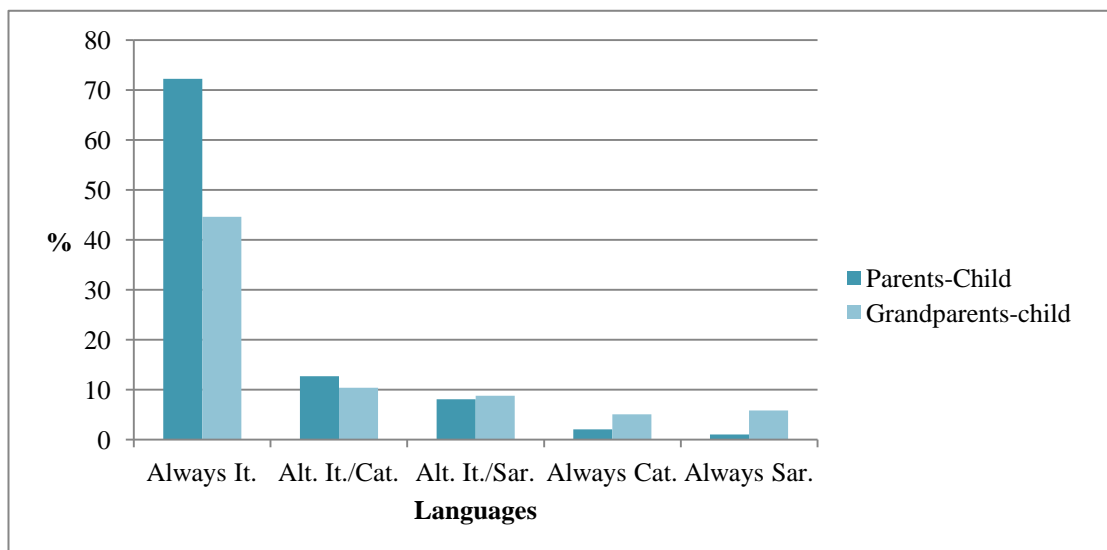
6.2.5 The language(s) that grandchildren speak to grandparents

As in the case of parents-child interactions, the language that the grandparents use to interact with their grandchildren is not always the same one in which the grandchildren reply. In some instances, the mismatch is quite significant: for example, in the interactions between children and paternal grandfathers, an average of 6.69% of grandfathers always use Catalan with their grandchildren, but only an average of 2.49% of children reply to them always in *Alguerès* (Tables 6.25 to 6.30).

Table 6.25: *Language(s) spoken by child to paternal grandfather (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	84	168
Alt. It./Cat.	6	12
Alt. It./Sar.	4	8
Always Sar.	3	6
Always Cat.	2.5	5
Others	0.5	1
Total	100	200
Not known		91
No answer		1
Total		292

Figure 6.29: *Language(s) spoken by child to paternal grandfather (1998)*
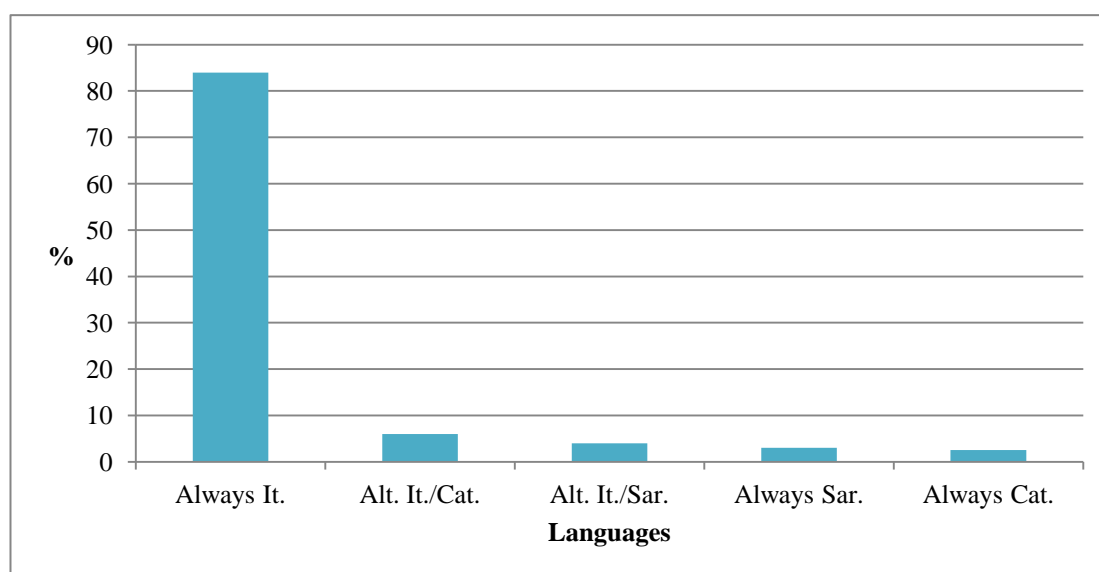
Table 6.26: *Language(s) spoken by child to paternal grandmother (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	85.71	210
Alt. It./Cat.	5.71	14
Alt. It./Sar.	4.50	11
Always Cat.	1.63	4
Always Sar.	1.63	4
Others	0.41	1
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	0.41	1
Total	100	245
Not known		47
Total		292

Figure 6.30: *Language(s) spoken by child to paternal grandmother (1998)*
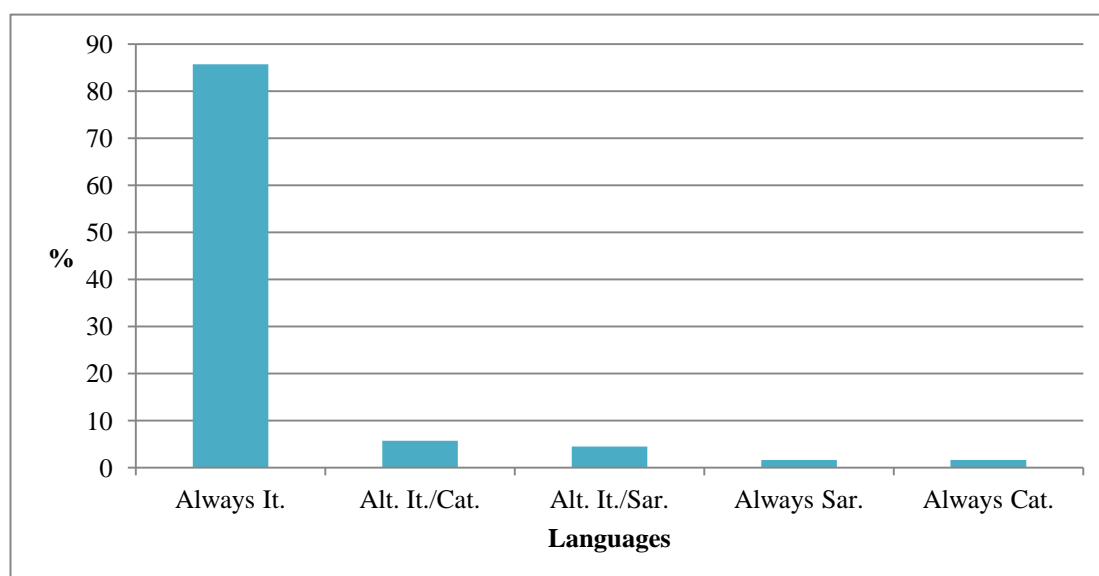
Table 6.27: *Language(s) spoken by child to maternal grandfather (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	81.28	165
Alternate It./Cat.	5.91	12
Alternate It./Sar.	4.43	9
Always Cat.	3.45	7
Others	2.46	5
Always Sar.	2.46	5
Total	100	203
Not known		88
No answer		1
Total		292

Figure 6.31: *Language(s) spoken by child to maternal grandfather (1998)*
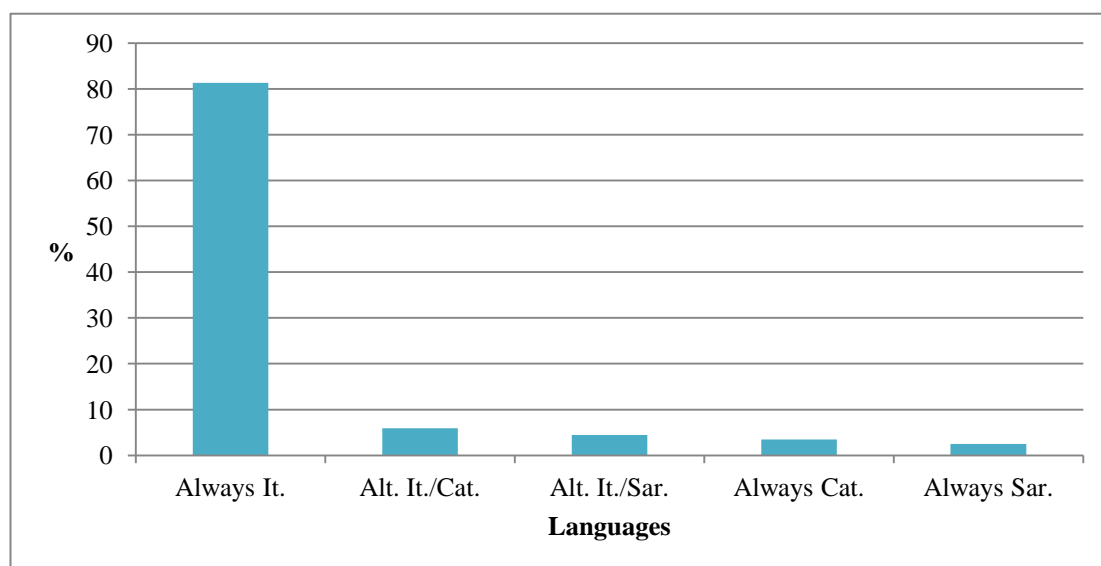
Table 6.28: *Language(s) spoken by child to maternal grandmother (1998)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	81.67	205
Alt. It./Cat.	7.57	19
Alt. It./Sar.	4.78	12
Always Cat.	2.39	6
Always Sar.	1.99	5
Others	1.60	4
Total	100	251
Not known		39
No answer		2
Total		292

Figure 6.32: *Language(s) spoken by child to maternal grandmother (1998)*
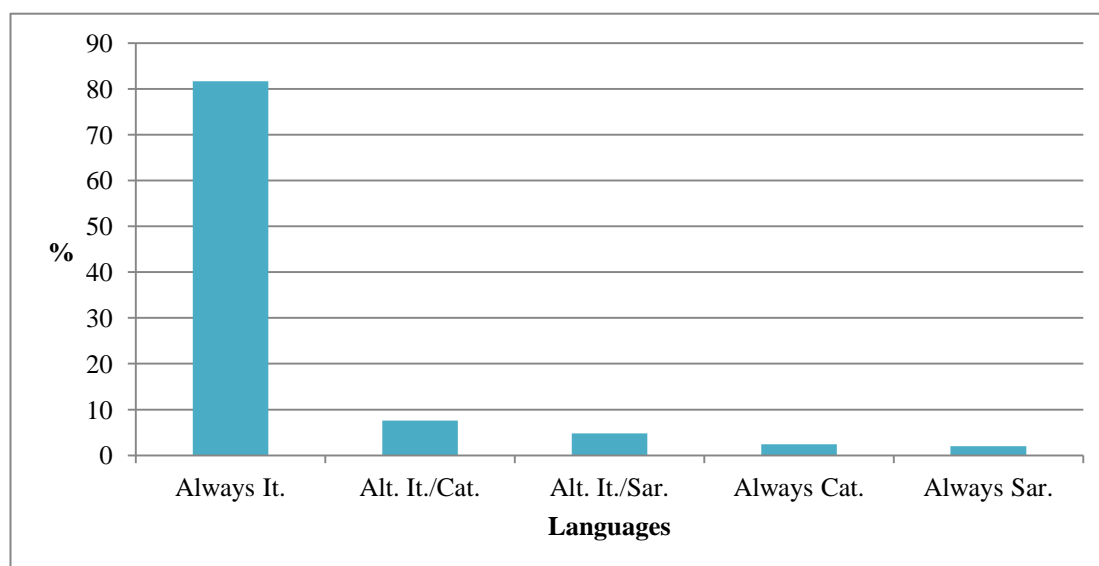
Table 6.29: *Average percentages of language(s) spoken by child to grandparents (1998)*

Language(s)	Always It.	Alt. It./Cat.	Alt. It./Sar.	Always Cat.	Always Sar.
%	83.01	6.30	4.42	2.49	2.27

Table 6.30: *Language(s) grandparents speak to child and vice-versa (1998)*

	Grandparents-child	Child-grandparents
Language(s)	%	
Always It.	57.32	83.01
Alt. It./Cat.	13.30	6.30
Alt. It./Sar.	11.27	4.42
Always Sar.	7.79	2.27
Always Cat.	6.69	2.49

Compared with the data obtained by Grossmann (Table 6.31 and Figure 6.34), the results obtained in my study show a dramatic drop with regard to interactions maintained only in Catalan.

Figure 6.33: *Language(s) grandparents speak to child and vice-versa (1998)*
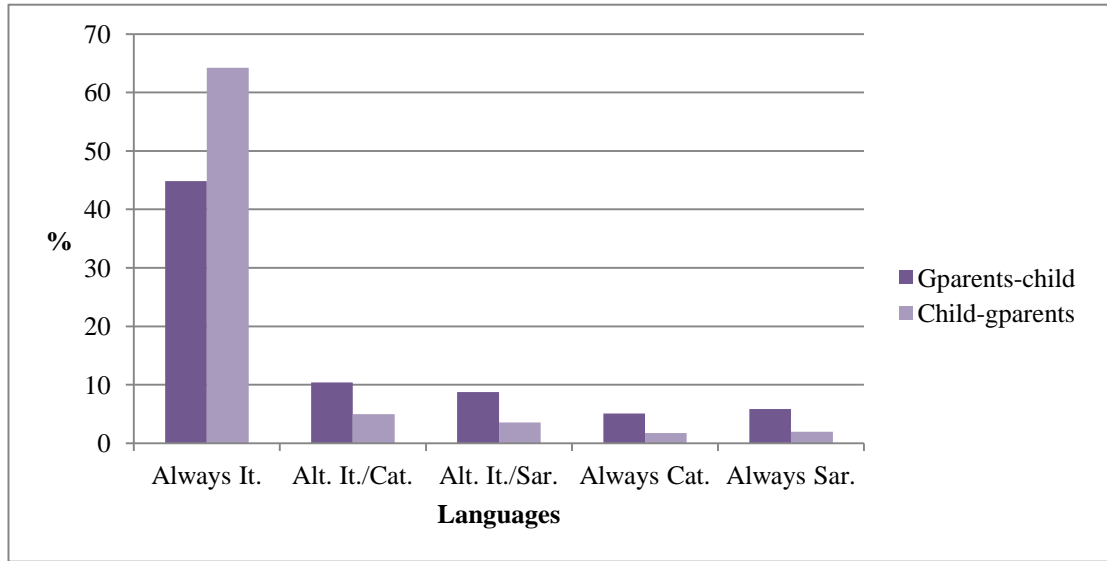
Table 6.31: *Language(s) spoken by child to grandparents (1977)*

Language(s)	Percentages	Numbers
Always It.	63.9	1620
Always Cat.	20.3	515
Alt. It./Cat.	5.4	138
Always Sar.	4.9	124
Alt. It./Sar.	3.0	76

Figure 6.34: *Language(s) spoken by child to grandparents (1977 – 1998)*
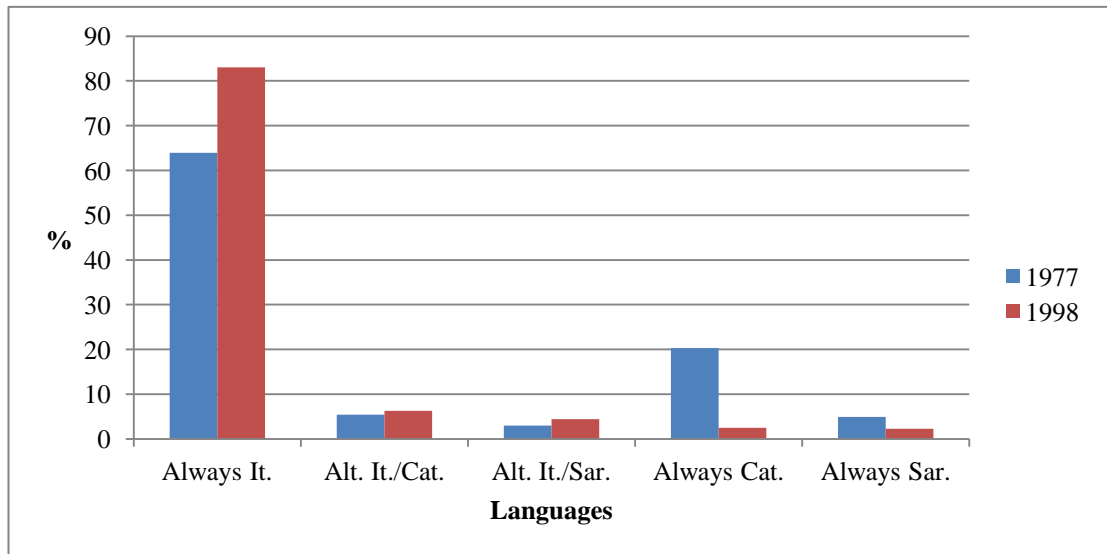
6.3 Language use and place of birth

6.3.1 Language(s) used by parents to address one another

It has already been noted (6.1.2) that place of birth plays an important role in regard to language use in Alghero as well as other similar sociolinguistic contexts. Broadly speaking, we can assume that local people (those who were born in Alghero) account for almost all the Catalan-speakers. Among people from Alghero, however, there is a considerable percentage of speakers who do not use Catalan or use it only sporadically (see Tables 6.32 and 6.33).

Table 6.32: *Language(s) spoken between parents according to place of birth (1998)*

Place of birth / Language(s)	Both parents born in Alghero		Both parents born outside Alghero		Mixed marriages (only one parent born in Alghero)	
	%	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*
Always It.	*35.45*	*39*	*45.59*	*31*	*56.76*	*63*
Always Cat.	*11.81*	*13*	*0.00*	*0*	*5.40*	*6*
Always Sar.	*2.72*	*3*	*13.24*	*9*	*3.60*	*4*
Alt. It./Cat.	*44.54*	*49*	*0.00*	*0*	*9.91*	*11*
Alt. It./Sar.	*0.90*	*1*	*27.94*	*19*	*4.50*	*5*
Alt. Cat./Sar.	*0.00*	*0*	*0.00*	*0*	*1.80*	*2*
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	*4.54*	*5*	*2.94*	*2*	*12.61*	*14*
Others	*0.00*	*0*	*10.29*	*7*	*5.40*	*6*
Total	*99.96*	*110*	*100.00*	*68*	*99.98*	*111*

Figure 6.35: *Language(s) spoken between parents according to place of birth (1998)*
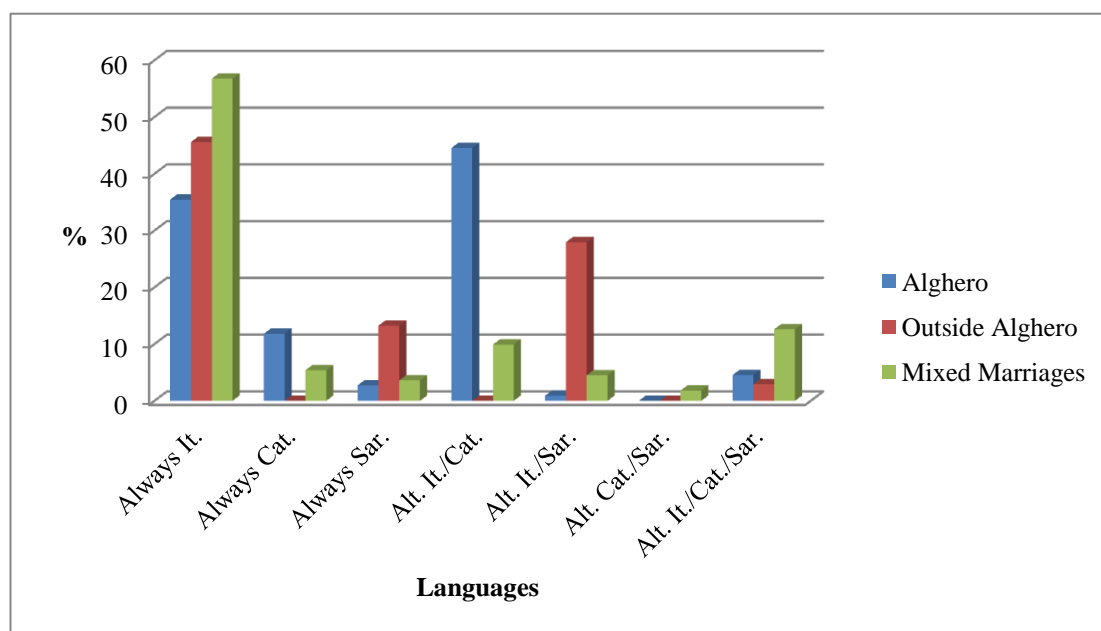
Analysis of the data in Tables 6.32 and 6.33 shows that use of Catalan is restricted to those families who are deeply rooted in Alghero. None of those couples where both partners were born outside Alghero has Catalan as their main language of interaction; 5.40% of mixed marriages always speak Catalan to each other; and 11.81% of couples with both partners born in Alghero always speak Catalan to each other. Sardinian is predominantly spoken in those marriages where both partners were born outside Alghero (13.24%). The high percentage of marriages where the partners alternate between Italian and Catalan (44.54%) is also striking; this percentage must be read as the clear sign of a transitional process towards the total adoption of Italian.

6.3.2 Language(s) used by parents to address their children

As in the case of the language that parents use with each other, the place of birth also plays an important role in the interactions between parents and children. Thus, the presence of Catalan as the sole medium of communication is limited to those parents who were born in Alghero. Of these, 4.12% speak *Alguerès* with their children, whereas none of those born outside Alghero uses it. As for Sardinian, 1.18% of parents born in Alghero and 3.33% of outsiders still use it with their children. On the

other hand, 23.53% of parents born in Alghero alternate between Italian and Catalan, compared to 15% of those parents born outside who alternate between Italian and Sardinian.

Table 6.33: *Language(s) spoken by fathers to children according the place of birth (1998)*

Father's Place of birth / Language(S)	Alghero		Outside Alghero	
	%	*N*	*%*	*N*
Always It.	64.71	110	76.67	92
Always Cat.	4.12	7	0.00	0
Always Sar.	1.18	2	3.33	4
Alt. It./Cat.	23.53	40	1.67	2
Alt. It./Sar.	1.18	2	15.00	18
Alt. Cat./Sar.	0.00	0	0.00	0
Alt. It./Cat./Sar.	3.53	6	0.00	0
Others	0.00	0	2.50	3
Don't know	1.18	2	0.83	1
Total	99.43	170	100.00	120

Figure 6.36: *Language(s) spoken by fathers to children according the place of birth (1998)*
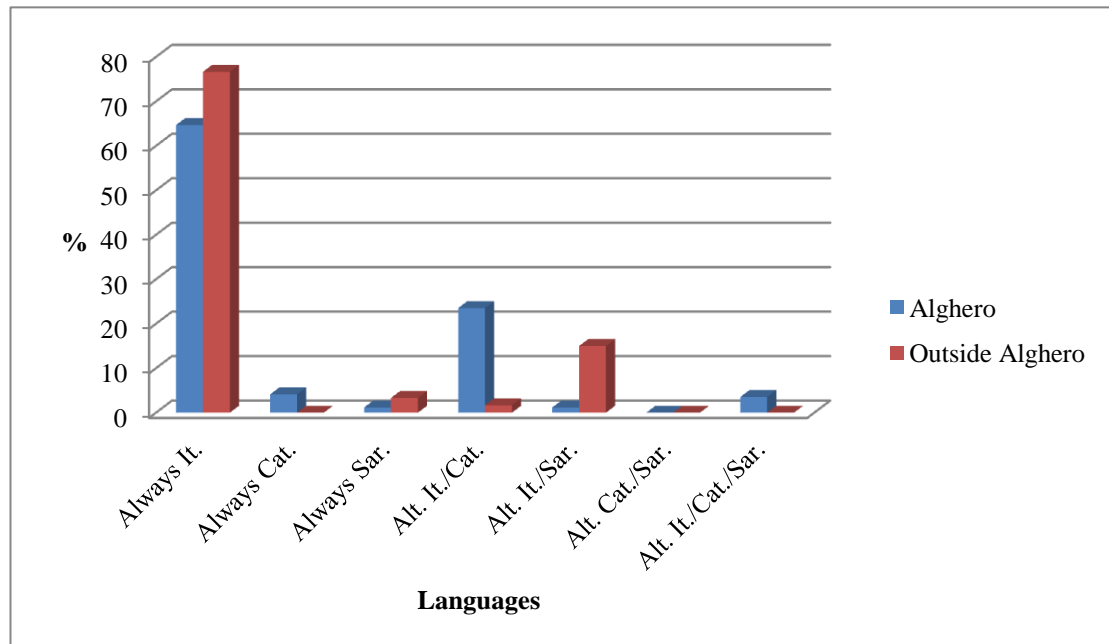
Chapter 7: The qualitative study

The data presented in the previous chapter show that the main language spoken among family members in Alghero is Italian, the dominant variety replacing Catalan, which, by contrast, is in a state of advanced language shift heading, in all likelihood, towards extinction (7.4). Within the eleven-to-fifteen-year-old age group, the break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan has now reached a critical stage, as hardly any parents pass it on to their offspring. The qualitative data discussed in this chapter will help us to understand the complexity behind the norms of language use and the causes at the root of language abandonment in the interactions between parents and children. The results obtained from the qualitative study, combined with the complementary data analysed in chapter 6, will also help us to answer the chief question at the heart of this thesis: *is Alghero another case of language death*?

My main contention is that language shift in Alghero is closely linked to the power relationship that exists between the linguistic groups involved. As a result, the language variety most closely associated with the economic and political power (Italian, in our case) is perceived as the more prestigious and, eventually, adopted as the language of interaction between parents and children. As already pointed out in 1.2.3.2, the concept of prestige must be considered as the value that a particular language holds for social advancement: more opportunities for the speakers to improve their social status, their socio-economic position, and their social recognition. Within this frame, languages must be conceived as material resources and language choice viewed as an indicator of the speakers' purpose (Gal 1979: 174; Grillo, Pratt & Street 1987: 268).

In particular, and following Argenter (2008), two factors must be seen as the main reasons for language shift in Alghero: 1. A drastic alteration of the socio-economic context, not counterbalanced by any solid limiting factor (see 4.2.2), for example, a widespread, strong sense of membership to the local community. 2. A drastic decrease in the density of traditional social networks (4.3.2.2 and 7.2.5). On the one hand, the emergence of a highly competitive society, as opposed to a previous agropastoral type of community, has led to a rational approach (i.e., not mechanical or automatic) to linguistic behaviour, in which the costs (i.e., possible social sanctions) and benefits (i.e., social reward) of language choice are carefully

taken into consideration by the speakers (see Silverstein 1970; and 4.4.2.1). On the other hand, a lose-knit Catalan-speaking social network seems to encourage the use of Italian outside the household, the increase of mixed-language couples, and a growing number of Italian-speaking families.

One main theoretical frame supports the underlying idea that the power relationship between the groups in contact (with all the pratical and symbolic implications) is at the basis of language decline in Alghero: the model suggested by Bourdieu (see, for example, 1982; 1991), according to which society has to be conceived as a market, is at the basis of my analysis. Within this market, the existence of norms governing social transactions make more or less clear what can or cannot be said, how it can be said, etc. Within this market, *foreign Catalan* also plays an important part in current Alghero, so that language conflict cannot be conceived, now, as a matter only between Italian and *Alguerès*.[58]

On the other hand, this research, in line with Barth (1969), suggests the existence of flexible ethnolinguistic boundaries. On the one hand, those that separate Catalanophones from Sardophones; on the other hand, the boundaries dividing Catalanophones from the majority Italian-speaking group. Thus, in the past, the rapid integration of those Sardophones who moved to Alghero partly explains the maintenance of local Catalan (see 2.2). The ambition to become fully integrated into the Italian national community, by contrast, partly explains language abandonment. Within this frame, the struggle between the desire to maintain a certain degree of alterity (i.e., in-group peculiarities) and the necessity to become similar to the dominant group has converted *Alguerès* into a mere referential (i.e., not actually spoken) sign of local identity.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first, the mechanisms that have led to widespread societal bilingualism in Alghero and the consequent process of language shift are discussed; the current sociolinguistic situation, by contrast, will be accounted for in section 7.2. Section 7.3 is specifically focused on the parents' motivations at the root of language shift, and finally, in section 7.4, I will suggest a model to assess the degree of vitality of local Catalan.

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[58] I will refeer to 'foreign Catalan' to indicate any Catalan variety other than *Alguerès*, although the term is mainly associated with Central and standard Catalan.

7.1 The process of bilingualism

7.1.1 An overview

In 4.2.1 we have seen that, broadly speaking, two types of societal bilingualism can exist: one characterised by a relative degree of stability and the other more unstable. In the case of instability, the dominant language (Ly) gradually takes over those domains that were previously occupied by the recessive variety (Lx). This functional erosion is generally accompanied by a gradual (i.e., according to age, social status, etc.) process of acquisition of the dominant language leading first to the emergence of a bilingual community and then to a situation of monolingualism in Ly (Romaine 1995: 39-40; Trudgill 2003: 77-8; Weinreich 1953: 68, 106). In Alghero, the process of bilingualism follows, by and large, the same general pattern of similar sociolinguistic contexts (see, for example, Boix and Vila 1998: 188-92) and may be represented as in Figure 7.1, where the boxes at the top represent both the upper classes and the younger speakers.

Figure 7.1: *Schematic representation of the process of bilingualism in Alghero*[59]
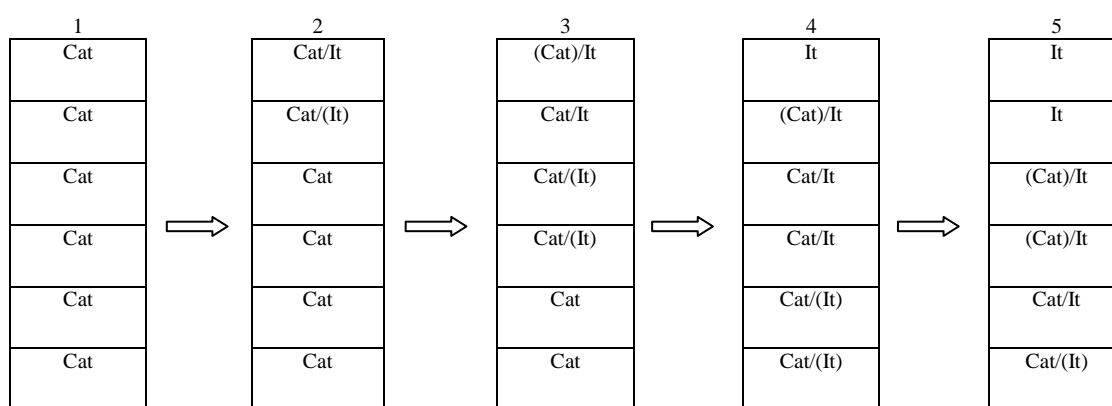
From a supposed initial situation of monolingualism in Catalan (stage 1) we move, gradually, towards a more or less widespread bilingualism (stage 3), to reach,

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[59] For purely explanatory reasons, I have assumed an initial phase (1) of widespread monolingualism in Catalan, but this should rather be understood as 'nearly universal monolingualism' (Dorian 1981: 94). Monolingualism was certainly the condition of the majority of the population in the late eighteenth century, but there must have also been bilingual speakers (eg, Catalan-Sardinian and, to lesser extent, Catalan-Spanish) as well as isolated groups of monolinguals in other language varieties (Sardophones, for example, not yet settled in town).

eventually, phase 5 (the current situation). This last stage is characterised by a considerable increase of both *Italian monolinguals* (It) and *semi-speakers* ((Cat)/It), as discussed in 7.4. The former (It) are the children of young Italophone parents; the children of mixed-language couples; and those immigrants (and their children) who have recently arrived. The *semi-speakers*, on the other hand, are mainly first generation native-speakers of Italian who can speak *Alguerès* (with different degrees of competence) but have not achieved the competence of (adult) native-speakers (Dorian 1981: 94-96, 114-117).

7.1.1.1 Social differences and language use

The process towards a widespread societal bilingualism began (probably in the late eighteenth century) with the acquisition of Italian (in some cases to the detriment of Spanish) by a small but socially well-delineated sector of the population, which I call, generically, the *upper classes* (see 3.3.3.1 and 4.1.2.1). The community as a whole, however, remained largely and markedly a Catalan-speaking society (phase 2 of Figure 7.1). We cannot be certain about the causes that led some speakers to acquire Italian, first for specific functions outside the home, and then for family interactions. But one can easily assume that at the root of the process there are practical and professional reasons, such as the need to be familiar with the language of bureaucracy, but also the desire to establish social boundaries. Thus, for example, those individuals who occupied a privileged social position (such as the political elite seen in 3.3.2) must have become familiar with the dominant language, which they must have used, initially, only within specific contexts (formal meetings, for example,) and/or with particular interlocutors (e.g., colleagues).

A seventy-eight year old female informant (CS.27.08.10) provides a clear account of the use of Catalan and Italian in Alghero, in the first half of the last century, in relation to the speakers' social status. Her primary language is *Alguerès* and, in the neighbourhood where she was born and bred (the old town), the predominant language of interaction was also clearly *Alguerès*. However, as we can see from Fragment 7.1 below, it was not unusual to come across families (those belonging to the local aristocracy) who had adopted Italian as their main language (mostly, but not only, for interactions with their peers and within the household). The members of these upper-class families, though, did not abandon Catalan completely,

so that they can surely still be assessed as *fully proficient* or, at least, *semi-native* speakers (7.4).[60]

FRAGMENT 7.1: CS.27.08.10[61]	
INTERV.:	*Al centro storico, la lingua dei bambini qual era, l'italiano o l'algherese?*
CS.27.08.10:	*All'età mia **era ancora l'algherese**.*
INTERV.:	*Lei non si ricorda di nessuno che parlasse l'italiano?*
CS.27.08.10:	*Beh, **quelli del palazzo mio sí, perché erano figli di Don Piras, di Don Chessa** ... [upper class families] ... Erano tutti nel mio palazzo. [...] **I padroni** erano questa gente [...] **Dunque questi ragazzi, diciamo ... un po' signori, questi parlavano l'italiano, noi parlavamo l'algherese**.*
INTERV.:	*Perché, secondo lei?*
CS.27.08.10:	*Questo non ti so dire, no [...] **diciamo che gli altri erano i poveri e loro erano i signori... e parlavano l'italiano** [...]*
INTERV.:	*E con sua madre parlavano in algherese...*
CS.27.08.10:	*[...] **Con mamma parlavano l'algherese. Perché mamma parlava l'algherese e magari per non farla star male la parlavano** [in algherese]... **loro sapevano vuol dire anche l'algherese bene... e la parlavano in algherese**.*

The majority of informants (including CS.27.08.10) seem to be reluctant to openly admit the impact that such a socio-linguistic divide, and the consequent desire to emulate those speakers at the top of the social ladder, have had on language transmission to their children. However, there seems to be evidence to suggest that the linguistic behaviour of the upper classes must have influenced, at some point, that of the lower classes. The story of a young informant (CS.13.09.10 of Fragments 7.2 and 7.2b) is an excellent case in point. In Fragment 7.2, she describes the embarrassment within the Catalan-speaking community at speaking *Alguerès*. The

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[60] Speakers are divided into two discrete blocks – those who adopted Italian (the upper classes, predominantly) and the monolinguals (the rest of the population, mainly lower-class, with no - or little - education). We should make it clear, however, that the situation could not be so categorically divided (bilinguals on the one hand, monolinguals on the other) and speakers must be positioned within a continuum, with prevalence of monolinguals as we get closer to the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. It should also be clear that the division between classes (low and high) is here very broad and approximate and we should bear in mind that class differences are not based solely on individuals who have access to material resources, but are the result of a number of other factors: for example, the ability to access different forms of cultural and symbolic capital.

[61] Transcriptions of interviews report faithfully what can be heard from the recordings, and no grammatical or stylistic amendments, towards standard Italian, have been made. However, they have been polished from certain elements, such as hesitations, repetitions, or interjections, unless they supply relevant information to the analysis. This fragment, like other fragments, is in Italian because this is the variety that the interviewer speaks with the interviewee. In other cases, methodological reasons have also led to the use of Italian, such as the need to analyse the competence of Italian of some Catalan-speaking parents. Symbolic conventions to account for, for example, prosodic aspects have not been considered and only traditional symbols of punctuaction have been used. And finally, personal names have been replaced by fictitious ones, meaning that the personal names that appear in the fragments are all invented.

majority of native-speakers of Catalan (mainly of humble origins), like CS.13.09.10, feel the burden of a language variety that reminds them of socio-economic ostracism.

FRAGMENT 7.2: CS.13.09.10[62]	
INTERV.:	*Per cosa s'és perdut l'alguerés, segons tu?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Per cosa **les famílies**, segons mi, un poc **se vergonyegen** de parlar l'alguerés [...] per cosa, per quant he vist ió, los algueresos tenen por de se pondre als altros amb la llengua d'ellos; **tenen por que los prenen en giro**.*
INTERV.:	*Si te demanessi de fer una classífica tra diverses llengües, quala fóra la primera i quala l'última?*
CS.13.09.10:	***La primera** llengua, per a mi, per com la veig ió ara, actualment, **l'italià** [...] és una llengua que **mos ajuda de més a afrontar** ... eerr... **l'Itàlia** [...] **L'alguerés és un obstàcul**...*
INTERV.:	*I tu creus que, per exemple, los algueresos hagin decidit de parlar amb els fills en italià per aqueixes raons?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Diem que al vuitanta, noranta per cent és així ... sí!*
INTERV.:	*I tu sés d'acordiu amb aqueixa decisió ...?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Ió sí. **No m'és mai agradat de parlar l'alguerés**!*
INTERV.:	*I per això has decidit de parlar a tons fills en italià?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Sí [...]*
INTERV.:	*Però tons fills calqui cosa la saben dire en alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Sí, sí [...] entenen a mi amb mos germans que parlem en alguerés [...]*
INTERV.:	*I ton pare i ta mare, cosa parlen amb a tons fills?*
CS.13.09.10:	*En italià, **per co' hi he impost ió de parlar en italià**. Sí!*

The underlying reasons for the informant's explicitly negative attitude towards *Alguerès* become obvious in Fragment 7.2b below, where the general considerations expressed in Fragment 7.2 become now very personal and her social frustrations and resentments clearly shine through. The informant has developed a strong anti-*Alguerès* attitude ('*No m'és mai agradat de parlar l'alguerés*'), as she associates local Catalan with the poor socio-economic condition and the ostracism suffered in her childhood. As a result, Italian comes to be the quickest way to close socio-economic gaps and (in the case of her own children) a means to achieve some form of social recognition. It is quite significant that she has prohibited her parents from speaking *Alguerès* with her children.

FRAGMENT 7.2b: CS.13.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Cosa te recordes de quan anaves a escola, a les elementares?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Al.lora, ió me record que hi era assai ... **se veieva assai la diferenza de la probertat**, se veieva. Per dire, **tu eres probe ... te feven notar-lo**. Magari no te'l dieven, però **los atejaments que teniven los minyons ... pesava assai**. Lego **mosaltros fills de pescadors no és que mos podiven pirmitir, magari, un parell de***

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botes noves o ... Un vistit mos el dava una cosina ... primer se usava així, ecco. I se veieva assai!

In truth, such an extreme, explicit attitude, expressed by CS.13.09.10 is, in today's Alghero, an exception. Language activism and consequent transformative ideologies developed in the late twentieth century (7.3.3.1) imply the emergence of a 'politically correct' attitude towards local languages (see, for example Simon 2009a, for the particular case of *Alguerès*). In fact, no-one else among my informants has been so explicitly anti-*Alguerès* and, in general terms, speakers assume a favourable, positive stance towards local Catalan, although they predominantly speak Italian (with their own children and grandchildren). The complexity of a situation in which speakers try to fit into a context that requires both a process of *mimesis* to the dominant group and a certain degree of *alterity* will be discussed in 7.3.3, but a widespread, disguised sense of subordination to the dominant culture is perceived in almost all the informants.

Consider, for example, Fragments 7.3 and 7.4 below. According to RMM.10.09.10 (Fragment 7.3), embarrassment and ostracism are avoided by fulfilling the 'suggestions' of an impersonal, superior entity ('*la cultura*'), which is to be identified with Italian, commonly associated with the language of literature, knowledge, and education. On the other hand, AR.03.03.09 (Fragment 7.4) clearly expresses the view that proficiency in Italian is definitely a must: she replies to the question about her knowledge of Italian with an unequivocal, emphatic '*eh certo*!', implying a prime position of the dominant language within the local community.

FRAGMENT 7.3: RMM.10.09.10
INTERV.:	*I per cosa s'és passat a parlar l'italià.?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*Per cosa sem estats, un poc ... no el sep ...**la cultura mos ha dit de imparar l'italià** als fills* [...] *magari no eren bons a parlar l'italià, però lis hi parlaven en italià* [...] *Eh, per co' hi dieven... per cosa **sinó fanen brutta figura amb els companyons**, no saben parlar l'italià a escola ... al.lora han cercat de... cioè l'he fet també ió, ecco. La major part de la generació mia als fills han parlat en italià. Ió, per exemple, tenc nebodes, que ma cunyada ja és algueresa, però als fills tots en italià, capito? Eh, purtroppo ... és estada una cosa verament esballada.*

FRAGMENT 7.4: AR.03.03.09
INTERV.:	*Vosté, a part l'alguerés, a part un poc de gal.lurés i de sardu, quales altres llengües coneix?*
AR.03.03.09:	*Manc'una!*
INTERV.:	*Manc'una?!*
AR.03.03.09:	*No, no no no...*

INTERV.:	*Beh, l'italià sí*
AR.03.03.09:	***Eh certo!***

7.1.1.2 Competence, linguistic interactions, and ethnolinguistic integration

Despite the use of Italian (within the household) by those (isolated) cases of wealthy speakers seen in the previous section, the main (if not the sole) language of communication among members of the Catalan linguistic community must have been, in the first half of the last century, still *Alguerès*. We have already seen in 4.2.4 that census data suggest a widespread competence and use of local Catalan, and this assumption is particularly supported by AP.17.07.10, a sixty-three-year-old female informant. From the description that she makes of her childhood, and the (linguistic) relationship with her mother (born at the beginning of the twentieth century) and her grandmother (born in the second half of the nineteenth century), it clearly emerges that Catalan was still the main language of interaction, at least between members of the same linguistic group, until the forties and fifties of the last century.

FRAGMENT 7.5: AP.17.07.10	
AP.17.07.10:	*Ho conosciuto mia nonna sino a nove anni [...] Ricordo solo [...] questa vecchietta [...] che aveva un fazzolettino dove aveva degli spiccioli [...] e mi diceva "aspetta che ti [...] do dei centesimi..."*
INTERV.:	*Ti parlava in Italiano*?!
AP.17.07.10:	***Nooo! mi parlava in algherese. Proprio algherese algherese; non è che era capace a parlare l'italiano, no****!*

The informant is clearly stressing that her grandmother's sole language was *Alguerès*: she replies to the interviewer's question about the linguistic interaction between them ('did she speak Italian with you?') with a forceful negation, which is followed by an explicit statement about her grandmother's (total) lack of competence in Italian. She is also making clear that her grandmother's language was *proper Alguerès*, as she reinforces the concept (i.e., her grandmother's monolingualism) by repeating the substantive, on the model of superlative in *Alguerès*.[63]

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[63] Superlative is formed in *Alguerès* by repeating the adjective: *petit petit* (very small), *gros gros* (very fat), *bell bell* (very pretty), etc. In this particular instance, however, the meaning of '*Alguerès Alguerès*' is not, of course, 'very *Alguerès*' (*Alguerès* is here a substantive, which cannot be accompanied by an adverb), but rather something on the lines of: 'proper *Alguerès*, excellent *Alguerès*', and the like, as the double adjective construction implies such meaning's nuances (e.g., *bell bell*, depending on the context, can be interpreted as 'an example of beauty'), which is often

She also tells us about her mother's poor competence in Italian. However, as opposed to her grandmother, her mother had to learn (some) Italian because of the need to interact with (foreign) interlocutors who only knew Italian (her lodger, in this particular case), as emerges from Fragment 7.6 below.

FRAGMENT 7.6: AP.17.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Perché, prima, [...] la generazione dei tuoi nonni, l'italiano, lo parlava?*
AP.17.07.10:	***Nooo! Mia madre ha imparato*** *[...]* ***tramite questa signora che abitava da noi, che parlava in italiano e quindi era costretta a capirlo*** *[...].* ***Sennò parlava*** *... [laughs]* ***lo parlava alla me ne frego, mia madre*** *[...].*[64] ***Ha imparato cosí, però tante cose non le diceva bene, no****...*

In this phase (3 of Figure 7.1), when also the members of the lower classes began to become bilingual, the dominant language had not yet removed the recessive variety from the informal domains (or had done so only very partially); *Alguerès* was still the majority language for colloquial interactions. The necessity to become bilingual, that is, did not mean a widespread use of Italian, which was used predominantly in intergroup interactions with interlocutors who had just arrived in town and/or who had not yet integrated into the new linguistic context.

7.1.1.3 Two different urban sociolinguistic realities

Social life in the old town was characterised by an almost exclusive use of local Catalan, still in the first decades of the second half of the last century, as emerges from Fragments 7.6 and 7.7 below. In one case (Fragments 7.6 and 7.6b), a seventy-one-year-old woman (LL.02.09.10), born and raised in the historic centre, describes the predominance of local Catalan, in her childhood, although she also describes its abrupt abandonment, later, in interactions with children (*'io praticamente ho parlato italiano quando mi sono sposata, con i figli, altrimenti io e mio marito sempre parliamo in algherese'*). In Fragment 7.7, on the other hand, the case of a fifty-six-year-old man (LP.05.02.09) of foreign origin is a paradigmatic example of full linguistic integration.

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transferred to nouns ('no, no, és un *palau palau*!' Meaning that the building under discussion is a proper building, not something else, e.g., a small house).
[64] '*Alla me ne frego*' means: 'approximate'.

FRAGMENT 7.6: LL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Con i compagni di giochi la lingua principale qual era, l'italiano o l'algherese?*
LL.02.09.10:	***No, l'algherese noi parlevamo. Io praticamente ho parlato italiano quando mi sono sposata, con i figli, altrimenti io e mio marito sempre parliamo in algherese.***
INTERV.:	*Gente che parlava italiano al centro storico ce n'era?*
LL.02.09.10:	***No, pochissima***. *C'era... i **grandi signori**, ma altrimenti gli altri parlavamo tutti ...[in algherese]*

FRAGMENT 7.6b: LL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Come vi siete conosciuti* [con suo marito]*?*
LL.02.09.10:	*Lui aveva un amico che abitava quasi di fronte a casa mia. Quindi ci siamo conosciuti cosí. Io andavo da questa signora, che eravamo tutta una famiglia (**al centro storico eravamo tutti una famiglia**), e quindi... lui stava aggiustando una porta, **ver és** [adressing her husband]? E di qua...*
INTERV.:	*Vi siete conosciuti e avete parlato subito in algherese o in italiano?*
LL.02.09.10:	*No, **in algherese**...*
INTERV.:	*Ma, prima come funzionava? Cioè anche con quelli che non si conoscevano ci si rivolgeva in algherese?*
LL.02.09.10:	*Sí, **su per giú se erano persone che magari le avevi gia viste era logico che allora ... sapeva che parlavo in algherese e allora parlava anche lui in algherese**.*

This idea of family ('*al centro storico eravamo tutti una famiglia*') suggests the existence of dense social networks (see 4.3.2.2): residents of the old town knew each other, were related to each other by means of friendship ties, by kinship, as well as work, and were actively involved in the social aggregation of the community (traditional celebrations, religious events, etc.). With the exception of '*i grandi signori*' (the local aristocracy seen in 7.1.1.1), the language that linked the members of the old town's 'family' was largely *Alguerès*. This, of course, permitted the natural continuation of Catalan within the local population, but most importantly of all such a close-knit Catalan-speaking social network represented the filter through which outsiders (Sardophones and Italophones alike) underwent a process of linguistic assimilation. The fifty-six-year-old informant of fragment 7.7 below (LP.05.02.09) is a clear example of full social and linguistic integration by second-generation immigrants.

FRAGMENT 7.7: LP.05.02.09	
LP.05.02.09:	***Só*** [...] ***nat a l'Alguer, genitors davallats de Vilanova de joves, casats a l'Alguer i...***[65]
GC.29.08.08[66]	*Que no t'han mai parlat en alguerés a tu...*
LP.05.02.09:	***Mai parlat en alguerés!***
INTERV.:	*I com hi parlaven?*

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[65] *Vilanova* is a small village at about thirty kilometers from Alghero (see 2.1).
[66] This is the interviewee's wife who also took part in the interview.

LP.05.02.09:	*En italià. Ellos, tra ellos parlaven en sardu. Però ió... ió els compreneva, però ... parlaven en italià*
INTERV.:	*I vosté on l'ha imparat l'alguerés?*
LP.05.02.09:	*I prova a vere!* [67] *[...] Qui naix al centro storico, parla en alguerés i boh! No és que parlaves amb ... en italià te parlava sol l'escola.*
INTERV.:	*Però, de gent que parlava el sardu [...] n'hi havia al centro storico també, o no?*
LP.05.02.09:	*Sardus? Eh, avolla n'hi havia!*
INTERV.:	*Però el sardu no se parlava...?*
LP.05.02.09:	*No, no, no... tra ellos i boh. Tra parents d'ellos, magari, tra gent del mateix país [...] parlaven en sardu. O si no...*

Clearly, linguistic alternatives are (read 'were') not an option for those living in the old town ('*qui naix al centro storico parla en alguerés i boh!'*) and those non-native speakers like the informant of Fragment 7.7 had to learn local Catalan to become part of the community. The integration of the (children of) outsiders did not imply only learning Catalan, but, in many instances, the crossing of boundaries and the maintenance of separate ethnolinguistic groups (Barth 1969). It is noted how the informant, for example, establishes a distance between himself (the son of Sardophone parents) and the Sardinian-speaking community, whom he addresses using the third person plural to make it clear that − it is to be assumed − this is a group he is no longer a member of (e.g., '*Sardus? Eh, avolla n'hi havia!'*).

The story of LP.05.02.09 also signals the existence, in Alghero, of two interrelated forces leading to a process characterised by an ongoing chasing after a better socio-economic condition and, in the last analysis, social recognition. On the one hand, crossing the ethnolinguistic boundaries means (at least ideologically) the acquisition of a different status, as Alghero is historically perceived as opposed to the surrounding villages, as a modern, different town. On the other hand, adopting Italian (in the interactions with children) puts the speakers one step up in the social ladder.

Thus, LP.05.02.09 feels very proud to be fully integrated within the Catalan-speaking community, but has also decided to pass Italian on to his children. I will show (7.3.3.3) that this is not an isolated case, and many informants face the dilemma of either following a process of *mimesis* (to become like the Italian-speaking majority group) or preserve local *alterity*. In this particular case, the informant has opted to adopt an ongoing process of *mimesis*, first, by becoming like the host community and then, on behalf of his children, by adopting the dominant language. But, although he

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[67] The expression '*i prova a vere*' indicates the existence of only one possible answer (in the street, in this particular instance). It is some sort of challenge: the interlocutor is challenged to offer alternatives to the only valid answer (that is: '*i prova a vere* [*si hi ha altres respostes plausibles*]').

still expresses a strong attachment to the local Catalan-speaking community, he has totally alienated himself from the Sardinian-speaking community.

The relatively young age of LP.05.02.09 suggests the existence, in the old town, of a 'healthy' sociolinguistic situation until recently, that is, at least until the fifties and sixties of the last century. The same, as can be elicited from Fragments 7.8 and 7.9, cannot be said for peripheral areas. Language shift, as a matter of fact, began in the new urban developments outside the old town, when (for various reasons) Italian came to be the language of interaction between native speakers.

Two different sociolinguistic urban realities must therefore be considered. On the one hand, we have a situation of language maintenance – in the old town – while, on the other, an incipient process of shift – in the peripheral areas of new development. Outside the old town, although the main or sole colloquial language (both outside and inside the family) was, still in the forties and fifties, *Alguerès*, new generations soon began to acquire different linguistic habits. AP.17.07.10, who responded to the interview in fluent Italian (though with quite a few marked interferences from her mother-tongue), declares that she came into contact with the Italian language only once she entered school. Prior to formal education, she only spoke Catalan. In contrast with her mother's generation (see Fragment 7.6), however, particularly due to the pressure exerted by the school system, not only did she become fluent in Italian, but she also acquired the habit of interacting in the dominant language with her schoolmates, even though she knew that they were Catalan-speakers:[68]

FRAGMENT 7.8: AP.17.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Quindi [...], la lingua principale in famiglia non era l'italiano [...]?*
AP.17.07.10:	***No, era l'algherese. L'algherese! Io sono andata a scuola che parlavo l'algherese*** [...]. *Quindi [...], io non me lo ricordo bene, però chissà come sarà stato grave il problema* [laughs], *cioè nel senso che mi parlavano e io non lo capivo* [laughs] ...
INTERV.:	*Qualcuno che parlava italiano a casa non c'era [...]?*
AP.17.07.10:	***Se erano algheresi, no****! [...] **Magari se erano sposati con uno di Villanova... allora dovevano parlare... si arrangiavano nel parlare o l'italiano oppure il sardo**... non lo so...*
INTERV.:	*Ma quelli che venivano da fuori, prima, non lo imparavano [...] l'algherese?*
AP.17.07.10:	***Questa signora che, ad esempio, che abitava da noi ... non l'hanno imparato l'algherese****. [...] **I figli parlano tuttora italiano** [...] e son venuti che erano piccoli. Uno è nato anche qui, ad Alghero. [...] Questa parlava l'italiano [...] bene, perché*

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[68] This is what emerges from the interview, but we need to bear in mind that the educational system in itself cannot be responsible for the change in sociolinguistic habits. Other factors must be taken into account when addressing linguistic behaviour (see, for example, De Mauro 1991: 99).

	era professoressa...
INTERV.:	*Con i compagni di scuola che lingua parlavi?*
AP.17.07.10:	[...] ***Gli amici di scuola*** [...] ***tra di noi parlavamo l'italiano, però sapevo che a casa parlavano l'algherese..*.**
INTERV.:	*Quindi, tra di voi parlavate l'italiano?*
AP.17.07.10:	[...] ***Tra amici di scuola, sí*.**
INTERV.:	*Anche fuori dalle ore di lezione?*
AP.17.07.10:	***sí, sí, sí, sí...***
INTERV.:	*E in strada?*
AP.17.07.10:	*Quando andavo a giocare, **parlavo in algherese con chi parlava l'algherese, e in italiano con chi parlava l'italiano**. [...] Però, **se eravamo a scuola** [...] **si parlava in italiano... facevamo la strada insieme e si parlava l'italiano. Poi rientravamo a casa e parlavamo l'algherese**.*

From the fragment above, four main issues, relevant to the understanding of the process of societal bilingualism and shift, emerge: first, that the language of the local authochthonous families, among the Catalan-speaking community, in the forties and fifties, was still primarily *Alguerès*; second, that, contrary to the old town (see Fragments 7.7 and 7.9), in the streets of peripheral areas exclusive use of *Alguerès* did not exist ('*parlavo in algherese con chi parlava l'algherese, e in italiano con chi parlava l'italiano*'); third that the linguistic integration of outsiders (though, probably only those with certain socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics – e.g., upper-class professionals) was beginning to fail; and, finally, that the language of interaction between members of the same linguistic group was coming to be, albeit only in specific situations and between specific interlocutors, Italian.

The existence of two different urban contexts is described, with interesting details, by TL.02.09.10, a seventy-four-year-old male informant who was born and raised in a new urban development outside the old town.

FRAGMENT 7.9: TL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Voi vivevate al centro storico, ad Alghero vecchia?*
TL.02.09.10:	***No! Noi eravamo i primi che abitavamo ai Paioli*** [sic] *[laughs]****, in Via Cagliari.***
INTERV.:	*Con i suoi compagni di giochi cosa parlava, in italiano o in algherese?*
TL.02.09.10	***In italiano e in algherese perché c'era gente mischiata*** [...]
INTERV.:	*E questo fuori dal centro storico, mentre nel centro storico era...*
TL.02.09.10	*... **tot algueresos! Tot algueresos**.*
INTERV.:	*Ma quelli fuori dal centro storico cosa erano più signori, considerati più benestanti, più raffinati?*
TL.02.09.10	*Uno è a vivere come vivevamo noi **in due stanze, la cucina** e... [...] **il bagno** [...] e uno è **abitare tutti in una stanza** [...] Noi avevamo ... se anche uno attaccato all'altro, ognuno aveva il suo letto... e mamma e babbo stavano alla stanza loro. [...] Però c'è da dire una cosa: [...] babbo ha sempre lavorato e lo stipendio l'ha sempre portato a casa. Abbiamo avuto sempre lo stipendio di babbo. Mio babbo prendeva lo stipendio ... stipendio e mezzo, perché faceva il comandante: parte e mezza, da...[...] però facevamo la fame **piú degli altri di Alghero**. Perché **quelli di***

> *__Alghero__ potevano avere mille metri di terra... E questi erano tutti coi pantaloni rappezzati, e questo e quest'altro, però la cosa da mangiare ce l'avevano più di noi. **Noi pensavamo comprare un quaderno, comprare un pantalone** [...] **però la fam**!*

Three issues from Fragment 7.9 above are worth mentioning: 1. that Alghero as such was the historic town: the informant refers to the old town as 'Alghero' without any specification (eg, *'perché quelli di Alghero...'*), as if he lived in a completely different urban reality; 2. that the peripheral areas, as opposed to the old town, had different, more confortable living standards: the area where TL.02.09.10 lived is compared – though, with a little irony – to one of the wealthiest areas of Rome, '*i Paioli*', phonetic alteration of '*Parioli*'; and 3. that, as we have already seen in Fragment 7.8, unlike the historic centre (socially monolingual), in new urban developments there were two main languages of interaction – Italian and Catalan.

The difference in form and intensity of the process of bilingualism leads to a re-elaboration of Figure 7.1 in the following terms:

Figure 7.2: *the process of bilingualism according to the existence of two different urban realities*
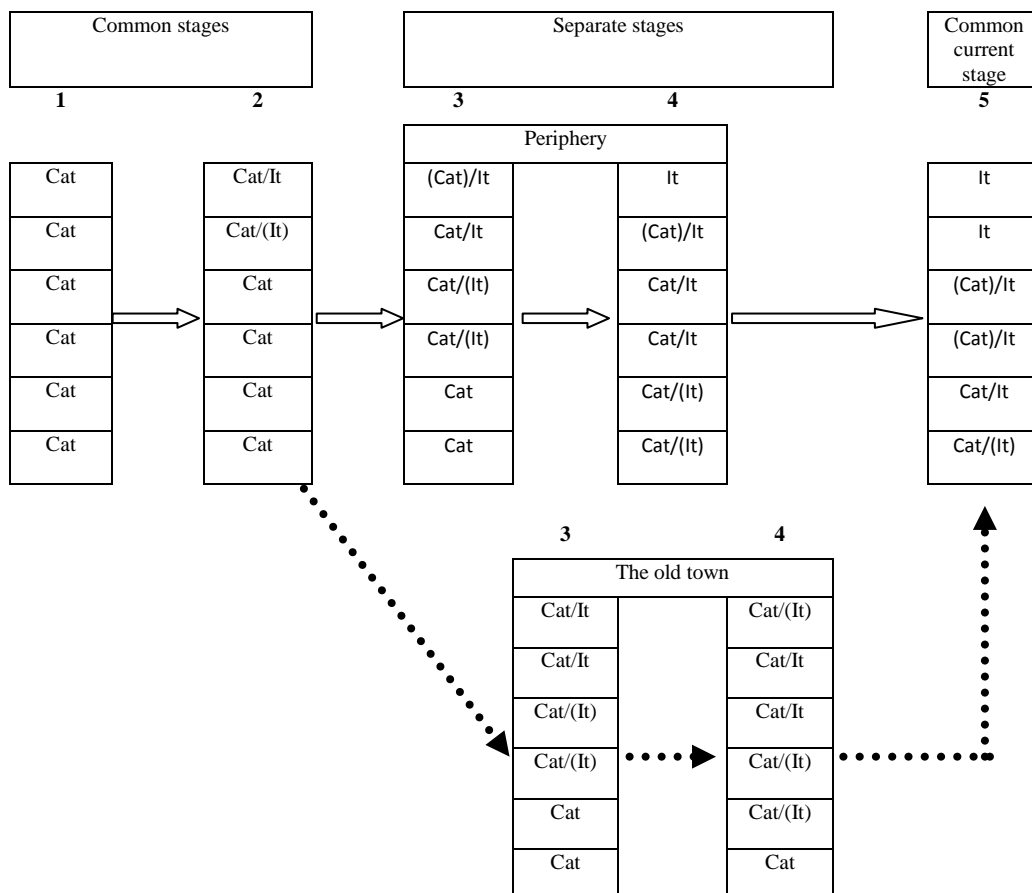
Figure 7.2 shows a substantial qualitative difference in the process of bilingualism between the two urban areas. The central stages (3 and 4) not only take place, in the case of the old town, later with respect to the peripheral areas, but they also show different characteristics: in one case – the old town – there is a more consistent presence of Catalan monolinguals that, by contrast, is not found in the peripheral areas.

In the sixties, however, because of major social changes (see 2.3), the sociolinguistic situation came to be similar in both areas. The original residents of the old town were relocated to areas of new urban developments; the historic centre was gradually transformed into a mere tourist attraction, and became the occasional residence of the foreign bourgeoisie; immigration as well as tourism became mass phenomena, with significant repercussions on language use; many locals abandoned the traditional family activities (agriculture, fishing and handicrafts, predominantly) and looked for more stable jobs; most importantly of all, people began to feel the consistency of progress and modernity, that is, to perceive the world through the ideological filters of radio, television, film, fashion ... (Arca and Pueyo 1992: 299).

The new ideological elaborations of reality, the dissolution of dense Catalan-speaking social networks, and mass immigration will have a significant impact on linguistic behaviour and on intergenerational transmission of Catalan in particular. *Habitus*, that social mechanism that had assured the maintenance of *Alguerès* through the perpetration of a natural, routinised behaviour (Bourdieu 1982: 14), came to be in favour of Italian. The new perception of the world led to what Max Weber has called the 'rationalisation' of human action (see 4.4.2.1), and new patterns of 'appropriate' behaviour came to be consolidated, resulting in widespread transmission of Italian to children (Phase 5 of Figures 7.1 and 7.2).

The family tree diagrams (see 5.2.2.3 and Annex 6), a diachronic reconstruction of the break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan, suggest that the turning point, from an almost exclusive use of Catalan to a predominant use of Italian in the interactions with children, occurred precisely in the sixties and seventies of the last century. There are also a few instances of break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan prior to those decades, but they are not

statistically significant and seem to be related to specific factors, such as the social status of the speakers.

One particular aspect that emerges from the family tree diagrams is that the process is not always regular, or linear, but characterised by breaks and later recoveries. Thus, it has been observed that, in a few cases, Italian (or Sardinian) may be the language of one generation, but *Alguerès* is re-adopted in the interaction with the partner, to be abandoned again in the interactions with the children (see, for example, FD.18.09.10 and, to a certain extent RMM.10.09.10, in Annex 6). This irregularity, which is not noted by Montoya in Alicante, suggests that, despite the existence of socio-economic and socio-demographic forces encouraging language shift since at least the beginning of the last century, the presence of some (albeit weak) 'limiting factors' (see 4.2.2), such as dense Catalan-speaking family networks (4.3.2.2), need also to be acknowledged.

All in all, Alghero in the first half of the last century seems to be characterised by a predominant use of Catalan and, although Sardinian, for example, also appears to be, albeit rarely, the language of intergenerational transmission, Catalan is adopted by the speakers of the next generation. This can be partially observed in NT.16.09.10 (Annex 6), for example, in which the mother of the informant was brought up in both Sardinian and *Alguerès* but the language she speaks with her husband is *Alguerès*. As already seen (Fragment 7.8) the same mechanism of linguistic attraction continued to be well in place in the old town in the second half of the twentieth century, but, for the reasons highlighted above, Italian soon became the dominant language of peripheral Alghero.

The memory that a forty-seven-year-old Catalan-speaking female informant (PL.15.07.10 in Fragment 7.10) has of the neighbourhood where she grew up, outside the old town, is quite illuminating. It shows the rapid emergence of a new, predominantly Italophone situation. The grandmother's linguistic profile, compared to that of the informants' friends and neighbours, shows how abrupt was the change in the sociolinguistic situation.

FRAGMENT 7.10: PL.15.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Che lingua parlavate tra compagne di strada?*
PL.15.07.10:	***Italiano!*** *sí, tutte italiano. Sí, sí, sí...*
INTERV.:	*Ma tra le tue amiche, gente come te che parlava algherese a casa non ce n'era?*
PL.15.07.10:	*No, no no no.* ***Tutte italiano.***

INTERV.:	*Quindi, tu eri praticamente un'eccezione?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Sí.*
INTERV.:	*E la nonna di Villanova di cui mi hai parlato prima, parlava in algherese?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Sí, sí __parlava in algherese__ [...]*
INTERV.:	*Ma era nata qui ad Alghero?*
PL.15.07.10:	*No, era nata a Villanova [...]*
INTERV.:	*Perché, secondo te, quelli che venivano da Villanova imparavano l'algherese?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Non lo so! __Forse perché erano costretti__ [...]*
INTERV.:	*Tu mi hai detto prima che con le tue amiche per strada parlavate tutte in italiano. Ma quand'eri piccola tu, la lingua principale in famiglia qual era secondo te?*
PL.15.07.10:	*__L'algherese__! L'algherese, solo quello.*
INTERV.:	*E perché loro parlavano in italiano?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Perché __a casa loro parlavano l'italiano. Tutte le amiche che avevo parlavano in italiano. Anche la mamma di una mia amica__ che abitava... abitavamo allo stesso palazzo, la mamma era algherese e __parlava con noi in algherese e con le figlie però in italiano__.*

By contrast, the story of the informant in fragment 7.11 below, a thirty-four-year-old male native-speaker, clearly suggests a widespread use of *Alguerès* in the old town still at the beginning of the eighties of the last century.

FRAGMENT 7.11: GS.04.12.08
GS.04.12.08: *Ió [parl] l'alguerés sigui amb al babu que amb a la mama [...] Quan ió era petit habitàvem a l'Alguer vella […] Mosaltros jugàvem en allí, la tarda [...] jugàvem a bal.les [...] les bal.les sigueriven les pal.lines aquelles que se usen ... aquelles pal.lines petites diem en vidre, mosaltros l'aquirravem bal.la en alguerés... lego __jugàvem a soldatinos__; qui ne teniva de giocattolos! Per co' primer no se'l podiva pirmitir ningú. Jugàvem __a nascondino__ [...]*
INTERV.: *I la llengua que parlaves amb els companyons de joc quala era?*
GS.04.12.08: *__Sempre l'alguerés__. Raro que primer se parlava en italià, per co' érem tots ... __jugàvem tots al quarter__, diem, en allí, per co' __les mares no mos feven al.lontanar més de tant__.*
INTERV.: *I quan te sés trasferit...?*
GS.11.12.08: *__No, al.lora, en allí és canviat un poc la cosa per cosa en allí lego he coneixut amicícies noves, quindi no tots parlaven l'alguerés__ […] Natural […] sempre calqui u que parla l'alguerés hi és. Comunque ha canviat un poc la cosa quan me só trasferit a la Pedrera [...] Al dia d'avui com a companyons que parlen alguerés ... fem un vint percent, __lo vuitanta per cent parlem en italià__, ma és una qüestió ormai de istinto per co' la cosa te l'he dit s'és un poc canviada, quindi, __també si u parla l'alguerés__ […] __ormai ve de istinto a parlar l'italià__ […]*

Although the sociolinguistic situation in the old town is clearly characterised by a predominant use of *Alguerès*, the threat posed by Italian, however, shines through. GS.11.12.08 names one of the most traditional street-games with its Italian name ('*nascondino*'), as opposed to the older informants, who only use the Catalan counterpart ('*amagar*'). But it was only when the informant moved outside the old town that he found an almost completely different sociolinguistic situation. The informant raises an important issue related to the emergence of new norms of

language use outside the old town: the automatic, natural choice of Italian even between Catalan-speakers. He defines language use as a matter of 'instinct' leading to the default use of Italian.

A similar account of the norms of language use, but with further particulars, is provided by CS.13.09.10, who also moved from the old town to an area of new urban development when she was about thirteen.

FRAGMENT 7.12: CS.13.09.10	
INTERV.:	*La llengua principal del carrer quan tu eres criatura al 'Solaio'* [old town] *quala era?*
CS.13.09.10:	*L'alguerés* […] *parlaven tots en alguerés.* **Però lego, amb el temps, saps, coneixent altres companyies que magari parlaven en italià, mos sem un poc estropiats** *… ecco!*
INTERV.:	*I quan seu anats a viure a la Pedrera, lo mateix, la llengua principal era l'alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Sol amb mes cosines. Invetxe,* **amb les altres criatures que estaven en allà en italià**.
INTERV.:	*I per cosa a l'Alguer vella se parlava quasi exclusivament alguerés invetxe a la Pedrera no?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Per co' eren de famílies que parlaven tots l'alguerés;* **eren poques famílies i se coneixeven tots i parlaven tots l'alguerés**; *de conseguenza han imparat als fills a fer altretant* […] **Invetxe a la Pedrera hi eren diverses famílies, a voltes famílies que veniven també de fores, i als fills hi parlaven en italià**; *i* **justament també mosaltros tenivem de parlar aixi** […]
	[…]
INTERV.:	*I tu, ara, cosa parles de més l'italià o l'alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Ió l'alguerés lo parl… cioè,* **la major part del temps ió parl en italià** […]
INTERV.:	*I tu te rivolgeixes primer en italià o en alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*En italià*
INTERV.:	*I no hi ha ningú que te respon en alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*No.*
INTERV.:	*I això a la Pedrera també? Lo parles l'alguerés?*
CS.13.09.10:	*Sí,* **si entop persones que ja coneixeva** […] **parlem en alguerés, amb la gent gran que mos coneixem, insomma, al.lora contin a parlar l'alguerés; amb mos germans parlem l'alguerés**…

The difference between the old town and the new areas is clearly the sparseness of Catalan-speakers: the old town is perceived by CS.13.09.10 as a small Catalan-speaking community, almost like a family ('*eren poques famílies i se coneixeven tots i parlaven tots l'alguerés*'), an issue brought about by almost all the informants being somehow linked to the historic town. The new urban area outside the old town where she went to live ('*La Pedrera*'), by contrast, is perceived as a socially-mixed community, with several outsider families, and with Italian as the main language, to which Catalan-speakers had to adapt ('*justament també mosaltros tenivem de parlar així*'). Apart from the practical constraints imposed by the new

linguistic environment, a sense of subordination to the Italian-speaking community also shines through from fragment 7.12. The use of the adverb '*Justament*' seems to imply a sense of respect that the Catalan-speakers have for the Italian-speaking community, which is expressed through convergence to the common language.

What emerges from fragment 7.12 is also that the use of *Alguerès* is limited to those interlocutors who have a history of interaction in local Catalan with the informant. In all other instances, the predominant language is Italian. *Alguerès* is also mostly associated with old speakers. The main norm of linguistic behaviour (see 7.1.2) says that, unless there is an history of use of Catalan between the interlocutors, the language of interaction is Italian. In these instances (when the interlocutors know each other and speak local Catalan to each other), *Alguerès* is used regardless of the situation, and only when the setting is characterised by a high degree of formality does the language of interaction come to be Italian as discussed in the next section.

7.1.2 The norms of language use outside the family

We have already seen in 4.4 that norms of linguistic behaviour are social conventions that establish which language (or particular feature) is most appropriate for each communicative situation. Thus, we know that, by and large, the norms of linguistic behaviour 'dictate' that, within a specific domain, one of the co-available linguistic varieties is more appropriate than the other, but different factors may trigger the use of the unmarked variety. The social constraints at the root of the norms of behaviour can be several: the *interlocutor*, for example, but also the *setting*, the *topic*, the *linguistic competence* of the speakers involved in the conversation, and the *history of social interaction* between the speakers (see, for example, Holmes 1992: 28-29; Rubin 1968a). The interaction shown in Fragment 7.13 below is a clear example of how language choice (in Alghero) is regulated mainly by the types of interlocutor(s) who are present in the communicative situation, although the setting (or the domain as a whole) also plays a part in governing linguistic selection. Thus, the language of interaction, in a public domain characterised by a certain degree of 'impersonality' (see Rubin 1968b: 514), is more likely to be Italian.

The *degree of formality* also plays a significant role in language use in Alghero (in principle, the more formal the context the greater the use of Italian), but formality is subordinated to the identity of the interlocutors taking part (even only as

spectactors) in the conversation, meaning that *Alguerès* may be tolerated also if there is a high degree of formality, just as Italian is fully tolerated in highly informal situations. Only when the situation becomes highly official, such as a town council session or a public function, variation is not permitted and the only language variety allowed is Italian. As in Rubin (1968b: 522), the formality of the situation is not considered here as a simple binary opposition (formality-informality), but is better defined on a scale of different degrees. Within this gradual increase (or decrease) of formality, linguistic behaviour tends to become more prescribed (i.e., no variation is permitted) the higher the degree of formality and vice-versa (Rubin 1968b: 514). Thus, there cannot be a clear-cut line between the use of Italian or Catalan in relation to the formality of the situation, but Catalan is not expected in a public function, unless the official topic of discussion is closely related to specific cultural or linguistic issues.

A combination of factors is responsible for language use, so that it becomes relatively difficult to predict language choice. In Fragment 7.13 below, the speaker, a woman in her seventies at a GP surgery waiting room, approaches the interlocutors (seven people, including myself, waiting to be called in) in Italian, although she will prove, later, to be clearly a Catalan-speaker. She could have well used local Catalan if there were fewer people in the waiting room, if they were older, and, most of all, if she knew all (or the majority) of them, and they had a history of social interaction between them predominantly in Catalan. As we can see, interlocutor 1, who knows the speaker, replies directly to her in *Alguerès* ('*Ió*'), but switches back to Italian, when addressing the whole audience ('*Ma c'è dottor Piras o c'è il sostituto?*').

FRAGMENT 7.13 – at a GP surgery – 02.09.10	
Situation: seven people (including myself) are waiting to be called in. One is a man in his sixties who is talking, in Italian, to a young girl sitting next to him; another is a woman in her seventies; the rest of the people are in their thirties and forties. At some point, one woman in her sixties (the speaker) walks into the surgery and, addressing everyone, asks, in Italian, for the last person in the queue.	
THE SPEAKER (to everyone):	*Chi è l'ultimo?*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Ió.*
THE SPEAKER:	*Ah, vostè és l'última! ... Qui calor que està fent ...*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Ha dit que canviava, el temps...!*
THE SPEAKER:	*Eh, ja és canviat, però no en aquí. M'ha telefonat mon fill, que és de les parts de Olbia* [in the North-East coast of Sardinia] *i m'ha dit: 'qui sta piovendo, ma!'* [...]
INTERLOCUTOR 1 (to everyone):	*Ma c'è dottor Piras o c'è il sostituto?*
INTERLOCUTOR 2:	*No, dottor Piras non c'è piú, ce n'è un altro, adesso, di dottore. Dottor*

Two main interwoven aspects emerge from the fragment above:

1. That in a public setting (a GP waiting room, in this particular case) the expected language is, by and large, Italian, unless other factors (e.g., the number of people involved, the types of ties that link them to each other, and their age) constrain language choice in favour of *Alguerès*;

2. That language use is strongly conditional on the degree of familiarity with the interlocutor and his/her competence in *Alguerès*.

The predominance of Italian outside the household, as it has been briefly described above, signals the existence of a widespread (and accepted) idea that the languages in contact are hierarchically distributed. Within this hierarchy, *Alguerès* occupies the lower end of the axis, which partly explains why, whereas interactions with similarly-aged, familiar interlocutors can be conducted in local Catalan, the unmarked code has clearly become Italian, which is therefore transmitted to the children ('*M'ha telefonat mon fill, que és de les parts de Olbia i m'ha dit: 'qui sta piovendo, ma!"*').

The data also show that there is no room for linguistic negotiation between interlocutors, once the main language of interaction has been established. The first language of interaction becomes the language for life, especially in those instances characterised by a high degree of intimacy (e.g., friendship and marriage), even if the two interlocutors are both Catalan-speakers. A change of language may occur, but this is quite rare. Fragment 7.14 below is a paradigmatic example of the rigidity of the sociolinguistic norms. During the interview that I was conducting with the person in charge (GS.26.08.10), at the Department of Culture ('*Assessorato alla Cultura*') of the Town Hall, for the revitalisation of local Catalan, a Catalan-speaking colleague walks in and interacts in Italian with the informant (also a native-speaker of *Alguerès*). The fragment shows how the norms of use encourage the maintenance of Italian between Catalan-speaking interlocutors, although the setting (the Department of Culture) should, in principle, favour the use of local Catalan.

FRAGMENT 7.14 – at the Town Hall of Alghero – GC.26.08.10	
GC.26.08.10	*... fortunatamente dopo le sollecitazioni fatte dall'amministrazione comunale alla Regione siamo riusciti a dare ...*
A colleague of GC.26.08.10 (INTERLOCUTOR 1) walks into the office to discuss a administrative	

issue with the informant	
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Non lo so! [...] ma il numero di Andrea ce l'hai tu?*
GC.26.08.10	*No.*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*E quindi come glielo faccio avere? Glielo mandiamo senza quella parte di Andrea.*
GC.26.08.10	*Eh, Andrea non c'è!? Poi gliela facciamo avere...*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Eh, l'ho chiamato... non è ... Ah state registrando?!*
GC.26.08.10:	*Sì, vabbè, ma non fa niente [...] Vedi **anche lui parla algherese. In famiglia parli l'algherese tu**?*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	***Sì. Con i fratelli e i miei genitori**...*
GC.26.08.10:	***Eh, però con i bambini parli in italiano ...***
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Ehhh ... con i bambini ... **abbiamo mogli** ....*
INTERV.:	*Sarde ...*
GC.26.08.10:	***Che non parlano l'algherese... eh, stesso problema mio** ...*
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	*Poi alla fine ...*
GC.26.08.10:	*... si parla in italiano ...*

Remarkably, what begins to emerge from fragment 7.14 above is a *double discourse* that characterises the current sociolinguistic situation of Alghero (see 7.3.3.4). The person officially in charge of language revitalisation (GC.26.08.10), by speaking in Italian with a Catalan-speaking interlocutor (in a domain where *Alguerès* is a central issue), is simply going along with what is an accepted rule that admits the use of the dominant language for intimate linguistic interactions and Catalan as the language of the formal discourse of language policy.

Nor is the informant breaking any rule either by speaking Italian with his own children, as this is also accepted within such a double discourse. He first pleads the linguistic background of his wife as the main reason for this choice (see Fragment 7.14), but it becomes obvious, later (Fragment 7.15), that other causes (more ideological and quite in line with the accepted discourse) are at the root of the intergenerational transmission of Italian.

FRAGMENT 7.15: GC.26.08.10	
INTERV.:	*Perché hai deciso di parlare in Italiano con tuoi figli?*
GC.26.08.10	*[…] **obbligare** ... eerr ... anche un bambino ad una lingua ... a meno che non sia, come quando sono nato io, che era la lingua ... era l'unica lingua che si parlava ... […] **l'ho fatto nella libertà di scelta del bambino**. Perché io, anche a casa, parlo in italiano con mia moglie, però con i miei genitori si parla tantissimo in algherese […] Io gli parlo in italiano ... gli parlo anche in algherese, però non sono come alcuni ... anche se son molto contento, per esempio, che alcuni giovani che conosco parlano esclusivamente in algherese ai figli – **ed è bellissimo sentire un bambino parlare in algherese** – e quindi credo che sia anche corretto, come **credo che sia anche corretto lasciare la libertà poi ai bambini**...*

The decision to speak Italian to one's children has been made in the name of 'freedom'. The verb '*obbligare*' (to force), on the other hand, is referred to *Alguerès*, as if speaking local Catalan with one's children represented some sort of punishment. That is, the use of Italian gives the children some freedom, which they would not have if spoken to in *Alguerès*. It is also quite intriguing how he expresses the beauty of listening to a little child speaking in *Alguerès* ('*ed è bellissimo sentire un bambino parlare in algherese*'), suggesting the idea of young Catalan-speakers as folkloric, entertaining, almost circus attractions.

7.1.3 Social networks and the spread of Italian

In 4.3.2.2, we have seen how the presence of dense social networks can protect the community from the spread of new linguistic norms. We have also seen that, although the concept is mainly associated with specific structural features in variationist linguistics, the spread of a linguistic variety (Italian in our case), as opposed to a particular feature, can also be explained through the analysis of the social networks. A great number of informants seem to suggest that there is a close relationship between the small, socially compact community living in the old town prior to the diaspora (2.3.1) and language maintenance. We have also seen that the old town, as opposed to the periphery, is perceived as a 'big family' by those who lived there and that *Alguerès* was the only linguistic link between its members. It was in the sixties and seventies that, because of the changes discussed in 2.3.1, the web of social interactions came to be characterised, first in the peripheral areas and then in the old town, by a predominant (or even exclusive) use of Italian.

It is noted (Fragment 7.39 in 7.3.1) that the new social pattern leads to quite paradoxical situations characterised by the use of Italian even between Catalan-speaking couples. In this sense, the case of SF.28.07.10 (Figure 7.3) is a paradigmatic example of how Italian can break into the most intimate linguistic interactions through a loose-knit Catalan-speaking network. SF.28.07.10 and her husband (SF.28.07.10b) are both native speakers of *Alguerès*, but the social environment where they met was predominantly Italophone and, as a result, the language of interaction between the two (and, consequently, between them and their

child) is also Italian (with some more or less frequent switches to local Catalan). Their linguistic environment can be represented as follows:

Figure 7.3: *Schematic representation of linguistic interactions of informant* SF.28.07.10
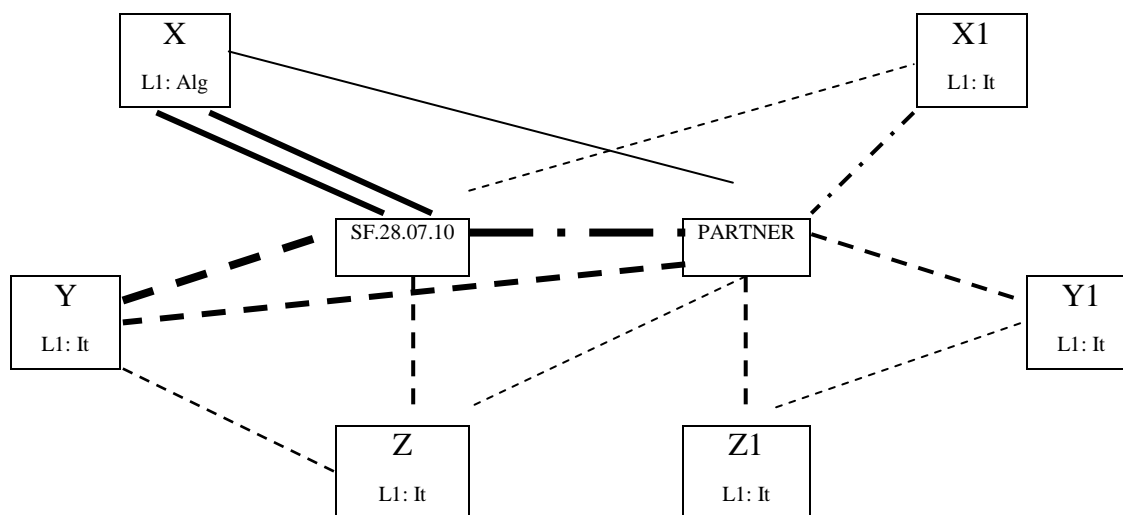
As explained in Annex 7, dashed lines represent interactions characterised by a predominant use of Italian whereas continuous lines represent the use of local Catalan. Double lines, on the other hand, represent multiplex ties. For example, in the case of SF.28.07.10, the relationship with X is characterised by a tie of both kinship and friendship. On the other hand, the thickness of the lines indicates the frequency of the interactions: the thicker the line the greater the frequency and vice-versa. Although the cluster of people represented in figure 7.3 is characterised by a relatively high degree of cohesion, the language variety that links the different members is Italian.

By contrast, the linguistic environment represented in figure 7.4 is characterised by a frequent use of Catalan. Not only is the group characterised by both a high degree of cohesion and multiplex ties between members, but the only language of interaction is local Catalan. As a consequence, the language that CS.27.08.10 (the seventy-eight-year-old informant already met in 7.1.1.1) speaks with her husband is local Catalan.

Figure 7.4: *Schematic representation of linguistic interactions of informant* CS.27.08.10
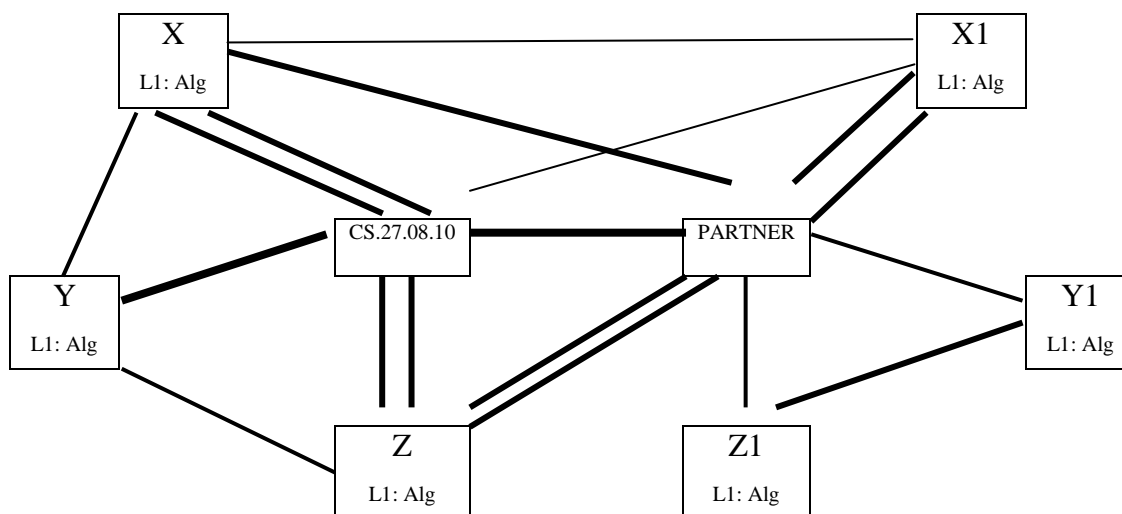
A variety of linguistic environments have emerged from the questionnaire on social networks, but figures 7.3 and 7.4 represent two different, paradigmatic sociolinguistic realities. On the one hand (Figure 7.4), a society characterised by a high density of interactions between Catalan-speakers; on the other hand (figure 7.3), a society in which the main language between the members of the community is predominantly Italian. As a result, in one case (figure 7.4) we have a process of language maintenance as *Alguerès* is the main language of interaction between the members of the group and, consequently, the language of interaction between the partners. On the other hand, the type of social network represented in figure 7.3 works as a deterrent to the use of Catalan and is, consequently, at the basis of language shift. Based on the interviews, I maintain that the older the speakers the greater the group cohesion and the use of Catalan.

7.2 The current sociolinguistic situation

7.2.1 Speakers' perceptions

It is noted that the first impression gained by foreign Catalan-speakers of social use of local Catalan in Sardinia is usually negative. They tend to express great disappointment about the vitality of *Alguerès*, as they struggle to hear it spoken in the

street. Isabel Olesti, for example, a young Catalan writer and a journalist, in a short article about a trip to Sardinia published on 2 April the 2009 in a Catalan newspaper ('*Avui*'), briefly describes the social use of Catalan in Alghero as virtually non-existent, despite a generalised competence among the community of speakers:

> L'inici de primavera ens enganxa al mig de Sardenya. Comprovem que a l'Alguer la gent sap català però ningú el parla normalment, com passarà a Barcelona d'aquí uns anys. (Olesti 2009)

That nobody ('*ningú*') speaks *Alguerès* in day-to-day life is obviously an exaggeration and cannot be interpreted in its literal sense. But it seems to be unquestionable that, as a general rule, people tend to speak Italian more than Catalan, even if, in some cases, they have the competence to do otherwise.

The impression that in Alghero the use of Italian (as opposed to local Catalan) is predominant seems to be widely shared among first-time foreign Catalan-speaking visitors. The analysis of a variety of written comments placed in the discussion fora of two well known websites – *racocatala.cat* and *projetbabel.org* – seems to confirm that the sociolinguistic situation in Alghero is generally perceived by 'occasional', foreign Catalan-speaking observers in negative terms, so that the view so succinctly expressed by Olesti does not represent an isolated case and the following three fragments are clear examples of it:

FRAGMENT 7.16 – *Xueta*: 13.03.2006, 10:36.[69]

*Aquells que vulgueu anar al l'Alguer a copsar la situació de la llengua, si us ho podeu permetre no aneu en temporada alta. L'Alguer és una ciutat molt bonica que atreu molts turistes, no només catalans si no també italians i d'arreu d'Europa. **Si ja és difícil trobar algueresos emprant l'alguerès fora de l'àmbit familiar la resta de l'any a ple estiu pot ser una feina gairebé titànica**.*

FRAGMENT 7.17 – *Moisès Rial*. 28.01.2006: 19: 10.[70]

*[...] Fa uns mesos, vaig estar a l´alguer, amb altra gent i **vaig poder veure que la realitat catalanoalgueresa d´us social és infim**, i els que en parleu, lògicament teniu força influències de l´italià [...]*

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[69] http://www.racocatala.cat/forums/fil/36941/sobre-lalgueres-literatura-algueresa
[70] http://www.racocatala.cat/forums/fil/32345/gent-de-lalguer-al-raco

The sociolinguistic picture that emerges from the fragments above is clearly characterised by both an insignificant use of Catalan (e.g., '*el català en general no es parla'*) and a division between old and young speakers (e.g., *'allà vaig sobretot sentir iaios que parlaven alguerès').*

In a very recent, short reportage, conducted by a local, online TV channel, on how people on holiday assess Alghero as a tourist resort, a Catalan visitor (interviewed in Spanish) opposes the beauty of the town to the disappointment at finding '*poca gente hablando catalán'*. Besides the importance and relevance that the above opinion conveys in itself, we should also note the written reaction of a local speaker who cannot understand the astonishment expressed by the 'Spanish' tourist in regard to the use of Catalan, as 'we are Italians or, rather, Sardinians', implying that the non-use of (local) Catalan in Alghero is to be considered as the normal, taken for granted linguistic practice.[72]

We cannot lose sight of the fact, however, that there is a considerable sector of the population (largely older generations) who still speak *Alguerès*. It follows that the negative view so far recorded needs to be clarified, at least according to the position put forward by two language activists strongly committed to the defence and revitalisation of local Catalan: Luca Scala, a self-educated linguist from Alghero with a deep knowledge of Catalan, and Joaquim Arenas, a Catalan pedagogue and former director of the department of education of the Catalan Government. They have firmly opposed Olesti's 'drastic' statement and, although both of them seem to be aware that *Alguerès* is no longer widely used, they ask for more precision when defining the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero, with particular reference to social use. As can be observed from Fragments 7.19 and 7.20 below, Scala and Arenas specify that there are still areas outside the town centre where Catalan is still spoken,

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[71] http://projetbabel.org/forum/viewtopic.php?t=12252
[72] http://notizie.alguer.it/n?id=42984: Marcella Morgana, 13.08.11, 12: 45: '*Poca gente che parla il catalano*???? *Ma gliel'hanno detto che siamo Italiani anzi, SARDI*!!!!!'

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but they do not seem to question the underlying idea that, by and large, Italian has come to be the dominant language of everyday interactions.[73]

FRAGMENT 7.19 – *Luca Scala*'s response to Isabel Olesti[74]
Llig amb sorpresa l'articlet Concert d'ocells a Diàleg (AVUI del 2 d'abril) notant-hi una coseta (bé, pareix una sentència del Suprem, vaja!) expressada molt de passada sobre l'Alguer: "Comprovem que a l'Alguer la gent sap català però ningú el parla normalment". Ui! __Jo que pensava que alguns centenars de persones que conec i amb qui tract cada dia normalment en català a casa, pels carrers, botigues, oficines, gimnàs, mercat etc. (i uns milers més que no conec personalment) érem "algú"! Ara resulta que no sem "ningú".__ […] *Crec saber d'on naix l'equívoc. La gent que ve a l'Alguer s'està sobretot al casc antic, perquè és més bonic* […]. *__Al casc antic d'algueresos en viuen molt pocs__ (qui escriu n'és un), el barri està despoblat després de la gran migració als barris perifèrics començada massivament als anys 70* […]

FRAGMENT 7.20 – *Joaquim Arenas*'s response to Isabel Olesti[75]
A la columna d'I. Olesti, de l'Avui del dia 2 d'abril, s'afirma que a l'Alguer la gent sap català, però que ningú no el parla normalment. Sortosament, __això no es correspon del tot amb la realitat__, ja que __per saber la situació sociolingüística de l'Alguer cal conèixer els barris perifèrics de la ciutat i no només el centre històric__. [...] *__El conjunt de coneixedors de l'alguerès creix__, des de fa uns anys, per la presència de classes d'aquesta llengua a l'escola, gràcies a Òmnium Cultural, al Centre Montessori i a l'escola maternal en alguerès, la Costura, i a altres activitats associatives que es fan en el mateix sentit. __A l'Alguer, la gent sap parlar català i hi ha un contingent, no menyspreable, que el parla usualment__.*

Although both Scala and Arenas might be observing the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero from the perspective of the language activist, that is, with an expected tendency to overestimate minority-language use, there seems to be some truth in what they say, particularly in relation to the current use of Catalan in the town centre (as opposed to other peripheral areas). As discussed in 2.3.1, the old town, which used to be characterised by a highly close-knit Catalan-speaking network, has become, in the last thirty years, the temporary residence of foreigners (mostly Italophones), and Catalan is no longer the language of everyday interaction. That said, the view that elsewhere *Alguerès* is, by contrast, more widely spoken must be considered with great care, as the data discussed in this thesis seem to confirm that the main language of communication has clearly become Italian, almost everywhere, and most certainly among younger generations.

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[73] They both assume that the Catalan journalist is referring to the social use of Catalan in the town centre, although she never mentions any particular location, but makes a general judgement instead.
[74] 'Avui', page 4, Sunday, April 5th 2009
[75] 'Avui', page 10, Monday, April 6th 2009

It is to be assumed, then, that the point that both Scala and Arenas are trying to make is not that *Alguerès* is widely used, so much as that, despite a predominant use of Italian, there are still sectors of the population who speak it and areas where, to a larger or lesser extent, it can still be heard. They are both claiming there is some language vitality in Alghero, but, whereas Arenas expresses optimism about the future of Catalan (*'el conjunt de coneixedors de l'alguerès creix'*), Scala, in a later public appearance (Fragment 7.21), predicts, in no uncertain terms, the imminent extinction of local Catalan.

FRAGMENT 7.21 – *Luca Scala* 15.07.2011, 12: 28.[76]

Si hi arrib, jo l'any 2050 tengueré 84 anys.

Quasi segurament passaré les mies velleses a l'Alguer.

Forsis estigueré a Casa Serena, forsis a casa mia, no puc saber-lo ara...
__Amb qui parlaré alguerès?__

__No dic de diure un parell de paraules, calqui batuda__ (possiblement vulgar, que mos agrada assai als algueresos...): dic enraonar, fer un discurs complet.
__Forsis hi siguerà calqui altro algueresoparlant un poc més vellet de mi__, forsis calqui u un poc més jove.

Però, __si la situació actual de la llengua no canvia radicalment, és possible que de més joves pràcticament no n'hi siguerà__ i que se poguerà produir aqueixa situació [link to an article on the death of Ayapaneco in Mexico], *amb personatges com aqueixos* [link to the picture of one of the two last speakers of Ayapaneco].[77]
__Tengueré d'enraonar en alguerès amb el cutxo la tarda__, com feva mon xiu Joan L'Americà (emigrat a "Nova York", com dieva ell, als anys 20), després d'una jornada de treball de bèsties com a longshoreman?
__A ningú li interessa verament, verament verament__, no a paraules (que són bufades d'ària..).

(no parl de mi, dic de la llengua i del sou futur)

Besides the explicitly expressed view of *Alguerès* being on the edge of extinction, there are at least three main, crucially related sociolinguistic issues raised by Scala in his short text: first, the fact that local Catalan has become mostly a variety sporadically used (in the speech of younger generations), particularly for humorous purposes ('*no dic de diure un parell de paraules, calqui batuda* […]'), in alternation with Italian, the matrix language (see 7.2.3); second, that today, hardly any fluent speakers of *Alguerès* can be found below the age of forty ('*si la situació*

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[76] http://forum.alguer.it/viewtopic.php?id=1635.
[77] For the article see: http://www.bitmagazine.it/curiosita/lingua-in-estinzione-quando-chiedere-scusa-e-una-questione-di-vita-o-di-morte/2110.html; for the picture see:
http://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2011/04/19/foto/con_quello_non_parlo_e_la_lingua_muore-15143849/1/index.html?ref=search

actual de la llengua no canvia radicalment, és possible que de més joves pràcticament no n'hi siguerà'); and finally, that this is not a problem people in Alghero are really concerned with ('*a ningú li interessa verament, verament verament, no a paraules*').

On the other hand, the sociolinguistic description suggested in Fragment 7.22, by a Catalan person who has settled in Alghero, highlights the reasons for the break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan. He is persuaded that at the root of parents' decision not to pass *Alguerès* on to their offspring there is the widespread dominant ideology ('one nation, one language'), embodied in the Italian nation-state apparatus, according to which there is only one legitimate language: Italian.

FRAGMENT 7.22 – *GUS.DAN*: 31.03.2006: 12: 23.[78]

[…] *vull fer una intervenció com alguerès d'adopció que sóc, i com a pare de dos petits algueresos* […]

*Com a comunitat, penso que **els pares i mares de la postguerra (50 i 60) van fer majoritariament una tria lingüística, la de matar l'alguerès com a llengua de comunicació familiar i per tan llengua de transmissió als fills**, certament fou una decisió **imposada/influenciada per la idea de l'estat nació italià** on tots tenien que parlar obligatòriament la llengua de Dante, una decisió **imposada per la ignorància de les mestres que recomanaven a les mares de deixar de parlar alguerès** per passar-se a l'italià.*

 […] *la construcció d'Itàlia fou i és un acte de violència, un acte de violència amb l'ocupació militar dels regnes del centre i del sud d'Itàlia* […] *un acte de violència contra la diversitat cultural i lingüística que encara avui continua. Continua fins arribar a la situació que en vaig veure obligat a enviar a aquell país a la mestra de mon fill gran, la qual amb tota la seva carrega d'ignorància em va demanar que per fer-li un bé al minyó tenia que parlar amb ell en italià a casa. **Molts ara no tenen el valor de dir-ho a la cara, però ho pensen i ho practiquen**, per no dir de tants i **tants algueresistes de cor i bona voluntat que no han estat capaços de transmetre la pròpia llengua als fills** i això últim no és una critica, és una constatació de la dura realitat de la fantastica però jacobina Itàlia.*

This quite well summarised description of the sociolinguistic reality of Alghero, however, leaves out the idea that language choice (at a macro level) is the consequence, as in other cases of language shift (e.g., Dorian 1981), of a power relationship that has been established between the dominant and the subordinate group. It is certain that the 'one nation, one language' perspective, at the basis of many modern nation-states' policies, and the consequent widespread of nationalistic ideologies among the population, has influenced the linguistic behaviour of those

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[78] http://www.racocatala.cat/forums/fil/36941/sobre-lalgueres-literatura-algueresa

speakers who strive to identify with he new socio-political reality (see, for example, Tsitsipis 1989; 1998), but language choice must be also seen as a struggle to access different forms of capitals (or resources) – economic, political, social, and cultural.

A great number of speakers have expressed (more or less explicitly) their marked Italian patriotism, as well as their view that Italian, as opposed to *Alguerès*, holds instrumental, practical values that allow speakers to access different types of resources. We have already come across a few examples of the latter (e.g., Fragments 7.2 and 7.2b), whereas two examples of the former are Fragments 7.23 and 7.24 below. In one case (Fragment 7.23), RD.23.07.10, a forty-six-year-old female informant openly declares her attachment to the Italian nation, whereas FF.31.08.10, a eighty-seven-year-old male native-speaker of *Alguerès*, expresses his Italianness through a marked language loyalty (Fragment 7.24).

FRAGMENT 7.23: RD.23.07.10
Io ho un amore grande per la patria. Quindi quello è in primis, proprio per l'Italia […] *Io quando vado fuori dall'Italia, per esempio* […] *non mi so adattare* […] *Per esempio a me ha dato fastidio quando ho sentito che* […] *la Lega che non abbia veramente tifato per l'Italia, capito? Cioè, lì mi ha dato molto fastidio, molto, molto, molto… proprio perchè in primis c'è l'amore proprio per…*

FRAGMENT 7.24: FF.31.08.10
La lingua per eccellenza, internazionale si sa che è l'inglese, però non accetto una cosa io: che le pagine dei giornali siano infarcite […] *di questa terminologia inglese. Io dico una cosa: volete infarcire questi vostri resoconti* […] *Bene. Li accetto, a patto che accanto alla parola inglese* […] *scriviate cosa significa in italiano. L'italiano* […] *una lingua ricchissima, non ha bisogno di queste* […] *infarciture.*

This twofold impact – the affective attachment to 'the nation' and the instrumental value conveyed by the dominant language – that is exerted on speakers through the complex apparatus of the modern nation-state is not a prerogative of Italy, and a variety of similar cases are observed elsewhere. Mary Altabev, for example, in her study on the Judeo-Spanish-speaking community in Istanbul, has noticed that 'the Turkish Jews have adopted not only the affective element of the Turkish nationalist linguistic ideology but also its instrumental element' (2003: 99). That said, we cannot lose sight of the fact that, regardless of the degree of affection for the dominant group, the subordinate group is most likely to show also some 'pride' in being part of a socio-culturally different community, not necessarily expressed, however, by the actual use of the local language (Altabev 2003: 135; see

also 7.3.3). In other words, the subordinate group will probably be engaged in a process of 'mimesis' in order to resemble those speakers from the majority group, but, on the other hand, its members will also try to preserve some socio-cultural diversity.

This double pressure (both from above – the dominant majority – and below – the local community itself) can be described as the desire (or the need) for both socio-economic advancement and national inclusion, on the one hand, and the desire (or the need) for group solidarity, on the other hand. In Alghero, this struggle between the need for socio-economic advancement and/or national unity and the need for group solidarity is manifested, in the majority of cases, through what I have called 'emotional language loyalty' – that is, the explicitly expressed desire to preserve local Catalan not followed up, however, by concrete use (see 7.3.3.4). As I will show (7.3.3.3), this conflict is resolved, in some cases, also with the adoption of what I have called a 'third way' – the acquisition and use (for certain purposes and with certain interlocutors) of foreign Catalan (namely, any Catalan dialect other that *Alguerès*; Central Catalan in particular).

This last point leads to a significant issue widely observed in current Alghero: an increase in competence in, and convergence towards foreign Catalan. However, as we will see, the decline of *Alguerès* does not seem to stop. The idea that local Catalan is on the verge of extinction is widely shared by the majority of informants. The underlying idea is that the community of speakers is now divided into two main groups – the older, fully fluent speakers and the younger generations, perceived, by and large, as Italian monolinguals.

The informant of Fragment 7.25 below is a twenty-three-year-old female who comes from a Catalan-speaking family characterised by a strong commitment to the language, but the predominant language of interaction between her and her parents is Italian. She is, however, highly exposed to local Catalan to the extent that she can be assessed as an excellent semi-speaker (7.4.1): she shows, for example, a good competence of *Alguerès*, with only a minor departure from the traditional norm (i.e., 'la dumenge' [< It. 'la domenica'] instead of 'lo dumenge'). Outside the family, however, she mainly speaks local Catalan (albeit occasionally) with older speakers whereas with her peers the predominant language is Italian, although code-switching also occurs ('*calqui expressió, calqui volta, ixi…*'), a common practice among younger generations, as discussed in 7.2.3.

FRAGMENT 7.25: DR.02.03.09	
INTERV.:	*Tu l'alguerés lo parles amb la gent de l'edat tua?*
DR.02.03.09:	***Calqui expressió calqui volta ixi***...
INTERV.:	*No, parlar com sem parlant tu i ió ara...*
DR.02.03.09:	***No, no no no***
INTERV.:	*I amb gent gran?*
DR.02.03.09:	*Amb gent gran capita. Sí. [...] quan vaig a missa (a mi m'agrada en cada tant **la dumenge** anar a entrende la missa en alguerés [...]) i al.lora **me capita de parlar amb les companyones de la iaia, per exemple, i parl en alguerés** [...]*

Brauli Montoya, in his study on language shift in Alicante (see 3.2), has observed that the way speakers perceive the sociolinguistic situation reflects exactly how the process of abandonment of Catalan has evolved in the last 150 years. He has also observed that Catalan-speakers have a perception more closely adjusted to reality than those who are not. Autochthonous Spanish-speakers, that is, tend to be slightly more positive about the general sociolinguistic situation and slightly more optimistic about the future of Catalan (1996: 154-7). In Alghero, although very few cases of partly optimistic informants have been observed, such a divergence of opinions has not been registered and there seem to be a generalised pessimistic idea about the fate of *Alguerès*.

The informants in Fragment 7.26, husband and wife (TN.23.07.10 and RD.23.07.10) in their forties (forty-nine and forty-six respectively) both semi-speakers, for example, have a highly negative perception of the sociolinguistic situation. But the same pessimistic view is also expressed by MGF.27.02.09, a thirty-one-year-old female native-speaker of *Alguerès* in Fragment 7.27.

FRAGMENT 7.26: TN.23.07.10 and RD.23.07.10	
INTERV.:	*L'algherese lo parli spesso?*
RD.23.07.10:	*No, no, no... **e con chi lo parli**?! Con chi lo parli? Cioè **adesso parlare l'algherese è un dramma**. Nel senso che **i nostri coetanei … giusto puoi dire una frase cosí, una battuta**, però poi ... cioè, anche mia madre … che mia madre, **adesso che sono grande, potrei parlarci con lei in algherese**, parlo in italiano.*
INTERV.:	*Tua madre cosa parla con voi?*
RD.23.07.10:	*[...] **Con mia sorella proprio algherese puro, invece con me … magari in alcuni momenti mi parla in algherese, in altri in italiano e io o gli rispondo o in italiano o in algherese**. Dipende...*
TN.23.07.10:	*Con il fratello piu grande comunque gli parlava in algherese.*
INTERV.:	*Perchè con i più grandi in algherese e con voi più piccoli in italiano?*
RD.23.07.10:	*No... a me parlava in algherese, sono io che rispondevo in italiano, capito? Lei mi chiamava: 'vine en aquí, torna endrere, vine', ecc. **io invece gli rispondevo in italiano**. Perchè ricordo proprio che io **con le mie amiche, così, quando***

	goiocavamo, parlavamo tutte in italiano mentre mia sorella, per esempio, aveva tante amiche con cui parlava in algherese, capito? Poi, ne aveva anche con cui parlava in italiano, però ... noi, soprattutto la nostra generazione, parlavamo tutti quanti l'italiano. Forse perchè io credo i nostri genitori a un certo punto hanno avuto un po' di paura che parlando in algherese poi andassimo male a scuola, cioè che ci confondessero le idee...
TN.23.07.10:	*Oggi, i ragazzi di oggi é difficilissimo che sentano parlare l'algherese. Io penso che i miei figli, modo di poter sentire una persona di parlare l'algherese, nell'arco di una giornata, e' zero o poco più di zero perchè ovunque vadano sentono parlare l'italiano, a meno che ... però... comunque io dico che é una forzatura, quando gli fanno i corsi di algherese a scuola, sicuramente molto belli e molto utili pero é una forzatura – capito? – che gli viene fatta...*

FRAGMENT 7.27: MGF.27.02.09

MGF.27.02.09:	*Jo parl amb tota la família l'alguerés, ma no sol la família d'en casa, també los txius, cioè cosins o […] germans de mon pare i cosines de la mama […]*
INTERV.:	*I amb els companyons o amb les companyones...*
MGF.27.02.09:	*En italià, sempre en italià ...*
INTERV.:	*No hi ha persones a fores de la família amb qui parles en alguerés?*
MGF.27.02.09:	*Sí, sí, n'hi ha, però són totes persones grans. No són persones de l'edat mia. […]*
INTERV.:	*Tu penses que l'alguerés se pot encara salvar oppuru és ja arribat a la fase final?*
MGF.27.02.09:	*Mah, ió pens que sigui arribat abastança a la fase final per cosa no el parla ningú, i no s'entén l'esigènça del parlar-lo … és allò […].*

Outside the household, MGF.27.02.09 only speaks local Catalan with older speakers. So strong seems to be the association of *Alguerès* with older speakers that RD.23.07.10 (Fragment 7.26) is persuaded of the fact that, because of her older age, she is now ready to use local Catalan with her mother ('*adesso che sono grande, potrei parlarci con lei in algherese*'). But what is particularly significant in the story of RD.23.07.10 is how the environment outside the household can play a crucial role in either encouraging or dissuading the children from continuing to speak the main language of the family. RD.23.07.10 and her older sister were born and raised in the same area, but whereas she used to play with Italophone friends, her sister happened to have quite a few Catalan-speaking friends. As a consequence (at least in this particular instance), whilst the sister has continued to speak *Alguerès* with her mother, RD.23.07.10 (at some point, once the process of secondary socialisation began, it is to be assumed) refused to do so ('*a me parlava in algherese, sono io che rispondevo in italiano*').

A few informants also believe that Sardinian, both in Alghero and elsewhere, is more widely spoken than local Catalan. The forty-four-year-old semi-speaker male of Fragment 7.28 below, drawing on his own experience, describes a sociolinguistic situation characterised by the presence of a greater number of

Sardinian- than Catalan-speaking families in Alghero. Although the percentatges he suggests are not statistically reliable and there is no evidence to indicate that what he says is true, his impression is certainly indicative of a particular concern about the fate of local Catalan.

FRAGMENT 7.28: MC.10.12.08	
MC.10.12.08:	*Ió fas part de un grup d'excursionisme* […] *És un grup de l'Alguer però* […] *són tots* […] *algueresos sardofoni. Almanco lo 80%* [...] *és de família sardoparlante* [...] ___Quan se pot, se parla en italià, en sardu i qui pot també en alguerés, però l'alguerés és una cosa que, en vuitanta que sem, segons mi, lo parlen almanco en quinze___ [...] ___una cosa minoritària___.
INTERV.:	*Com t'espiegues que, en un gruppo alguerés hi hagi més sardoparlants?*
MC.10.12.08:	[...] *L'alguerés, després de la segona guerra mundial, a poc a poc és vengut minoritario.* […] *Com l'experiència d'aqueix grup* […] ___de vuitanta persones, te dic, almanco quinze sicurament han sempre entés l'alguerés de petit i potencialment lo parlen. Potencialment, parlem potencialment___ […] […] *Per com la veig ió,* [*a l'Alguer*] *almanco* ___lo mig és de segona generació sardoparlante___ [...] *Després* […] *hi és almanco* ___un quart de la populació que és de segona generació alguereso-parlant___ […].*gent que,* ___segons mi, té de manco de coranta anys difícilment l'empra si no és que té pròpio un amor ... té una ... és incentivat té ... s'abitja que és calqui cosa que s'està perdent i al.lora se mou un poc, ma sinó ... no hi ha, diem, un retorn. Qual és lo retorn? Amb l'alguerés no vas a, diem, a festejar per cosa certes minyones no te miren nimanco___. ___Amb l'alguerés difícilment vas a comprar. Amb l'alguerés difícilment fas tantes coses. [...]___ *I després, segons mi,* ___l'altro quart de la populació és tota italianoparlante___ [...]

Besides the underlying idea that Sardinian is more widely spoken than *Alguerès*, MC.10.12.08 puts forward the existence of both *instrumental* and *sentimental* motivations behind language use that are discussed in 7.31 and 7.3.3. There are no practical gains in speaking *Alguerès*, and (among younger generations) a strong sentimental attachment to it seems to be the only reason that leads speakers to use local Catalan. The examples he provides reveal the negative impact that *Alguerès* can have on everyday activities (such as shopping) and close, personal relationships, such as an approach to the opposite sex ('*amb l'alguerés no vas a, diem, a festejar per cosa certes minyones no te miren nimanco*').[79]

7.2.2 Linguistic interactions between locals and foreign Catalan-speakers

It is noted that such a slight social use of *Alguerès* is not only the result of language obsolescence, which mostly implies various degrees of incompetence in local

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[79] 'Festejar' means 'to court a woman' or 'be engaged to someone'.

Catalan (among the younger generations), but is also a situation largely 'imposed' by the current, dominant norms of linguistic behaviour, as seen in 7.1.2. Arenas, for example, is very clear about the fact that, because of the presence of sociolinguistic rules clearly in favour of Italian, *Alguerès* has become a dormant variety, but, if spurred, locals try to maintain a conversation (totally or partially) in Catalan with foreign Catalan-speakers (2000; see also Fragment 7.29 below).

FRAGMENT 7.29 – *Joaquim Arenas*'s response to Isabel Olesti[80]

*Dels quaranta-tants milers d'algueresos, estimació que he pogut fer al llarg de molts anys de contacte, 18.000 saben alguerès, i la majoria l'entenen. D'aquests, 13.000 saben parlar el català de l'Alguer, **però només l'usen si la circumstància ho exigeix** o **si l'interlocutor català persisteix**, en el diàleg, en la llengua que li és pròpia. Els altres 5.000 restants són els que parlen el català de l'Alguer normalment, és a dir, a casa i al carrer.*

Arenas explicitly alludes at foreign Catalan-speaking interlocutors as *language triggerers*, somehow implying the absence of the appropriate conditions for the use of *Alguerès* within the very local community of speakers, where Italian remains, by and large, the main language of interaction.

This research clearly shows a significant decrease in the number of native-speakers of *Alguerès*, but also a similarly gradual increase in the use of Catalan, on the part of local speakers, with interlocutors from outside the local community. A considerable number of informants, especially younger speakers, show a competence in foreign Catalan (see 7.4.1), but not in *Alguerès*, showing that they have acquired Catalan through formal learning and/or use it only with foreign interlocutors; other informants (including native-speakers) tend to mix foreign Catalan elements when speaking in *Alguerès*, suggesting that new linguistic habits, for a variety of reasons, have become permanent in the speech of (certain) local speakers; others, despite their very poor competence in *Alguerès*, have declared that they are able to communicate easily with foreign Catalan-speakers, as – it is to be assumed – structural proximity between Catalan and Italian can easily allow face-to-face interactions with little or no structural adjustment.

Linguistic interactions with foreign Catalan-speakers do not require full competence in *Alguerès* on the part of local interlocutors. Interactions characterised by the use of local Catalan certainly do take place between visitors and (older) local

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[80] 'Avui', page 10, Monday, 6 April 2009

Catalan-speaking residents, but the data suggest that, in many instances, conversations are substantially conducted in a variety of Catalan other than *Alguerès* (Central Catalan, mainly); in other instances, partly adapting *Alguerès* to the language of the interlocutor; mixing Italian with (a few) Catalan words or short sentences; or even bilingually: locals speaking Italian while foreigners speak Catalan. In actual fact a great number of local speakers have a linguistic repertoire (see figure 7.5) that allows them to maintain sporadic, at times 'contrived', conversations with foreign Catalan-speakers, but the same linguistic repertoire hardly permits interactions in Catalan between members of the local community.

This research suggests that, for intra-group interactions to take place in *Alguerès*, native competence on the part of all the interlocutors involved in the conversation is, as a general rule, required. Thus, whereas almost all the speakers in the typologies represented in Figure 7.5 below are (or feel themselves to be) 'legitimised' to engage in a conversation with a foreign Catalan-speaker, the same does not apply to interactions taking place between speakers within the local community.

Figure 7.5: *Local speakers' linguistic repertoire*	
Tipology of speakers	**Linguistic repertoire**
A. (Older) native speakers of Alg. 1:	Alg. + (It.)
B. (Older) native speakers of Alg. 2:	Alg. + (It.) + (Cat.)
C. (Older) native speakers of Alg. 3:	Alg. + It.
D. (Older) native speakers of Alg. 4:	Alg. + It. + (Cat.)
E. (Older) native speakers of Alg. 5:	Alg. + It. + Cat.
F. (Younger) native speakers of It. 1:	It.
G. (Younger) native speakers of It. 2:	It. + (Alg.)
H. (Younger) native speakers of It. 3:	It. + (Alg.) + (Cat.)
I. (Younger) native speakers of It. 4:	It. + (Alg.) + Cat.
J. (Younger) native speakers of It. 5:	It. + Cat.

Figure 7.5 above is only a first, provisional account of the different typologies of speakers in Alghero, and a more detailed classification will be discussed in 7.4.1. This approximate account of the linguistic repertoires shows, for

example, a significant presence of foreign Catalan, especially among younger generations, where, in some cases, it has replaced *Alguerès*, completely or almost completely (typologies J and I).[81] This suggests that, among these speakers, only interactions with foreign Catalan-speaking interlocutors can ensue. In the same fashion, a repertoire that includes Italian and some knowledge of *Alguerès* (typology G) can also be adequate for sporadic interactions with foreign Catalan-speakers, but not for intra-group interactions.

The fifty-one-year-old male informant of Fragment 7.30 below (CS.11.12.08) is very clear about a greater use of Catalan with foreign Catalan-speaking interlocutors than with locals, although he is also persuaded that there are still occasions in Alghero where local Catalan can be spoken.

FRAGMENT 7.30: CS.11.12.08	
INTERV.:	*Lo català lo parles més en aquí, amb algueresos, o amb catalans?*
CS.11.12.08:	*Bé, **la resposta és fàcil**. **Vull dir**... vull diure que **quan io vaig en allí** [Catalan-speaking regions] **parl sempre en alguerés**. És normal que sigui així [...]. **A l'Alguer ... eerr... diem que d[e]pén del lloc de la situació, del posto**, no? **Sabem que la llengua més emprada a l'Alguer és l'italià** però veig que hi ha **moltes** ... eeerrr... **molt** .... llocs assai, botigues i postos on puc parlar en alguerés i ió parl en alguerés [...]*

As a individual committed to the linguistic cause, he also speaks Catalan within the local community, whenever and wherever possible, but the majority of non-native speakers of *Alguerès* tend to use (local) Catalan mostly (if not only) with foreign Catalans. The young waitress he met in a local restaurant while he was having a meal with some Catalan friends is an excellent case in point:

FRAGMENT 7.31: CS.11.12.08
[...] al [name of restaurant]*, una cameriera de vint anys (ió calqui volta hi vaig amb catalans, amics que venen en aquí) ... anem en allí i ió hi parl en alguerés. Ió he provat a parlar en alguerés i aqueixa minyona de vint anys te repon en alguerés, no?! He dit: 'Ma sés alguerés? Io só vengut en aquí de quan havem obert, de vuit anys, i mai t'he entés parlar en alguerés!' I aqueixa me diu: 'Si ió só algueresa. Lo comprenc bé'. **Sols que se vergonyegen, normalment, de parlar alguerés, però, si troben catalans, lo parlen** [...]*

Speaking Catalan, either exclusively or predominantly with foreign Catalan-speakers, is not, *per se*, a problem, but there seem to be also ideological reasons

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[81] Different degrees of competence are roughly represented here by the presence or absence of parentheses for each language, the absence indicating full or almost full competence. Sardinian is not considered here as the main focus is on Catalan and Italian.

behind it. Young speakers feel embarrassed, for a variety of reasons, to speak local Catalan with local interlocutors ('*sols* [sic] *que se vergonyegen*'), but they feel fully legitimised to address foreign Catalan-speakers in Catalan ('*però, si troben catalans, lo parlen*'). Although, as mentioned earlier, this is partly related to the necessity (as a general 'rule') to abide by the rule requiring full proficiency in *Alguerès* when talking to a local native-speaker, stigma (still attached to *Alguerès*) and prestige (associated with foreign Catalan) also have an important role to play here (see 7.3.3.1).

The forty-one-year-old near-passive bilingual female of Fragment 7.32 below (GR.05.02.09), for example, depicts foreign Catalan as a more gentle variety ('*sí, piú pulito dell'algherese*'). We will return to this issue later (7.3.3.1), but we need to bear in mind that foreign Catalan, as opposed to *Alguerès*, is perceived as a more appealing variety and this is quite a widespread impression among the local population, with significant sociolinguistic implications (including repercussions on intergenerational language transmission). This partly explains why, whereas the use of *Alguerès* is clearly in decline, the use of foreign Catalan (or, simply, interaction with Catalan-speaking interlocutors) is on the increase. After all, foreign Catalan (most usually associated to the trendy city of Barcelona), as opposed to *Alguerès*, represents the opportunity to be an active part (culturally, economically, artistically, etc.) of a wider, more stimulating market.

FRAGMENT 7.32: GR.05.02.09	
INTERV.:	*Haveu tengut mai contactes amb catalans?*
GR.05.02.09:	*Sí.*
ML.05.02.09:	*No, ió no...ió no, no m'és capitat...*
GR.05.02.09:	*Io sí...eerr... turiste...turisss-tes...així se diu?!*
INTERV.:	*I com parlaven [sic] amb els catalans?*
GR.05.02.09:	*.... eeerrr.... bé... eeerrr... **si riusciva ... a capire quello che dicevano e noi riuscivamo a comunicare**, anche perché... forse, boh, avevo meno vergogna prima non lo so, m'imbarazzava di meno. ...eeerrr... ci capivano. Un tipo di pronuncia completamente diverso, **come se fosse un italiano che pronuncia l'algherese, l'ho trovato, io... molto piú aperto... sí, piú pulito dell'algherese**...eeerrr....*

The increasing acquisition and use of foreign Catalan, as opposed to the decline of *Alguerès*, is well exemplified by MC.10.12.08. As we can see from Fragments 7.33 and 7.34 below, there seems to be a significant mismatch between language use within the local community and interactions with foreign Catalan-speaking interlocutors, on the part of semi-speakers. MC.10.12.08, a forty-four male

semi-speaker already met in 7.2.1, struggles to find locals he can speak with in *Alguerès*: his commitment to the language cause leads him to try to speak *Alguerès* whenever possible, but the occasions where he can actually use it seem to be very few, and his most 'regular' interlocutors have come to be predominantly foreign Catalan-speakers. The use of (local) Catalan between semi-speakers is highly determined by the presence of a great sense of commitment with the linguistic cause, and, to a certain extent, by the age of the interlocutors. Without these two conditions, Italian will be most certainly the code of interaction.

FRAGMENT 7.33: MC.10.12.08
[...] *A **fores de la família no és fàcil** […] calqui **discursu, però curt** no llong lo faç amb calqui amic, amb calqui amiga, però no és cosa... almancu, **aquellos que tenen la mateixes edat no trobes … no ne trobes, diem, tants que parlen l'alguerès o que poden sustinir un discurs llong, circostanciat, complex** diem i...[...] però ja capita cada tant... també amb cunyades mies ...eerr... després... pròpiu... **amb una encara de més per cosa és filla … és filla pròpiu de algueresos… és més fàcil… però després ella te respon sempre en italià i al.lora...***

The frustration caused by the difficulty of finding same-age Catalan-speaking interlocutors within the local community is partly compensated for by the opportunities to use Catalan with foreign Catalan-speakers, within cultural circles in Alghero ('*calqui u que trob de l'Obra'*), or with older speakers (Fragment 7.34 below):[82]

FRAGMENT 7.34: MC.10.12.08	
INTERV.:	*Quindi, amb qui parles de més l'alguerés/català?*
MC.10.12.08:	***Per escrit segurament amb catalans***. ***Per escrit i oralment*** […] *sinó **calqui u que trob de l'obra** calqui u altro ... cioè ... gent que sep ... però també amics; **però tota gent que té almanco més de coranta anys**.*

7.2.3 Linguistic interactions, the internet, and code-switching

The use of written Catalan ('*per escrit segurament amb catalans*' in Fragment 7.34), a recent, widespread practice, has been brought into being by the emergence of new technologies, and the internet in particular. It is noted that the written use of local languages and dialects is in the increase, on the internet. Berruto, by drawing on statistical data, has observed a decline in the oral use of dialects in Italy, but has also

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[82] 'Obra Cultural' (or just 'Obra') is one of the several cultural associations in Alghero working towards the protection of local Catalan and local traditions.

noticed a significant presence of the dialect in new domains: chats, forums and newsgroups, email and sms (2006). *Alguerès* is not excluded from this new practice, and the opportunity to interact with foreign Catalan-speakers plays an important part here.

Overall, the main factors governing written interactions can be summarised as follows:

1. A more or less strong sense of identity and/or commitment to the linguistic cause;
2. The presence of foreign Catalan-speakers in the conversation;
3. The degree of seriousness of topic and conversation.

Written interactions (on Facebook, for example) where foreign Catalan-speakers are not involved are predominantly in Italian, the unmarked language (see, for example, Myers-Scotton 1998), but, in some instances, are characterised by more or less frequent switches between Italian and *Alguerès*. The norms of linguistic behaviour (both orally and in writing), in many bilingual communities, clearly indicate that one of the languages in contact – Italian, in our case – is more unmarked or expected than the other(s) as the medium of the interaction. However, if one or more social features of the interaction change (e.g., the topic), then the unmarked code also may change (Myers-Scotton 1992: 39-40). It is quite common, in Alghero, especially in the speech of older speakers, that the individuals involved in the conversation begin an interaction in *Alguerès*, but then switch to Italian (which becomes the unmarked choice) with a change in situational features, such as a new participant joining in.

But markedness, intended as a parameter for language choice, is not static. As Myers-Scotton clearly puts it, 'at any point in time, codes vary in their readings of markedness from one interaction type to another; their readings are also open to change over time' (1993: 478-9). Thus, in those instances characterised by language shift, linguistic choices are to be considered along a multidimensional continuum from more unmarked to more marked, according, for example, to the situation and the age of the speakers, who assess the languages in contact through different markedness evaluators (Myers-Scotton 1998: 22). Younger generations in Alghero perceive Italian as the more unmarked variety in almost all the linguistic situations, but *Alguerès* becomes the unmarked code if, for example, the *degree of seriousness* diminishes.

This means that, although *Alguerès* is becoming a residual linguistic repertoire for many speakers, as its competence is a prerogative of only a restricted group of people (older generations, mainly, as shown in 7.4), speakers, by switching from Italian (the matrix language) to local Catalan, show and express their group membership. Code-switching is for younger semi-speakers and near passive-bilinguals, an alternate way to assert for themselves the identities associated with both languages in contact. This is a quite common practice, and Alfonzetti (1992), for example, has observed that in Catania (Sicily) code-switching between Italian and local Sicilian dialect is an unmarked choice whose main function is to express the bilingual identity of speakers who share a similar cultural and linguistic background.

Based mainly on my observations, I maintain that code-switching in Alghero has come to be an alternative way to show allegiance to the original ethnolinguistic group, while remaining also faithful to the dominant group. By code-switching (more or less frequently) to *Alguerès*, in appropriate speech situations, the speakers maintain the existence of those ethnolinguistic boundaries that separate them from external groups (the neighbouring 'Sardinians' in particular), while expressing their membership of the national group through the matrix language – Italian.

The loss of the local language does not necessarily mean the loss of the local identity and, as is suggested by Altabev in relation to Judeo-Spanish in Turkey, the function of the minority language as an identity marker is replaced by a 'way of speaking differently' and/or code-switching (2003: 135). In the case of the Turkish Jewish community described by Altabev, as opposed to the Catalan-speaking community of Alghero, however, there seems to be a certain reluctance to use Judeo-Spanish, even in the form of code-switching (Altabev 2003: 178-9). In Alghero, by contrast, observations and interviews suggest that speakers are quite keen to code-switch, and this linguistic practice is quite acceptable, as long as it does not contravene the appropriateness of the situation. This means that, if there are no (major) changes in the speech event, such as clear change in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations, the use of local Catalan is an unmarked choice (see Woolard 2004).[83]

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[83] Blom and Gumperz (1972, quoted by Woolard 2004) proposed a functional distinction between situational (i.e., when a change in the event occurs) and metaphorical code-switching. By means of

Thus, if there is no change in situational features (e.g., a new interlocutor taking part in the conversation) but a speaker switches codes anyway, such a switch is unexpected according to the speakers' *markedness evaluator*, that is, the ability to understand that the use of different codes is conditional on the specific discourse type and, most of all, the awareness that marked choices will receive different receptions from unmarked ones (Myers-Scotton 1998: 22). The markedness evaluator is then an important component of the speakers' *communicative competence* and is therefore acquired through socialisation. As a result, speakers will know that making a marked choice has different consequences (in terms of costs and benefits) from making an unmarked one. By and large, and mainly based on observation, marked choices, in Alghero, come only from language activists (such as LN.22.08.11 in Fragment 7.35) who, of course, switch to (local) Catalan as often as they can with the intention to (re)negotiate their rights and obligations (i.e., to set new norms) (Myers-Scotton 1993: 484).

In Fragment 7.35, two semi-speakers (TD and FU) follow, in a Facebook conversation, what seems to be a pattern of metaphorical switching, also observed in face-to-face interactions. They begin a conversation with a colloquial form of greeting in *Alguerès*, while the rest of the interaction, about meeting for a rugby training session, is carried out in Italian, until a third person (LN), a team-mate, breaks into the conversation by addressing one of the interlocutors in Catalan (a mixture of *Alguerès* and foreign Catalan), who replies alternating Italian and *Alguerès*. Informal greetings seem to be characterised, in the speech of young speakers, by the use of *formulas* (e.g., *tot bé*?, *Com anem*?, etc.) in local Catalan that seem to fulfil the metaphorical function of '*the language of the ethnolinguistic group I belong to*'. As has been mentioned earlier, ethnolinguistic identity is expressed (by semi-speakers, near-passive bilinguals, and monolinguals) through code-switching.

FRAGMENT 7.35: FACEBOOK INTERACTION	
TD on 22.08.11:	*i bè cumpara chessa ...*

metaphorical switching, interlocutors allude to different relationships that they hold. Such allusion is achieved through transient use of a language that serves as a 'metaphor' for another social relationship regularly associated with it, such as authority. Gumperz (1982: 60-61, quoted by Woolard 2004) later associated this kind of clear, well-established code alternation with Joshua Fishman's version of diglossia, in which codes are quite strictly compartmentalised (for a detailed account see Woolard 2004: 75-78).

FU on 22.08.11:	*oe cuppara tò com anem*
FU on 22.08.11:	*ci vediamo domani alle 19.30?*
FU on 22.08.11:	*questa settimana son di mATTINA*
TD on 22.08.11:	*ok compa vediamo se mi dai pacco anche domani*
FU on 22.08.11:	*si ma non vengo a fare preparazione ,vengo per un tiuchè*
FU on 22.08.11:	*touchè*
FU on 22.08.11:	*mi han detto che da oggi iniziA LA PREPARAZIONE ,è VERO?*
LN on 22.08.11:	***Federi' comença lo primer de setembre!***
FU on 22.08.11:	*perfetto LN allora domani ci sei anche tu?**Praparata , gial sas***

In the conversation of Fragment 7.35, two forms of code-switching are observed: between the turn of speakers and between utterances within a single turn. These are common patterns of code-switching widely observed in face-to-face interactions, but in Alghero, as in other sociolinguistic contexts (see, for example, Giacalone Ramat 1995; Poplack 1980), code-switching seems to be characterised (mostly in the speech of younger speakers) also by intra-sentential alternations. Provided that a certain level of proficiency is required for switching to occur (Hoffmann 1991: 113; Myers-Scotton 1993: 482), the real nature of both inter- and extra-sentential alternations is, in a variety of instances, not easy to establish, as these switchings also occur in the speech of monolinguals and near-passive bilinguals (7.4.1). Fragments 7.36, 7.37, and 7.38 below call into question the very existence of code-switching among younger speakers in Alghero and may suggest an approach more focused on the concepts of borrowing and/or mixing, instead (see Hoffmann 1991: 110-11; Romaine 1995: 122-25 for further discussion), although borrowing, as has been observed elsewhere, may fulfil the same functions of code-switching (Altabev 2003: 177-81; Woolard 2004: 73-4).[84]

FRAGMENT 7.36: CS.11.09.10 and FC.11.09.10	
INTERV.:	*E con i nonni un po' di algherese lo parlate?*
CS.11.09.10:	*Sí, se capita, sí. Ma piú che altro sul ... eerr... **scherzando**, capito?*
CS.11.09.10:	*Magari... **le frastumie** [laughs]*
FC.11.09.10:	*Non seriamente… [laughs]… una conversazione seria…! [laughs]*
INTERV.:	*E tra i giovani qualche cosa si lascia andare?*
CS.11.09.10:	*Io sí…*
INTERV.:	*Che cosa e in che momenti?*
CS.11.09.10:	*Quando mi danno fastidio. Quindi, **quando mi adiro**…*
INTERV.:	*E cosa dici, per esempio?*
CS.11.09.10:	*[laughs] Boh… '**que te bruji el foc**' queste cose cosi… [laughs]*

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[84] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the difference between borrowing/mixing and code-switching, and an answer to this issue in relation to the particular case of Alghero cannot be given here. For useful bibliographical references and further discussion see Romaine (1995: 123-25 and 142-61).

INTERV.:	*E tu invece?*
FC.11.09.10:	[laughs] *'**La bagassa de ta mare!**' […] questa è la piu bella* [laughs] *èla piu bella, non ce n'è!* [laughs]

FRAGMENT 7.37: FI.28.02.09
Mi interesso anche di calcio [...] *alleno squadre di bambini nell'ambito locale.* [...] *in questo ambito, per esempio, le frasi in algherese sono molto* […] *frequenti* [...] *nel senso che **come rimprovero**, per esempio, gli allenatori le utilizzano molto ... nel senso quando sbagli: '**cosa és això**', '**sés un cerós** [sic]', '**desperta-te**'; poi **ci sono anche le maledizioni** del tipo: '**a cui te vegin gecu** [sic]'* [...] **Anche a me capita, che io non parlo l'algherese, capita** [...] **di rivolgermi** *(appunto perché mi hanno parlato cosí i miei allenatori)* **di rivolgermi ai bambini e ai ragazzi grandi in questa maniera.** *Poi, diciamo che...* [...] *anche tra i miei amici utilizziamo in maniera abbastanza frequente...* **laddove tra virgolette ci insultiamo**, *ok, tipo eh...* [...] *una cosa un po' antipatica dell'algherese è che è molto frequente anche* **la bestemmia** [laugh] *tra virgolette e quindi ... eh... quindi... a parte questi due ambiti non viene... non utilizziamo molto questo linguaggio proprio...* **quindi piú che altro per espressioni piú che altro simpatiche, simpatiche e colorite**.

FRAGMENT 7.38: ST.28.02.09	
INTERV.:	*Tens amics que parlen alguerés?*
ST.28.02.09:	*Eh, calqui u!*
INTERV.:	*I amb ellos parles en alguerés?*
ST.28.02.09:	*Calqui ... calqui volta sí... col.loquial*
INTERV.:	*Fes-me un exemple de cosa dius...*
ST.28.02.09:	*Eerrr ... ad esemp... **quan hi ha persona de altro país** al.lora cosí, **per dir calqui cosa qui ell no vorrà entena parla en alguerés**...*[85]

In the fragments above, all the informants are either passive bilinguals (CS.11.09.10, FC.11.09.10, and FI.28.02.09) or near-passive bilinguals (ST.28.02.09), but they still code-switch (more or less frequently) from Italian to local Catalan. The two last informants (Fragments 7.37 and 7.38) are quite emblematic: the first informant (Fragment 7.37) explicitly expresses his total lack of active competence of local Catalan, and yet alternates between Italian and *Alguerès*, on specific occasions and with certain interlocutors. It also emerges that *Alguerès* is mainly used either as a humorous device or to express anger and that mixing within word boundaries also occurs (e.g., '*le frastumie*').

That the informants have no great competence of *Alguerès* signals that some words or short phrases may have become part of the regional variety of colloquial Italian spoken in Alghero. If this is the case, the use of local Catalan in the speech of certain speakers is to be attributed to a change of style within Italian rather than to code-switching as such. After all, '*le frastumie*' (from Fragment 7.36) is clearly a

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[85] What expressed in the last sentence by ST.28.02.09 would be, in proper *Alguerès*, something like the following: 'per exemple, quan hi ha persones forasteres […] per no mos fer comprendre, al.lora parlem en *Alguerès*'.

Catalan word ('*flastomia*') with Italian plural morphology, suggesting a certain degree of integration, although the degree of phonological (and even morphological) integration may differ from speaker to speaker, depending on the speaker's sociolinguistic profile (including degree of bilingualism) (Myers-Scotton 1992: 34).

According to Myers-Scotton, a major difference between borrowing and code-switching is that in the case of borrowing, embedded language forms (local Catalan, in our case) become part of what constitutes the lexical competence of a matrix language speaker (Italian, in our case), while embedded language forms in code-switching undergo no such incorporation, but are accessed from the embedded language only to serve the socio-pragmatic needs of the current exchange (1992: 33). Accordingly, the case of 'frastumie' must be treated as a case of core loan, which has become part of the lexical competence of younger speakers in Alghero through previous instances of code-switching. In fact, some borrowing forms only become part of the competence of certain groups of speakers and never achieve general currency, but are limited to certain styles (Myers-Scotton 1992: 34).

In some instances of code-switching, as we have seen earlier, the speakers show some degree of bilingualism (though only passive, in some cases), but lexical ítems such as 'frastumia' can also be found in the speech of monolinguals, and are used with a certain frequency. Now, frequency of use as a criterion to distinguish borrowing from code-switching can be misleading, at least in the community under discussion (see Myers-Scotton 1992: 35). In Alghero, a great deal of code-switching occurs in the speech of young speakers, some of them with some degree of bilingualism, but the frequency of switches from the matrix language (Italian) to *Alguerès* is usually quite high. This makes it difficult, according to Myers-Scotton's statement, to decide whether these are cases of borrowing or code-switching. Consider, for example, the sentence '*ja el saps*!' that we have already seen in Fragment 7.35: there is no (phonetic) integration, but it occurs (in the speech of young speakers) with considerable frequency.

The bottom line is that it is not easy to differentiate code-switching from borrowing in Alghero and appropriate, specific studies need to be conducted. It seems, however, reasonable to look at cases such as '*frastumie*' in terms of *discourse-related* style-switching. Discourse-related switching cannot be limited, however, to these particular cases, but needs to be considered from a broader perspective. According to Peter Auer (1984, quoted by Woolard 2004), who

introduced the concept of discourse-related code-switching, a change of codes can create interactional and rhetorical effects, just as contrasts in loudness, pace and pitch do. In Alghero, for example, a switch in codes might signal (and it is the result of) hilarity or anger in the interaction.

It is noted that a great amount of code-switching in Alghero is conditioned by the degree of seriousness of the conversation: the more serious the conversation, the less the use of local Catalan, and vice-versa. The majority of conversations on Facebook and online forums of discussion that I have been able to analyse are characterised by a predominant use of Italian. Catalan, whenever used, is basically limited to words and short sentences mainly within humorous, trivial, and relaxed interactions (see Simon 2009b).

It is beyond the scope of this research to investigate the types of switching and the reasons at the root of the phenomenon in Alghero, but it is noted that, besides the greetings in Fragment 7.35 and the degree of seriousness of the conversation, a variety of other alternations may occur: from the 'discourse-related' switching, marking shift in topic, for example, to more 'unmarked' choices expressing a strategy of neutrality (see Hoffmann 1991: 115-16; Romaine 1995: 161-69; Winford 2003: 102-07).

The presence of a variety of types of code-switching is not uncommon in bilingual societies. Alfonzetti (1992) has observed a range of unmarked types of code-switching in Sicily where speakers tend to alternate between Italian and the Sicilian dialect, for example, when the topic changes within the same conversation or when someone else's speech is quoted. In a sociolinguistic context more similar to that of Alghero – Formazza, a German-speaking community in the north-west of Italy –, however, Dal Negro (2004) has noticed that code-switching is quite common among full bilinguals, but very unlikely to occur among semi-speakers. The community is clearly characterised by a process of language shift, but she argues that whether code-switching should constitute any relevant part within a model of language shift and death is doubtful. This is so because 'the very high bilingual flexibility and competence which is required by code-switching (especially intrasentential code-switching or code-mixing) may not be appropriate to describe a context in which bilingualism is actually giving way to a generalized monolingualism' (2004: 70). What she has noticed is a widespread interference in the syntactic structure of the receding language in the speech of the whole community,

fluent speakers included. At Formazza each speaker keeps to his/her preferred code and the speaker of the receding code eventually converges to the dominant language. In this context of language shift it is very unlikely that an Italian conversation is interrupted by the insertion of Walser German material, whereas the opposite is evidently true (Dal Negro 2004: 71).

All in all, code-switching in Alghero seems to conform, by and large, to community norms and the participants' expectations (see Winford 2003: 118). The exclusive use of Catalan by LN in Fragment 7.35 above, although quite unusual within conversations characterised by the predominant use of Italian in interactions between semi-speakers, is partly tolerated but the conversation is put back into its right perspective by FU's response, which has added a bit of humour so bringing the use of Catalan back into its more appropriate ground: '*gial sas*' ('*ja el saps*') has become a widely used formula in colloquial speech in Alghero to close a sentence in a friendly, humorous way.

7.3 Language choice within the household: factors and mechanisms

When societal bilingualism occurs, the speakers are most likely to pass the dominant variety on to their own children, although this is not always a straightforward decision. In many cases, the pressure from above (i.e., from the majority, powerful group) is counterbalanced by the existence of limiting factors, such as a strong sense of group membership, but in the majority of cases power trumps solidarity and language shift occurs. In addition to ideological reasons, closely related to the relationship between power and solidarity, practical factors also seem to affect intergenerational language transmission. For example, one of the causes of the break in intergenerational transmission of Catalan is the presence, within the same society, of different language groups (usually, one monolingual and the other bilingual) under circumstances where no social segregation exists. This, as discussed in 4.3.1, leads, in the majority of cases, to the emergence of linguistically mixed couples and a prevalent use of the shared, dominant language.

7.3.1 Family types

Families, in Alghero, can be divided into two main types: *linguistically homogeneous* and *mixed languages* families. In each type, three different sub-groups can be accounted for. Thus, linguistically homogeneous family can be described as follows:

1. *Italian − Italian.* In this group, both parents are predominantly Italian speakers. Italian is not necessarily the sole variety in the parents' linguistic repertoire, but it is certainly their primary language, that is, the language they know and speak best, as they have learned it at home. Among these, there are:

   a. Those parents born outside Alghero (arrived in Alghero when adults);

   b. Those parents born in Alghero from a (predominantly) Italian-speaking family (including some mixed-language marriages);

   c. Those parents born in a family where their parents speak Catalan to each other, but (predominantly) Italian with their children; their exposure to Catalan is, overall, quite poor: despite the exposure to the parents' interactions in Catalan, they are not familiar with it, perhaps because they have lived for some time outside Alghero, perhaps because they have not known their grandparents, or do not maintain contact with other Catalan-speaking members of the family or friends, etc. Although their passive competence is excellent, their productive ability is poor and they do not feel comfortable speaking Catalan.

All in all, the exposure to Italian (both within and outside the family) is for these speakers clearly much greater than the exposure to Catalan.

2. *Alguerès − Alguerès*. In this family type, parents are either Catalan-dominant bilinguals, or full bilinguals who, in the majority of cases, have acquired *Alguerès* in the family but Italian outside the household (e.g., at

school, in the street, at work), and can be considered as (equally) fluent in both languages.[86] These are:

    a. Those parents born in a (predominantly) Catalan-speaking family;

    b. Those parents born in a mixed languages family where at least one of their parents speaks Catalan to them, and a certain degree of contact with other Catalan-speaking members of the family is also maintained;

    c. Those parents who have acquired Italian at home, but have been extensively exposed to Catalan, because of intense interactions either with other members of the family (e.g., grandparents), or during secondary socialization (e.g., at workplace) with Catalan-speakers.

All in all, these cases are characterised by either a greater exposure to Catalan or an equal exposure to both languages.

    3. *Sardinian – Sardinian*. These are parents who can be considered as Sardinian-dominant bilinguals or simply bilinguals who have acquired Sardinian in the family, as in the case of *Alguerès* in group 2.

On the other hand, mixed language families can be grouped as follows:

    4. *Italian – Alguerès*. In these marriages one of the parents is predominantly Italian-speaking whereas the other is predominantly Catalan-speaking. These intermarriages are quite common in Alghero;

    5. *Italian – Sardinian*. In these marriages, by contrast, one of the partners is predominantly Italian-speaking whereas the other is Sardinian-speaking and, therefore, there is no (or very little) Catalan involved.

    6. *Alguerès – Sardinian*. This group used to be quite common in the past, but is very uncommon at the present time.

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[86] I am well aware that equal fluency in both languages is almost impossible to observe, but this theoretical definition is useful to describe a situation where there is little difference between the competences in the two languages.

Figure 7.6: *Showing the possible types of families according to the languages of parents*

Langs Involved	Linguistically Homogeneous			Linguistically Heterogeneous		
	It. – It.	Cat. – Cat.	Sar. – Sar.	It. – Cat.	It. – Sar.	Cat. – Sar.
Types of Speakers	Both parents are predominantly It. Speakers, although It. is not necessarily the sole variety in their linguistic repertoire.	Parents who can be considered as either Catalan-dominant bilinguals or fully bilinguals.	Parents who can be considered as either Sardinian-dominant bilinguals or fully bilinguals.	One of the parents is predominantly Italian- whereas the other is predominantly Catalan-speaking	One of the parents is predominantly Italian- whereas the other is predominantly Sardinian-speaking	One of the parents is predominantly Catalan- whereas the other is predominantly Sardinian-speaking

7.3.1.1 Possible linguistic interactions between parents

According to the family types outlined above, I shall now account for the possible interactions between parents, whereas, in 7.3.1.2, I will suggest different possible situations of interactions between parents and children. In the case of interactions between parents, I will consider a hypothetical couple, whose language use is mainly conditional on both the degree of *competence* and the impact of *social networks*. Motivations, as we will see in 7.4, play only a marginal (indirect) role in language choice between partners so that these are not considered within this theoretical analysis.

Although a hierarchy of importance may be established, the linguistic outcome (in terms of language choice) is primarily due do the combination of the factors considered above, not to the incidence of each of them taken individually. That both parents have Catalan as their primary language is not necessarily a sufficient condition for the language of interaction between them to be *Alguerès*. If the social networks to which they are linked function predominantly in Italian, it is highly probable that they also use Italian to speak to each other (at home). In a parallel fashion, as discussed in 7.3 and 7.4, that the parent's primary language is *Alguerès*, and that this is the language used for interactions with the partner is not a guarantee that *Alguerès* will also be the language of intergenerational transmission. Parents need to have strong motivations to do so; if they do not, they will be most probably using Italian. That is, there is no straightforward explanation for language behaviour, and the greater or lesser use of Catalan must be considered according to the interrelations of the different relevant factors.

Thus, the language use of the hypothetical couple is defined by the combination of values assigned to both *linguistic competence* and *social networks*. These values are indicated, in a binary fashion, by either a plus (+) or a minus (-) sign, referring, on the one hand, to the predominant competence of *Alguerès* (indicated by a plus) or to the predominant competence of Italian (indicated by a minus). On the other hand, the plus sign also indicates the predominant use of Catalan in the social network where the parents interact, whereas the minus sign indicates the predominant use of Italian. Sardinian is not considered here. Two reasons underpin this decision: 1: because those instances where both parents have Sardinian as a predominant language are not relevant for this study; and 2: because young Sardinian-speakers in current Alghero use Italian in the interactions with Catalan-speakers, so that they are included among the group of Italian-speaking partners. The result is a grid of six possible combinations, and five possible types of linguistic interactions:

Figure 7.7: *Possible situations and potential linguistic outcomes according to competence and social networks*

	Linguistically Homogeneous Couples				Linguistically Heterogeneous Couples				Linguistically Homogeneous Couples			
	Situation 1		Situation 2		Situation 3		Situation 4		Situation 5		Situation 6	
PARTNERS[87]	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
COMPETENCE	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
SOCIAL NET.	+		-		+		-		+		-	
LING. OUTCOME	+ + + Alg.		++ It. /+Alg.		++ It./+ Alg.		+ It.		+ + It.		+ + + It.	

Linguistic outcomes are established according to the combination of the following facts: 1: whether the couples are linguistically homogeneous or not; 2: whether the predominant language of homogeneous families is Catalan or not; 3: whether the social networks where the partners act and interact are predominantly Catalan- or Italian-speaking; and 4: whether the couple shares, substantially, (part of) the same networks.

Overall, the further we move to the right end of the grid, the lower the use of *Alguerès* seems to be. So, if situation 1 is the most likely to be characterised by the predominant use of Catalan (i.e., +++ Alg.), situation 6, by contrast, is most likely to

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[87] Partners are indicated by H (for husband) and W (for wife), although some of them may not be married. I would also like to point out that gender distinction (i.e., between husband and wife) here is not relevant to language use; it has been drawn only for explanatory reasons.

be characterised by the predominant use of Italian (i.e., +++ It.).[88] Situation 1 is mainly represented by older speakers, who have Catalan as their primary language and have been engaged mainly in Catalan-speaking networks. As we will see in Ch. 7, older speakers tend to define the sociolinguistic situation of the past as characterized by the use of only one predominant language for social interaction: Catalan. The older the Catalan-speaking informants are, the more the use of *Alguerès* in the interactions between partners is viewed as a normal enterprise. Only a few exceptional cases of older informants use(d) predominantly Italian as the language of interaction with the partner.

Homogeneous (younger) Catalan-speaking couples, by contrast, usually engaged in Italian-speaking networks, are not expected to use *Alguerès* as their language of interaction. There is a great likelihood that they will end up using Italian to speak to each other as indicated by a double plus sign for Italian and a single for Catalan (++ It. /+ Alg.) in situation 2. An example of these kinds of situations is well represented by the story of SF.28.07.10, a forty-six year old female Catalan-speaking informant. Her main language is *Alguerès* and, in spite of having married someone (SF.28.07.10.b) whose main language is also Catalan, they speak Italian to each other, as the social environment where they met was predominantly Italian-speaking. In these cases, as discussed later (7.1.3), the language to be transmitted to the children is also most likely to be Italian: on the one hand, the dominant social norms that regulate linguistic interactions within the social networks have led the informant to speak Italian to her husband, whereas, on the other hand, the intergenerational language has been a *spontaneous consequence* of the language spoken by parents to each other, as emerges from the fragment below.

FRAGMENT 7.39: Main informant SF.28.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Voi due perché parlate in italiano?*
SF.28.07.10:	***Perchè ci siamo conosciuti in italiano****.*
SF.28.07.10.b:[89]	*Però ogni tanto qualche cosa in algherese già esce.*
SF.28.07.10:	[laughs]
INTERV.:	*In che situazioni?*
SF.28.07.10:	[laughs] *Boh! O da ridere o de baralla.*
SF.28.07.10.b:	*O da ridere o di baralla. [...] Diciamo che l'algherese é quella lingua che ti*

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[88] The adjective 'predominant' has been used in order to account also for those instances where both languages are used (through code-switching), but one of them is the base, dominant language. The greater the number of plus signs, the fewer the linguistic exchanges in the other code will be.
[89] Although there was one main informant (SF.28.07.10), her husband (SF.28.07.10.b) was also present and he participated to the discussion.

	permette di dire certe cose che altrimenti in italiano...
SF.28.07.10:	*Non rendono* [laughs]
SF.28.07.10.b:	*... non c'hai la traduzione in italiano di certe cose.*
INTERV.:	[...] *perchè avete deciso, soprattutto tu* [...] [*di parlare in italiano con vostro figlio*]*?*
SF.28.07.10.b:	[...] ***è una cosa che é venuta spontanea***.

At the other end of the spectrum, Italian-speaking homogeneous couples are most likely to use Italian to speak to each other (+++ It.). Situation 5, a rather hypothetical one, on the other hand, is characterised by a considerable amount of Catalan in the social environments where the parents interact. The use of Catalan, however, does not substantially affect either the competence or the use of Catalan of the partners concerned. It is possibly the case of those (young) speakers who meet in those few Catalan-speaking social contexts left in Alghero (e.g., cultural associations), but their real, actual, main language remains Italian (i.e., ++ It.).

Heterogeneous couples, on the other hand, can be interpreted as follows: Situation 3 reflects those cases in which individuals from different linguistic backgrounds meet through a predominantly Catalan-speaking social network. However, the (dominant-)Italian-speaking partner is not affected by it as he/she is also related to other social contexts where Italian is predominant. The social environment that the couple have in common is probably highly tolerant towards Italian-speakers who are addressed mostly in Italian. The result of it is most probably the predominant use of Italian, but, in some cases, it is also possible that the couple end up speaking Catalan to each other (++ It./+ Alg.). In these instances a high amount of code-switching is expected. In those cases of heterogeneous couples who are mostly related to Italian-speaking social circles of friends and acquaintances (situation 4), Italian is expected to be the dominant language, but some alternations are also expected.

7.3.1.2 Linguistic interactions between parents and children

As also observed in other Catalan-speaking areas (see, for example, Boix 2009: 9-14), the presence, in present-day Alghero, of distinct linguistic groups is the result of two parallel processes: language shift and immigration. [90] In some instances (especially when younger speakers are involved), the presence of a non-Catalan-

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[90] For issues related to migratory movements in Alghero, see Chessa (2007: 14-17)

speaking partner as the cause of language abandonment, is accompanied by other underlying factors, such as the *habitus* (7.1.1.3), so that it is not always easy to establish why parents abandon local Catalan in interactions with their children. The informants of fragments 7.40 and 7.41 are examples of native-speakers of *Alguerès* who have married Italophone partners, but whereas in one case (TI.19.07.10, a sixty-year-old man), because of his wife's linguistic background, the use of Italian with their children was a hobson's choice, in the other (PL.13.07.10, a forty-six-year-old female) the use of the dominant language seems to be more related to a 'normal', 'natural' and 'automatic' behaviour.

FRAGMENT 7.40: TI.19.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Però tu lis hi has parlat en alguerés a tos fills?*
TI.19.07.10:	*En italià* [...] *Sí, sí: de com eren petits, ellos, sempre en italià...*
INTERV.:	*Per cosa has decidit de parlar en italià amb a tos fills?*
TI.19.07.10:	*No, no és que he decidit ió!* *Purtroppo, ma muller* [...] *no parla l'alguerés. Com faç ió a parlar l'alguerés!? Sí, me comprén* [...] *però no el parla.*

FRAGMENT 7.41: PL.15.07.10	
INTERV.:	*Ma tu l'algherese con i tuoi figli non lo usi mai?*
PL.15.07.10:	*No.*
INTERV.:	*Perché?*
PL.15.07.10:	*... non ci ho mai pensato a...*
INTERV.:	*Cioè per te era piu naturale parlare in italiano che parlare in algherese?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Sí, sí. Non ci ho mai pensato. Quando sono nati... non ci ho mai pensato. Infatti mi ricordo che zio Antonio aveva detto: 'ma perché non parli in algherese coi tuoi figli, dato che tu da quando sei nata hai parlato l'algherese con tua madre?'E io, invece, io sempre in italiano* [...] *con loro italiano.*

As already noted in 4.3.1, intermarriages between speakers of different languages should not be necessarily seen as the trigger of the process of language shift. In 7.1 and 7.2, it has been noted that the break in intergenerational transmission of Catalan began, for various reasons, predominantly within homogeneous families. Thus, in light of what also happens among homogeneous Catalan-speaking couples, the tendency to 'put the blame' on the Italophone partner (as in the case of TI.19.07.10) is, in actual fact, an 'excuse', an 'easy' answer, a way of evading the root of the problem, or even an attempt to seek redemption in the eyes of the community.

In actual fact, when some form of language loyalty appears, vigorous sentimental motivations may lead to language maintenance even within mixed

language families. It is the case, for example, of LN.09.09.10 (Fragment 7.42), a forty-one-year-old Catalan-speaking father who, despite being married to an Italophone wife, has decided (consciously) to speak local Catalan to his daughter, for purely sentimental reasons.

FRAGMENT 7.42: LN.09.09.10	
LN.09.09.10:	*Jo parl en alguerés amb ma filla, ma .... **qui menester té ma filla de aprendre l'alguerés sinó que un sentiment meu**?! [...] Ió no vull ésser u d'aquellos que faran morir l'alguerés. No. Ió garantiré almanco a una altra generació, la generació de ma filla, que sigui una generació que encara parla l'alguerés.*
INTERV.:	*Tu penses verament que la generació de ta filla poguerà parlar l'alguerés? Tu penses que ta filla quan [...] escomençarà a eixir, a anar en discoteca, etc. Parlarà l'alguerés?*
LN.09.09.10:	*No, absolutament! Mira... ma filla té dos anys, **dels minyons de la seva edat que parlen l'algueres [ió] ne coneix u sol**! [...] Parlarà l'italià.*

The informant of Fragment 7.42 offers a clear summary of the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero. He seems to be aware of the existence of two main types of motivations behind intergenerational language transmission: instrumental ('*qui menester té ma filla de aprendre l'alguerés* [...]*?!*' implies the existence of pragmatic reasons clearly in favour of Italian) and sentimental motivations ('*un sentiment meu*'). He also seems persuaded of the fact that the instrumental reasons are more powerful than the emotional ones associated with local Catalan. The result is a very limited number of parents who adopt *Alguerès* in interactions with their children ('*dels minyons de la seva* [sic] *edat que parlen l'alguerés* [ió] *ne coneix u sol!*').

Pure common sense would suggest that intergenerational transmission of *Alguerès* takes place if at least one of the parents has the linguistic competence to do so. In short, as language transmission is highly conditional on language proficiency, for parents to be able to pass *Alguerès* on to their own children, it would be sufficient that they are either native- or semi-native-speakers (Table 7.2). However, linguistic competence is a necessary but not a sufficient condition, and, usually, for intergenerational transmission of the recessive language to occur, other factors need to be in place. One of them is arguably motivation (7.3).

Thus, in the case of native-speakers like LN.09.09.10 in Fragment 7.42, there can only be intergenerational transmission of Catalan if there is a certain degree of motivation in favour of it. If not, the choice will fall automatically on Italian

(either because of the inertia of the *habitus*, or by the force of instrumental motivations). In Figure 7.8, I show, very schematically, how different combinations of factors can lead to different linguistic outcomes: transmission of Catalan (+) in one case, transmission of Italian (-) in the other. Active competence in *Alguerès* (represented by a positive sign) is combined with motivations (represented by the positive sign if they are favorable to local Catalan and by a negative one if they are not).

	Situation A	Situation B
Figure 7.8: *Intergenerational language transmission according to competence and motivations*		
	Situation A	Situation B
Competence	+	+
Motivations	+	-
Transmission of Alguerès	+	-

Linguistic homogeneity in the family (i.e., partners speaking Catalan to each other), although not decisive, also plays an important role. Social networks, on the other hand, as discussed in 4.3.2.2 and 7.1.3, may either inhibit or encourage language use outside the household, leading to linguistic interactions in Italian between Catalan-speaking parents.

In the next section, I will consider two main motivations: *Instrumental* and *sentimental motivations* or, following Siren (1991), *symbolic* motives, where I will analyse the outcome of the struggle between the two types of motivations. Then in section 7.4 I will assess language vitality of *Alguerès* through a combination of factors, including the language that parents speak to each other and social networks.

7.3.2 Instrumental motivations

In 3.1, we have seen that interactions between parents and children are the result of a *decision-making mental process*, by virtue of which goals (on behalf of the children), children's needs, and purposes are carefully considered in relation to language choice. In the same way as Lambert (2008), then, intergenerational transmission of Italian must be analysed taking into account what implications (in terms of socio-economic success) parents see as a consequence of such a linguistic choice. The seventy-eight-year-old informant of Fragment 7.43 (CS.27.08.10) is a clear example

of how, in some instances, language transmission is highly conditioned by the idea that parents hold about how to avoid social sanctions and obtain some form of socio-economic reward. So powerful is the association of socio-economic emancipation with the Italian language that the informant, like the majority of similarly-aged parents, has decided to abandon local Catalan in the interactions with her own children, in spite of her awareness that she does not speak good Italian.

FRAGMENT 7.43: CS.27.08.10	
INTERV.:	*Lei con suo marito cosa parla?*
CS.27.08.10:	*L'algherese!*
INTERV.:	*Solo algherese?*
CS.27.08.10:	*Sí!*
INTERV.:	*E con sua madre e suo padre cosa parlava?*
CS.27.08.10:	*L'algherese!*
INTERV.:	*E con i figli cosa parla?*
CS.27.08.10:	***L'italiano!*** *[...] Italiano e qualche volta già mi esce qualche parola algherese [...] e **loro magari lo capiscono** perché ormai da piccoli ... **penso che capiscono anche l'algherese**.*
INTERV.:	*Perché ha deciso di parlare in italiano con i figli?*
CS.27.08.10:	*Mah, non lo so... forse perché **quando andavano a scuola... per capire di più...** Parlando l'algherese a casa e poi a scuola l'italiano, forse abbiamo pensato che i bambini si trovavano un po' a disagio, non imparavano bene a parlare con l'altra gente... allora li abbiamo parlati in italiano, capito?*
INTERV.:	*Si potrebbe immaginare un suo figlio, per esempio Antonio, che parla l'algherese come lei?*
CS.27.08.10:	***Beh, non penso che andrebbe tanto bene!***
INTERV.:	*Perché?*
CS.27.08.10:	***Praticamente ormai quasi tutti parlano l'italiano! E dunque sarebbe un ragazzo... un po' diverso...***
INTERV.:	*Pensa che potrebbe essere anche un ostacolo, per il lavoro per esempio, non poter parlare bene l'italiano?*
CS.27.08.10:	***Sí, sí, sí... io penso di sí!***
INTERV.:	*Perché?*
CS.27.08.10:	*Perché **è meglio che parlino l'italiano. Proprio la lingua italiana. Questo algherese é un dialetto, non è un... cosa vogliamo dire... una lingua**. Ed è meglio che parlino l'italiano. Non lo so io come gliel'ho imparato. Perché siccome io sendo io una che parlava l'algherese [laughs], magari non l'ho impara... non gliel'ho imparato bene. Questo non lo so nemmeno io, proprio di preciso. Podarsi che loro... non so come si trovano di quello che ho imparato io a loro.*

In line with the ethnographic model proposed by Lambert (2008) (see 3.1), the analysis of the linguistic ideologies in Alghero is based on an account of the overall life-projects and relative short-, medium-, and long-term objectives that the parents under investigation have set for their own children. Parents are considered here as social actors who are at the same time the agents and the result of an ongoing process of sense-making, by means of which the social world is both represented and interpreted. On the one hand, they are constantly engaged in constructing the

sociolinguistic context in which they act and interact (Berger and Luckman 1967); on the other hand, by contrast, their linguistic behaviour (for example, speaking Catalan or Italian to their children) is subject to the shape the social world acquires in their minds and to the life-plans and objectives they set for their children.

Within this frame, language choice is considered in the light of calculated reflections upon the strategies that are developed in order to achieve such life-plans and objectives. The process that will eventually lead to the choice of Italian is represented schematically in Figure 7.9:

Figure 7.9: *Parents' language choice patterns*
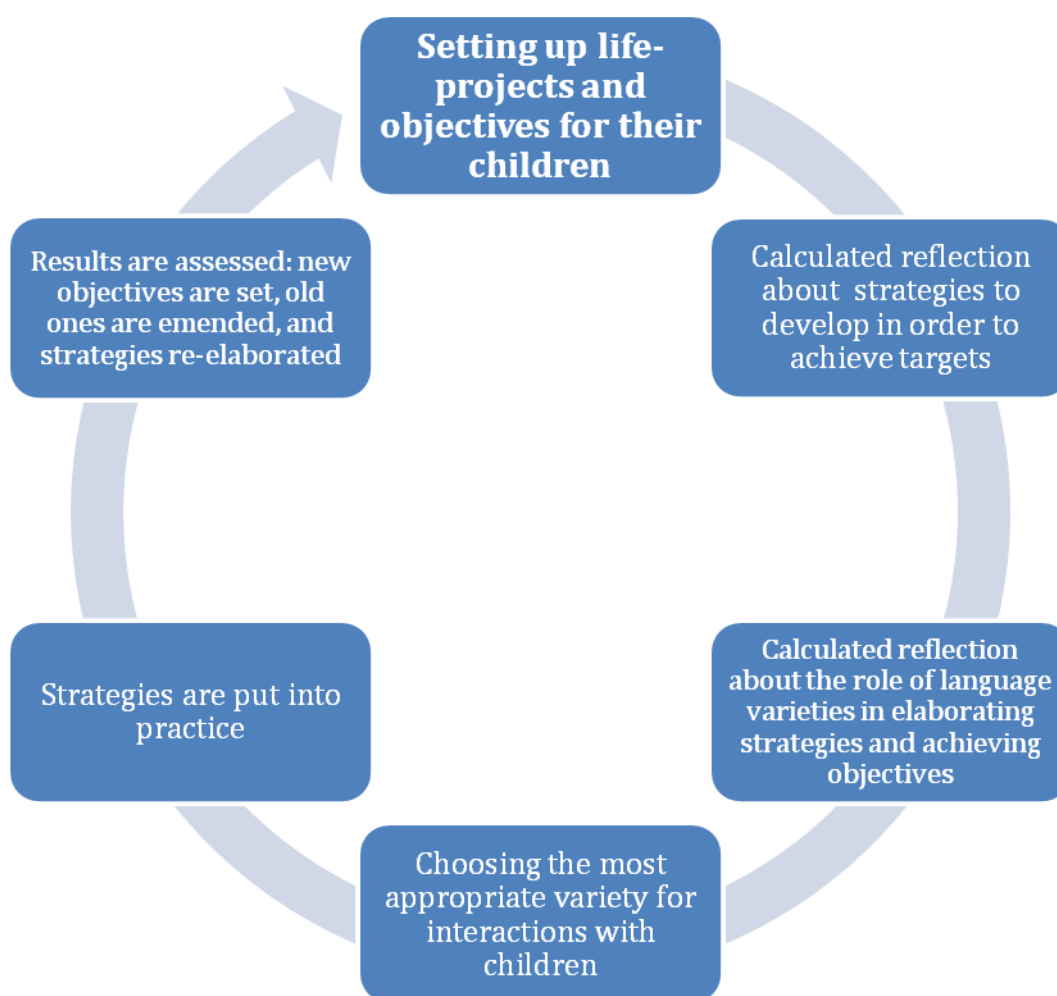
The circular pattern outlined in Figure 7.9 above mainly suggests that language choice is part of a calculated strategy to achieve both the life-project and the specific objectives. The aims and objectives that the informants have in mind for

their children emerge through a between-the-lines reading of the statements collected during the interviews. The objectives set and the projects designed by parents for their children are shown schematically in Table 7.1 below. Their linguistic behaviour can be explained in part in the light of such objectives and life-projects, on the assumption that language varieties are part and parcel of the strategies to fulfil their life-plans.

Table 7.1: *Projects and objectives set by parents for their children*
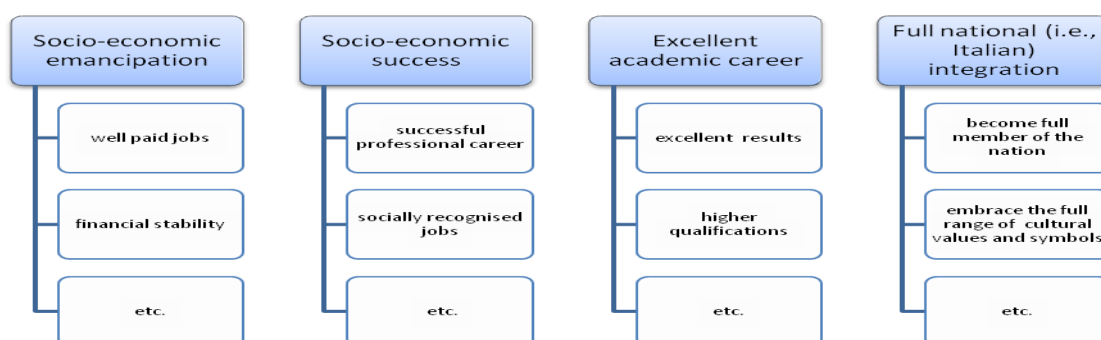
The objectives that the parents interviewed wish for their children can be divided into three main areas, as in Table 7.1: *socio-economic*, *education,* and *identity*. By wishing for more socio-economic success, the parents are primarily asking for a solid financial achievement; in terms of academic success, they want their children to have more chances to pursue a professional career with the accompanying social recognition; and in terms of national integration, they are expressing their loyalty to the Italian nation.

Informant RMM.10.09.10 (Fragment 7.44), for example, a seventy-year-old woman, feels sentimentally attached to her local community, but she is also quite clear about the significance of Italy as her main (political) frame of reference:

FRAGMENT 7.44: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Cosa representa l'Itàlia per vosté?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*__Tot__ me representa!*
INTERV.:	*I l'Alguer?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*Eh, l'Alguer es a __dintre del cor__! L'Alguer m'agrada massa.*

Italy is everything, whereas Alghero is (just) associated to sentimental values. This attachment to the nation, already seen in 7.1.1.1, is not disconnected from the importance assigned to the languages in contact: not only is Italian clearly conceived as the more important language, but it is also assumed that the poor opinion expressed of local Catalan is a generalised, shared and accepted feeling ('*l'última és la llengua nostra, se sap, això se sap'*).

FRAGMENT 7.44b: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Si tenguessim de fer una classífica de diverses llengües, com per exemple l'alguerés, lo sardu, l'inglés i l'italià, com fóra aqueixa classífica?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*La primera, ara ... beh, a saber be l'italià, legu soprattutto l'inglese, per co' ormai se parla sol inglese i **l'última és la llengua nostra, se sap, això se sap**!*
INTERV.:	*Per cosa és important parlar l'italià?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*Per ésser compresos bé de tots; també per l'escola... per tot [...] per treball, per tot, certo! Avui es important aixo!*
INTERV.:	*I primera era important?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*No! Hi havia gent analfabeta, infatti. Gent assai analfabeta.*

Italian is the language of practical opportunities of modern times, whereas local Catalan is implicitly associated with an illiterate, ancient, simple society. In line with this idea of a more complex, demanding society, the informant, like the majority of parents interviewed, has set ambitious objectives on behalf of her children. These objectives and projects are in line with what one might expect of any parent. However, they are an invaluable tool for broadening the scope of our understanding of the language-shift process because they clearly reflect the way of thinking that is typical of capitalist, industrial societies, which has had an enormous impact on linguistic behaviour.

FRAGMENT 7.44c: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	*Diem que la vida, primer era més semplice...*
RMM.10.09.10:	*Sí, assai més semplice. Assai. I allò vol dire assai. Ara sem... és tot un altro... és completament diversa la vida.*
INTERV.:	*I vosté, per exemple, per sos fills cosa voliva?*
RMM.10.09.10:	*Beh, **ió voliva il massimo**, diem així: de ésser un fill ... **de se laurear, de fer de ... grans treballs** [...] **de trende postos bons**, etc. etc.*

Thus, as in other sociolinguistic situations (see, for example, Altabev 2003), the perception is that Italian competence not only helps, for example, in gaining jobs or in a classroom setting, but is essential for every sort of situation they come across, including in-group communication, where they are also evaluated on their linguistic

abilities ('*sinó fanen brutta figura*': Fragment 7.3). As in the case of Judeo-Spanish, none of my informants thought that Italian as a national language could be a second language. All were in agreement that one should speak first and foremost Italian (see Altabev 2003: 99). On the other hand, *Alguerès*, though not explicitly, is still perceived as backward, loud, traditional and uneducated, and imperfect use of Italian is considered to be detrimental to people's future prospects.

As Denison (1977: 21) clearly and straightforwardly puts it, intergenerational language transmission is conditional on the degree of socio-economic necessity associated with the languages in contact, so that a community may decide to break the process of intergenerational transmission of the subordinate language for reasons of functional economy. Socio-economic advancement in Alghero, as we have seen in this chapter, is associated with the degree of competence in Italian and for that reason speakers have gradually abandoned the original, local variety. This explains why the great majority of informants have indicated that *Alguerès* is a threat (for their children) to achieving excellent results in school, which is associated with a perfect use of the Italian language.

Within this frame, associations of the autochthonous speakers with the lower social classes, as already seen in 7.1.1.1, has not helped the maintenance of local Catalan (as a family language). Montoya (1996: 195-6), for example, has noted that, in the case of language shift in Alicante, some of the speakers have openly admitted that speaking Spanish instead of Catalan gave them the impression of acquiring a better socio-economic status. This issue is well explained by GI.07.09.10, a fifty-three years old male informant, in the following fragment:

FRAGMENT 7.45: GI.07.09.10	
GI.07.09.10:	***Qui parlava en alguerés diem que era una classe inferior*** *i al.lora per ésser calqui u, per se elevar, parlava en italià.* ***Avui, invetxe, u que parla en alguerés és u que té una millor cultura****, nel senso que és quasi una llengua en demés que tens… dice: 'quello parla anche in algherese!'…*
INTERV.:	*I per cosa creus que està succeïnt això?*
GI.07.09.10:	***Per co' no tenim arrés de fer****…* [laughs] *Aqueixa pot ésser una batuda, ma magari pot ésser també la veritat, per co' si calqui u tenguessi calqui altra cosa de fer… no anigariva a se posar …* […] *Per co'* ***hi ha gent que ara és diventada fanàtica de l'alguerés;*** […] *ara te diun:* ***'ah sì , ma tu parli così, devi parlare…'****.* ***Io parl quan ne tenc gana, per cosa, si sep que u me comprén, hi parl; si sep que no me comprén , és inutil*** […] *Quindi, diem que va bé com a recupero, diem, històric, social, però l'esageració insomma, a voltes, menester a deixar-la de part.*

The fact that, in present-day Alghero, Catalan is coming to be associated with educated speakers does not modify the substantive sociolinguistic situation (in terms of intergenerational transmission of *Alguerès*). Based on my interviews and observations, I can maintain that those 'fanatics' the informant is referring to are not, in the majority of cases, native speakers and they use (foreign) Catalan only within inner circles and on special occasions. Note, for example, how the informant quotes some of his fanatical friends ('*ah sì, ma tu parli così, devi parlare…*'), suggesting precisely that, despite their activism, the language used with local people is, outside specific situations, Italian. On the other hand, they tend to use foreign Catalan more, for the reasons discussed in the next section.

7.3.2.1 Instrumental values associated with foreign Catalan

If *Alguerès* is a language variety perceived as non-prestigious, Catalan, namely the cluster of different varieties spoken outside Alghero, on the other hand, is viewed by the speakers from a different perspective: it is an appealing, prestigious language. Globalisation, and the consequently increasing opportunities that locals now have to come into contact, in different ways and forms, with foreign Catalan-speakers, has drastically changed the sociolinguistic scenario of Alghero, in the last few years. The impact of foreign Catalan on the local community, in terms of more visibility, more communicative opportunities, and prestige is now impressive. The new media and the internet, an increase in Catalan courses available, the establishment of an office of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia ('*Espai Llull*'), and the establishment of a daily flight connecting Alghero to Girona, for example, are all aspects contributing to an increase of visibility of (and exposure to) foreign Catalan, of opportunities to acquire it through formal learning, and of opportunities to meet foreign Catalan-speakers.

Within this new sociolinguistic scenario, the status of *Alguerès,* however, has not changed substantially and local Catalan seems to be still perceived, by new generations, if not as a backward variety, as a mere symbol of local identity ('*la llengua del cor*', as many informants depict it). The truth is that the main discourse is basically governed by two main over-riding lines of action. On the one hand, speakers are encouraged to learn *Alguerès* for the number of opportunities that proficiency in Catalan can offer. But in actual fact the opportunities are clearly

associated by local speakers with foreign Catalan (and not with *Alguerès*), the language of Catalonia (and Barcelona in particular), a trendy reality identified with modernity, culture, material success, art, and (for some) Barcelona Football Club. On the other hand, attention is mostly given to written norms and formal learning rather than to enhancing the oral competence of non-native speakers (see, for example, Chessa 2008b: 183).

In a very recent interview given to a local online TV channel on a project to introduce Catalan into formal education, the director of the '*Espai Llull'*, Joan Elies Adell, has highlighted the idea tha learning *Alguerè*s is beneficial for its socio-economic implications.

FRAGMENT 7.46: Joan Elies Adell ('*Espai Llull*')[91]	
INTERV.:	***La lingua nelle scuole e l'economia**, questi sono i due canali attraverso i quali il catalano di Alghero deve vivere e deve continuare a farlo, e cosi Joan Adell?*
Joan Elies Adell:	*Sí* [...] *la voluntat és que la ciutat de l'Alguer tinga el desig, la voluntat ... pensar que és bo perla seva ciutat que a l'escola els minyons puguen imparar aquesta llengua; i despres la consequència és que això és bo per als minyons però també és bo* [...] *per a la ciutat perquè l'alguerès és un tresor, és un tresor lingüístic, és un tresor cultural i també **és una condició de possibilitat per a les persones que parlen la llengua per a moure's en la economia, moure's en els interessos culturals envers la Catalunya**. És a dir, jo crec que són diversos passos per aconseguir un objectiu comú: i és que la llengua de l'Alguer siga viva i siga útil.*

That the existence of a new, wider linguistic market should encourage people in Alghero to learn Catalan might be a valid argument, but just as the Italian market led to the abandonment of local Catalan (it is quite paradoxical that the local journalist uses Italian while the interviewee uses Catalan), the Catalan-speaking market is now leading to the acquisition and use of foreign Catalan, rather than *Alguerès*. *New speakers* (7.4.1) show a great competence in foreign Catalan, but not in *Alguerès*, and where semi-speakers, native- or semi-native speakers are involved, a great deal of convergence towards foreign Catalan is observed.

The issue of convergence (and divergence) has been widely studied by Giles and his associates (see, for example, Giles et al. 1973) and refers to the psycholinguistic mechanism responsible for the 'transfer' of linguistic features from one speaker to the other. There is a variety of reasons for convergence, but the underlying psycholinguistic motive leading speakers to adopt the interlocutor's linguistic features must be seen in terms of reducing social distance. Convergence

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[91] http://video.alguer.it/v?id=43953

towards foreign Catalan in Alghero seems to occur by virtue of the principle known as social exchange according to which the speaker assesses the costs and benefits of accommodating (see Winford 2003: 119), within the linguistic market; this is the same principle, after all, that has led to the adoption of Italian.

Alguerès, it follows, is now involved in a language conflict not only with Italian, but also, almost paradoxically, with foreign Catalan and, consequently, the repercussions that this new sociolinguistic scenario has on intergenerational language transmission are now doubly negative. Thus, while the overall use of Catalan seems to have increased, in real terms the sociolinguistic situation remains substantially the same, with no signs suggesting that both interactions within the local community and intergenerational language transmission are now characterised by a greater use of *Alguerès*.

Thus, whereas Italian is imposing itself as the dominant language for intra-group interaction, the use of Catalan increases quite noticebly in the (occasional) interactions between locals and foreign Catalan-speakers. Franca Masu, a well known singer from Alghero (although of foreign origins by both parents), for example, shows a predominant use of foreign Catalan when speaking to the audience, to journalists during interviews, and she tends to replace local features with foreign Catalan ones even in traditional local songs. The text in Fragment 7.47 is from an interview she gave to a Catalan TV channel (TV3) and shows a great degree of convergence.

Apart from one isolated case in which a typical, traditional *Alguerès* phonetic norm is applied (r > [l] in '*ce[l]ta*', but also '*ce[ɾ]t*'), the use of the genuine indefinite adjective '*altro*' (as in '*altros músics*') instead of '*altre*', and, to some extent, a case of obligation expressed with the verb '*trende*' ('tenc de') instead of the verb '*haver*', the whole text is clearly an attempt at mimicking a foreign Catalan speaker (from Barcelona).[92] For example, she shows the tendency to maintain a rhotic sound also in those cases where, in *Alguerès*, /r/ > [l] (e.g., '*pa[ɾ]lar*', '*pe[ɾ]sona*'); the tendency to avoid rhotacism (e.g., '*m'agra[ð]ava*', '*possibi[l]itat*'); the use of the possessive '*meva*' instead of '*ma*', as in '*la meva mare*'; the tendency

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[92] It is not easy, in this case, however, to decide whether she is maintaining the traditional way of expressing obligation or whether she has been influenced by colloquial foreign Catalan. The alternation with the more standard form (*haver de* as in *he de*), within the same sentence, as if she was correcting the previous mistake, plus the preposition '*de*' instead of '*que*', leads us to consider that the first hypothesis is most probably the correct one: she uses the traditional form, first, which she corrects straight away.

to convert certain affricate sounds into fricative (e.g., *comen[s]at*); and the tendency to convert a lateral into a velar in certain contexts, such as before a [ɣ] (e.g., '*l'A[ɫɣ]uer*').

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FRAGMENT 7.47: *Franca Masu: TV interview*[93]

*Si **tenc de** pa[r]lar de mi, com a pe[r]sona que estima la música, **he de** dir que ... he nascut cantant, realment. **Des de** petita he sempre cantat. M'agra[ð]ava realment ... i tenia la possibi[l]itat de repetir les coses, les músiques, els motius que ió entenia per ràdio, per **televisión**... I **la meva** mare s'estava encantada de això, d'aquesta possibilitat: de petiteta (tres anys quatre anys) repetir amb una **ce[l]ta** facilitat les coses que ió [e]ntenia. Doncs, he sempre cantat. He estimat la música, sobretot la música italiana, però, **esdevenint gran** he comen[s]at a apreciar sobretot el jazz. He aprés una mica aquesta manera de cantar, he escoltat m[o]ltíssim ... m[o]ltíssimes cantants i m[o]ltíssimes artistes i he comen[s]at a tocar amb els meus companys de l'A[ɫɣ]uer i **altros** músi[k]s jazzistes sards o de **altros** països en els locals amb un **ce[r]t** èxit, diem així, èxit local.*

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One could argue that convergence is a strategy adopted to facilitate intercomprehension. This is certainly true in a number of instances, but the acquisition of certain features is totally unnecessary for that purpose, in many other cases. Lack of velarisation of a lateral sound, for example, cannot affect intercomprehension, and the reasons behind its adoption should be sought elsewhere. Velarisation is very common in foreign Catalan and its adoption may be caused by the wish to reseamble a more prestigious speaker (e.g., a Central Catalan).

Equally, adoption of foreign phonetic features in popular, traditional songs cannot be interpreted as a strategy to make intercomprehension easier, as in the sample below:

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FRAGMENT 7.48: Franca Masu: *'Minyona Morena' (popular song)*[94]

Despe[r]ta-te o prenda i gr[ə]ciosa
[ə]scolta la mia llamenta
Que mentres tu [d]ormis contenta
Ió pas una vi[ð]a afanosa
Per ésser tu així graciosa
Escolta qui te v[u]l [sic] bé
Que finsa la [ʒ]en(t) d[əɫ] carrer
Per a mi arresta to[r]ba[ð]a

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Apart from those features also found in Fragment 7.47 above (e.g., the tendency to avoid rhotacism), the brief text of Fragment 7.48 shows a few sounds totally unnecessary for practical reasons such as intercomprehension. For example,

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there seems to be a tendency to convert unstressed 'a' and 'e' into a neutral vowel [ə], as in Central Catalan (e.g., '*gr*[ə]*ciosa*'), as well as the tendency to fricatise an affricate sound (e.g., [ʒ]*en(t)*).

But whereas the use of foreign Catalan, in the case of Franca Masu, can be justified by the ambition to succeed in the music industry (see Fragment 7.49), how can the total use of foreign Catalan be explained in the case of local speakers addressing a local audience (Fragment 7.50)?

FRAGMENT 7.49: *Franca Masu: TV interview*[95]
*Finalment, un dia … eerr…ve[ɾ]s[o] el dos... eerr ... noranta-set, noranta-vuit havem pensat que probabilment cantant el jazz ... **el camí** no era tan... tan... **no fóra estat tant lluny**, i al.lora havem pen[s]at de fer una cosa original, una cosa que podria donar-me la possibilitat **d'expressar-me en manera més autèntica**. I per què no triar una música nova, original en llengua? **En llengua catalana-algueresa**. Era un projecte realment … eerr … ambiciós. **Per a mi, que no coneixia la llengua,** e per els músics que haurien de posar-se en joc component noves peces que haurien de tendre un sentit jazzístic però que sonaven com mediterranis. Doncs va sortir el primer treball que es diu el meu viatje, que he editat al dosmil-i-u **i que m'ha donat la possibilitat de arribar fins aqui, als Països Catalans i de donar-me una certa visibilitat**.*

Besides the lack of competence in *Alguerès* ('*per a mi que no coneixia la llengua*'), there seems to be also a rational, calculated motive behind Franca Masu's significant convergence to foreign Catalan: more visibility. And, although she refers to '*llengua catalano-algueresa*', in actual fact *Alguerès* is simply an 'ethnic', 'folkloric' element of attraction, a bonus helping her to break into a fierce, competitive market with a touch of personality. The language that counts, within the market, is clearly foreign Catalan, which is the one she predominantly uses.

The text reported in Fragment 7.50 below, on the other hand, is from an interview that a local speaker gave to a local online TV channel on the sociolinguistic situation of *Alguerès* and its future perspectives.

FRAGMENT 7.50: *Gavino Balata – interview on local TV*[96]	
INTERV.:	*Da sempre, la salvaguardia della propria lingua d'origine è fondamentale per ogni comunità. Ne parliamo in questo caso con Gavino Balata, un algherese che ha lavorato per una agenzia governativa catalana a Bruxelles. **Cosa se te de fer per protigir la llengua d'orígine**?*
GAVINO BALATA	*Doncs, gràcies per aquesta oportunitat. Jo penso, **ma** … eerr … **però** també ho pensen també els meus amics catalans que la qüestió no és tant el que es pot fer des de un punt de vista institucional, de l'administració pública, del municipi, però també el que podem fer nosaltres com a algueresos, com a catalanoparlants (però*

[95] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DxfIc5SyqOg&feature=related
[96] http://video.alguer.it/v?id=25179

> *val per qualsevol llengua) per mantenir, per protegir la seva llengua. Doncs, jo penso que han de ser només ... no només les iniciatives públiques sinó també les iniciatives que vénen dels ciutadans, les iniciatives que no siguin només culturals, però també iniciatives de […] de tipus econòmic. Aleshores, ara amb l'obertura de la nova casa de la Generalitat aquí a l'Alguer jo penso que no sem, no **som** només nosaltres algueresos que hem de preguntar als Catalans què volen fer amb la nostra llengua, sinó que som nosaltres algueresos que hem de proposar activitats i idees per el desnvolupament de les relacions entre Catalunia i l'Alguer.*

Three linguistic codes alternate in a very short text: Italian, *Alguerès*, and foreign Catalan. The journalist introduces the interviewee to the viewers in Italian while looking straight at the camera as if he were trying to reassure the viewers about his role as a journalist, the role of the TV channel, and the role of Italian as the matrix language. The switching to local Catalan, after such a preparatory, reassuring introduction in Italian, comes to be unmarked, as the use of *Alguerès* is, in this case, appropriate to the topic (the sociolinguistic situation). What, by contrast, should be, in principle, a marked switch is the sudden change to foreign Catalan by Balata. However, we do not have data to be able to assess this particular instance, but there seems to be evidence that the use of foreign Catalan is beginning to be, not without difficulties, an accepted practice in specific situations.

As for the reasons leading to the use of foreign Catalan instead of *Alguerès*, in this particular case, lack of competence of local Catalan, formal learning of and/or great exposure to foreign Catalan (the informant worked at a Catalan institution), and so forth may be all plausible explanations. However, there are linguistic elements in the text that call for ideological explanations. A prompt correction from '*sem*' to '*som*', and from '*ma*' to '*però*', for example, may well signal the informant's belief that foreign Catalan is more appropriate than *Alguerès* in formal situations (a TV interview) because of the prestige that it conveys, although the audience is, in principle, predominantly local.[97]

Convergence to foreign Catalan is not only limited to language activists or non-native speakers, but a great number of informants have shown the tendency to use it to a greater or lesser extent. Below are just two examples out of a quite large number of informants showing a great deal of convergence. The majority of them are young speakers, but older speakers and native speakers are not immune from it, like

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[97] It is true that with the emergence of the internet the concept of space has drastically changed and, as in the case of an online TV channel, the spectrum of the audience can be placed from the very local to global. However, there are certain features that place a website in a specific socio-geographical place: the main language used, for example, the type and range of news conveyed, the name of the website, etc.

the eighty-one-year-old informant in Fragment 7.50, a semi-native male speaker born outside Alghero.

FRAGMENT 7.51: AC.08.12.08
[…] *só nat a* […] *una ciutat de l'**interior** de la Sardenya i... la **meva**, er... i la mia llengua materna és lo **sard**. Só vengut a l'Alguer de petit i ... així he **aprés** l'alguerés **pels carrers** i... després, nel mil-noucents-noranta **vaig a** freqüentar l'escola de alguerés P. Scanu* [...] *Tenc sol una germana que habita a Sàsser i ió no he coneixut **al meu pare** per cosa **va morir** quan ió teniva dos mesos i **aleshores** só crixit a la casa del **meu iaio*** [...] *Be, les escoles **elementals** les he fetes* […] *de la primera finjam... fins a la **quintera** ...*

The informant in Fragment 7.51 makes frequent use of foreign Catalan features (highlighted in bold), but the matrix language is clearly *Alguerès*. He is a clear example of what Mario Salvietti, in his quite controversial book, called *catarés*, a mix of foreign Catalan and *Alguerès* (1988: 45), not an uncommon phenomenon in similar sociolinguistic situations, such as Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul converted into Judeo-Fragnol through contact with prestigious French (Altabev 2003).

It is worthwhile, in this respect, to consider what Salvietti wrote about the process of subordination of the local community to what he, generically calls 'i Catalani':

> Verso la metà degli anni cinquanta […] i Catalani […] fanno un tentativo di penetrare nell'opinione pubblica algherese donando grosse quantità di libri e di opuscoli, istituendo […] corsi di Catalano per giovani che venivano spesati di tutto e, persino, costruendo a proprie spese un palco per la banda musicale al centro dei giardini pubblici. Le regole sono quelle di una colonizzazione culturale lenta ma costante e i doni arrivano sempre accompagnati da suggerimenti e diplomatiche pressioni che finalizzano il tutto alla esaltazione della catalanità e al coinvolgimento di tutta la comunità. (Salvietti 1988: 15)

Salvietti's perception is that of an ideological imposition in exchange for material rewards. This strategy will have, according to Salvietti, linguistic repercussions characterised by the spread of foreign Catalan in a 'style' that recalls that of dictatorial regimes, examples of which are:

> Il boicotaggio di ogni iniziativa non gradita ai Catalani, l'ostentazione di una catalanità tanto ossessiva quanto inesistente con l'uso (anche in documenti officiali) della lingua catalana o di un linguaggio ibrido […], i preparativi per

introdurre nelle scuole l'insegnamento del "Catalano standard" in sostituzione della nostra parlata definita volgare e non letteraria (quadri di docenti, indottrinamento, in Catalogna, di giovani universitari, etc.) […]. (Salvietti 1988: 45)

Although Salvietti appears to be extremely harsh in his opinion, there seems to be some truth in what he says, as the pressure from Catalonia (not necessarily as a form of neo-colonialism as he says) is quite evident, and the '*Espai Llull*' is the most recent example of it. It is true that a process of revitalisation of Catalan would probably not have been contemplated without the 'help' of the Catalans and Catalan institutions, but it is also certain that *Alguerès*, as opposed to foreign Catalan, remains, as Salvietti expresses it, a 'parlata volgare'. Not surprisingly, the tendency is now to avoid (in the media, in particular) calling local Catalan *Alguerès*, as older speakers name it. Instead, apart from 'catalano', expression like 'lingua catalana', 'catalano di Alghero', or 'lingua algherese' are more widely used.

The linguistic repercussions of this new discourse can be exemplified by the speech of the twenty-seven-year-old female informant in Fragments 7.52 below.

FRAGMENT 7.52: SP.02.03.09	
SP.02.03.09:	*Sono di Alghero, de l'Alguer... puc parlar en català? Visc al carrer XXXX tinc vint-i-set anys i... estudio, al moment, a la universitat de Sàsser [...] faig un curs d'informàtica i anglès. [...] el català el vaig estudiar des del dosmil-i-cinc. L'alguerès el parlen la meva iaia, també els meus pares però poc; nosaltres parlem, en família, molt en italià.*
INTERV.:	*Per cosa has decidit de imparar el català?*
SP.02.03.09:	***Per treballar en el turisme …***

7.3.3 Sentimental motivations

Sentimental motivations can be defined as those values assigned by speakers to the minority language that are closely related to cultural heritage and local identity. They are usually expressed in terms of *beauty*, *tradition*, *history*, and *cultural roots* bringing with them the desire, intention and wish that the local language be protected. In the case of Alghero, a widespread positive stance towards the original language has been observed and only rarely are negative attitudes openly expressed (see, for example, Fragment 7.2). In Figure 7.10 below, a few examples of how informants perceive *Alguerès* are provided.

Figure 7.10: *Sample of comments expressing attachment and concern for Catalan*
Mi dispiace che l'algherese e il sardo si perdano: si dovrebbero imparare a scuola
Il sardo e l'algherese vanno tutelate
Bisogna difendere la memoria storica [and, therefore, the traditional language(s)]
È giusto che si impari il dialetto
È importante conoscere le realtà locali
L'algherese è il nostro dialetto che sarebbe bello poter tramandare
È giusto portare avanti il dialetto
La llengua del cor
Les raguines mies
Sono algherese. Ho sempre parlato l'algherese e vedo che si sta perdendo ... e questo mi dispiace

7.3.3.1 Dominant and Transformative ideologies

In principle, the attachment to the minority language, as a binding agent of the local community, should be followed by its actual use. However, this is not always the case, and the task of speaking the minority language is usually delegated to other speakers and institutions (the educational system, in particular). The truth is that pressure from above seems to have greater repercussions on actual language use, and the local language comes to have, in the eyes of the speakers, mainly folkloric connotations.

As we have seen in the previous sections, dominant, or hegemonic, ideologies (embodied in the socio-political and socio-economic context) have a crucial role to play, not only in inducing a strong sense of belonging to a greater socio-cultural group, but also in eroding the cultural bonds people have with their local community. Through the educational system, the mass media, and the bureaucratic apparatus, amongst other factors, a process of stigmatisation of minority cultures and languages is carried out, either implicitly or explicitly. This leads to the emergence of negative attitudes, basically a strong sense of self-deprecation. The most practical outcome of such negative attitudes is the rejection of the local, traditional language and the adoption of the dominant, national, official language variety.

In the last forty years, however, there has been a proliferation of minority-focused 'transformative', or counter-hegemonic, ideologies bringing about a new

sense of respect for minority groups in an effort to ensure that local cultural traditions do not get lost.[98] This attachment to local languages and the widespread belief that minority groups need to be protected are closely linked to a significant resurgence of activism in the late twentieth century, both at grassroots level and on the part of international pressure groups (Edwards & Newcombe 2005a: 135). The pressure can come from different sources, such as non-governmental institutions or cultural associations, and are characterised by different levels of intensity: for example, some institutions have more voice and visibility than others; and some associations have greater legitimacy than others. In any case, the purpose of these alternative factions is to exert resistance and pressure for change.

Transformative ideologies emerge, following the same logic behind dominant ideologies of linguistic nationalism, as a way to resist the power of the majority and language revitalisation movements 'are replications on a demographically smaller scale of the nation-building movements in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' (Heller 2006: 7). While the above is true, minority groups are, however, and with the exception of a few communities (e.g., the Catalan-speaking community in Catalonia), far from being replications of the modern nation-state model, although certain achievements have been obtained in the last few years.

Thus, while the dominant ideologies and the practical restrictions are responsible for attachment to and use of the majority language, transformative ideologies support the idea that minority groups also have rights and therefore need protection, although, in some cases, the outcome of this new wave of interest has simply been the emergence of 'politically correct' attitudes towards the minority language groups (see Simon 2009a). If this is the case, speakers are conditioned by the idea that 'minority is nice' and tend to avoid explicit negative comments on their local variety, but in actual fact they show a clear tendency to speak the majority language.

The presence of both instrumental and sentimental motivations leads to a revision of Figure 7.8 in the following terms:

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[98] Following Freeden (2003: 13), I refer to what Mannheim (1985) termed 'Utopia', to account for those ideologies that are distinct, or even opposed to, the dominant, conservative ones.

	Situation A	Situation B	Situation C	Situation D
Figure 7.11: *Intergenerational language transmission according to competence and different degrees of motivations*				
Competence	+	+	+	+
Motivations	+ + +	+ + -	+ - -	- - -
Transmission of Alguerès	+ + +	+/-	- - -	- - -
Typologies of speakers	Cat/(It)	[Cat]/It	{Cat}/It	It

In Figure 7.11, the presence of two types of motivations is represented with a combination of plus and minus symbols. The plus symbol indicates the existence of motivations (both sentimental and instrumental) related to *Alguerès*; the minus symbol, on the other hand, indicates their absence (or, which is the same, the presence of motivations favourable to Italian). Where three plus symbols appear (situation A) there are both instrumental and sentimental motivations and, consequently, language transmission is clearly favourable to Alguerès (+ + +).[99] Where three minus signs appear (situation D), by contrast, no motivations (whether instrumental or sentimental) favourable to *Alguerès* are found and language transmission is clearly in favour of Italian (- - -).

On the other hand, the asymetric presence of the two motivations (situations B and C) is represented by the co-existence of both positive and negative symbols. Thus, situation B, for example, is characterised by the existence of strong (sentimental) motivations in favour of local Catalan (++), but also instrumental motivations in favour of Italian (-). Language transmission is here more uncertain (+/-) and the parent may decide to choose either *Alguerès* (if, for example, he/she has support from relatives and friends) or Italian (if, for example, friends and relatives show 'hostility' towards local Catalan). Situation C is not dissimilar from situation B, but characterised by weaker motivations in favour of *Alguerès*. If this is the case, language transmission will be in favour of Italian (- - -). Whenever there is a balance between the two motivations, Italian prevails.

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[99] Situation A of Figure 7.11 is, however, quite hypothetical, as no informants have assigned to *Alguerès* instrumental values.

7.3.3.2 Language attitudes and language loyalty

As observed in the previous sections, dominant ideologies have exerted a strong pressure on the speakers in Alghero, who have developed positive attitudes towards Italian. This is one of the reasons leading to the extinction of *Alguerès*, as such attitudes are converted into a linguistic behaviour according to which the speakers tend to adopt Italian in almost all domains. This vertical pressure, represented by the dominant ideologies, is reinforced by the practical constraints that put the speakers in a position to use Italian more than Catalan and/or Sardinian.

Language attitudes, which can be defined as the speakers' opinions about different language varieties (in contact), may vary from very positive to very negative, within the same community of speakers. As a consequence of the way speakers perceive the linguistic varieties around them, attitudes can have a considerable effect on language behaviour, in terms of preserving both the structure and the social functions of the language concerned (Trudgill 2003: 73).

It follows that language attitudes are closely related to the concept of language loyalty, which can be defined as 'a principle […] in the name of which people will rally themselves […] to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of language shift) or in the structure of vocabulary (as a consequence of interference)' (Weinreich 1953: 99). In principle, therefore, whenever speakers hold a favourable attitude towards a specific language variety, they will tend to behave in such a way as to preserve that particular language. In summary, and simply put, if, in a situation of language contact, attitudes towards a particular language are positive, language maintenance is the expected outcome.

7.3.3.3 Struggling between mimesis and alterity

However, as already mentioned, this is not always the case. There are plenty of instances of a clear mismatch between speakers' opinions and their actual linguistic behaviour. From an extensive research on intergenerational language transmission, Sirén (1991: 25) has observed that parental desire is not automatically translated into action. Although parents usually express attitudes that are favourable to the use of a specific language variety, in actual fact they are not always expressing the intention

to speak a minority language with the child but, rather, the desire to have the child master that language.

Wicker's (1969) general conclusion, for example, is that attitudes are generally not related to behaviour. Evans (1996), on the other hand, tells us that sociolinguistic studies that have approached the study of language maintenance primarily by attempting to relate reported language behaviours and attitudes have suggested that the expression of positive attitudes or language loyalty toward the native language does not usually correspond to language behaviours reflecting that loyalty. This conclusion has seemed to imply that group members are reluctant to admit a lack of true commitment to their heritage language.

Although, in her study on intergenerational transmission of Spanish among Mexican Americans in the Southwest of US, Carol Evans (1996) does not reach to exactly the same conclusions, she highlights the conflict parents have over cruel alternatives. On the one hand, parents are eager to maintain a sense of their own cultural integrity and identity as well as to insure their children's pride in their heritage culture and language. On the other hand, knowing well the powerful prejudice against that identity, parents hope to protect their children from potential damage. They seek accommodations which may afford their children personal security, the opportunity for achievement, and freedom from dangers to a positive sense of self.

As Kulick (1992) puts it, the existence of both instrumental and sentimental motivations seems to be characterised by the presence, on the one hand, of a (strong) sense of identity (uniqueness), determined by the perceptions of the peculiarities of the group in question (the Catalan-speaking community, in our case); on the other hand, by contrast, we may find that the specific ethnic group is associated with stigma, which is the result of an excess of power coming from the dominant group. The result, as pointed out by House (2002: 14) in the case of a Navajo community in Arizona, is the emergence of a society that exhibits a range of hegemonic, counter-hegemonic, and mixed ideological positions at any given time.

As a consequence, speakers are usually engaged in a conflict between the need to resemble the majority group, through a process of *mimesis*, and the desire to remain different so preserving their *alterity*. In Alghero, the challenge to be, on the one hand, mainstream Italians, while, on the other, to maintain the distinctive Catalan-speaking identity is resolved in the following fashion:

1. By code-switching, as an identity marker showing a way of speaking differently (see 7.2.3);

2. By adopting a *third way*: convergence towards foreign Catalan, as a compromise between total Italian and total *Alguerès* (see 7.3.3.1);

3. By expressing an 'emotional language loyalty'.

7.3.3.4 Emotional language loyalty

Based on the qualitative data, I maintain that the majority of parents interviewed show, though timidly, a favourable attitude towards Catalan, expressing the wish that the language should not disappear (see Figure 7.8). By contrast, the quantitative data clearly suggest that the language now being transmitted between the generations is in fact Italian (see chapter 6). Thus, while Catalan-speakers in Alghero show concern for the minority language, they transmit Italian to their children, as this is the language to which they express a real loyalty.

So, this apparent contradiction must be interpreted as a struggle to go along with both the dominant and the transformative ideologies; to go along with both the pragmatic convenience of adopting Italian and their pride in their heritage culture and language. The resulting language attitudes lead speakers towards a language loyalty which is found somewhere between a real language loyalty and a complete non-loyalty to Catalan: they would like to be loyal but they are not or cannot be.

From the above declarations, we can see the informants' sometimes timid desire that Catalan (as well as Sardinian) should not disappear. Thus, these statements seem to conflict with earlier comments about Italian. However, although they are generally made by the same informants expressing both views, they emerge amid the persistent and firm belief that Italian is 'the proper language'. However, awareness also emerges that they cannot (or, indeed, do not want to) do anything about it. Such a responsibility is in the hands of institutions outside the household, in particular the educational system. The parents thus delegate the task of saving the local variety to someone else, either because they themselves cannot for lack of competence or because they do not want to because the dominant ideologies have a greater impact on them.

In summary, we can say that the informants are basically ruled and controlled by the dominant ideologies as well as by practical linguistic constraints.

They find Italian attractive, because of its symbolic meaning, and functionality, and they are fully committed to it. However, while maintaining their loyalty to Italian, they see Catalan as a language to be protected, but delegate the care of their original language to institutions outside the family.

A new concept is therefore needed to describe those instances in which there is no correlation between the speakers' attitudes and their real linguistic behaviour. The term *emotional language loyalty*, which can be defined as an unbalanced relationship between what the speakers say and their actual behaviour, serves this purpose. In the same way that in difficult times a person receives *moral support*, in a difficult sociolinguistic situation, like that of Catalan in Alghero, speakers are prepared to express their full support, but cannot and do not want to do anything to increase its social use.

The discrepancy between what the parents say about local Catalan and their actual use should not be seen in isolation, but rather as part of a general, widespread *double discourse*. Such a double discourse implies a double level of analysis – the immediate and the disguised one – by virtue of which the immediate may be represented by the (sporadic) use of Catalan, the folkloric variety, whereas the disguised level is clearly characterised by the use of Italian.

Figure 7.12: *Official, folkloric use of Catalan 1*

PROPONENTE	SPETTACOLO	TIPOLOGIA	LOCATION	DATE	ORA
PANTA REI	Tot se'n vola	Giornata nazionale della rete italiana di cultura popolare - lo sostengo la cultura popolare	auditorium del liceo scientifico	13/12/2008	21.00
CONDAV - UNA MANO TESA	Mercatino di Natale	Beneficenza	Locali ex circolo Marinai in Congedo	13-14/12/08	10.00-13.00 16.00-22.00
ilfilodeldiscorso	Il gigante Mariolino	Teatro di strada e arti varie ITINERANTE	Centro storico	19/12/2008	17,30 - 19,30
Paola Dessi	Spettacolo itinerante sui trampoli	Teatro da strada ITINERANTE	Centro storico	19-23/12/2008	17,30 - 19,30
Franco Fais	Spettacolo di Mimo corporeo - Mimo Bubè	Teatro da strada ITINERANTE	Centro storico	20/12/2008	17,30 - 19,30
Marco Olimpio	Spettacolo di Mimo corporeo	Teatro di strada ITINERANTE		20-23-24/12/2008	17,30 - 19,30
Vitamina Circo	Circo Solo Uno	Teatro di strada	Centro storico - P.zza Civica	23/12/2008	17,30 - 1930
Comp. Barbariciridicoli	Spettacolo di Teatro invisibile Masquerada	Teatro distrada ITINERANTE	Centro storico	23/12/2008	16,30 - 20,30
Maurizio Giordo	Giullarata	Teatro di strada	Centro storico - P.zza Civica	24/12/2008	17,30 - 19,30

Figure 7.13: *Official, folkloric use of Catalan 2*

As can be seen from Figures 7.12 and 7.13 (institutional posters), Catalan is a mere tourist attraction: while the names of the events (i.e., '*Cap d'Any*', '*Sagra del Bogamarí*') are in *Alguerès*, the main text is in Italian. There is also the presence of local Catalan in the main text, but this is usually limited to cultural references, such as titles of shows (e.g., '*Tot se'n vola*'). The same discourse can be extended to private companies (mainly restaurants) that tend to use written *Alguerès* more and more, perhaps as an alternative way of expressing group specificity or, most probably, as Catalan is perceived as a tourist attraction, a cosmetic treatment to make their enterprises more appealing (in the eyes of Catalan visitors). Examples of use of Catalan are Figures 7.14 and 7.15.

Figure 7.14: *Sporadic use of Catalan in private enterprises* 1

Figure 7.15: *Sporadic use of Catalan in private enterprises* 2

7.4 Language vitality

7.4.1 Typologies of speakers

At this juncture, it becomes crucial to see the linguistic repercussions that the process of shift analysed in the previous sections is having on the community of speakers. The main result on children of such a massive abandonment of local Catalan is the emergence of a considerable number of both first- and second-generation native-speakers of Italian. The informants in Fragment 7.53 are examples of second-generation native-speakers of Italian, who barely understand Alguerès. CS.11.09.11, an eighteen-year-old girl, and her cousin (FC.11.09.10), sixteen, describe both their and their peers' language competence and linguistic habits, and the resulting picture shows a generation already (almost) completely italianised.

FRAGMENT 7.53: CS.11.09.10 and FC.11.09.10	
INTERV.:	*L'alguerés lo parles?*
CS.11.09.10:	[laughs] ***No, no!***

INTERV.:	*Ma, calqui cosa la pots dire?*
CS.11.09.10:	*E che cosa?! No...*
INTERV.:	*E tu, invece, l'algherese lo parli?*
FC.11.09.10:	***Pochissimo! Cioè non lo so parlare bene e quindi non lo parlo****. Sinceramente, **l'avevo anche studiato a scuola però non ricordo piú**, perché non... **cioè ricordo tipo: 'ió me dic...'** e... **cioè basta, mi fermo là. Non so proprio neanche le cose basilari**, purtroppo.*
INTERV.:	*Ma tu a casa lo senti un po' l'algherese parlare?*
FC.11.09.10:	*Da mia nonna sí, quindi **lo capisco certe volte, certe parole ogni tanto no**, però diciamo che quando parla nonna lo capisco...*
INTERV.:	*Quand'eri piccola tu, qual era la lingua principale dei bambini con cui giocavi?*
CS.11.09.10:	*Eh no, **l'italiano!***

There are speakers, however, who, despite the fact that have not learned Catalan directly from the parents, have reached a good level of Catalan through, for example, interactions with grandparents, friends or colleagues. Thus, the lack of *Alguerès* in the parent-child interactions is compensated, in some cases, by the presence of social networks, more or less close and more or less dense, in which the speakers act and interact. We have already seen LP.05.02.09 in Fragment 7.7, a fifty-six-year-old native-speaker of Italian who has fully integrated into the Catalan-speaking linguistic reality of Alghero. But it is also the case of younger speakers, such SL.20.09.08, a twenty-seven-year-old female native-speaker of Italian from a Catalan-speaking family who has reached an excellent level of *Alguerès* through a constant exposure to local Catalan, particularly interacting with her grandparents.

FRAGMENT 7.54: SL.20.09.08	
INTERV.:	*Ton pare i ta mare de on són?*
SL.20.09.08:	*La mama i el babu són de l'Alguer*
INTERV.:	*I ton pare i ta mare com parlen?*
SL.20.09.08	***En casa, amb a mosaltros, en italià, amb a los germans i amb a la gent de fora en alguerés****.*
INTERV.:	*I fra ellos?*
SL.20.09.08	***En alguerés****.*
INTERV.:	*Sempre en alguerés?*
SL.20.09.08	*Sí.*
INTERV.:	*I l'alguerès a on l'has imparat?*
SL.20.09.08	***Del iaio. Mon iaio m'ha sempre parlat en alguerés****.*
INTERV.:	*I tu hi parlaves en alguerés...?*
SL.20.09.08	*Sí*

The informant from the above passage is a prime example (although rare) of how the maintenance or shift of a language variety (at the individual level) is not necessarily or directly related to intergenerational transmission. The complexity of bilingual societies may imply the presence of 'doors' through which the minority

language tends to escape from the community (i.e., intergenerational transmission), but also cracks (often imperceptible) through which it comes back (e.g., interactions with grandparents). They are spontaneous mechanisms of language survival which, paradoxically, could ensure language maintenance without intergenerational transmission. In principle, there is no reason to believe that in a bilingual society a stable pattern of behaviour by virtue of which parents and children speak the dominant language while between grandparents and grandchildren the minority language is spoken.

The mechanisms and causes behind a later or parallel acquisition of the original language besides parents-children relationship are varied. In Mexico, for example, Hill & Hill (1986: 121-22) have observed that young people re-learn the local, indigenous language in early adulthood, even if their parents have raised them in Spanish. And this is so because the speakers consider it important to know the local language to be able to present it as a badge of community membership. So established is (or was at the time the investigation was conducted) this process of re-learning that in one particular village (San Pablo del Monte) all the interviewed men under the age of forty were second-language learners of the indigenous language.

In Alghero, however, informants such as SL.20.09.08 of Fragment 7.54 represent just very sporadic cases of speakers who achieve the skills of native-speakers without having received the language directly from the parents. Thus, in between the type of speaker, which I call *semi-native* (see Table 7.2), such SL.20.09.08, with a level of oral Catalan very near to that of a native-speaker, and the informants in Fragments 7.53 (CS.11.09.10 and FC.11.09.10 11), passive bilinguals, there is a continuum where different types of *semi-speakers* are observed (Table 7.2). The informants in fragments 7.55 and 7.56 below are two different example of semi-speakers: one (EC.03.03.09), a twenty-year-old female from a Catalan-speaking family, despite having the ability to articulate simple sentences in *Alguerès*, has certain shortcomings, especially at the vocabulary level, and little communication fluency; the other (LC.21.10.08), a twenty-four-year-old female from linguistically-mixed parents, presents considerable difficulties even when she comes to articulate simple sentences

FRAGMENT 7.55: EC.03.03.09	
INTERV.:	*Ton pare i ta mare de on són?*

EC.03.03.09:	*Lo babu és alguerés; mon iaio i ma iaia algueresos totus dos i de la part de la mama lo mateix: ma iaia algueresa i mon iaio alguerés.*
INTERV.:	*Descriu-me la família?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Al.lora, tenc dos germans: un germà més gran de mi [...] una germana [...] té **vint-un an**;la mama te cinc germans eehh... tots casats amb a fills: sem vuit **nebolts**, de la part de la mama; de la part del babu són ... eren vuit fills, dos són morts, tenc vint-i-set cosins de la part del babu [...] sem tots **jova** [...]*
INTERV.:	*Ton pare i ta mare cosa parlen fra ellos?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Fra ellos parlen en alguerés. Amb mosaltros... dipén, quan són encatzats [laughs] mos parlen en alguerés... en italià quindi.*
INTERV.:	*I ta mare a ma tos iaios cosa parla?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Alguerés.*
INTERV.:	*I ton pare?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Alguerés.*
INTERV.:	*Qui hobbies tens?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Jo, vaig a la **univelsitat qui** me pren la major part **del temp qui tenc**. Vaig **agli** scout. I vaig en giro... en girel.la [laughs]... vaig en girel.la... **nonna dice cosí**.*
INTERV.:	*Cosa te'n recordes de quan anaves a escola?*
EC.03.03.09:	*Al.lora, diem que quan anava a escola jo, a ... **alle elementari ...** come si dice? Non mi ricordo. Non lo so... vabbe', alle elementari [...] teniva tres mestres i basta [...]a casa no tenívem de fer los compitos. I lego, quan tornava en casa, me record, lo babu **aveva** apena comprat la campanya, quindi cada dia, cada dia teníem d'anar en aqueixa campanya... i a mi **dopo** un poc no hi voliva més anar per cosa no m'agradava [...]*
INTERV.:	*Amb a qui jugaves?*
EC.03.03.09:	*__Con__ qui jugava? Eh amb a los **cosinet** que eren en allí [...] i lego si dabaixaven **giù** on habit ara **que eren calqui amic jucavem lo stes**...*

FRAGMENT 7.56: LC.26.02.09	

LC.26.02.09:	*M'aquidr LC.26.02.09 tenc... ehmm... **vent-i-quatr** anys... eehh...eeehhmmm.... **viv** ([viv] i no [vif]) a l'Alguer ... eehhhmmm... me só laureada de poc eeeehh ... ara **estica** treballant en la televisió de l'Alguer.*
INTERV.:	*I cosa fas a la televisió de l'Alguer?*
LC.26.02.09:	*Eehh... faç... mmm ... **montaggi**, **video e regia** ... col.labor... **collaboro**.*
INTERV.:	*Parla-me de la família tua...*
LC.26.02.09:	*Ok. En família sem cinc **persones**: eehhh.... mon pare, ma mare ... mmm... **ma germana** e **mio fratello**. Mon pare és en **pinsio** [pinsió], ma mare és casalinga... eehhh ... **ma germana** estudia a la universitat eehh... **mio fratello studia**, lavora... treballa en aereonàutica.*
INTERV.:	*Cosa parlen fra ellos, ton pare i ta mare?*
LC.26.02.09:	*Fra ellos parlen **italian**... eehhmm ... ma mare **con** les ... eehh ... **con, con** mes txies parla en alguerès. Jo lo comprenc, ma en família **non lo** parl, **non lo** parlem **neanc con los cosinus**, no... mmmm... **soltanto** ma mare eehh... con les ...**jasmanes** e la mare.*
INTERV.:	*I tu a ma ta iaia cosa parles?*
LC.26.02.09:	***Italian**, en casa **palemo italian***
INTERV.:	*I lo pare i la mare de ton pare són vius?*
LC.26.02.09:	*No...eehhmmm... ma iaia de la part de ma mare és **viura** ...eehhhmm .... de la part de mon pare és morta. Ma **tras** ellos parlen **italian**.*
INTERV.:	*Parla-me de quan anaves a escola...*
LC.26.02.09:	*Quan era **a** l'escola me record que les mestres eren ... eehhhmmm... **non lo so** ... no me record massa de **la elementars**....*
INTERV.:	*A part l'alguerès i l'italià quales altres llengües coneixes?*
LC.26.02.09:	*Coneix l'**inglés** [inglés] i no [ingɾés] ... eehhmmm ... escolàstic, eehhhmmm... **lo spanyol**, un poc **no sep parlar be**, ...eehhhmmm... **lo fransé**, un poc **lo stes**...*
INTERV.:	*Has viatjat?*

LC.26.02.09:	*Si, só estada ... eehhhmmm.... una .... eehhmm ... una .... eehmmm... volta a* **Barcelona** *([baɾsellóna] i no [baltsaɾóna]), ma* **non ne** *parlat alguerés... non...non...* **non riuscivo**.
INTERV.:	*Però tu los compreneves a ells?*
LC.26.02.09:	*Eehmm ... un poc, per cosa parlaven ... eehhmmm ... de pressa ...* **veloce**.
INTERV.:	*Parla-me dels jocs que feves quan eres petita ...*
LC.26.02.09:	*Ehmmmmm.... * **quand** *era petita ... ehhhmmm .... eravam ... erem* **tants** *minyons ... eehhmmm...* **non lo so**...

Apart from the breaks, the hesitations, and uncertainties, which are clear indicators of the low familiarity that the informant of Fragment 7.56 has with *Alguerès*, several structural aspects of her speech are clear departures from the traditional norm associated with (adult) native speakers. Some are lexical, such as not knowing or not remembering basic words in local Catalan (e.g., '*fratello*' for '*germà*'); others are of a morpho-phonological kind such as '*vent-i-quatr*' instead of '*vint-i-quatre*', [maʒalmána] instead of [mandʒalmána], or '*lo spanyol*' instead of '*l'espanyol*'; others are of a morphological type (eg, '*tants*' for '*tantes*', '*la elementars*' for '*les elementares*', and '*italian*' for '*italià*'); and quite a few are phonetic, such as the tendency to transform affricate alveolar sounds into fricatives (e.g., [pinsió] for [pintsió], [palsóna] for [paltsóna], [baɾsellóna] and [baltsaɾóna]).

This description, although concise, of the bilingual process has brought to light the complexity (in terms of different language skills and behaviour) that characterises the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero. The different typologies of speakers that have emerged will now be schematically accounted for. Six major groups of speakers make up the community of Alghero, although the speakers' profiles must be placed within a continuum rather than as discrete blocks. The axis along which the various types lie is age: the older the speakers, the greater the competence in *Alguerès* and vice-versa. However, we should make it clear that age is only an indicative parameter of reference, as we also find young native-speakers as well as adult Italian monolinguals, although competence in Catalan tends to become lower as the age of the speakers decreases.

Table 7.2: Typologies of speakers			
Typologies of speakers		Description	Age
Native-speakers	Cat/(It)	These are speakers who have learned Algueres at home and are mainly engaged with social networks that are almost exclusively Catalan-speaking (family, work, leisure, etc.) Italian is used primarily to communicate with Italophones outside their closest networks and show a better competence of *Alguerès* than Italian.	60+
	Cat/It	However, as age decreases, and because of the pressure exerted by the educational system, the media, and an Italophone environment (outside the household), these speakers can reach a balanced competence in both languages, or even become more competent in Italian. For this reason, the boundary separating native-speakers from semi-native speakers is a very narrow one.	
Semi-native-speakers	It/(Cat)	Semi-native-speakers correspond, roughly, to Nancy Dorian's 'younger fluent speakers'. Their main characteristic is to show certain departures from the most conservative norms while still speaking a fluent local Catalan. The differences between their *Alguerès* and that of the native-speakers are several, but also quite subtle, and they are mostly a matter of frequency: lower frequency of deviations from traditional norms in the case of native-speakers (1981: 116). The informant of Fragment X (SL.20.09.08), for example, in the clause 'amb[a] los germans', does not convert the lateral / l / of 'los' into a high velar [u] after 'a' – a vocalic prothesis or relic of old Catalan 'ame' / ama /. Thus, 'amb los germans' comes to be, for SL.20.09.08, [amáluzdʒalmánts] instead of [amáwzdʒalmánts], more common among (old) native-speakers.	
Semi-speakers	It/[Cat]	These are Italian-dominant bilingual speakers. Part of the environment both within the family (e.g., parents and grandparents) and outside the household (e.g., at work), however, is characterised by the use (in some cases more than in others) of local Catalan, resulting in a passive acquisition of oral skills and the ability to use *Alguerès*, albeit (very) sporadically. These speakers can utter (simple) sentences in *Alguerès*, but have difficulties in maintaining a spontaneous conversation with an (adult) native speaker exclusively in Catalan. The level of competence varies from speaker to speaker according to the degree of exposure to Catalan of each individual and the different types of semi-speakers are distributed along a continuum.	
Passive bilinguals	It/{Cat}	Bilingual speakers are probably the numerically most consistent group. They are simply those speakers who understand *Alguerès* (some more than others), but do not speak it.	
Monolinguals	It	These are speakers that only know Italian. They are mostly very young speakers of (outsider) Italophone families that have no (or little) contact with Catalan as their social networks are (almost) exclusively Italophones.	20 -
New-speakers	Cat	These are either (young) native-speakers of Italian who have acquired foreign Catalan (through formal learning and/or frequent interactions with foreign Catalan-speakers), but have very little knowledge of *Alguerès* (or else their competence in local Catalan is not shown) or (young) semi-speakers who have a marked tendency to converge frequently with foreign Catalan. This category of speakers is still fairly small, but there seems to be evidence showing a rapid growth.	

7.4.2 A model of language vitality

A number of scholars have suggested, predominantly from the *language death* paradigm, different criteria to help to identify when a language is in danger of extinction (e.g., Batibo 2005: 62-75; Fishman 1991: 87-109; Krauss 2007; see also Crystal 2000: 19-22, i UNESCO 2003). Thus, within a general frame and according to parameters considered universally valid, the degree of vitality of specific language varieties has been analysed (see, for example, Batibo 2005; Brenzinger 2007). However, although these criteria have certain validity, some theoretico-methodological incongruences also emerge.

The criteria do not account for, for example, the contextual sociolinguistic diversity: that is, that the conditions for language maintenance change from context to context. The circumstances that determine the degree of vitality of a language are the result of the interaction of different factors that, occasionally, lead to exactly the same situations. Accordingly, it seems wrong to suggest general criteria for particular sociolinguistic contexts. The elaboration of *ad hoc* models would be more effective. But, most importantly of all, the sociolinguistic complexity of bilingual societies is not accounted for. Bilingual communities are indeed characterised by the presence of speakers with different linguistic behaviours, with different linguistic competences, and with different motivations.

Accordingly, I will suggest here a different model, specifically conceived to assess the linguistic vitality of Catalan in Alghero. In Figures 7.8 and 7.11 we have seen that intergenerational language transmission is conditional on two main factors: competence and motivation. We have not seen, however, how the linguistic outcome could change according to other intervening factors: social networks and the language that parents speak to each other (henceforth, 'language of couple'). Thus, if we assume the existence of social networks favourable to the use of Catalan, it is quite probable that there will be an increase in linguistic competence and a consequent modification of the original typologies of speakers as emerges from Figure 7.16 below.

	Situation A	Situation B	Situation C	Situation D
Figure 7.16: *Intergenerational language transmission according to competence, different degrees of motivations, and social networks*				
Competence	+	+	+	+
Motivations	+ + +	+ + -	+ - -	- - -
Transmission of Alguerès	+ + +	+/-	- - -	- - -
Typologies of speakers	Cat/(It)	[Cat]/It	{Cat}/It	It
Social networks	+ + -			
	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩
Typologies of speakers	Cat/(It)	(Cat)/It	[Cat]/It	{Cat}/It

With data closer to the sociolinguistic reality of Alghero, and with the addition of another factor (the language of the couple) in the next section I will suggest a model of vitality for *Alguerès*.

7.4.3 The threshold of maintenance

The threshold of maintenance can be defined as the boundary between the continuity of the language and the decline towards extinction. It is, in other words, the existence of the minimum requirements to ensure the maintenance of the minority language, at least for one more generation. In practical terms, the threshold of maintenance is the result of a number of factors that, when combined together, can produce different outcomes in terms of intergenerational language transmission. In the case of Alghero, the continuity of *Alguerès* can be guaranteed, first and foremost, by a critical mass of native-speakers or semi-native-speakers; then, it is important that the language that the parents speak to each other is local Catalan, and, most importantly of all, that the (sentimental) motivation in favour of *Alguerès* will be strong as in the case of LN.09.09.10 (Fragment 7.42). Apart from that, it will also be important that the social networks outside the household should also be, as a whole, favourable to the use of *Alguerès*.

The threshold of maintenance can be defined, in the last instance, as the existence of favourable circumstances for language maintenance and can be expressed in the following terms: *given a global sociolinguistic situation X, for the maintenance to happen a percentage X of native-speakers is needed and that the values of factors a, b, and c are N1 N2 N3*. Thus, if a hypothetical situation is

considered, such as that presented in Figure 7.17, the future of the language will be conditional on, first and foremost, the quantity of native speakers (80% in total in the hypothetical situation), but also on how they are distributed according to age groups, different micro-situations, the language of the couple, motivations, and social networks.

Figure 7.17: *Intergenerational language transmission according to different factors – hypothetical situation*								
	Situation A	Situation B	Situation C	Situation D	Situation E	Situation F	Situation G	Situation H
%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
Compet.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Lang. Couple	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
Motiv.	+ + +	- - -	+ + +	+ + -	+ + -	+ - -	+ - -	- - -
Tran. Alg.	+ + +	- - -	+ + -	+ + -	+ - -	+ - -	- - -	- - -
Soc. Net.	+ + -							
	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩
Typ. Of Speakers	Cat/(It)	{Cat}/It	Cat/It – [Cat]/It	Cat/It – (Cat)/It	Cat/It – [Cat]/It	(Cat)/It – [Cat]/It	{Cat}/It	It

In Figure 7.17, all the possible micro-situations are represented. What emerges is a sociolinguistic situation favourable, overall, to Italian, but with also a solid presence of Catalan. Now, what has not been represented in Figure 7.17 is the distribution of speakers according to age. The age of the speakers is a crucial factor and the degree of vitality of the language is measured according to the greater or lesser presence of young speakers in the different micro-stituations. Thus, the presence of Catalan speakers under the age of forty in situations A, C, D, and E would radically change the degree of vitality of *Alguerès* in positive terms. In general terms: the greater the number of young speakers in situation A (and so on) the greater the degree of vitality and viceversa.

Maintenance of *Alguerès* will depend on the fact that certain crucial situations exist: first and foremost a critical mass of native-speakers who can guarantee the formation of linguistically homogeneous marriages and, in the last instance, a considerable number of parents able to speak Catalan with their children in a natural and spontaneous way; that the Catalan-speakers have strong (sentimental) motivations; and that social networks are favourable to the use of Catalan.

In order to test whether or not *Alguerès* is in danger of extinction, I will analyse the situation with more realistic data. The context is substantially the same as that we have presented in Figure 7.17, but with different percentages. According to the sociolinguistic data at our disposal, I will establish the total percentage of the micro-situations where native and semi-native speakers aged forty or less appear at 30% and they will be distributed as shown in Figure 7.18. The percentages (stll quite approximate) are the result of an interpretation of the data collected (both quantitative and qualitative) and Chessa (2007). We need to bear in mind, however, that this is a first, provisional attempt to define language vitality and that more accurate, specific studies are needed in order to obtain more accurate data.

	Situation A	Situation B	Situation C	Situation D	Situation E	Situation F	Situation G	Situation H
Figure 7.18: *Intergenerational language transmission according to different factors – more realistic situation*								
%	0%	2%	1%	1%	8%	3%	15%	70%
Compet.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Lang. Couple	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
Motiv.	+ + +	- - -	+ + +	+ + -	+ + -	+ - -	+ - -	- - -
Tran. Alg.	+ + +	- - -	+ + -	+ + -	+ - -	+ - -	- - -	- - -
Soc. Net.				+ - -				
	⇓	⇓	⇓	⇓	⇓	⇓	⇓	⇓
Typ. Of Speakers	- - -	{Cat}/It	Cat/It – [Cat]/It	Cat/It – [Cat]/It	[Cat]/It	(Cat)/It – [Cat]/It	{Cat}/It	It

The resulting situation is overall very clearly favourable to Italian: there are no speakers in situation A; on the other hand there are no strong motivations in order to change the habitus now favourable to Italian and thus permit a greater intergenerational transmission of *Alguerès*; and finally there are no encouraging social networks that allow the reintegration of semi-speakers, passive bilinguals and Italian monolinguals. The sociolinguistic situation as described in Figure 7.18 tells clearly that the extinction of Catalan in Alghero is quite imminent. Following Dorian's (1981: 94) forecast for Scottish Gaelic in East Sutherland, we can say that *Alguerès* will be extinct in sixty years time when the last few native-speakers (and semi-native speakers) will no longer be alive.

Conclusions

This research has shown that *Alguerès*, as opposed to Italian (but also foreign Catalan) is a variety with low status. The lack of prestige associated to local Catalan is clearly the result of a socio-political discourse that, especially since the sixties and seventies of the last century, has focused particular attention on the authoritative role of Italy (and Italian). On the other hand, the emergence of the linguistic market represented by the whole Italian nation-state, in which only the use of Italian would allow commercial transactions on a wider scale to take place, has assigned to the dominant language an invaluable practical dimension.

As a consequence, Italian has acquired prestige and instrumental values, whereas local Catalan, on the other hand, has come to be perceived as a backward language. As a further consequence, the two languages in contact are clearly perceived by the speakers as the manifestation of a power relationship in which the majority group have the more appealing, positive, and practical connotations. By and large, this explains why, at some point (from the late nineteenth century, but with a 'tip' beginning around forty years ago), parents have abandoned their original language and have adopted Italian in interactions with their children. Thus, in current Alghero, the break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan has now reached a critical stage, as hardly any parents pass it on to their offspring.

Alghero is not unique in this respect, and similar cases of language shift, with an increasing number of parents adopting the dominant language with their own children in the last century, are quite common among minority languages both in Western Europe and elsewhere (see, for example, Brenzinger 2007). It is noted (see, for example, Crystal 2000; Dorian 2004) that the main reason behind a widespread language shift around the planet is, as also discussed in Ch 4, the emergence of the modern nation-state, on the one hand, and the socio-economic implications of industrialisation and globalisation, on the other hand. Within a socio-political frame in which the 'one nation one language' ideology has been at the centre of the policy of many modern nation-states, the languages without official status and/or instrumental values can hardly overcome the competition with the official, national languages they have been in contact with.

As Dorian (2004: 437) puts it, 'languages regarded as endangered are in most cases the languages of minority peoples within the state where the population in question lives'. And it is also true that many present day minority languages have come to be conceived as backward, loud, and unacceptable, in the eyes of their own speakers, through a process of subordination, in many cases resulting from some kind of political reorganisation (for example, the readjustment of political boundaries). If this is the case, language shift is mainly a matter of ideologies spreading (from above) and taking root among the population that, sooner or later, will adopt the dominant, prestigious variety.

The qualitative study of this research has clearly laid bare the importance of Italian, in the mind of the speakers, as a symbol of power and authority, as opposed to Catalan, a mere symbol of cultural heritage and tradition. Simply put, the standard, national variety, Italian, is 'better' than Catalan, and this is mainly due to its connotations of power. Speaking Italian, as opposed to speaking Catalan, is viewed as an opportunity to gain both social prestige and an overall social improvement. Hegemonic ideologies lead speakers to a total commitment to Italian as, it is believed, it will provide them with greater chances to move up the socio-economic ladder.

The ambitious objectives and life projects that parents have set for their own children (socio-economic success and emancipation) are closely connected to the language they choose to transmit to their children. It has emerged that parents' decision to use Italian with their own children is determined in great measure by a rational and calculated way of thinking. In other words, linguistic behaviour is driven by a rational inclination, according to which linguistic choices of which language to speak with their own children are the result of a cost-profit calculation. They have become a matter of 'convenience', as languages are considered in terms of goods to be acquired or sold. Accordingly, parents make an appropriate linguistic choice, which happens to be Italian, according to the values that Italian and Catalan carry within the market, and the target that they want to meet (for example, social recognition for themselves and their children).

Several studies, in Western Europe, inform us of disparities in power between the dominant and the subordinate group and the consequent language-shift process in the last century. Breton is an excellent case in point, and Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, for example, are quite clear about the fact that,

Beginning with the late 19th century the main causes of the francofication of Celtic Lower Brittany have been obligatory elementary schooling, universal conscription, and the modernization of the economy and communications closely linking Brittany to Paris. Since World War II the decline of the Breton economy, the depopulation of the countryside, geographic and social mobility, the impact of French mass media and accelerated tourism have provided further impetus toward francofication. (1977: 33)

But this unbalanced relationship between the majority and the minority group is not limited to modern nation-states in Western Europe. A clear example of how the state can affect the linguistic behaviour is provided by Altabev (2003), in her study on language shift among the Judeo-Spanish linguistic community in Istanbul. She maintains that the establishment of the Turkish Republic is at the root of the negative repercussions on the social representations and subsequent use of Judeo-Spanish. Not only did Turkish become the symbol of national unification, but the various languages used by the minorities developed into symbols of foreignness, backwardness, loudness, illiteracy, etc. Even the accent or a simple code-switching or borrowing from Judeo-Spanish while speaking Turkish is associated with the language and evaluated as vulgar.

We have also seen, however, that the pressure from the dominant ideologies is more often than not opposed by counter-hegemonic ideologies, although the result is not always language maintenance. In many cases, however, a strong sense of group, national membership comes to be a deterrent to language decline. The fact that Catalan in Catalonia (and partly in the Balearic Islands, La Franja, and Valencia), although with still some concern from the part of radical language activists, is in good 'health' (see, for example, Querol 2007), seems to be the result of a strong sense of national identity and of the official status that Catalan has in that area.

This research has shown that in Alghero the majority of informants have a strong sense of attachment to the local language conceived as a badge of community membership, but this is mainly a symbolic reference rather than a day-to-day means of communication. In actual fact, their behaviour is mainly driven by the power conveyed by Italian and they express their sense of identity with other forms of communication, for example, by frequent code-switching (7.2.3). Thus, unlike other

Catalan-speaking regions, in Alghero, the existence of counter-hegemonic (or transformative) ideologies does not guarantee the continuity of Catalan and, by contrast, it has become a mere folkloric symbol of identity at the service of the tourist market. The sociolinguistic situation in Alghero is very similar, however, in terms of the pace of shift and motivations behind language abandonment, to other peripheral Catalan-speaking contexts, such as Alicante (see Montoya 1996; 2000), *Els Ports* (Querol 1989).

As mentioned earlier, the language-shift tip began, in Alghero, in the second half of the last century. A similar process of shift (for intensity and speed) is also observed in Roussillon (see for example, Querol 2007), but the lack of qualitative studies in that area does not allow close comparisons with Alghero. A comparative study between the two sociolinguistic situations on the mechanisms and motives that have led to the decline of Catalan would certainly be desirable. The two areas present interesting socio-political similarities and a comparative investigation on the causes at the root of the break in intergenerational transmission of Catalan would contribute enormously to the field of language shift and language death.

The two sociolinguistic contexts are arguably typical examples of the disparity that is established between the minority and majority groups within the nation-state. Both France and Italy have adopted the ideology that their national languages are the sole legitimate varieties associated with the authority of the state. As a consequence, speakers in Alghero have come to believe that Italian confers far more advantages and opportunities than local Catalan and, especially in the case of those parents from poor Catalan-speaking families, have reached the decision not to transmit *Alguerès* to their children. It would be interesting to see if, in the French context, where linguistic diversity has, since the French Revolution, been considered unacceptable (see Dorian 2004: 441), the idea of authority represented by the state has affected linguistic behaviour in the same way as it has in Alghero.

Despite the existence of strong hegemonic ideologies promoting French as the main (or sole) legitimate linguistic variety, one expects, in Roussillon, as in many other sociolinguistic situations in France, a counter-hegemonic wave of thought characterised by the presence of ideologies in favour of minority language groups. The comparison would therefore allow us to shed some more light onto the relationship that exists between dominant and transformative ideologies. In Alghero, as we have seen in 7.3.2.1, the emergence of transformative ideologies has led to the

development of politically correct attitudes (see Simon 2009a), by virtue of which the speakers tend not to express negative opinions towards the minority language (or they do it only rarely). Although in many instances the attachment to and preoccupation with the fate of the minority language is genuine, the presence of two different types of ideologies seems to lead to a struggle between the need for *mimesis* (with the dominant group) and the desire to maintain a certain degree of uniqueness (i.e., *alterity*).

The struggle outlined above is a key factor in the understanding of language contact in current Western Europe. Language shift (or maintenance) seems to be conditional on the relationship that exists between the axes of *power* (associated with the dominant group) and *solidarity* (see 1.2.3.2). For language maintenance to occur there must be equilibrium between the two forces. In Alghero, although the force of solidarity exerts a significant pressure on the community of speakers, such a balanced relationship does not seem to exist. Thus, as we have seen in Chapter 7, the result of hegemonic (power) and counter-hegemonic (solidarity) ideologies is the emergence of a *double discourse*, by virtue of which Catalan is displayed, by both public institutions and private individuals, as the symbol of the community, but Italian is, in actual fact, the language that counts, used on the majority of occasions. A number of fundamental questions are, in this respect, still unanswered and the impact that counter-hegemonic ideologies can have on linguistic behaviour may depend on the type of responses that further studies can provide.

This discrepancy between positive attitudes to but lack of use of the minority language has been observed in other sociolinguistic contexts. An emblematic case is that of Welsh reported by Harrison et al. (1981). They have observed that from the 1971 census it emerges that, at that time, bilingual mothers in Wales were predominantly raising their children in English. However, their study shows that bilingual mothers of English monolingual children share the same attitudes towards the Welsh language as those held by the mothers of bilingual children. So, the reasons why they have brought up their children to be monolingual were not totally clear to the researchers.

The majority of bilingual mothers with English monolingual children, for example, declared that they would have preferred a bilingual school for their children, meaning that they are not prepared to transmit the language to their children but are quite happy to delegate the matter to someone else (the educational system in

this case). The issue of delegation has emerged quite clearly in the study conducted in Alghero where the parents express the desire that local Catalan be protected by the institutions, but in actual fact they speak predominantly Italian with their children. In some cases, they have expressed a sense of guilt that they do not speak local Catalan with their children, but they do not seem to be willing to rectify such a 'mistake' by using *Alguerès* with their grandchildren.

The results that have emerged from this thesis can certainly help to throw some new light on the process of language shift in multilingual Alghero. However, for a clearer and more exhaustive sociolinguistic picture, more and more diversified studies are needed. In the 1970s, sociolinguistic data showed that language contact in Alghero was turning into a case of advanced shift in favour of Italian (Grossman 1983). A few years later, at the beginning of the third millennium, the tendency towards the abandonment of Catalan was confirmed by new quantitative data, by means of which it is possible to observe the ongoing language decline, but in negative terms (Chessa 2007; Querol et al. 2007). The above studies, as well as the majority of research analysed in Chapter 3, have been conducted from a demo-linguistic perspective so that a variety of issues (e.g., the repercussions that language shift has on the structure of *Alguerès*) have necessarily been left out.

Thus, however useful the data mentioned above are in order to assess the sociolinguistic situation of the community under discussion, they do not provide us with useful insight into a variety of aspects related to the processes of language shift and language death. This thesis addresses the need to investigate the reasons for the process of shift in Alghero, as intergenerational language transmission had never before been investigated, but language shift needs to be tackled from different angles. As we have seen in Chapter 3, none of the studies to date were concerned with the causes behind the decline of Catalan in Alghero. Most importantly, none of them had focused attention on how the reasons for language abandonment can be explained through the 'voices' of the speakers themselves in terms of how they see and interpret the sociolinguistic world around them and how such perceptions influence and therefore guide linguistic behaviour.

However, although the significance of this thesis is quite clear as it fills the methodological gap just outlined above, other important issues related to the process of shift need further thorough examination. The quantitative study, conceived in order to establish *what* is happening, coupled with a qualitative approach, set out to

determine which factors lay at the root of the language-shift process, represents a step towards a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero. The study of the family, as a crucial domain, and language use within the household, is one of the most appropriate ways to analyse the current sociolinguistic situation, but some details have been left out, for example, code-switching and borrowing in the speech of the parents in the interactions with both each other and the children. Therefore, the particular attention placed on the interactions between family members and primarily on the interactions between parents and children (because of their key role in intergenerational language transmission) needs to be extended to aspects related to the way interlocutors (within the family) alternate between two codes in the same conversation.

This study is primarily concerned with the way parents perceive the (sociolinguistic) world around them and how such perceptions affect their linguistic behaviour in their interactions with their children. The main questions I have answered are: *What makes parents choose one linguistic variety rather than the other(s)*? *What are the main reasons at the root of language shift*? *What is the difference between the meaning that parents assign to Italian and that which they assign to Catalan (and/or Sardinian)*? However, a quantitative analysis has also been conducted, in order to establish the extent to which Catalan is used within the family.

The data, obtained by means of both self-administered and a semi-structured questionnaires (see Annex 2 and 4), have confirmed the two main initial hypotheses, according to which: 1) Catalan is transmitted from generation to generation in only a tiny percentage of families; and 2) the speakers perceive and experience linguistic contact in Alghero in terms of the functionality and symbolic power associated with Italian. The quantitative study, on the other hand, has highlighted the advanced stage of the language shift process, since not only is Catalan not being transmitted from parents to children, but Italian has become the predominant language variety in interactions between parents. Almost 50% of parents speak to each other in Italian whilst only 6.53% interact always in Catalan and 5.50% in Sardinian. Interactions between parents and children are also dominated by the presence of Italian as the sole medium of interaction. 72.96% of parents speak to their own children always in Italian. By contrast, Catalan, as the predominant language of interaction is used by only 2.08% of parents.

The process of shift appears even more acute if the interactions between parents and children are observed from the reverse angle: the language that the children speak to their parents. Only a tiny percent of the children interviewed always use Catalan to speak to their parents, as opposed to 2.08% of parents who always use *Alguerès* with them. The percentages of children who state that they alternate between the languages available is also low. On the other hand, the percentage of those children who stated that they always spoke Italian with their parents is much higher than the percentage of parents doing the same: on the one hand, 72.96% of parents use always Italian to speak to their children, whereas on the other (children to parents), 86.65% of children always speak Italian.

We have also seen that the place of birth of the speakers plays an important role in regard to language use within the family. Those who were born in Alghero account for almost all the Catalan-speakers. However, among the population of Alghero there is a considerable percentage of speakers who do not use Catalan or use it only sporadically. As far as the interaction between partners is concerned, we have noted that the use of Catalan is clearly restricted to those families who are deeply rooted in Alghero. None of those couples where both partners were born outside Alghero has Catalan as their main language of interaction. As in the case of the language that parents use with each other, the place of birth also plays an important role in the interactions between parents and children. The presence of Catalan as the sole medium of communication is limited to those parents who were both born in Alghero.

I have focused attention only on Catalan-speaking families, meaning that a great sector of the population has been omitted from my analysis: that is, those families that are predominantly either Sardo- or Italophone. Statistical, demographic data (see Chapter 6) show that around 25% of the families are not autochthonous and it is essential, at this stage, to understand how these speakers (specifically, parents) perceive the sociolinguistic context and what types of ideologies they hold towards the languages in contact. To know the sociolinguistic profile of this important social sector is crucial, at this moment, vis-à-vis a process of language revitalisation. Equally, a deeper investigation on mixed-language families, on the model of that conducted in Barcelona by Boix (2009) can also shed some more light in the mechanisms that govern linguistic behaviour in Alghero.

All in all, sociolinguistic investigations in Alghero must be conducted bearing in mind that one of the main aims should be the elaboration of an accurate model of vitality of local Catalan, like that suggested in 7.4. Thus, in line with those studies conducted within the *language death paradigm* (e.g., Derhemi 2006; Dorian 1981; Hill & Hill 1977), we should look, for example, for more information related to the competence of the speakers and then establish more accurate typologies of speakers. We need to bear in mind that the model of language vitality presented in this study, although useful, is still a provisional one, and further investigations are precisely needed in order to obtain a more accurate outcome.

The outcome clearly indicates that language extinction is quite imminent, but at present we do not have access to substantial and exhaustive empirical data on the competence and typologies of speakers that characterise the linguistic community in Alghero. Only an accurate description of the different types of speakers and the percentages in each group can allow us both to make significant progress in the understanding of the degree of vitality of *Alguerès* and in adequate strategies of language revitalisation to be adopted. On the same lines, it becomes crucial to have in-depth investigations of the types of social networks in place and how these affect the linguistic behaviour.

The provisional, sociolinguistic outcome is a community of speakers at the edge of language extinction, and the model of language vitality shows that local Catalan will be extinct in about sixty years, that is, when the last native or semi-native speakers will not longer be alive. Overall, the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero can be assessed as that of a community whose traditional language has been ousted from the majority of domains, including the most informal ones, such as the family and there are reasons to believe that the process of shift will soon lead to the extinction of *Alguerès*, unless appropriate measures are taken to reverse the process.

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Annex 1: English translations of non-English texts

The Albanian communities, already numerically small, have been falling apart due to migrations, which have scattered many families away from the mountain and agricultural areas of origin to urban centres where the linguistic assimilation was virtually inevitable. Even when they have remained in their original villages, the Albanians, not gathered in territorially compact groups, but dislocated within the italo-romance communities, have often ended up forgetting their traditional language.

[Quotation: De Mauro (1979a: 11), page 54]

In 1853, Alghero ceased to be a battlefield and reached the end of the century showing all the social, economic, political and cultural contradictions that arose during the Piedmontese government first and, later, with the unitary state. Before the end of the century (1887) two of the three banks opened in town went bankrupt, trade was practically non-existent and the port, the historical symbol of Alghero's economic centrality, became deserted.

[Quotation: Caria (1982: 156-57), page 66]

A great number of minority languages and, in principle, the totality of those that are unprotected in particular are to be considered in decline or reaching obsolescence, so that it becomes easy to equate minority languages with 'endangered languages', at least potentially.

[Quotation: Berruto (2007: 28), page 78]

I was invaded by great joy when I arrived in Alghero where I found myself amid a Catalan colony […] I represented for them [the people in Alghero] Catalonia; I played the role of the older brother who, after a long absence, comes back home and is welcomed by the whole family.

[Quotation: Toda (1888: 23), page 84 – 85]

Not only words have been brought by the Sardinian influence, but even cultural practices such as '*lo toco*' that is played, in the tavern, with the jar in the hands and showing, with the fingers, who is the chief and who is not; or '*l'atito*', a way of mourning the deaths mentioning their virtues. Peasants and shepherds only sing in Sardinian; and during the celebration of '*Talia*', in the nearby village (Olmedo), on the first of May, people of Alghero mingle with other people coming from different villages and together they dance the '*ballu tundu*', a Sardinian dance.

[Quotation: Ciuffo (1908: 174), page 85]

Alguerès does not sound exactly like literary Catalan, but it is a variety of it […]. *Alguerès* is to Catalan as are Majorcan, the dialect of Barcelona and so on and so forth.

[Quotation: Guarnerio (1908: 166), page 86]

Toda's contribution was crucial to the cultural resurgence in Alghero […] As a matter of fact, it stimulated curiosity among the youth, who were particularly amused by listening to the foreign consul while they realised that his language was not so different from *Alguerès* and they could perfectly understand each other […] They easily grasped lexical, morphological and syntactical differences, consonant assimilations, the phenomenon of rhotacism.

[Quotation: Scanu (1970: 26), page 86]

I and several other friends of mine have taken responsibility for purifying this child of the beautiful Catalan language as much as possible; and we will do that by means of a grammar of *Alguerès* I

intend to write, as well as through other written texts and poetry that we will try to spread within our community.

[Quotation: Joan Pais, quoted by Armangué (1996b: 29), page 87]

It needs to be borne in mind that the town councillors, when dealing with affairs in the capital of the island, had to necessarily use Castilian and, later, Italian, shared languages within the political and administrative domain. These languages represented the noble and bourgeois classes, that is, those people who had accepted the language shift at the expenses of Catalan.

[Quotation: Armangué (1996a: 53), page 89]

The Italian language, intruding the public life, the bureaucratic domains, the educational system, and the church, little by little invades the social environment of the upper classes that live in the piazzas and main streets and that, in their private life, use Italian, which is also transmitted to their children.

[Quotation: Ciuffo (1908: 170), page 90]

A renewed interest towards the local language developed, not only among the population, but also within the political parties and unions, who interpreted the *questione della lingua* in terms of votes and occupational opportunities respectively. This new attention to the linguistic question was partly encouraged by the mass media, both local and Italian, the latter certainly more sensitive to the European regulations concerning linguistic minorities. It is true that quite a few families are now adopting Catalan dialect with the new-born babies and many people are now demanding courses to learn how to write Catalan.

[Quotation: Caria (1992: 105-06), page 100]

Even though many bourgeois, and particularly lower middle-class Italians, because of their tendency to keep their children away from the surrounding environment, make sure that their children avoid the dialect, so that they can establish a more marked distance from the original class, that is, the lower classes, this does not exclude that the majority of people will begin speaking the dialect to adopt, later, the common language, or that they will speak both of them.

[Quotation: Dessì (1951: 956), page 139]

The Italian that young Sardinians speak is not standard Italian, but a variety of Italian with its own peculiarities derived from Sardinian structure, coexisting with Italian forms.

[Quotation: Mercurio Gregorini (1979: 545), page 140]

FRAGMENT 7.1: CS.27.08.10	
INTERV.:	In the old town, what language did the children used to speak, Italian or *Alguerès*?
CS.27.08.10:	When I was a child it was still *Alguerès*.
INTERV.:	Do you remember people who used to speak Italian?
CS.27.08.10:	Well, those who lived in the same building where I lived, they did, because they were Don Piras, Don Chessa's children… They all lived in the same building where I lived. They were the owners of the building [...] Thus, these … let's say … well off children… used to speak Italian whereas us, we used to speak *Alguerès*.
INTERV.:	Why?
CS.27.08.10:	I don't know why [...] let's say that the others were the poor and they were the bourgeoisies … and spoke Italian [...]
INTERV.:	And with your mum they used to speak *Alguerès*...
CS.27.08.10:	[...] with mother they used to speak *Alguerès*. Because mother spoke *Alguerès* and, may be, not to embarrass her, they used to speak to her in *Alguerès*. That means that they knew *Alguerès* well … and spoke *Alguerès* to her.

FRAGMENT 7.2: CS.13.09.10	
INTERV.:	Why do you think *Alguerès* is no longer widely spoken?
CS.13.09.10:	Because people feel ashamed to speak *Alguerès* [...] because, as I see it, people from Alghero are afraid of interacting with others in their own language; they are afraid to be mocked.
INTERV.:	If I asked you to establish a ranking of different languages, which one would be the first and which one the last?
CS.13.09.10:	The first language, as I see it now, Italian [...] it's a handy language in order to cope with Italy [...] *Alguerès* represents an obstacle.
INTERV.:	Do you think that people in Alghero have decided to speak Italian to their children for these reasons?
CS.13.09.10:	Let's say that for a 80 – 90 per cent this is the reason why… yes!
INTERV.:	Do you agree with such a decision?
CS.13.09.10:	Yes, I do. I never liked to speak *Alguerès*!
INTERV.:	So, this is why you have decided to speak Italian to your children…
CS.13.09.10:	Yes [...]
INTERV.:	But they can say something in *Alguerè*s, can't they?
CS.13.09.10:	Yes, yes [...] they hear me and my brothers speaking *Alguerès* [...]
INTERV.:	And your parents, what do they speak with your children?
CS.13.09.10:	Italian, because I forced them to speak Italian to my children. Yes!

FRAGMENT 7.2b: CS.13.09.10	
INTERV.:	What do you remember of your school days?
CS.13.09.10:	Well, I remember a huge difference between schoolmates … one could clearly notice the difference between the poor and the rich. If you were poor … they made you feel it. They maybe did not tell you straightforwardly, but the children's attitudes... it was hard. Us children of fishermen, we couldn't afford, let's say, a pair of new shoes or… a dress, which we inherited from a cousin… it used to be like that. And we couldn't hide it!

FRAGMENT 7.3: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	Why did people begin to speak Italian?
RMM.10.09.10:	Because we have been a little… I don't know … 'the culture' told us to teach Italian to our children [...] they maybe not speak Italian well, but they still passed Italian on to their children [...] Because they were told that they would have been embarrassed in front of their schoolmates, if they didn't know how to speak Italian… so, they tried to… well, I have done it myself. The majority of parents of my generation have spoken Italian with their children. For example, my nieces, and my sister in law is from Alghero, but with her children [she speaks] only Italian, do you understand? Well, it has been a big mistake.

FRAGMENT 7.4: AR.03.03.09	
INTERV.:	Besides *Alguerès*, a little bit of Gallurese and a little bit of Sardinian, which other languages do you know?
AR.03.03.09:	None!
INTERV.:	None?!
AR.03.03.09:	No, no no no...
INTERV.:	Well, Italian…
AR.03.03.09:	Of course!

FRAGMENT 7.5: AP.17.07.10	
AP.17.07.10:	My grandmother passed away when I was nine [...] I remeber [...] this little old lady [...] who used to have a handkerchief where she kept some coins [...] and she used to say to me: "Let me give you [...] some money..."
INTERV.:	Did she speak Italian to you?!
AP.17.07.10:	Nooo! She spoke *Alguerès* to me. Proper *Alguerès*; she couldn't speak Italian, no!

FRAGMENT 7.6: AP.17.07.10	
INTERV.:	In the old times, did your grandparents' generation speak Italian?
AP.17.07.10:	Nooo! My mother learned it [...] because of this lady who used to live with us; she used to speak Italian, so that my mother was bound to understand it [...]. My mother's Italian ... [laughs] was very rough [...].She learned it that way, but she couldn't say many things properly, no…

FRAGMENT 7.6: LL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	With your mates, what was the main language of interaction, Italian or *Alguerès*?
LL.02.09.10:	No, we used to speak *Alguerès*. I began to speak Italian once I got married, with my children; otherwise with my husband we only speak *Alguerès*.
INTERV.:	Were there people who spoke Italian in the old town?
LL.02.09.10:	No, very few. There were … the upper classes, otherwise all the others used to speak [*Alguerès*].

FRAGMENT 7.6b: LL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	How did you meet [LL.02.09.10 and her husband]?
LL.02.09.10:	He used to have a friend who lived almost opposite where I lived. So, we met like that. I used to go to this lady's house (the old town was like a big family), so… he was fixing a door there, isn't it true [addressed to her husband]? And from there…
INTERV.:	And what did you speak as soon as you met, Italian or *Alguerès*?
LL.02.09.10:	No, *Alguerès*...
INTERV.:	How did it work before? *Alguerès* was the language that people also used to address unknown interlocutors?
LL.02.09.10:	Yes, more or less they were people whom you may have seen before so that, obviously, … he knew I spoke *Alguerès,* then he also spoke *Alguerès*.

FRAGMENT 7.7: LP.05.02.09	
LP.05.02.09:	I was born in Alghero; my parents came from Villanova when still young, got married in Alghero and...
GC.29.08.08	They never spoke to you in *Alguerès*…
LP.05.02.09:	Never!
INTERV.:	And what language did they speak to you?
LP.05.02.09:	Italian. They used to speak Sardinian to each other. But I… I could understand them, but … they spoke [to me] in Italian…
INTERV.:	And where did you learn *Alguerès*?
LP.05.02.09:	What do you think!? [...] Those who were born in the old town, they only spoke *Alguerès*! Italian was only heard at school.
INTERV.:	There were also people who spoke Sardinian in the old town, weren't they?
LP.05.02.09:	Sardinians? Lots of them!
INTERV.:	But Sardinian wasn't widely spoken, was it?
LP.05.02.09:	No, no, no... Between them and that's it. Between relatives, may be, between people from the same village [...] Sardinian was spoken. Otherwise...

FRAGMENT 7.8: AP.17.07.10	
INTERV.:	So [...], the main language in the household wasn't Italian [...]*?*
AP.17.07.10:	No, it was *Alguerès*. *Alguerès!* When I went to school I spoke *Alguerès* [...]. So [...], I can't remember it well, but who knows how serious this problem must have been [laughs], in the sense that they talked to me and I didn't understand them [laughs] ...
INTERV.:	But there must have been people who spoke Italian [...]*?*
AP.17.07.10:	If they were from Alghero, no! [...] If they were married with someone from Villanova... then they must have spoken ... they managed to speak Italian or Sardinian… I don't know…
INTERV.:	What about the outsiders, didn't they use to learn [...] *Alguerès?*
AP.17.07.10:	The lady that lived with us, for example, they didn't learn it [...] Their children still speak only Italian [...] despite the fact that they came when they were kids. One of them was born here, in Alghero. [...] *This* lady spoke Italian well [...] because she was a teacher...
INTERV.:	What language did you speak with your schoolmates?
AP.17.07.10:	[...] The schoolmates [...] between us we used to speak Italian, even though I knew that they spoke *Alguerès* at home…
INTERV.:	So, you used to speak Italian to each other?
AP.17.07.10:	[...] between schoolmates, yes.
INTERV.:	Outside the classroom as well…?
AP.17.07.10:	Oh yes…
INTERV.:	And what about in the street?
AP.17.07.10:	When I went out to play, I used to speak *Alguerès* with those who spoke it and Italian with those who spoke Italian. [...] But, if we were at school [...] we spoke Italian... we came back home together speaking Italian. Then, once we got home, we started speaking *Alguerès* again.

FRAGMENT 7.9: TL.02.09.10	
INTERV.:	You lived in the old town, didn't you?
TL.02.09.10:	No! We were the first who went to live at the 'Paioli' [sic] [laughs], in Via Cagliari.
INTERV.:	With your mates in the street, did you speak Italian or *Alguerès*?
TL.02.09.10	Italian and *Alguerès*, as we were of mixed origins [...]
INTERV.:	And this happened outside the old town, whereas in the old town ...
TL.02.09.10	… only *Alguerès*!
INTERV.:	Were those who lived outside the old town the upper classes, considered as wealthier, more refined…?
TL.02.09.10	One thing is to live as we lived, in a two bedroom flat, with the kitchen and … [...] the bathroom [...] And something else is to live, the whole family, in one bedroom [...] We used to have ... although one next to the other, our own bed... and mother and father, they had their own bedroom [...] But we must say something: [...] father has always worked, always bringing the salary home. We have always had father's salary. My father used to earn a good salary, because he was a captain [...] but we used to suffer shortage of food more than those living in Alghero. Because those in Alghero, they may had a plot of land… And they used to go out with patched up trousers, and this and that, but food, they had it more than us. We were concerned about a new notebook, a new pair of trousers [...] but the hunger!

FRAGMENT 7.10: PL.15.07.10	
INTERV.:	What language did you speak with your mates in the street?
PL.15.07.10:	Italian! Yes, all of us Italian. Yes, yes, yes…
INTERV.:	But didn't you have mates who, like you, spoke *Alguerès* at home*?*
PL.15.07.10:	No, no no no. All of them Italian.
INTERV.:	So, you were an exception?
PL.15.07.10:	Yes.

INTERV.:	And what about your grandmother from Villanova that you mentioned earlier, did she speak *Alguerès?*
PL.15.07.10:	Yes, yes, she used to speak *Alguerès* [...]
INTERV.:	Was she born in Alghero?
PL.15.07.10:	No, she was born in Villanova [...]
INTERV.:	Why do you think that those who came from Villanova used to learn *Alguerès?*
PL.15.07.10:	I don't know! Maybe because they were bound to [...]
INTERV.:	You have told me that with your mates in the street you used to speak Italian. But, when you were a kid, what was the main language in the household in Alghero*?*
PL.15.07.10:	*Alguerès! Alguerès,* that's it.
INTERV.:	So, why did your mates speak Italian?
PL.15.07.10:	Because that was the language they spoke in the family. All the friends I had, all of them spoke Italian. Even one of my mates' mother (we lived in the same building), she was from Alghero and used to speak *Alguerès* with us, but Italian with her daughters.

FRAGMENT 7.11: GS.04.12.08	
GS.04.12.08:	I speak *Alguerès* with both my mother and my father [...] When I was a kid, I used to live in the old town […] We used to play there, in the evenings [...] we used to play marbles [...] we also used to play with little model toy soldiers; well, those who could afford toys! Because before no everyone could afford them. We used to play hide and sick [...]
INTERV.:	And what was the language you used to speak with your mates?
GS.04.12.08:	Only *Alguerès*. It used to be very rare to speak Italian, because all of us were ... we used to play in the area, so to speak, because our mothers did not allow us to go farther.
INTERV.:	And what about when you moved...?
GS.11.12.08:	No, well, over there things changed a little bit because over there I made new friends, and not all of them used to speak *Alguerès* […] Obviously […] you always find someone who speak it. So, things have changed a little when I moved to 'La Pedrera' [...] Now, my Catalan-speaking friends... let's say a 20%, with the 80% of them we speak Italian, although it is a matter of instinct, because, as I said, things have changed, so, if someone speaks *Alguerès* […] now it has become natural to speak Italian […]

FRAGMENT 7.12: CS.13.09.10	
INTERV.:	What was the main language of interaction in the street, in the old town, when you were a kid?
CS.13.09.10:	*Alguerès* […] everyone spoke it. But then, with new friends who spoke Italian, we have spoiled it … and here we are!
INTERV.:	What about when you moved to 'La Pedrera', was *Alguerès* still the main language?
CS.13.09.10:	Only with my cousins. But with the other kids who lived there, Italian.
INTERV.:	Why in the old town *Alguerès* was almost the only language spoken and at 'La Pedrera' no?
CS.13.09.10:	Because they came from Catalan-speaking families; there were not many families, they knew each other and they used to speak *Alguerès* to each other; as a consequence, the children have also acquired this habit […] At 'la Pedrera', by contrast, families of mixed origins used to live, and the parents spoke Italian with their children; and, of course, we also had to speak Italian […]
	[…]
INTERV.:	What do you speak the most now, Italian or *Alguerès*?
CS.13.09.10:	I speak *Alguerès*… well, I usually speak Italian […]
INTERV.:	And what is the language with which you approach first your interlocutors?
CS.13.09.10:	Italian.

INTERV.:	Have you ever met someone who has replied to you in *Alguerès*?
CS.13.09.10:	No.
INTERV.:	And what about at 'La Pedrera'? Do you speak *Alguerès* there?
CS.13.09.10:	Yes, if I meet people whom I already know […] we speak in *Alguerès*, with older people whom I know, in that case I carry on speaking in *Alguerès*; with my brothers and sisters I speak *Alguerès* …

FRAGMENT 7.13 – at a GP surgery – 02.09.10	
Situation: seven people (including myself) are waiting to be called in. One is a man in his sixties who is talking, in Italian, to a young girl sitting next to him; another is a woman in her seventies; the rest of the people are in their thirties and forties. At some point, one woman in her sixties (the speaker) walks into the surgery and, addressing everyone, asks, in Italian, for the last person in the queue.	
THE SPEAKER (to everyone):	Who is the last one?
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	Me.
THE SPEAKER:	Ah, you are the last one! ... How hot is today ...!
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	They said the weather would change...!
THE SPEAKER:	Eh, it did change, but not in here. My son, who is around Olbia [in the North-East coast of Sardinia] has called me, and said: 'it's raining in here, mother!' [...]
INTERLOCUTOR 1 (to everyone):	Is Doctor Piras or the substitute in?
INTERLOCUTOR 2:	No, Doctor Piras is no longer here, there is another one, now. Dottor Piras quitted ...

FRAGMENT 7.14 – at the Town Hall of Alghero – GC.26.08.10	
GC.26.08.10	... luckily, because of the pressure put to the Autonomous Government of Sardinia by the local government, we have managed to…
A colleague of GC.26.08.10 (INTERLOCUTOR 1) walks into the office to discuss a administrative issue with the informant	
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	I don't know! [...] do you have Andrea's number?
GC.26.08.10	No.
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	So, how can I get him that? Shall we send it without Andrea's part.
GC.26.08.10	Eh, Andrea is not in!? We get him that later...
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	Eh, I called him... he is not ... Ah, you are recording?!
GC.26.08.10:	Yes, don't you worry [...] You see, he also speaks *Alguerès*. At home you speak *Alguerès*, don't you?
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	Yes, with my brothers and sisters, and my parents...
GC.26.08.10:	Eh, but with your children you speak Italian…
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	Ehhh ... with the children ... our wives are ....
INTERV.:	Sardinian ...
GC.26.08.10:	They don't speak *Alguerès*... eh, exactly the same problem I have ...
INTERLOCUTOR 1:	Then ...
GC.26.08.10:	... one ends up speaking Italian ...

FRAGMENT 7.15: GC.26.08.10	
INTERV.:	Why have you decided to speak Italian with your own children?
GC.26.08.10	[…] bound a kid to a language… unless it is, like when I was born, which used to be the only language spoken ... […] I have done it in the name of the kid's freedom to choose. Because, at home, I speak Italian with my wife, but with my parents we predominantly speak *Alguerès* […] I speak to them in Italian ... I sometimes use *Alguerès,* but I'm not like some people … although I'm glad that, for example, some young parents whom I know speak only *Alguerès* with their children – and it's so beautiful to hear a kid speaking in *Alguerès*– which I think is a legitimate

decision, as well as it's legitimate to give the children the freedom to choose …

We were in the middle of Sardinia when Spring began. We noticed that in Alghero people know Catalan but no one usually speaks it, as it will happen in few years' time in Barcelona.

[Quotation: Olesti (2009), page 226]

FRAGMENT 7.16 – *Xueta*: 13.03.2006, 10:36.

Those of you who want to go to Alghero to see the linguistic situation, if you can, don't go during the high season. Alghero is a very nice town that attracts lots of tourists, not only Catalans but also Italians and from everywhere in Europe. If it's difficult to find locals using *Alguerès* outside the household during the rest of the year, during summertime can be almost impossible.

FRAGMENT 7.17 – *Moisès Rial*. 28.01.2006: 19: 10.

[...] Few months ago, I went to Alghero with other people, and I could see that the social use of local Catalan is very low, and those who speak it, they do it, for obvious reasons, with considerable Italian influence [...]

FRAGMENT 7.18 – *Nikura*. 08.04.2008: 15: 20.

[…] Over there I mostly heard old people speaking *Alguerès*. One can also hear a bit of Sardinian, but in general Catalan is not spoken. You mainly hear Italian spoken. In any case, it feels good that I managed to hear it a little and also that I have been able to speak it with a couple of people […].

FRAGMENT 7.19 – *Luca Scala*'s response to Isabel Olesti

I'm puzzled by the reading of the short article 'Concert d'ocells' in 'Diàleg' (AVUI 2nd of April) as I spotted a little detail (well it looks like a verdict!) about Alghero: " We noticed that in Alghero people know Catalan but no one usually speaks it ". Hey! I thought that hundreds of people I know and with whom I intercat every day in Catalan, at home, in the street, shops, offices, gym, market, etc. (and thousands more who I don't know personally) could be considered 'some'! Now, it looks like we are 'no one'. […]

I think I know where the misinterpretation comes from. People who come to Alghero tend to stay in the old town, because it is nice […]. In the old town there are not very many autochtonous people (I am one of them), the area is depopulating after the massive migration to the outskirts that began in the seventies […]

FRAGMENT 7.20 – *Joaquim Arenas*'s response to Isabel Olesti

In the article by I. Olesti, in 'Avui' of 2 of April, I read that in 'Alghero people know Catalan but no one usually speaks it'. Luckily, this is not completely true, as, in order to be able to know the sociolinguistic situation of Alghero, one must know its outskirts, not only the old town. [...]

Overall, the number of people who know *Alguerès* has been growing for few years now, because local Catalan is taught at school, thanks to 'Òmnium Cultural', to the 'Centre Montessori' and to the 'la Costura' nursery, as well as to other activities carried out on these lines. In Alghero, people know how to speak Catalan and there is a considerable group of people that speak it regularly.

FRAGMENT 7.21 – *Luca Scala* 15.07.2011, 12: 28.

If I reach the year 2050, I will be 84.

Most probably, I will spend my last years in Alghero.

May be, I will be in a hospice, may be at home, I can't say now…

Who will I be speaking *Alguerès* with?

And I'm not referring to the possibility of saying a couple of words, some jokes (possibly obscene, something that we enjoy…): I'm talking of proper interactions. There probably will be some other Catalan-speaker a little older than me, may be someone a little younger.

But, if the current situation does not change radically, it is most likely that there will not be any younger speakers. In that case, it is possible that we will face this situation [link to an article on the death of Ayapaneco in Mexico]*,* with people like these [link to the picture of one of the two last speakers of Ayapaneco].

I will have to speak in local Catalan with my dog, in the evenings, as my uncle Joan 'The American' (emigrated to "Nova York" [New York], as he used to say, in the twenties) used to do after a long working day as a longshoreman?

Nobody is really, really, really interested, despite what they say.

(I'm not talking about myself, I'm talking about the language and its future)

FRAGMENT 7.22 – *GUS.DAN*: 31.03.2006: 12: 23.

[…] I would like to express my view as someone adopted by the local community, and as a father of two little kids born in Alghero. […]

I think that the parents in the post-war period (fifties and sixties) massively decided to kill *Alguerès* as a language of family interaction and, therefore, as the intergenerational languages, it was certainly a decision imposed/influenced by the idea of the nation-state where everyone had to speak the language of Dante, a decision imposed by the ignorance of the school teachers who advised mothers to stop speaking *Alguerès* and go for Italian instead.

[…] the construction of Italy was and still is an act of violence characterised by the military occupation of Central and Southern kingdoms […] an act of violence against cultural and linguistic diversity, which is still in place. To the extent that, at a certain point, I had no option but to be rude with my eldest son's teacher, who told me to speak Italian to my son for his own sake. Many people now do not have the guts to say it straightforwardly, but they think that way and act accordingly, not to mention those very many language activists who haven't been able to transmit local Catalan to their own children, and this is not a criticism, it's just simply a statement of facts, pointing at the hard situation of a fantastic but Jacobin Italy.

FRAGMENT 7.23: RD.23.07.10

I have a great love for my country. That's the first thing, Italy […] when I go abroad, for example […] I can't fit in the new situation […] For example, it really bothered me when I heard that […] *'la Lega'* [separatist political party from the North of Italy] didn't support Italy in the last World Cup, do you understand? In that case I was really really annoyed by that, precisely because for me the love for one own's country comes first…

FRAGMENT 7.24: FF.31.08.10

The international language par excellence is English, we know that, but I cannot accept that the newspapers are stuffed […] with English terminology. I'll tell you something: you want to use English for your articles […] Fine. I accept that, as long as next to the English word […] you write the Italian meaning. Italian […] a very rich language, doesn't need it.

FRAGMENT 7.25: DR.02.03.09	

INTERV.:	Do you speak *Alguerès* with people of your age?
DR.02.03.09:	A bit, sometimes...
INTERV.:	I mean speaking as you and I are speaking now...
DR.02.03.09:	No, no no no
INTERV.:	And what about older people?
DR.02.03.09:	With older speakers yes, it can happen. [...] when I go to the church (sometimes I like going to the mass celebrated in *Alguerès* on a Sunday [...]) then it happened that I speak with my grandmother's friends, for example, and on those occasions I speak *Alguerès* [...]

FRAGMENT 7.26: TN.23.07.10 and RD.23.07.10	

INTERV.:	Do you often speak *Alguerès?*
RD.23.07.10:	No, no, no... Who do you speak it with? People of our age … you can just say a phrase, a joke, but then ... you see, now that I'm quite old I could speak Alguerès with my mother, but I speak Italian.
INTERV.:	What does your mother speak with you?

RD.23.07.10:	[...] With my sister she speaks proper *Alguerès,* whereas with me … in certain situations she speaks *Alguerès,* in others in Italian, and I reply to her either in Italian or *Alguerès.* It depends…
TN.23.07.10:	With your eldest brother she used to speak *Alguerès*...
INTERV.:	Why does she use *Alguerès* with the older ones and Italian with the younger ones?
RD.23.07.10:	No... she used to speak *Alguerès* with me, it was me who replied to her in Italian, do you understand? Let's say she called me: 'come here, come back, come', ecc. I replied to her in Italian. I remember that with my mates, when we played, we used to speak only Italian whereas my sister, for example, used to have lots of mates with whom she used to speak *Alguerès,* do you understand? She also had friends with whom she used to speak Italian, but my generation, we used to speak Italian. Maybe because, at some point, our parents became concerned about the fact that speaking *Alguerès* with us, we would have had problems at school…
TN.23.07.10:	Nowdays, it is very difficult for children to hear *Alguerès* spoken. I think that my children have zero or near zero chances to hear someone speaking *Alguerès* during the day, as wherever they go they hear Italian, unless … but … I think the language courses at school are a straining,very nice and useful, but a straining, do you understand?

FRAGMENT 7.27: MGF.27.02.09	
MGF.27.02.09:	I speak with everyone in the family in *Alguerès,*but not only my parents and my brother, also with my uncles and aunties, cousins or […]
INTERV.:	And what about your friends…
MGF.27.02.09:	Italian, always Italian ...
INTERV.:	Are there no people outside the family with whom you speak *Alguerès?*
MGF.27.02.09:	Yes, yes, there are, but they are all grown up people. They are not people of my age […]
INTERV.:	Do you think that *Alguerès* can still be rescued or has it reached its final stage?
MGF.27.02.09:	Well, I think it is about to reach its final stage as no one speaks it, and most of all there is no need to speak it … that's the problem […].

FRAGMENT 7.28: MC.10.12.08	
MC.10.12.08:	I'm member of a group of hill walkers […] It's a group based in Alghero, but […] they are all […] Sardophones from Alghero. At least 80% of them [...] come from a Sardophone family [...] When we can, we speak Italian, Sardinian and, who can, also *Alguerès,* but local Catalan is something that, out of 80, only 15 speak it [...] a minority.
INTERV.:	What do you make of the fact that within a group based in Alghero, the Catalanspeakers are a minority?
MC.10.12.08:	[...]*Alguerès,* after World War Two, has become, little by little, a minority language. […] This group is an excellent case in point […] out of 80, I told you, only 15 have heard *Alguerès* since they were little kids and they may be able to speak it. Potentially, I say potentially […] […] As I see it, [*in Alghero*] at least half of the population is second generation Sardophone [...] Then […] at least a quarter of the population is second generation Catalanophone […] People below the age of forty don't use it, unless they have a particular love … they are emotionally stimulated... they realise that it's something that is disappearing, then, they do something, otherwise… there is not, let's say, a benefit. What's the benefit? With *Alguerès* you can't court a girl as some of them they wouldn't even look at you. You don't need it for shopping. You don't need it for many things. […] And then, as I see it, the remaining 25% of the population is Italophone [...]

FRAGMENT 7.29 – *Joaquim Arenas*'s response to Isabel Olesti	

Out of a population of about 40,000, I estimate (based on an experience of many years in Alghero) that 18,000 know *Alguerès,* and the majority of them understand it. Of these, 13,000 can speak local catalan, but they only use it if the circumstances require it or the Catalan interlocutor insist, in the interaction, in using Catalan. The remaining 5,000 are those who usually speak local Catalan, that is, both at home and outside.

FRAGMENT 7.30: CS.11.12.08	
INTERV.:	Do you speak Catalan more in Alghero with locals, or with Catalans?
CS.11.12.08:	Well it's easy to answer this question. I mean… when I go there [Catalan-speaking regions] I always use *Alguerès.* It's logical [...]. In Alghero ... eerr... let's say that it dipends on the place, the situation, doesn't it? We know that the most widely used language in Alghero is Italian, but I see that there are many shops and places where I can speak *Alguerès,* and I speak it [...]

FRAGMENT 7.31: CS.11.12.08
[...] at the [name of restaurant], a waitress of about twenty years of age (I go there from time to time with Catalan friends who come here) ... we go there and I speak in *Alguerès.* I tried to speak in *Alguerès* and this young girl replies in *Alguerès,* you understand?! I said: 'Are you from Alghero? I have been here so many times since you open the restaurant, but I never heard you speaking in *Alguerès!'* And this girl says: 'Yes, I'm from Alghero. I understand it well'. But they feel embarrassed to speak *Alguerès,* but if there are Catalans, they speak it [...]

FRAGMENT 7.32: GR.05.02.09	
INTERV.:	Have you ever met Catalans?
GR.05.02.09:	Yes.
ML.05.02.09:	No, I haven't...
GR.05.02.09:	Yes I have… tourists… is it the way you say it?!
INTERV.:	And how was the conversation?
GR.05.02.09:	.... eeerrr.... well... eeerrr... we could understand what they said ... and we managed to communicate, also because … may be, I don't know, I was less timid, I didn't get embarrassed as much as I do now...eeerrr... we understood each others. A different type of pronunciation, totally different: as if it was an Italian speaking *Alguerès, I found it* … more open... yes, more delicate than Alguerès...eeerrrr....

FRAGMENT 7.33: MC.10.12.08
[...] Outside the family it's not easy […] I maintain some conversation, though short, with some friends, but it doesn't really work... at least, you don't find interlocutors of my age … You don't find many of them who speak *Alguerès* or who can maintain a long, complex conversation and...[...] but sometimes it happens ... with my sisters-in-law...eerr... especially with one of them… who comes from a family from Alghero from several generations … it's easier… but she always replies in Italian, so that …

FRAGMENT 7.34: MC.10.12.08	
INTERV.:	So, who do you speak *Alguerès/*Catalan with the most?
MC.10.12.08:	In writing, with Catalans for sure. Both in writing and orally […] otherwise someone I meet from 'Obra' someone else… that is … people I know … but also friends; but always people above forty years of age.

FRAGMENT 7.35: FACEBOOK INTERACTION

TD on 22.08.11:	So, how is it going comrade chessa...
FU on 22.08.11:	Hello comrade to, how are we
FU on 22.08.11:	Shall we meet tomorrow at 7.30pm?
FU on 22.08.11:	This week I work mornings
TD on 22.08.11:	Ok, let's see if you stand me up tomorrow as well
FU on 22.08.11:	Yes, but I'm not coming for the training, I'm coming for a tiuchè
FU on 22.08.11:	*touchè*
FU on 22.08.11:	Someone told me that the training begins today, is it true?
LN on 22.08.11:	Federi' it begins the first of September!
FU on 22.08.11:	Perfect LN so you are also there tomorrow? Be ready, you know…

FRAGMENT 7.36: CS.11.09.10 and FC.11.09.10

INTERV.:	And what about with your grandparents, do you speak a little *Alguerès* with them?
CS.11.09.10:	Yes, it may happen. But most of all … to make jokes, do you understand?
CS.11.09.10:	Maybe swearwords [laughs]
FC.11.09.10:	Not seriously… [laughs]… a serious conversation…! [laughs]
INTERV.:	And what about among youths, do you say something?
CS.11.09.10:	I do…
INTERV.:	What and when?
CS.11.09.10:	When someone annoys me. Then, I become upset…
INTERV.:	And what do you say?
CS.11.09.10:	[laughs] I don't know… 'may the fire burn you' things like that… [laughs]
INTERV.:	And you?
FC.11.09.10:	[laughs] 'that bitch of your mother!' […] this is the best [laughs] it's the best, no way! [laughs]

FRAGMENT 7.37: FI.28.02.09

I'm into football [...] I train groups of kids. [...] in this sector, for example, one can hear short sentences in *Alguerès* quite often […] often [...] in the sense that as a scolding, for example, it's highly used by the coaches... when someone makes a mistake, for example: 'what is that?', 'you are an idiot', 'wake up'; then there are the curses, such as: 'I wish to see you blind' [...] It also happens to me, a non-Catalan-speaker, [...] to address the kids (precisely because my coaches used to do the same with me) in this fashion. Then, also between friends we often use it... whenever we 'insult' each others , ok, such as... [...] something not really nice about people in Alghero is frequent swearwords [laugh] and then ... eh... then... besides these two situations it is not used … so, it is mostly used in amusing and colourful expressions.

FRAGMENT 7.38: ST.28.02.09

INTERV.:	Do you have friends who speak *Alguerès?*
ST.28.02.09:	Eh, some!
INTERV.:	Do you speak *Alguerès* with them?
ST.28.02.09:	Sometimes… sometimes yes… colloquially
INTERV.:	Give me some examples of what you may say…
ST.28.02.09:	Eerr ... for example... with the presence of an outsider and we don't want him/her to understand what we say, then, we use it.

FRAGMENT 7.39: Main informant SF.28.07.10

INTERV.:	Why do you speak Italian to each other?
SF.28.07.10:	Because we met talking in Italian.

SF.28.07.10.b:	But from time to time we let go something in *Alguerès*.
SF.28.07.10:	[laughs]
INTERV.:	In what kind of situations?
SF.28.07.10:	[laughs] I don't know! Either expressing hilarity or anger.
SF.28.07.10.b:	Hilarity or anger. [...] Let's say that *Alguerès* is that language that allows you to say something that otherwise in Italian…
SF.28.07.10:	Wouldn't make much sense [laughs]
SF.28.07.10.b:	... you can't find the right translation in Italian for certain things.
INTERV.:	[...] why have you decided to speak Italian with your son*?*
SF.28.07.10.b:	[...] it has been automatic, spontaneous.

FRAGMENT 7.40: TI.19.07.10	
INTERV.:	You have spoken in *Alguerès* with your children, haven't you?
TI.19.07.10:	In Italian [...] Yes: from the beginning, always in Italian...
INTERV.:	Why have you decided to speak in Italian with your children?
TI.19.07.10:	No, I haven't decided! Unfortunatelly, my wife [...] does not speak *Alguerès*. How can I speak *Alguerès!?* She understands it [...] but she doesn't speak it.

FRAGMENT 7.41: PL.15.07.10	
INTERV.:	Do you ever use *Alguerès* with your children?
PL.15.07.10:	No.
INTERV.:	Why?
PL.15.07.10:	... I never thought of...
INTERV.:	That means that for you it is more natural to speak Italian than *Alguerès*?
PL.15.07.10:	Oh yes. I never thought of that. When they were born… I never thought of that. As a matter of fact, I remember that uncle Antonio said: 'why don't you speak *Alguerès* with your children, as you have always spoken it with your mother?' But I have always used Italian with them.

FRAGMENT 7.42: LN.09.09.10	
LN.09.09.10:	I speak *Alguerès* with my daughter, but … what necessity does she have to learn it, apart from the fact that it's something that I want?! [...] I don't want to be one of those who will contribute to the death of *Alguerès*. No. I will make sure that at least one more generation, my daughter's generation, will still speak *Alguerès*.
INTERV.:	Do you really think that your daughter's generation will speak *Alguerès*? Do you think that your daughter when [...] she will start going out, clubbing, etc. will speak *Alguerès?*
LN.09.09.10:	No, absolutely no! Look... my daughter is two now; I only know one kid of her age who speaks *Alguerè!*

FRAGMENT 7.43: CS.27.08.10	
INTERV.:	What do you speak with your husband?
CS.27.08.10:	*Alguerès!*
INTERV.:	Only *Alguerès?*
CS.27.08.10:	Yes!
INTERV.:	And with your parents, what did you speak?
CS.27.08.10:	*Alguerès!*
INTERV.:	And with your children, what do you speak?
CS.27.08.10:	Italian! [...] Italian , but sometimes I let go some *Alguerès* [...] they may understand it because since they were little... I think they understand *Alguerès*.
INTERV.:	Why have you decided to speak Italian with your children?

CS.27.08.10:	Well… I don't know... may be because when they went to school... to be able to understand better... If one speaks *Alguerès* at home and then Italian at school, we must have thought that the kids wouldn't feel confortable, they wouldn't learn to speak properly with other people... so, we spoke to them in Italian, do you understand?
INTERV.:	Could you imagine one of your children speaking *Alguerès* as you do?
CS.27.08.10:	Well, I don't think that would be right!
INTERV.:	Why?
CS.27.08.10:	Now, almost everyone speaks Italian! So, he would be a person … a little bit different...
INTERV.:	Do you think that not being able to speak Italian properly could be an obstacle in life, for example, to find a job?
CS.27.08.10:	Oh yes, I think so!
INTERV.:	Why?
CS.27.08.10:	Because it's better if they speak Italian. Proper Italian. This *Alguerès* is a dialect, it's not… what can we say… a language. It's better if they speak Italian. I don't know how I have transmitted it to them. Because I am an *Alguerès*-speaker [laughs], I haven't passed on to them a proper Italian. I don't know. Maybe they… I don't know how they feel about the Italian that I have transmitted to them.

FRAGMENT 7.44: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	What does Italy mean to you?
RMM.10.09.10:	Everything!
INTERV.:	And Alghero?
RMM.10.09.10:	Eh, Alghero is in my heart! I like Alghero very much.

FRAGMENT 7.44b: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	If we had to draw a ranking of different languages, such as *Alguerès,* Sardinian, English and Italian, how would it be?
RMM.10.09.10:	The first, now… well to know Italian well, then most of all English, as now it's the only [widely] spoken language, and then, the last one it's our language, that's something we all know!
INTERV.:	Why do you think it's important to speak Italian?
RMM.10.09.10:	To be well understood by everyone; also for education… for everything [...] for jobs, for everything, absolutely! Today it's very important!
INTERV.:	Was it important before as well?
RMM.10.09.10:	No! This is why there were uneducated people. Very much so..

FRAGMENT 7.44c: RMM.10.09.10	
INTERV.:	Let's say that life was much easier before...
RMM.10.09.10:	Yes, much easier. And that means a lot. Now we are… it's something else… life is completely different.
INTERV.:	And, for example, what did you wish for your children?
RMM.10.09.10:	Well, I wanted the best, so to say: to be a child … to get a degree, to get … good jobs […] to be in a nice position, etc. etc.

FRAGMENT 7.45: GI.07.09.10	
GI.07.09.10:	Those who used to speak *Alguerès* belonged to a lower class, so to speak, and therefore to be someone, to get a higher position, spoke Italian. Now, by contrast, someone who speaks *Alguerès* is considered as someone with a better cultural stock, in the sense that it is like if you have the knowledge of one more language… they say: 'that person also spek *Alguerès!'*...
INTERV.:	Why do you think this is happening?

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GI.07.09.10:	Because we have got nothing to do… [laughs] This may sound like a joke, but it may be the truth, because if someone had something else to do… it wouldn't show … […] There are people who now have become fondamentalists about *Alguerès;* […] now they say to you: 'you don't speak properly, you should speak…'. I speak when I feel like, because if I know that someone understands, I speak in *Alguerès;* if I know that he/she does not understand, what's the point?! […] So, let's say that it's OK as a form of historical and social recovery, as it were, but exaggeration needs to be left on one side, sometimes.

FRAGMENT 7.46: Joan Elies Adell ('*Espai Llull*')	
INTERV.:	Language at school and in the economy, these are the two channels through which local Catalan should be used to be able to carry on living, is it right Joan Adell?
Joan Elies Adell:	Yes [...] the objective is to create a desire, a will within the community ... to think that it is beneficial for the community that kids have the chance to learn the language at school; this is beneficial for the kids and for the community as a whole because *Alguerès* is a treasure, a linguistic treasure, a cultural treasure and also it is an opportunity for those who speak it to be part of an economic and cultural discourse. That is to say, I believe that these are different steps to reach a common objective: the language of Alghero to be alive and useful.

FRAGMENT 7.47: *Franca Masu: TV interview*
If I have to talk about myself, as a person who loves music, I have to say that … I was born singing, really. Since I was a little kid I have always sang. I really loved it… and I had the opportunity to repeat things, the music, and the themes I heard on the radio, on television… And my mother was very happy about that: as a little kid (three, four years old) to be able to repeat easily what I heard. So, I have always sung. I hve always loved music, Italian music in particular, but as I became older I have begun to appreciate Jazz. I have learned a little this way of singing, I have listened to it a lot… lots of singers and then I have started to play it with my collegues in Alghero and other Sardinian musicians as well as musicians from other parts of the world with a certain, as it were, local success.

FRAGMENT 7.49: *Franca Masu: TV interview*
Eventually, one day … eerr…around 1997/1998 we thought that singing Jazz… the path wouldn't be so long. So, we thought to do something original, something that could give me the opportunity to express myself in a more authentic way. And, why not, to choose a new music, with an original language? In local Catalan. That was a really ambitious project. For me, who did not know the language, and for the musicians who had to start again by composing new music pieces, a mixture between jazz and Mediterranean melody. So, in 2001 the first piece came out, whose title is 'el meu viatge' and that has given me the opportunity to get here, to the Catalan Speaking Regions, and so to acquire certain visibility.

FRAGMENT 7.50: *Gavino Balata – interview on local TV*	
INTERV.:	The protection of traditional languages has always been crucial for every community. We are here with Gavino Balata, a gentleman from Alghero who has worked for a Catalan Governmental Authority in Brussels. What needs to be done to protect the traditional language?
GAVINO BALATA	Many thanks for this opportunity. I think, but my Catalan friends think the same, that the point is not what can be done institutionally, by the public administration, by the Town Hall, as much as what we can do as part of this community, as Catalan-speakers (but this applies to any language) to maintain, to protect the language. So, I think that it is not only public inicitaives that need to be encouraged but also those iniciatives that come from the people, iniciatives that need not to be only culturally oriented, but economically as well. So, now, with the new office

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opened by the Generalitat here in Alghero I think that it is the right time for us not only to ask the Catalans what they want to do with our language, but also to suggest activities and ideas to enhance the relationship between Catalonia and Alghero.

FRAGMENT 7.51: AC.08.12.08
[…] I was born in […] a town in the internal part of Sardinia and…my mother tongue is Sardinian. I came to Alghero when I was a little kid and ... I have learned *Alguerès* in the street and... then, in 1990, I joined the *'escola de alguerés P. Scanu'* [...] I only have a sister who lives in Sassari and I never met my father as he died when I was two months old so I grew up at my grandfather's home [...] I went to primary school […] from the first year until the fifth ...

By the fifties […] Catalans […] tried to affect public opinion in Alghero by giving away large quantities of books and leaflets, creating […] free Catalan courses for young people and, even, building a stage for the local band in the middle of the public park. The strategies are those of a cultural colonisation, slow but steady and the gifts always arrived accompanied by suggestions and diplomatic insistence with the aim to enhancing the catalanness and involving the whole community.

[Quotation: Salvietti (19988: 15), page 269]

The boycott of any iniciatives not welcomed by Catalans, the ostentation of a Catalanness both obsessive and non-existent with the use (even in official documents) of Catalan or of a hybrid language […], the preparations for the introduction at school of "Standard Catalan" at the expense of our own variety, considered as ordinary and not literary (groups of teachers, indoctrination, in Catalonia, of young university students, etc.) […]

[Quotation: Salvietti (1988: 45), page 269-70]

FRAGMENT 7.52: SP.02.03.09	
SP.02.03.09:	I'm from Alghero… can I speak Catalan? I live in carrer XXXX I'm 27 years old and… I study, at the moment, at the University of Sassari […] I'm studying computer science with English. […] I have been studying Catalan since the year 2005. My grandmother, speaks *Alguerès,* also my parents, but not much; we speak mainly Italian at home.
INTERV.:	Why did you decide to learn Catalan?
SP.02.03.09:	To work in the tourist industry…

Figure 7.10: *Sample of comments expressing attachment and concern for Catalan*
I'm sorry that both *Alguerès* and Sardinian are disappearing: they should be learned at school.
Sardinian and *Alguerès* need to be protected.
We need to defend our historical memory [and, therefore, the traditional language(s)]
It is the right thing to learn the dialect.
It is important to know the local realities
Alguerès is our dialect that it would be nice to be able to transmit to future generations
It is the right thing to look after the dialect
The language of my heart
My roots
I'm from Alghero. I have always spoken *Alguerès* and I see that we are losing it. This makes me sad.

FRAGMENT 7.53: CS.11.09.10 and FC.11.09.10

INTERV.:	Do you speak *Alguerès?*
CS.11.09.10:	[laughs] No, no!
INTERV.:	But you can say something, can't you?
CS.11.09.10:	What?! No...
INTERV.:	What about you, do you speak it?
FC.11.09.10:	Very little! That is, I don't speak it well so I don't speak it at all. Frankly, I even studied it at school but I have forgotten it. I remember things such as: 'my name is…' and… that's it, no more. I don't even know the most basic things, unfortunately.
INTERV.:	But you hear Catalan at home, don't you?
FC.11.09.10:	At my grandmother's place yes. That means that I understand it, but sometimes I don't know the meaning of some words, but overall, when grandma speaks I understand it.
INTERV.:	When you were younger, what was the language of interaction among children?
CS.11.09.10:	Italian!

FRAGMENT 7.54: SL.20.09.08

INTERV.:	Where are your parents from?
SL.20.09.08:	Alghero.
INTERV.:	What language do they speak?
SL.20.09.08	At home with us in Italian, with their siblings and with other people in *Alguerès.*
INTERV.:	And to each other?
SL.20.09.08	*Alguerès.*
INTERV.:	Always?
SL.20.09.08	Yes.
INTERV.:	Where did you learn *Alguerès?*
SL.20.09.08	With my grandfather. He has always spoken to me in *Alguerès.*
INTERV.:	And did you replied to him in *Alguerès?*
SL.20.09.08	Yes

FRAGMENT 7.55: EC.03.03.09

INTERV.:	Where are your parents from?
EC.03.03.09:	My father is from Alghero; my grandfather and my grandmother both from Alghero and from my mother's side the same: my grandmother and my grandfather from Alghero.
INTERV.:	Describe your family?
EC.03.03.09:	I have one older brother [...] and one sister [...] she is 21; my mother has five siblings… all of them married with children: we are eight cousins from my mother's side; from my father side they are … were eight children, two of them passed away; I have 25 cousins from my father side [...] we are all young [...]
INTERV.:	What language do your parents speak to each other?
EC.03.03.09:	To each other *Alguerès.* With us … it depends, when they are upset [laughs]speak to us in *Alguerès...* so, in Italian.
INTERV.:	And what about the language that your mother speaks with your grandparents?
EC.03.03.09:	*Alguerès.*
INTERV.:	And what about your father?
EC.03.03.09:	*Alguerès.*
INTERV.:	Do you have hobbies?
EC.03.03.09:	I go to college, which absorbs a great part of my time. I do activities with a group of Scouts. And I hung around.
INTERV.:	What do you remember of your school times?
EC.03.03.09:	When I used to go to school, when I was at school… at primary school… how do you sai it? I can't remember. I don't know… anyway at primary school [...] I had only

	three teachers [...] They didn't give us homework to do. And then when I came back home, I remember, my father had just bought a plot of land, so every day, every day we had to go to this plot… and I didn't want to go as I didn't like it [...]
INTERV.:	Who did you play with?
EC.03.03.09:	Who did I play with? With my little cousins [...] and also with some friends in the street where I live...

	FRAGMENT 7.56: LC.26.02.09
LC.26.02.09:	My name is LC.26.02.09 I am... ehmm... 24... eehh...eeehhmmm.... I live in Alghero ... eehhhmmm... I just obtained my degree eeeehhh ... I'm working at the *'Televisió de L'Alguer'*.
INTERV.:	And what do you do?
LC.26.02.09:	Eehh... I am in charge of ... mmm ... editing, video, and direction ... I cooperate….
INTERV.:	Tell me about your family…
LC.26.02.09:	Ok. We are five people: eehhh.... my father, my mother ... mmm... my sister and my brother. My father is retired,my mum is housewife... eehhh ... my sister is a student at college eehh... my brother studies, works... works at the military aviation.
INTERV.:	What language do your parents speak to each other?
LC.26.02.09:	To each other Italian... eehhmm ... my mother with her sis ... eehhh ... with my aunts speaks *Alguerès*. I understand it, but at home I don't speak it, I don't speak it with my cousins either, no... mmmm... only my mother with her sisters and her mother.
INTERV.:	What do you speak with your grandmother?
LC.26.02.09:	Italian, at home we speak Italian
INTERV.:	Are your grandparents from your father side still alive?
LC.26.02.09:	No...eehhmmm... My grandmother from my mother side is still alive ...eehhhmm .... from my father's side she is dead. But they speak Italian to each other.
INTERV.:	Tell me about your school times...
LC.26.02.09:	When I was at school, I remember that the teachers were... eehhhmmm... I don't know ... I can't remember of my times at Primary school....
INTERV.:	Besides *Alguerès* and Italian, which other languages do you know?
LC.26.02.09:	I know English... eehhhmmm..., Spanish, a little, I don't speak it well, ...eehhmmm... French, also a little...
INTERV.:	Have you travelled?
LC.26.02.09:	Yes, I have been ... eehhhmmm.... one .... eehhmm ... one .... eehmmm... once in Barcelona, but I didn't speak *Alguerès*... I could, I could, I couldn't..
INTERV.:	Could you understand them?
LC.26.02.09:	Eehmm ... a little, as they spoke ... eehhmmm ... rapidly ... fast.
INTERV.:	Tell me about the games you played when you were younger ...
LC.26.02.09:	Ehmmmmm.... when I was ... ehhhmmm .... were ... were a lot of kids ... eehhmmm... I don't know...

<u>QUESTIONARIO</u>

Completa il seguente questionario mettendo un cerchietto in una (e solo in una) delle lettere corrispondenti a ogni domanda. Le domande, numerate dall'1 al 23, sono su entrambe le pagine. Per cui. Una volta completate le domande di una pagina, completa quelle che si trovano nel retro dello stesso foglio senza saltare nessuna pagina. Ti si raccomanda di leggere attentamente le domande prima di rispondere. Prima di iniziare, però, scrivi la data e l'ora negli appositi spazi qui sotto.

CODICE _____ DATA_____ ORA_____

1. SESSO

   1. Ragazzo
   2. Ragazza

2. ETÀ

   1. 11 anni
   2. 12 anni
   3. 13 anni
   4. 14 anni
   5. 15 anni

3. DOVE SEI NATO/NATA?

   1. Alghero
   2. In provincia di Sassari ma non ad Alghero
   3. In provincia di Oristano
   4. In provincia di Nuoro
   5. In provincia di Cagliari
   6. In Italia ma non in Sardegna
   7. In Europa ma non in Italia
   8. Altre

4. SE NON SEI NATO/NATA AD ALGHERO, DA QUANTI ANNI CI VIVI?

   1. Da meno di 5 anni
   2. Da 5 a 10 anni
   3. Da 11 o più anni

5. DOVE È NATO TUO PADRE?

   1. Alghero
   2. In provincia di Sassari ma non ad Alghero
   3. In provincia di Oristano

4. In provincia di Nuoro
5. In provincia di Cagliari
6. In Italia ma non in Sardegna
7. In Europa ma non in Italia
8. Altre

6. DOVE È NATA TUA MADRE?

1. Alghero
2. In provincia di Sassari ma non ad Alghero
3. In provincia di Oristano
4. In provincia di Nuoro
5. In provincia di Cagliari
6. In Italia ma non in Sardegna
7. In Europa ma non in Italia
8. Altre

7. QUANTI ANNI HA TUO PADRE?

1. Età compresa fra i 30 e i 35 anni
2. Età compresa fra i 36 e i 40 anni
3. Età compresa fra i 41 e i 45 anni
4. Età compresa fra i 46 e i 50 anni
5. Età compresa fra i 51 e i 55 anni
6. Età compresa fra i 56 e i 60 anni
7. Più di 60 anni

8. QUANTI ANNI HA TUA MADRE?

1. Età compresa fra i 30 e i 35 anni
2. Età compresa fra i 36 e i 40 anni
3. Età compresa fra i 41 e i 45 anni
4. Età compresa fra i 46 e i 50 anni
5. Età compresa fra i 51 e i 55 anni
6. Età compresa fra i 56 e i 60 anni
7. Più di 60 anni

9. CHE LAVORO FA, O FACEVA, TUO PADRE?

1. Imprenditore (edilizia, propietario di attività commerciale, ecc.)
2. Libera professione (notaio, avvocato, medico, dentista, ingegnere, architetto, geometra, ecc.)
3. Lavoratore in proprio (gestore di azienda agricola/bottega artigiana, parrucchiere, barbiere, negoziante, ecc.)
4. Professore universitario
5. Professore/maestro elementare
6. Dirigente (direttore d'azienda, scuola, banca, pubblica amministrazione, ecc.)
7. Militare (tenente colonnello o grado superiore)
8. Militare (sottotenente o grado inferiore)
9. Impiegato (settore pubblico/privato, banca)

10. Vigile urbano, vigile del fuoco, guardia giurata
11. Cameriere, barista, cuoco, ecc.
12. Operaio specializzato
13. Muratore, electricista, carpentiere, hidráulico, giardiniere, ecc.
14. Bidello, usciere, guardiano, ecc.
15. Contadino/pastore/pescatore
16. Non lo so

10. CHE LAVORO FA, O FACEVA, TUO PADRE?

1. Imprenditrice (edilizia, propietaria di attività commerciale, ecc.)
2. Libera professione (notaio, avvocato, medico, dentista, ingegnere, architetto, geometra, ecc.)
3. Lavoratrice in proprio (gestrice di azienda agricola/bottega artigiana, parrucchiera, negoziante, ecc.)
4. Professoressa universitaria
5. Professoressa/maestra elementare
6. Dirigente (direttrice d'azienda, scuola, banca, pubblica amministrazione, ecc.)
7. Militare (tenente colonnello o grado superiore)
8. Militare (sottotenente o grado inferiore)
9. Impiegata (settore pubblico/privato, banca)
10. Vigile urbano, vigile del fuoco, guardia giurata
11. Cameriera, barista, cuoca, ecc.
12. Operaia specializzata
13. Bidella
14. Casalinga
15. Non lo so

11. CHE LINGUA PARLANO, O PARLAVANO, I TUOI GENITORI FRA DI LORO?

1. Tutti e due sempre in italiano
2. Tutti e due sempre in algherese
3. Tutti e due sempre in sardo
4. Alternano/alternavano italiano e algherese
5. Alternano/alternavano italiano e sardo
6. Alternano/alternavano alghrese e sardo
7. Alternano/alternavano italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre

12. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUO PADRE?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre

9. Non l'ho conosciuto

13. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUO PADRE?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

14. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUA MADRE?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuta

15. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUA MADRE?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuta

16. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUO NONNO PATERNO (il padre di tuo padre)?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

17. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUO NONNO PATERNO?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

18. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUA NONNA PATERNA (la madre di tuo padre)?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

19. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUA NONNA PATERNA?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

20. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUO NONNO MATERNO (il padre di tua madre)?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

21. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUO NONNO MATERNO?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

22. IN CHE LINGUA TI PARLA, O TI PARLAVA, TUA NONNA MATERNA (la madre di tua madre)?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

23. IN CHE LINGUA PARLI, O PARLAVI, TU A TUA NONNA MATERNA?

1. Sempre in italiano
2. Sempre in algherese
3. Sempre in sardo
4. Alterna/alternava italiano e algherese
5. Alterna/alternava italiano e sardo
6. Alterna/alternava algherese e sardo
7. Alterna/alternava italiano, algherese e sardo
8. Altre
9. Non l'ho conosciuto

Annex 3: Directions for self-administered questionnaire

Buongiorno, io mi chiamo Enrico Chessa e per conto dell'Università di Londra sto svolgendo una tesi di ricerca sul contatto di lingue. Cioè sto studiando quelle situazioni in cui la gente conosce e, a volte usa, più di una lingua. Queste situazioni, non di certo rare, sono molto comuni anche in Italia. Alghero è, in questo senso, un contesto molto significativo. Come voi ben sapete, nel territorio di Alghero concorrono diverse varietà linguistiche oltre all'italiano. Per esempio, l'algherese, il sardo, e, anche se in misura minore, il ferrarese e il giuliano. Ed è per questa sua peculiarità che ho deciso di studiare proprio Alghero, e così cercare di capire quale varietà è più conosciuta e usata. Ovviamente, per portare a termine tale progetto è indispensabile uno studio sul campo con giovani come voi.

La ricerca si articola in due fasi: nella prima, cioè oggi, si dovrà compilare un questionario; la seconda, invece, prevede un incontro con i vostri genitori con i quali cercherò di ampliare lo studio cercando di cogliere determinati aspetti linguistici che non mi sarebbe possibile solo con voi.

La prova che dovete svolgere adesso è un questionario di 23 domande (per cui molto breve).Ciò che vi chiedo vivamente è di essere i più sinceri possibile nel dare le risposte. Pensate che non si tratta né di un esame né di un concorso, né tanto meno di una gara con i vostri compagni. Per concludere, quindi, non ci sono né vinti né vincitori, non si danno voti né si premiano le prove migliori, considerato che non ci sono prove migliori o peggiori. Tutte le prove saranno ottime prove nella misura in cui si svolgeranno con la sincerità che vi si richiede. Per cui, siate naturali e rilassati e non pensate a ciò che può scrivere il/la vostro/a compagno/a ma solo a quello che ritenete voi più adeguato e che corrisponde alla vostra realtà.

Ad ognuno di voi è stato assegnato un codice; questo codice è molto importante per cui vi chiedo di ricopiarlo in un posto sicuro di modo che non lo perdiate. Per esempio sul diario. Il codice è molto importante per diverse ragioni: prima di tutto ci consente di garantire l'anonimato della prova senza però perderne il controllo. Ci dà, per cui, la possibilità di contattarvi di nuovo

quando ciò fosse necessario. Per cui, tenetelo bene a mente e ricopiatelo in un posto sicuro. La parte che dovete ricordare del codice sono le ultime tre cifre.

Se nel corso della compilazione del questionario ci fossero cose che non capite chiedete spiegazioni a me e non al compagno o alla compagna che avete affianco. Siete comunque pregati di leggere attentamente le domande prima di rispondere, dopodiché mettete un cerchietto in una e solo in una delle lettere corrispondenti alla risposta che credete sia la più adeguata. Ogni domanda è contrassegnata da un numero. I numeri delle domande vanno, in ordine progressivo, dall'1 al 23. Ogni domanda si compone di due parti: **1.** La domanda vera e propria, scritta in grassetto e lettere maiuscole e posta in un riquadro; e **2**. Le possibili risposte, contrassegnate dalle lettere dell'alfabeto scritte in neretto e in minuscolo. Come vedete ci sono diverse possibilità di risposta (diverse lettere), voi dovete mettere il cerchietto solo su una delle possibili risposte, quella che credete sia la più giusta, la risposta che, cioè, corrisponde alla vostra realtà. Se sbagliate nel dare una risposta, cancellate il cerchietto della risposta incorretta e rimettetelo nella lettera giusta.

Prima di iniziare scrivete il codice che vi è stato assegnato, la data di oggi e l'ora, negli appositi spazi.

Annex 4: the self-administered questionnaire

Alguerès:

1. Presentació:

Nom, conyom, txistu, lloc i data de nàixita. Orígine dels genitors, orígine dels iaios Professió, descripció de la família (germans, txius, cosins, etc.), etc. Hobbies, esport, etc. Llengües que parla/es. A part l'italià/alguerés, quales altres llengües coneix/es? Qui importança tenen les llengües per a tu/vosté?

2. Els primers anys de vida:

Jocs de criatura. Jocs al carrer. Jocs amb el pare; jocs amb la mare. Jocs amb els iaios. Cançons, rondalles, fiabes, etc. Records dels iaios? Passava/es temps amb ellos? Hi/te recontaven rondalles, històries? Hi/te cantaven cançons? Se/te'n recorda/recordes? Eren en alguerès o en italià? Qui llengua parlaves amb als iaios? Com eren los (tous) genitors de vostè quan era/eres petit/a? Eren afectuosos? Eren severos? Records de mamentus particulars de quan era/eres petit(a). Calqui frase recorrent que empraven los genitors per barallar-la/te. Quala era la llengua que empraven per barallar-la/te? Qui llengua parlaven tra ellos? Quala era/és la llengua principal en família? Quala era la llengua principal en família a l'Alguer quan era/eres petit(a)? Ton/son pare i ta/sa mare cosa parlaven amb els genitors? Per cosa creu/creus que quan vostè/tu era/eres petit(a) tots/ningú/poca gent/paritxa gent parlava alguerès en casa? Com eren tos germans? Hi jugava/jugaves de petit/a? A cosa jugaves? Llengua germans. Eixiva/eixives a jugar al carrer? Quals eren los jocs de petits? Com era la vida al carrer? Cosa se feva? Espiega-me/espiegui-me calqui joc, les régules, etc. Hi havia baralles? S'insultaven? Com? Quala era la llengua de l'insult? I la llengua en general del carrer? Per cosa creus/creu que primer al carrer se parlava més l'alguerès? Per cosa creu/s que l'alguerès no se parlava assai al carrer? Cosa parlaven los amics tous en casa? Cosa és canviat respecte a primer? És canviada la societat, la manera de pensar, hi ha noves exigències…? Com, quals noves exigències? Com se consideraven los que parlaven en alguerès/italià en casa? Fes una descripció de qui parlava alguerès/italià en casa.

3. **Educació i escola**:

És/sés content de l'educació que hi/t'han donat ton pare i ta mare? Quan los avisava/es, com lis hi dieva/es [babbo/mamma, papà/mamma, babu/mama]? Lis hi dava/es del tu o del vostè? Com parlau en casa, en italià o en alguerès? Per cosa creu/s que hi/t'han parlat en alguerès/italià? Amb a tos germans parlen/aven lo mateix? Quan era/es petit/a hi/te pareixeva una situació normal? En casa dels companyons sous/tous també se parlava alguerès/italià? Parli-me/parla-me dels estudios: fins a qui edat ha/s estudiat? Qui escoles ha/s fet? Qui record té/tens del mestre/de la mestra? Qui record té/tens dels companyons d'escola? Los veu/s encara? Qui llengua se parlava a escola? I amb els companyons a l'hora de recreació? Creu/s que el fet de haver parlat en alguerès/italià en casa ha perjudicat/ajudat los resultats a escola?

4. **La vida de jove, lo festeig i el casament**:

La vida de fadrí/fadrina. Cosa se feva per se divertir amb els amics? Los grups de amics. La moda, la manera de vestir. Les festes tradicionals. Cosa se feva? Encara se fanen les festes populars? Són diverses de primer? Se tengueriven te mantendre? Per cosa? On i com has/ha coneixut a ta/sa muller/marit? Com és estat lo festeig-fidançament (cosa se feva, los anys de festeig, etc.)? Assai anys teniva/es quan te sés/s'és casat? On vos seu casats? Lo viatge de noces. Qui llengua parla/es amb a sa/son/ta/ton muller/marit? Amb els amics cosa parlava/es? I sa/ta muller/son/ton marit? Haveu habitat sempre a la mateixa casa i a la mateixa zona? Com era la primera casa? Com eren los veïns?

5. **Los fills**:

Record del primer fill. Les coses que hi dieven. Plorava assai? A qui edat ha escomençat a caminar? I a parlar? Quales són estades les primeres paraules? I los altros fills? Cose se'n/te'n recorda/es? Com vanen/anaven a escola? Com lis hi parla/es? I son/sa marit/muller? Los veïns, familiars, altra gent que coneixeva, o la gent en general feven lo mateix [lis hi parlaven també en Italià]? Pogueriva/poguerives imaginar una relació amb a sos fills que fossi sol en alguerès? (e per cosa no l'has/ha fet?) Primer també se parlava en italià amb els fills? Per cosa creu/s que ara se parla de més en italià? I cosa diun los fills de que lis hi ha/s parlat en italià/alguerès? Se n'és te'n sés pentit/da? Avui, fariva lo mateix? Per cosa?

6. **La religió**:

Va/s anava/es a missa? Participa/es a les activitats de l'iglésia? Descripció de les activitats. Llengua que s'empra durant les activitats. Oracions. Sap/s calqui oració en alguerès? Qui te l'has/hi ha emparada?

7. **Viatges:**

Llocs que ha/s visitat. Llocs de Sardenya, de l'Itàlia, Europa. Lo primer viatge. Un record particular de un viatge.

8. **La cultura popular**:

L'alimentació: cosa se menja a l'Alguer. Menjars tradicionals (quals, com són, com se fanen, de quale època de l'any són habituals, etc.). Lo Nadal, l'Epifania, la Pasqua, lo carraixali, etc. Cosa se fa/feva, cosa se menja(va). L'arbre de Nadal, l'ou de Pasqua, la Setmana Santa, les màscares, los regalos, etc. Altres creences. Supersticions (cosa porta mala sort, maneres populars d'evitar la mala sort, la presa per ull, la medicina de l'ull, etc.).

9. **L'algueresitat:**

Cosa és? Com pot/s definir un alguerès? És diverso de un altro sardu? Com? Per cosa? L'algueresitat és en contradicció amb a la sua/tua italianitat?

Italian:

1. **Presentazione**:

Nome, cognome, soprannome, luogo e data di nascita… Origine dei genitori, origine dei nonni. Professione, descrizione della famiglia (fratelli, zii, cugini), etc. Hobbies, sport, ecc. Lingue che parla/i. A parte l'italiano/algherese, quali altre lingue conosci/e? Che importanza hanno le lingue per te/lei?

2. **I primi anni di vita**:

Ricordi dei giochi d'infanzia. Giochi per strada. Giochi col padre; giochi con la madre. Giochi con i nonni. Canzoni, racconti, fiabe, etc. Ricordi dei nonni?

Trascorreva/vi del tempo con loro? Le/ti raccontavano storie... Le/ti cantavano canzoni? Se/te ne ricorda/ricordi? Erano in algherese o in italiano? Che lingua parlavi/a con i nonni? Com'erano i tuoi/suoi genitori quando era/eri piccolo/a? Erano affettuosi? Erano severi? Ricordi di momenti particolari di quando era/eri piccolo/a. Qualche frase ricorrente che utilizzavano i genitori per sgridarla/ti. Qual era la lingua che usavano per sgridarla/ti? Che lingua parlavano i tuoi/suoi genitori fra loro? E con te/lei cosa parlavano? Qual era la lingua principale in famiglia? Qual era la lingua principale della famiglia ad Alghero quando era/eri piccolo/a? I tuoi/suoi genitori, cosa parlavano con i loro genitori? Perché crede/i che quando lei/tu era/eri piccolo/a tutti/nessuno/pochi/molti parlava(no) l'algherese a casa? Cos'è cambiato rispetto a prima? È cambiata la società, il modo di pensare, ci sono nuove esigenze…? Come, quali nuove esigenze? Com'erano i tuoi fratelli? Ci giocava/i da piccolo/a? A cosa giocavate? Parlate in algherese, tra di voi? Andavi/andava a giocare in strada? Quali erano i giochi d'infanzia? Com'era la vita di strada? Cosa si faceva? Spiegami/mi spieghi qualche gioco, le regole, etc. Si litigava? Vi insultavate? Come? Quale era la lingua dell'insulto? E la lingua in generale della strada? Perché credi/crede che, prima, in strada l'algherese si parlasse di più? Cosa parlavano gli amici tuoi/suoi a casa? Come venivano considerati quelli che parlavano in algherese/italiano a casa? Fai/faccia una descrizione di chi parlava algherese/italiano a casa.

3. **Educazione e scuola**:

É/sei contento dell'educazione che le/ti hanno dato tuo padre e tua madre? Quando ti/si rivolgevi/rivolgeva a loro, come li chiami/a/chiamavi/a [babbo/mamma, papà/mamma, babu/mama]? Gli davi/a del tu o del lei? Come parlate a casa, in italiano o in algherese? Perché crede/i che le/ti hanno parlato in algherese/italiano? Quando era/i piccolo/a le/ti sembrava una situazione normale? Anche a casa dei tuoi/suoi compagni si parlava algherese/italiano? Mi parli/parlami degli studi: fino a che età ha/hai studiato? Che scuole ha/hai fatto? Che ricordi ha/hai del maestro/della maestra? Che ricordi hai/ha dei compagni di scuola? Vi vedete ancora? Che lingua si parlava a scuola? E con i compagni all'ora della ricreazione? Crede/i che il fatto di aver parlato in algherese/italiano a casa ha pregiudicato/aiutato nei risultati a scuola?

4. **La vita da giovane, il fidanzamento e il matrimonio**:

Com'era la vita da single? Cosa si faceva/i per divertirsi con gli amici? Gli incontri al bar, i giochi di società (le carte, la dama, gli scacchi), etc. I gruppi di amici. Il modo di vestire. Le feste tradizionali. Cosa si faceva? Ci sono ancora le feste popolari? Sono diverse da prima? Si dovrebbero conservare? Perché? Dove e come hai/ha conosciuto a tua/sua molle/marito? Come é stato il fidanzamento (cosa si faceva, gli anni del fidanzamento, etc.)? Quanti anni avevi/a quando ti sei/si é sposato/a? Dove vi siete sposati? Il viaggio di nozze. Che lingua parla/i con sua/suo/tua/tuo moglie/marito? Lei/lui l'algherese non lo parla? E allora perché avete parlato in italiano? Con gli amici cosa parlavi/a? E sua/tua moglie/suo/tuo marito? Come sono i vicini? I rapporti con i vicini…Come é cambiata Alghero negli anni? I rapporti tra le persone, la vita di quartiere…

5. **I figli**:

Ricordo del primo figlio. Le cose che gli/le dicevano. A che età ha iniziato a camminare? E a parlare? Quali sono state le prime parole? E gli altri figli? Cosa si/ti ricorda/i? Come andavano/vanno a scuola? Che lingua parli con i tuoi figli? Perché gli/le ha parlato in Italiano? I vicini, familiari, altra gente che conosceva/vi, o la gente in generale facevano/fanno lo stesso [gli parlavano anche loro in Italiano]? Potrebbe/potresti immaginarsi/ti un rapporto con suo figlio che fosse solo in algherese? (e perché non l'hai/ha fatto?) Anche prima si parlava in italiano con i figli? Perché crede/credi che adesso si parla di più in italiano? E cosa dicono i figli del fatto che ha/hai parlato loro in italiano/algherese? Se n'é te ne sei pentito/a? Oggi, faresti lo stesso? Perché?

6. **La religione**:

Va/vai andavi/a a messa? Partecipa/i alle attività della chiesa? Descrizione delle attività. Lingua che si usa durante le attività. Preghiere. Sa/i qualche orazione in algherese? Chi gliele/te le ha insegnate?

7. **Viaggi**:

Posti che ha/hai visitato. Posti della Sardegna, dell'Italia, Europa. Il primo viaggio. Un ricordo particolare di un viaggio.

8. La cultura popolare:

L'alimentazione: cosa si mangia ad Alghero. Piatti tradizionali (quali, come sono, come si fanno, di che periodo dell'anno sono abituali, etc.). Il Natale, l'Epifania, la Pasqua, il carnevale, etc. Cosa si fa/faceva, cosa si mangia(va), come si festeggiano/festeggiavano. L'albero di Natale, l'uovo di Pasqua, la Settimana Santa, le maschere, i regali, etc. Altre credenze. Superstizioni (cosa porta malasorte, riti popolari per evitare la malasorte, il malocchio, etc.).

9. L'algheresità:

Cos'é? Come puoi/può definire un algherese? É diverso de un altro sardo? Come? Perché? L'algheresità é in contraddizione con la sua/tua italianità? Come possono convivere?

Annex 5: Informants

INFORMANT	PLACE OF BIRTH	SEX	DOB	OCCUPATION	TYPE OF SPEAKER
MS.01.01.09	Alghero	M	1996	Student	Passive Biling.
AS.17.12.08	Alghero	F	1994	Student	Near-passive Biling.
FC.01.01.09	Alghero	M	1994	Student	Passive Biling.
FC.11.09.10	Alghero	M	1994	Student	Passive Biling.
SA.15.09.10	Alghero	F	1994	Student	Passive Biling.
EB.15.09.10	Alghero	F	1993	Student	Passive Biling.
GM.27.02.09	Alghero	M	1993	Student	Semispeaker
MP.27.02.09	Alghero	M	1993	Student	Semispeaker
SM.26.02.09	Alghero	F	1993	Student	Semispeaker
CS.11.09.10	Alghero	F	1992	Student	Passive Biling.
GG.30.12.08	Alghero	M	1992	Student	Near-passive Biling.
GP.26.02.09	Alghero	F	1992	Student	Semispeaker
ST.28.02.09	Alghero	M	1990	Student	Semispeaker
AP.31.12.08	Alghero	M	1989	Student	Near-passive Biling.
FF.01.03.09	Alghero	F	1989	Student	Passive Biling.
GC.13.12.08	Alghero	M	1989	Student	Semispeaker
DB.10.09.10	Alghero	M	1988	Student	Near-passive Biling.
EC.03.03.09	Alghero	F	1988	Student	Semispeaker
ET.28.02.09	Alghero	F	1987	Student	Semispeaker
DR.02.03.09	Alghero	F	1986	Student	Semispeaker
FM.01.03.09	Alghero	F	1986	Student	Semispeaker
LC.26.02.09	Alghero	F	1985	Student	Semispeaker
FI.28.02.09	Alghero	M	1984	Student	Passive Biling.
BS.26.02.09	Alghero	F	1983	Student	Semispeaker
IC.05.01.09	Alghero	F	1982	Estate agent	Semispeaker
SL.03.03.09	Alghero	F	1982	Shop assistant	Semi-native
SP.02.03.09	Alghero	F	1982	Student	Passive Biling.
CS.01.03.09	Alghero	F	1980	Librarian	Semispeaker
GD.24.02.09	Alghero	F	1980	Nursery teacher	Near-passive Biling.
GB.28.08.10	Alghero	M	1979	Administrative	Near-passive Biling.
MGF.27.02.09	Alghero	F	1978	Student	Native-speaker
AL.12.02.09	Alghero	M	1977	Unemployed	Near-passive Bilng.
LS.12.02.09	Alghero	F	1976	Student	Near-passive Biling.
MAB.11.09.10	Alghero	F	1976	Solicitor	Semispeaker
AMC.21.09.09	Alghero	F	1975	Student	Semispeaker
MM.12.02.09	Alghero	F	1975	Factory worker	Native-speaker
AT.11.09.10	Alghero	F	1974	Secondary school teacher	Semispeaker
GS.04.12.08	Alghero	M	1974	Self-empl.	Native-speaker
AT.03.01.09	Alghero	F	1973	Housewife	Near-passive Biling.
FD.18.09.10	Alghero	F	1973	Catalan teacher	Semispeaker

GS.13.09.10	Alghero	M	1972	Self empl.	Semispeaker
NS.22.07.10	Alghero	F	1972	Housewife	Native-speaker
CS.13.09.10	Alghero	F	1971	Shop assistant	Native-speaker
MI.29.12.08	Alghero	M	1970	Shop assistant	Semispeaker
SF.03.03.09	Alghero	F	1970	Self-empl.	Semispeaker
AS.10.09.10	Alghero	F	1969	Housewife	Passive Biling.
PF.15.09.10	Alghero	F	1969	Solicitor	Passive Biling.
LN.09.09.10	Alghero	M	1969	Factory worker	Native-speaker
DF.31.12.08	Alghero	F	1968	Primary school teacher	Semispeaker
GR.05.02.09	Alghero	F	1968	Secondary school teacher	Near-passive Biling.
NT.16.09.10	Alghero	M	1968	Factory worker	Semispeaker
EF.05.02.09	Alghero	M	1967	Taxi Driver	Native-speaker
GF.15.09.10	Alghero	M	1967	Solicitor	Semi-native
CV.06.09.10	Alghero	F	1965	Catalan teacher	Semi-native
GN.12.12.08	Alghero	M	1965	Sub	Semispeaker
ML.05.02.09	Alghero	M	1965	Policeman	Semispeaker
SM.17.09.10	Alghero	M	1965	Factory worker	Semispeaker
MC.10.12.08	Alghero	M	1964	Computer technician	Semispeaker
SF.28.07.10	Alghero	F	1964	Factory worker	Native-speaker
GC.26.08.10	Alghero	M	1963	Civil servant	Native-speaker
GP.13.07.10	Alghero	F	1963	Secondary school teacher	Semispeaker
PL.15.07.10	Alghero	F	1963	Housewife	Native-speaker
RD.23.07.10	Alghero	F	1963	Housewife	Semispeaker
RT.10.09.10	Alghero	M	1963	Factory worker	Semispeaker
BC.01.09.10	Alghero	M	1962	Self-empl.	Native-speaker
SL.02.01.09	Alghero	M	1962	Soldier	Native-speaker
TN.23.07.10	Alghero	M	1961	Sales representative	Semispeaker
CG.05.02.09	Alghero	F	1959	Housewife	Native-speaker
FL.15.09.10	Alghero	M	1959	Factory worker	Semispeaker
AD.24.08.10	Alghero	M	1958	Secondary school teacher	Semi-native
GI.07.09.10	Alghero	M	1957	Agronomist	Semi-native
CS.11.12.08	Alghero	M	1957	Primary school teacher	Semispeaker
AS.02.09.10	Alghero	M	1956	Veterinary	Native-speaker
LP.05.02.09	Alghero	M	1953	Factory worker	Semi-native
CPS.09.09.10	Alghero	M	1952	Artist	Semi-native
TI.19.07.10	Alghero	M	1949	Retired (factory worker)	Native-speaker
AP.17.07.10	Alghero	F	1946	Housewife	Native-speaker
CS.29.12.08	Alghero	M	1946	Tailor	Native-speaker
RC.08.09.10	Alghero	F	1946	Housewife	Native-speaker
SA.09.09.10	Alghero	M	1946	Retired (self-empl.)	Native-speaker
TS.23.02.09	Alghero	M	1943	Retired (soldier)	Native-speaker
RMM.10.09.10	Alghero	F	1940	Housewife	Native-speaker
VS.02.01.09	Alghero	M	1940	Bricklayer	Native-speaker
LL.02.09.10	Alghero	F	1939	Housewife	Native-speaker
AR.03.03.09	Alghero	F	1934	Retired (tailor)	Native-speaker
GS.03.03.09	Alghero	M	1934	Retired (policeman)	Native-speaker
CS.27.08.10	Alghero	F	1932	Housewife	Native-speaker
AC.08.12.08	Ozieri (SS) - Sardinia	M	1929	Retired (self-empl.)	Semi-native
AM.05.02.09	Alghero	M	1929	Retired (factory worker)	Native-speaker
FS.05.02.09	Alghero	M	1927	Retired (peasant)	Native-speaker
SL.31.12.08	Alghero	M	1927	Retired (peasant)	Native-speaker

FF.31.08.10	Alghero	M	1924	Retired (primary school teacher)	Native-speaker
MS.17.12.08	Alghero	M	1920	Retired (peasant)	Native-speaker
PP.29.12.08	Alghero	F	1920	Retired (peasant)	Native-speaker
GP.29.12.08	Sassari - Sardinia	F	1908	Retired (peasant)	Semi-native

Annex 6: Family tree diagrams

The family tree diagrams are diachronic reconstructions of the break in the intergenerational transmission of Catalan. Through a set of simple questions, I have been able to account for the following interactions:

Informant ←→ MOTHER
Informant ←→ FATHER
Informant ←→ GRANDPARENTS
Informant ←→ CHILD(REN)
Informant ←→ PARTNER
PARTNER ←→ PARENTS IN LAW
PARTNER ←→ GRANDPARENTS IN LAW
PARTNER ←→ CHILDREN

And, whenever possible:

Informant ←→ PARENTS IN LAW
Informant ←→ CHILDREN IN LAW
Informant ←→ GRANDCHILD(REN)
Informant's PARENTS ←→ GRANDPARENTS

The resulting diagram can be represented as follows:

GFF
(± 1905) Aho
IT

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Sar
IT

GFM
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

GPIL
(± 1910) Aho/Sar
SR

GPIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

FATHER
(± 1935) Aho
IT/CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1940) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1935) Aho
SR/IT/CT

CS

MIL
(± 1940) Aho
SR

INFORMANT
(1969) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1967) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(± 2000) Aho
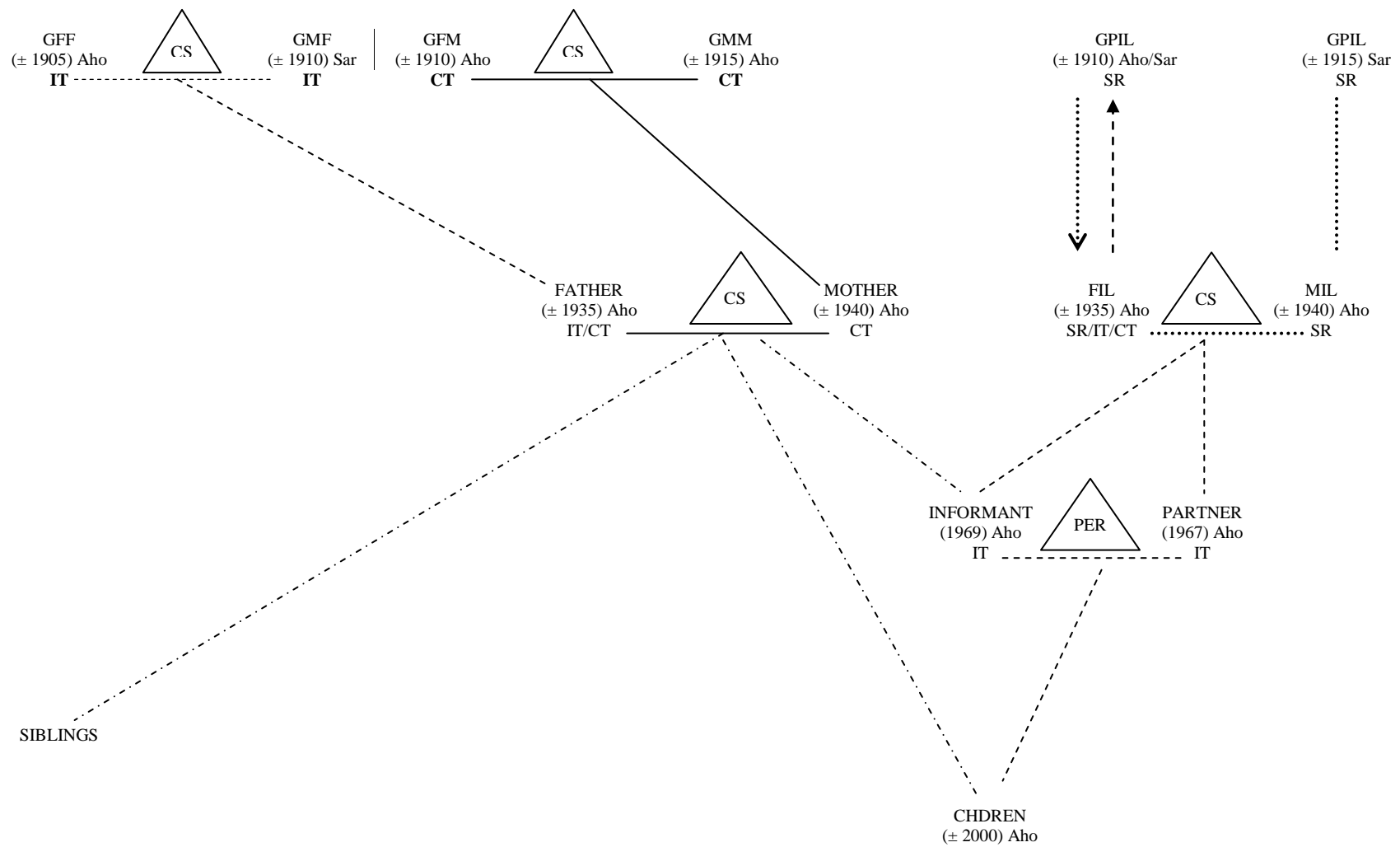
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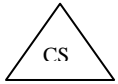
△ CS : The speakers live(d) in the old town
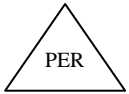
△ PER : The speakers live(d) outside the old town

CT : The speaker has *Alguerès* as the first language

IT : The speaker has Italian as first language

SR : The speaker has Sardinian as first language

Aho : Alghero is the speaker's place of birth

Sar: : The speaker is born in Sardinia but not in Alghero

It: : The speaker is born in Italy but not in Sardinia

———————— : The language of interaction is *Alguerès*

–·–·–·–·–·–·–·– : The interlocutors alternate between Italian and *Alguerès*

– – – – – – – – – – : The language of interaction is Italian

············· : The language of interaction is Sardinian

–··–·–··–·–··–·–·: The interlocutors alternate between Sardinian and Italian

————————→ : The arrow indicates that the use of a language is unidirectional

The age of the speakers is indicated in brackets. If the informant provided the exact date this is indicated as, for example, (1940). When I was not certain about the date of birth, this has been calculated based on both the age of the informant and the average age of other members of the family and it is indicated as, for example, (± 1915). A sample of diagrams follows:

AS.10.09.10

GFF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

GPIL
(± 1910) Aho/Sar
SR

GPIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

FATHER
(± 1935) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1940) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1935) Aho
SR

CS

MIL
(± 1940) Aho
SR

AS.10.09.10
(1969) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1967) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(± 2000) Aho

FD.18.09.10

GFF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

PER

GMM
(± 1920) Sar
SR/CT

FATHER
(± 1940) Alg
CT

PER

MOTHER
(± 1945) Aho
IT/CT

FD.18.09.10
(1973) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

FL.15.09.10

GFF
(± 1900) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1905) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1910) Aho
CT

GPIL
(± 1910) Aho
CT

GPIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

FATHER
(± 1930) Aho
CT

PER

MOTHER
(± 1935) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1930) Aho
CT

CS

MIL
(± 1935) Sar
SR/CT

FL.15.09.10
(1959) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1963) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(± 1995) Aho

GF.15.09.10

GFF
(± 1885) Aho
CT

GMF
(± 1900) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1900) Aho
CT

GMM
(± 1905) Sar
SR/IT

PIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

PIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

FATHER
(1924) Aho
CT

PER

MOTHER
(± 1930) Aho
IT/CT

FIL
(± 1935) Sar
SR

MIL
(± 1940) Sar
SR

GF.15.09.10
(1967) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1969) Sar
IT

SIBLINGS

LN.09.09.10

GFF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Sar
CT

GFM
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

PIL
(± 1910) Sar
SR/IT

PIL
(± 1910) Aho
IT

FATHER
(± 1940) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1945) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1940) Sar
SR/IT

PER

MIL
(± 1945) It
IT

LN.09.09.10
(1969) Aho
CT

PER

PARTNER
(1970) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(2008) Aho

GFF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1910) Aho
SR

CS

GMM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

PIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

FATHER
(± 1935) Aho
CT

PER

MOTHER
(± 1940) Aho
CT/SR

FIL
(± 1935) Aho
CT

PER

MIL
(± 1940) Aho
CT

NT.16.09.10
(1968) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1970) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHILD
(2000) Aho

PL.15.07.10

GFF
(± 1900) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1905) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1900) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1905) Aho
CT

FATHER
(± 1930) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1935) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1935) Aho
CT

PER

MIL
(± 1935) Aho
IT

PL.15.07.10
(1964) Aho
CT

PER

PARTNER
(1965) Aho
IT

SIBLING 1

SIBLING 2

CHILD 1
(1998) Aho

CHILD 2
(2002) Aho

RC.08.09.10

GFF
(± 1895) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1900) Sar
SR/CT

GFM
(± 1900) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1905) Aho
CT

FATHER
(± 1915) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1920) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1915) Aho
CT

CS

MIL
(± 1920) Aho
CT

RC.08.09.10
(1946) Aho
CT

PER

PARTNER
(1945) Aho
CT

SIBLING 1

SIBLING 2

CHDREN
(± 1975) Aho

GFF
(± 1885) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1885) Sar
CT

GFM
(± 1880) It
IT/CT

CS

GMM
(± 1885) Aho
CT

PIL
(± 1885) Aho
CT

PIL
(± 1885) ?
?

FATHER
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1910) Aho
CT/IT

FIL
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

MIL
(± 1910) Aho
CT

RMM.10.09.10
(1940) Aho
CT

CS

PARTNER
(1936) Aho
CT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(± 1965) Aho

367

SM.17.09.10

GFF
(± 1905) Sar
SR

CS

GMF
(± 1910) Sar
SR

GFM
(± 1910) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1915) Aho
CT

PIL
(± 1915) Sar
SR

PIL
(± 1915) It
It

FATHER
(± 1935) Sar
SR

PER

MOTHER
(± 1940) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1935) Sar
SR

PER

MIL
(± 1940) It
IT

SM.17.09.10
(1965) Aho
IT

PER

PARTNER
(1965) Aho
IT

SIBLINGS

CHDREN
(± 2000) Aho

TI.19.07.10

GFF
(± 1890) Aho
CT

CS

GMF
(± 1895) Aho
CT

GFM
(± 1895) Aho
CT

CS

GMM
(± 1900) Aho
CT

FATHER
(± 1920) Aho
CT

CS

MOTHER
(± 1925) Aho
CT

FIL
(± 1920) Aho
CT

PER

MIL
(± 1925) Aho
IT

SIBLING 1

TI.19.07.10
(1950) Aho
CT

PER

PARTNER
(1950) Aho
IT

SIBLING 2

CHDREN
(± 1975) Aho

369
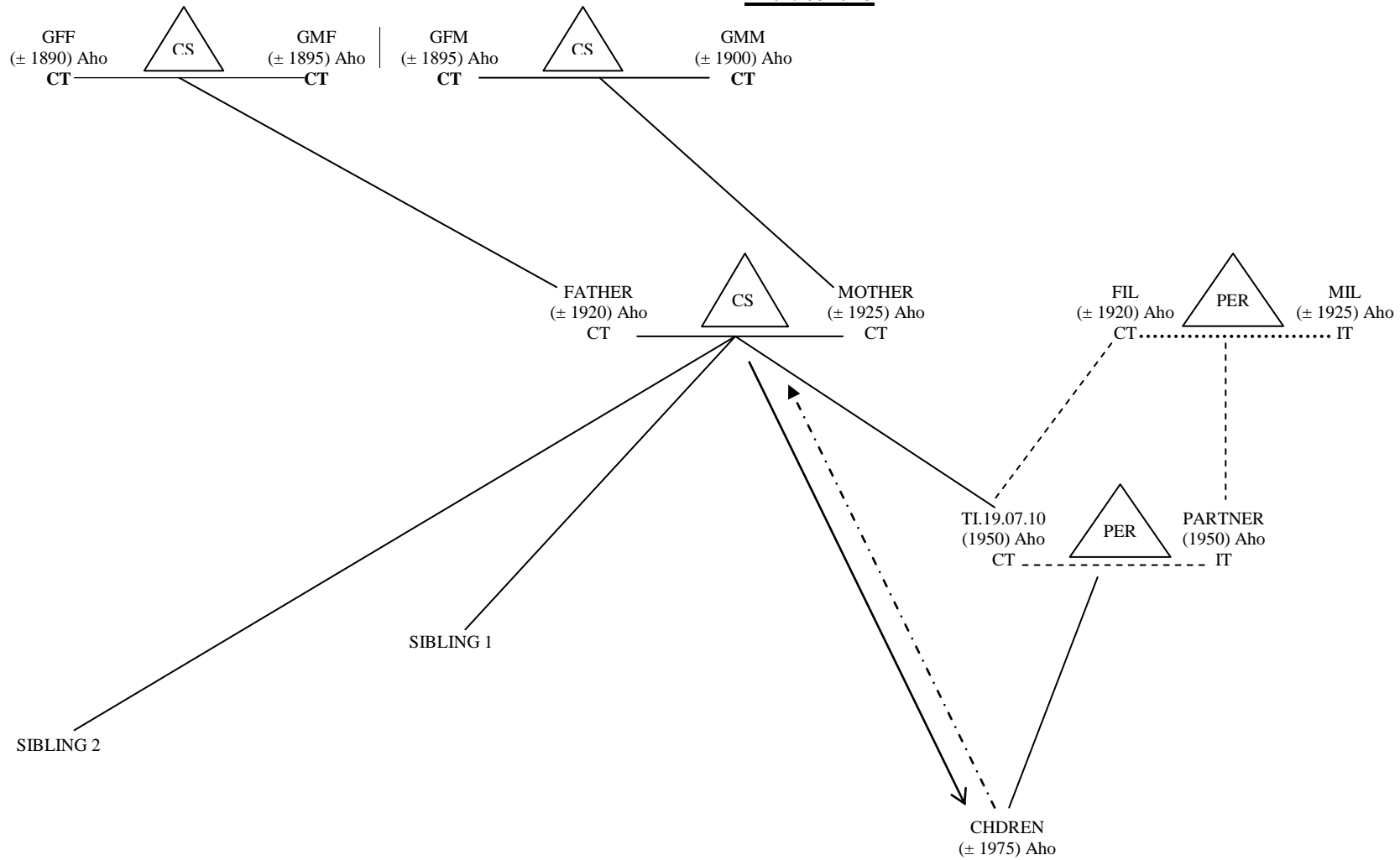
Annex 7: Social networks map

The social network map is the result of a simple questionnaire, conducted either at the end or at the beginning of each interview. The questions the informants are asked are about their (and their partners) relationships. They were asked to think about three people they are in contact with since before they settled down as a family with the current partner. They are asked the same about their partners. The social network by itself cannot provide with much information, but complemented with the information obtained through the interviews are a useful tool to understand the mechanisms behind language use. In principle, the social network map should fulfil the following objectives:

1. To disclose, though partially, the type of social network the informant is part of. Most of all, it should give us useful information about what is the main language variety that links all the members together.
2. To find out how the type of social network has affected the linguistic relationship between the informant and the partner.

Questionnaire (*Alguerès*):

- Pensa/pensi a 3 persones que coneixes/coneix de primer de te/se casar.
- La primera l'avisarem X, la segona Y i la terça Z.
- Qui tipo de contacte(s) tens/té amb a aqueixa persona [treball, amicícia, parentela, etc.]?
- Qui freqüència té el contacte amb a aqueixa persona [cada dia, una volta a la setmana, etc.]?
- Quale és la llengua que empres amb X, Y, Z?
- Ta/sa Muller ton/son marit tè contacte amb aqueixes persones o amb a calqui una d'elles? Qui tipo de contacte és [treball, amicícia, parentela, etc.] i qui freqüència té [cada dia, una volta a la setmana, etc.]? Quale és la llengua que empren?
- Ara pensa/pensi a 3 persones que ta/sa Muller ton/son marit coneix de primer de se casar.
- La primera l'avisarem X1, la segona Y1 i la terça Z1.

- Qui tipo de contacte(s) té ta/sa Muller ton/son marit amb a aqueixa persona [treball, amicícia, parentela, etc.]?
- Qui freqüència té el contacte que ta/sa Muller ton/son marit té amb a aqueixa persona [cada dia, una volta a la setmana, etc.]?
- Quale és la llengua que ta/sa Muller ton/son marit empra amb aqueixes persones?
- Tu/vosté tens/té contacte amb a aqueixes persones o amb a calqui una d'elles? Qui tipo de contacte és [treball, amicícia, parentela, etc.] i qui freqüència té? Qual és la llengua que empren?
- X, Y i Z se coneixen? Qui tipo de contacte tenen? Qui freqüència? Qui llengua empren?
- X coneix X1, Y1 Z1? Qui tipo de contacte tenen? Qui freqüència? Qui llengua empren?
- Y coneix X1, Y1 Z1? Qui tipo de contacte tenen? Qui freqüència? Qui llengua empren?
- Z coneix X1, Y1 Z1? Qui tipo de contacte tenen? Qui freqüència? Qui llengua empren?

Questionnaire (Italian):

- Pensa/pensi a 3 persone che conosce/conosci da prima di sposarti/si.
- La prima la chiameremo X, la seconda Y e la terza Z.
- Che tipo di rapporto/contatto hai/ha con questa persona? [lavoro, amicizia, parentela, ecc.]
- Con che frequenza vedi/vede sente/senti queste persone [ogni giorno, una volta alla settimana, ecc.]
- In che lingua parli con X, Y, Z?
- Tua/sua moglie tuo/suo marito é in contatto con queste persone o con qualcuna di loro? Che tipo di contatto é [lavoro, amicizia, parentela, ecc.]? Con che frequenza li vede/sente [ogni giorno, una volta alla settimana, ecc.]? In che lingua parlano?
- Adesso pensa/pensi a 3 persone che tua/sua moglie tuo/suo marito conosce da prima di sposarvi.
- La prima la chiameremo X1, la seconda Y1 e la terza Z1.
- Che tipo di contatto ha tua/sua moglie tuo/suo marito con queste persone [lavoro, amicizia, parentela, ecc.]?
- Con che frequenza tua/sua moglie tuo/suo marito vede/sente queste persone [ogni giorno, una volta alla settimana, ecc.]?
- Che lingua utilizza tua/sua moglie tuo/suo marito con queste persone?
- Tu/lei ha contatti con queste persone o con qualcuna di loro? Che tipo di contatti [lavoro, amicizia, parentela, ecc.]? Con che frequenza li vede/sente [ogni giorno, una volta alla settimana, ecc.]? Che lingua parlate tra di voi?
- X, Y e Z si conoscono tra di loro? Che tipo di contatti hanno? Con che frequenza si sentono/vedono? Che lingua parlano tra di loro?
- X conosce X1, Y1 Z1? Che tipo di contatti hanno? Con che frequenza si vedono/sentono? Che lingua parlano?

- Y conosce X1, Y1 Z1? Che tipo di contatti hanno? Con che frequenza si vedono/sentono? Che lingua parlano?
- Z conosce X1, Y1 Z1? Che tipo di contatti hanno? Con che frequenza si vedono/sentono? Che lingua parlano?
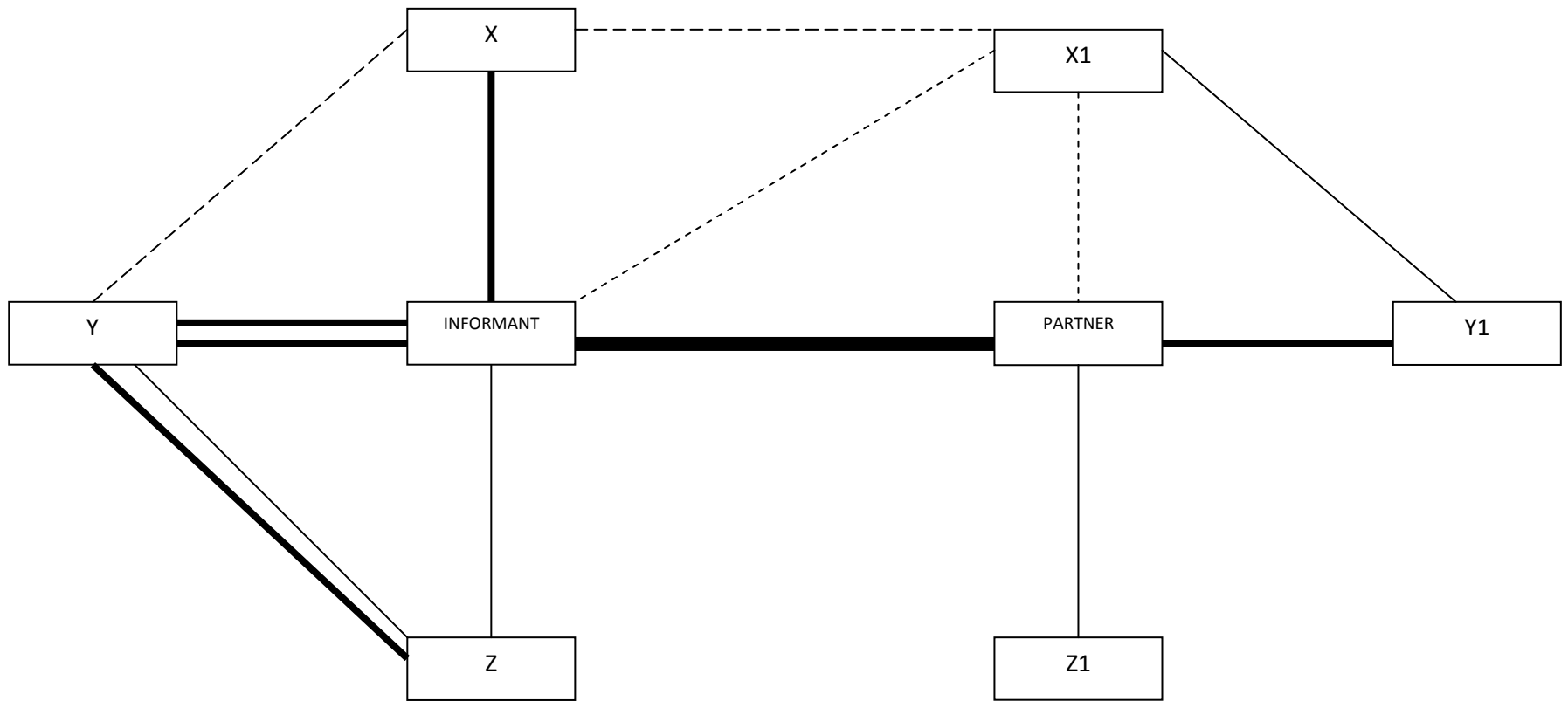
As in for the family tree diagram (see Annex 6):

———————————— : The language of interaction is *Alguerès*

·—··—··—··—··—·· : The interlocutors alternate between Italian and *Alguerès*

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - : The language of interaction is Italian

·························· : The language of interaction is Sardinian

—··—··—··—··—··— : The interlocutors alternate between Sardinian and Italian

——————————→ : The arrow indicates that the use of a language is unidirectional

Double lines, on the other hand, represent multiplex ties, for example, kinship and friendship.

The thickness of the lines indicates the frequency of the interactions: the thicker the line the greater the frequency and vice-versa.