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Attitudes of University Students in Castellón de la Plana Toward Valencian Catalan and Castilian

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Attitudes of University Students in Castellón de la Plana Toward Valencian Catalan and Castilian

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Attitudes of University Students in Castellón de la Plana Toward Valencia Catalan and Castilian

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This study investigated language attitudes toward Valencian Catalan and Castilian among university affiliates in Castellón de la Plana, Spain. One hundred informants completed an online survey regarding attitudes toward and uses of Valencian and Castilian in various situations. The results were first analyzed globally, then again based on the independent variables of age, sex, and mother tongue. The findings suggest that overall, informants held positive attitudes toward Valencian and Castilian and believed that it was important that the local language be preserved and passed down to the next generation. University-aged participants, those whose first language was either Valencian or both Valencian and Castilian, and females tended to hold slightly more positive attitudes toward Valencian than other groups.

Keywords: Valencian, Catalan, Castilian, Valencia, Castellón de la Plana, language attitudes

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Modern-day Spain houses many different languages, each holding varying levels of official recognition. The majority language of Spain is commonly referred to as Spanish, but since my research takes place in Valencia, where this language is more commonly referred to as Castilian, I will refer to the majority language of Spain as Castilian here. Despite the presence of Castilian throughout the country, Spain has also undergone varying levels of acceptance of regional minority languages over time. One example of this cycle of regional linguistic prestige and stripped prestige is the situation of the Catalan language, which pertains to the eastern side of Spain, where the present-day Valencian Community, Balearic Islands, and Catalonia are located.

In the 13th century, Catalan was the language of Catalonia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands. During that time, Catalan held high prestige and was routinely used to trade goods between big cities using official government contracts, to trade produce between neighbors in rural villages, and everything in-between. Catalan benefited from this prestige for many years, until the upper social classes began to prefer Castilian in the 16th century as it began to gain popularity, especially in Valencia, among those who desired to demonstrate allegiance to the Castilian Crown. This process picked up even more when Philip V came to power and Castilian began to trickle into more and more territories. (Huguet Canalís and Lasagabaster 2007). As this unfolded, Spain's political leaders put a lot of effort into unifying the different regions of Spain, and in the 1850s this resulted in laws that mandated that the language of instruction in schools would be Castilian. From then on through the beginning of the 1900s, Castilian became even more prevalent as regional languages were suppressed in schools.

Most regional Spanish languages suffered greatly from these laws, but at the same time as this was occurring, Catalan began to undergo a literary movement, referred to as the *Reinaixença*. As part of this movement, authors published more literature in Catalan and orthography and grammar became standardized. This ensured that Catalan maintained prestige in Catalonia, despite the simultaneous push to increase the use of Castilian. However, Valencian Catalan did not benefit from the same prestige. In the Valencian region, “unlike the social status of the language in Catalonia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Catalan was mainly spoken in towns and rural areas, whereas Spanish was seen as a prestigious language” (Huguet Canalís and Lasagabaster 2007).

Although Castilian had become the main language of the country, other languages were still routinely used until Primo de Rivera began to crack down with fines and jail time for those who chose to use regional languages over Castilian in public and official affairs. Of course it was impossible to completely wipe out these regional languages within a short time frame, and under new leadership, Article 4 of The Constitution of the Republic of Spain of 1931 decreed:

1. El castellano es el idioma oficial de la República.
2. Todo español tiene obligación de saberlo y derecho de usarlo, sin perjuicio de los derechos que las leyes del Estado reconozcan a las lenguas de las provincias o regiones.
3. Salvo lo que se disponga en leyes especiales a nadie se le podrá exigir el conocimiento ni el uso de ninguna lengua regional.

Under this constitution, the Republic still recognized only Castilian as the official language; however, regional languages were not completely suppressed as they were under Primo de Rivera’s reign. During this same year, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts decreed

that in order for education to be efficient and to work, students needed to learn in their mother tongue. Schools were then granted the autonomy to teach in a combination of Catalan and Castilian and rules against speaking Catalan and other regional languages were relaxed until Francisco Franco came to power in the late 1930s.

Franco was a totalitarian leader, and he determined that in order to create greater unity within the country, he needed to establish Castilian as the only language spoken in Spain. He declared: “El carácter de cada región será respetado, pero sin perjuicio de la unidad nacional, que la queremos absoluta, con una sola lengua, el castellano, y una sola personalidad, la española” (cited in Seco, Salvador, and Dé 1955). For forty years, he repressed the use of regional Spanish languages until his death in 1975, when existing nationalist laws were replaced with a democratic constitution that decentralized power and recognized regional languages like Catalan and Basque. Article 3.1 of The Constitution of 1978 states:

1. El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.
2. Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.
3. La riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección.

This article was a huge success for proponents of preserving regional languages, as it granted Autonomous Communities power to declare multiple official languages. By that time though, regional languages had already suffered from decreased use and many had become minority languages even in their own territories. Members of the middle class still held onto Catalan even in the bigger cities in Catalonia, but in most other regions, Castilian had flooded the cities. This

meant that with the exception of Catalan in Catalonia, pockets of more rural villages held the only high concentrations of speakers of the regional languages at all social levels. In order to rejuvenate these now threatened languages, a number of communities began to require the use of the regional language in education either in conjunction with Castilian, or in place of Castilian.

In Valencia, Valencian was granted co-official status with Castilian and is taught in many schools as well. Forced bilingual education has received a lot of scrutiny though, and some question whether it really helps people use the minority language more and whether it actually improves public perception of the value of maintaining the minority language. Despite the ongoing discussion regarding the role that language planning and policy should play in maintaining minority languages, Lasagabaster agrees with Gardner's assertion that "los estudios confirman que existe una estrecha relación entre las actitudes lingüísticas y el nivel de competencia alcanzado en la lengua en cuestión y aquí, una vez más, destaca la influencia de la escuela" (Lasagabaster 2014). If this statement is true, then the educational systems have the potential to play an important role in increasing the prestige and use of regional languages.

Although studies of language attitudes have gained increased recognition since Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum's 1960 study conducted in Quebec, which addressed attitudes of monolinguals and bilinguals toward French and English and trail blazed new territories of sociolinguistic and attitudinal studies, there is still much to learn about language attitudes involving different world languages and regions, including Spain.

The Valencian Community is located along the eastern coast of Spain, directly beneath Catalonia. Valencian – a dialect of Catalan – is recognized, as already stated, within the Valencian Community as a co-official language with Castilian. According to the 2015 survey of 6,691 people from varying parts of the Valencian Community conducted by the Generalitat

Valenciana, 56.4% of those born in a predominantly Valencian-speaking zone in the Valencian Community know how to speak Valencian either quite well or perfectly, and 14.7% of those born in a predominantly Castilian-speaking zone in the Valencian Community know how to speak Valencian either quite well or perfectly. The numbers of those who understand Valencian is higher, with 77.6% of respondents from predominantly Valencian-speaking zones and 37.3% from predominantly Castilian-speaking zones reporting that they understand Valencian either quite well or perfectly. In the predominantly Valencian-speaking zone of Castellón, the percentages of people who are comfortable speaking and understanding Valencian is even higher. Of those surveyed, 82.2% indicated that they speak Valencian either perfectly or quite well, and 100% indicated that they understand Valencian either perfectly or quite well.

Valencian schools are encouraged to teach at least part of the day in Valencian, but there are several different models for how to do that, each requiring varying amounts of Valencian to actually be used and produced (see Huguet Canalís and Lasagabaster 2007). Participants from my study were largely university students who were studying in the province of Castellón within the Valencian Community. According to Huguet Canalís and Lasagabaster (2007), “Castelló is the province where most schools have adopted bilingual programmes, both in primary (aged between 6 and 12 years) and secondary (aged between 12 and 16 years) education.” They also mention that Valencian is often used in a high number of both formal and informal situations in this province. This will likely be reflected in the results of my study, making the percentages of people who know and use Valencian higher than the averages reported by the Generalitat Valenciana in 2015.

I am interested to know how residents of the Valencian Community who are bilingual in Valencian and Castilian view the importance of encouraging the continued learning and use of

Valencian Catalan. I hypothesize that participants who learned either Valencian or both Valencian and Castilian as their mother tongue will feel comfortable speaking Valencian, and will thus hold stronger opinions in favor of the maintenance of Valencian Catalan. Valencian is recognized as a dialect of Catalan by linguists, but in an effort to distinguish themselves from Catalonia, where Catalan is an official language, many Valencians prefer to think of it as its own language. (Triano López 2007). For this reason, I will refer to the variety of Catalan spoken in Valencia as Valencian instead of Catalan.

Several types of surveys have been used to assess language attitudes. My survey will be very heavily based on one that José Luis Blas Arroyo used as part of a study conducted in Valencia in 1994. Before delving into the details of Blas Arroyo's study though, it is important to touch on a few earlier language attitude studies.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

It can be difficult to accurately measure attitudes that a community holds toward certain languages or dialects, but over the past 40 years or so, researchers have worked to make language attitude studies more reliable. The first step toward properly evaluating language attitudes is to define what language attitudes are. In order to do this, I will consider other scholars' definitions, which I have pulled from Coronel-Molina's (2009) compilation of definitions that other social scientists and linguists have proposed. A concise explanation of language attitudes is simply that they are "the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others" (Crystal 1997). This definition points us in the right direction, but is not precise enough to be used as an evaluative tool.

In order to understand the application of Crystal's definition, we must delve a little deeper into the literature. Edwards (1994) defines language attitude as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects". He then breaks this disposition into three components: "feelings (affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and, following upon these, predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioural element)". According to Edwards' and many other views of language attitudes (see Coronel-Molina (2009) for more definitions), what we think and feel toward other languages is not always consistent with how we actually behave toward other languages. Our attitudes regarding a language include all three of these components, but in reality, oftentimes positive feelings and thoughts toward a language do not translate into positive behaviors toward a language (i.e. using it voluntarily in a variety of contexts), which is part of the reason that evaluating language attitudes can be difficult. Casesnoves Ferrer and Sankoff (2004) studied the passive and active capabilities in the Valencian language of members of the city of Valencia in 1986, 1991, and 1996. In agreement

with this idea that usage often lags behind understanding of a language, they found that across those ten years, “the proportion of people who can understand Valencian is roughly double the proportion who can speak it” and that “the degree of active competence has increased dramatically only in the younger [ages 5-19] age groups”. They attribute this increase to the introduction of Valencian into schools.

Another factor to take into consideration when conducting a study of this nature is how the attitudes that respondents might hold toward the people who speak the language might affect the results of the study. In his introductory overview, Edwards (1994) states that “it is not surprising that most linguistic preferences – based upon historical pedigree, aesthetic judgement, 'logic' or whatever – reveal a liking for one's own variety ". As this finding suggests, it can be challenging to separate attitudes toward a language from attitudes toward a group of people.

The studies most important and relevant to this investigation are those conducted by Lambert in Quebec, Triano López in Valencia, Blas Arroyo in Valencia, and Casesnoves Ferrer in Valencia. As Adegbiya asserts, language attitudes are not innate, so they are subject to change (Adegbiya 1994). Some factors that may lead to this change in attitude may relate to current or past politics, attitudes that parents and other mentors hold, personal experiences with different languages or speakers of those languages, the media, or one's personal background. Because of the nature of surveys of language attitudes, these biases based on extralinguistic factors are sure to manifest themselves in any survey, including the present study.

Many linguists point back to Lambert’s work conducted in Quebec in the 1960s as the series of studies that spurred an interest in language attitudes. In 1960, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum investigated language attitudes held by students from Quebec toward French and English (both French and English were widely spoken in the region). In order to

reduce bias and in an attempt to obtain more solid data, Lambert and his colleagues performed a matched guise test, in which they gathered recordings of bilingual speakers of French and English. The speakers recorded the same paragraph in both French and English, then the researchers shuffled the order of the recordings before participants listened to them. Participants were then asked to judge the speakers' personality and character traits on a Likert Scale from 1 to 7, without knowing that they would hear the same speakers in the French and in the English recordings. Interestingly, regardless of participants' first language, the majority responded more positively to the English recordings than to the French recordings.

In 1963, Preston decided to take this study one step further by adding female voices to the matched guise voice recordings and found that the speakers' and judges' genders played an important role as well, since female French Canadian judges tended to favor English Canadian female voices and French Canadian male voices. Anisfeld and Lambert then published a study in 1964 dealing with judges' ages. They wanted to find out at what age French Canadians began to discriminate against their own mother tongue. The results of their study demonstrated that at ten years old, French Canadian children still favored their mother tongue, although by the time they were university students they favored English over French. As a continuation of the 1964 study, Lambert, Frankel, and Tucker (1966) used the same test on female students from ages nine to eighteen and found that at about age twelve, French Canadian girls, especially those in private schools, began to favor English over French.

Since the time of these studies conducted in Quebec, other studies of language attitudes have been performed in Spain in order to compare the prestige of Castilian with minority languages spoken in Spain, such as Catalan. Interestingly, it appears that some minority

languages of Spain, including Valencian, have actually increased in prestige over time, particularly in recent years.

In 1994, José Luis Blas Arroyo found in a study that he conducted in Campanar, a city northwest of the city of Valencia, that Valencian had begun to gain prestige in Campanar. Although Campanar has a high Valencian-speaking population, Valencian is not as prevalent as it is in Castellón de la Plana, where my investigation took place. He surveyed 196 individuals according to age, sex, level of education, and socioeconomic status, using a survey structured similarly to Weinreich's 1951 study of language contact in Switzerland. He divided the responses into four main categories: linguistic loyalty, linguistic pride, linguistic utility, and linguistic rejection.

Linguistic loyalty was evaluated by asking respondents whether Valencian should be used as a mode of communication in various educational settings. Blas Arroyo found that the more favorable responses to the use of Valencian in education came from women, from those who were younger than 25 and older than 66, bilinguals in Valencian and Castilian, and those born in primarily Valencian-speaking zones. Of his respondents, 56% agreed that Valencian should be used at the elementary school level, 50% agreed that Valencian should be used at the late-secondary school level (*bachillerato*), and 47% agreed that Valencian should be used at the university level. Blas Arroyo also found that immigrants were less likely to value Valencian, which is in line with what other more recent studies have found (see Madariaga, Huguet, and Janés 2016).

In order to determine the level of pride that Valencians felt for their Valencian dialect, Blas Arroyo asked respondents whether or not they agreed that those who live in Valencia should know Valencian. Again, women, bilinguals, those born in Valencian-speaking

communities, and those pertaining to the middle socioeconomic class responded more favorably toward Valencian. Blas Arroyo also asked whether people should speak Valencian in official business settings and in the media. The “yes” responses were fairly equal for both questions, with approximately 53% of respondents agreeing that Valencian should be used in official matters and in the media. However, the “no” responses were stronger with reference to the media, with 30% of respondents reporting that Valencian should not be used in the media, whereas only 22% rejected the thought of using Valencian for official business. Again, Blas Arroyo found that monolinguals, men, and young adults tended to disfavor the use of Valencian more than bilinguals, women, and younger respondents.

Blas Arroyo’s third category, linguistic utility, refers to the perceived usefulness of a language in certain contexts. The purpose of this section of the survey was to determine the attitudes of respondents toward the use of Valencian in their daily lives, in which social situations they preferred to use Valencian, and whether or not there was an increased interest in learning Valencian. Blas Arroyo found that 59% of respondents agreed that Valencian should be used in social day-to-day interactions, while only 13% disagreed. Again, he found that women, younger respondents, bilinguals, and those born in Valencian-speaking communities were more likely to respond positively. Immigrants or emigrants and monolinguals were less enthusiastic. Of all participants, the majority (66%) agreed that it is important that their children learn Valencian.

The fourth and final category of Blas Arroyo’s study dealt with linguistic rejection, or negative feelings toward a language. Blas Arroyo tested attitudes toward both Castilian and Valencian and found that overall, most people did not mind being addressed in either language, although the percentage of people who were bothered by being approached in Castilian was

considerably lower (8% of respondents) than that for those who were bothered by being approached in Valencian (24%). Unsurprisingly, 25% of monolinguals in Castilian from the city of Valencia harbored a negative attitude toward Valencian.

In 1995, Blas Arroyo conducted another study that focused on the prestige of Barcelona Catalan and Valencian Catalan, as well as of two different varieties of Castilian. For this investigation, he used a matched guise technique to survey bilingual Catalan-Spanish speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers in Valencia who were completing their late-secondary (*bachillerato*) education. He found that the variety of Catalan that is spoken in Barcelona tended to carry greater prestige than that spoken in Valencia, perhaps due to the stronger ties between Catalan and regional identity and pride in Catalonia.

In 2004, Casesnoves Ferrer and Sankoff published a study that also used a matched guise test in order to evaluate attitudes toward Valencian, this time with high schoolers in and just outside the city of Valencia. They found that though attitudes toward Valencian seemed to be improving, actual use of Valencian lagged behind in most situations. Despite this lag in use, they also found that language normalization efforts to increase the use of Valencian in settings beyond family interactions seemed to be helping, as use of Valencian in other environments, in particular in some higher government business, had increased.

In 2007, Triano López published a study about how language attitudes relate to language planning in the Valencian Community. In his own words, the goal of his study was to “analyze whether attitudinal factors outweigh language-planning measures by extending the body of research to Valencian”. He found that there is a significant Castilian influence in the Valencian lexicon, despite the efforts of the Valencian government to increase the prestige and linguistic purity of Valencian through language planning methods. He also found that as Castilianization of

Valencian at the lexical level decreased, there was an increase in linguistic loyalty toward the spreading of Valencian and toward Valencian lexicon and there was an increase in the endorsement of promoting pure Valencian. More concisely stated, those who spoke Valencian with fewer Castilian borrowings tended to demonstrate increased loyalty to Valencian. Triano López' findings suggest that speakers' attitudes are important to the success of any language purification efforts.

As I will not be using a matched guise test or evaluating the successes and failures of language planning, my study most closely resembles Blas Arroyo's 1994 investigation in Campanar. I have borrowed heavily from his survey questions in order to comment on trends present among university students in Castellón de la Plana, Valencia.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This survey investigates attitudes toward Castilian and Valencian among university students in Castellón de la Plana, a city situated on the Mediterranean coast in the northern half of the Autonomous Community of Valencia. This is an area of Valencia where many, if not most, inhabitants speak both languages. The fact that the default language of the website for the local university where this survey was distributed, Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, is Valencian is worth noting in this regard. However, since my survey was distributed at a university to where students may have traveled in order to study, it is probable that not all participants are actually from Castellón de la Plana. For this reason, results are particular to university-aged individuals who have resided in some part of the Valencian Community since before age 6 and may not be revealing of views held by other residents of this city.

Before launching this investigation, I secured the requisite permissions to distribute an online survey of this nature in Spain. In order to do this, I collaborated with Brigham Young University's Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects. I also contacted the equivalent review boards at two universities in Valencia, informing them of my desire to survey their students' attitudes toward and use of Castilian and Valencian in various settings. Although I received no response from either of these institutions, Brigham Young University's IRB agreed to allow me to proceed with the assistance of a professor based at one of them. Fortunately, I was able to secure the support and assistance of Professor José Luis Blas Arroyo, a distinguished sociolinguist and professor of philology and European cultures at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló. With his support, I was granted permission to proceed with the distribution of an online survey. The following summarizes the methodology adopted.

The Instrument

I used Qualtrics Survey Software in order to create an online questionnaire that could easily be sent to university students in Valencia. I wrote the survey in Castilian, but did not specify which language respondents should use when completing it. My main purpose was to investigate attitudes toward Valencian and Castilian in Castellón de la Plana, so I included questions designed to elicit attitudes regarding (i) general use of Valencian and Castilian in various settings; (ii) respondents' own use of Valencian and Castilian in these settings; and (iii) respondents' attitudes toward encouraging the use of Valencian and Castilian in the future. In order to identify any potential variables, I also asked for a few details about each respondent's background, including age, sex, area of study, linguistic background, and how long he or she had lived in the Valencian Community. The questionnaire resembles that used by Blas Arroyo in his 1994 study of the use of Valencian and Castilian in Campanar, which is situated just west of the Spanish city of Valencia.

Informants

I eventually chose to survey only university students enrolled at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló. My reasoning was that a university network would allow me to quickly and easily distribute the survey to a large number of informants of similar age and socio-cultural background by using a snowball method to gather sufficient data. Although the survey was distributed to university students, anyone who received the survey link might have completed it. The independent variables that are typically considered in this type of survey are: age, sex, mother tongue, and socio-cultural status. Since all of my informants received the survey through connections at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, it is probable that they have similar socio-

cultural backgrounds. For this reason, I have clustered all informants into the same socio-cultural group and this will not be considered an independent variable in this analysis.

Age. The relevance of age as a variable in this kind of study has to do in part with the length of time lived in the bilingual community. This is because those who move to a bilingual community without a knowledge of the local language are likely to have a different attitude toward that language than those who have been exposed to it and learned it as a child.

Learning another language becomes much more difficult as we age, and according to Lenneberg's 1967 Critical Period Theory, this is especially true if the learning process begins after puberty. Late language learners are likely never to achieve native-like competence, and the difficulty they have in expressing themselves in that new language may affect their attitude toward the language. However, research also shows that those who immigrate to a new linguistic setting before age 6 are able to demonstrate linguistic competence equal to that of those born and raised in that linguistic setting (Lenneberg 1967). If this is so, their attitude to the local language/languages is likely to be similar to that of those born and raised in the community.

In total, 110 informants completed my online survey. The majority of informants (100 of 110) had lived in the Valencian Community long enough to have gained native control of the language (since birth or before age 6). I decided to exclude the responses of the 10 informants who arrived in the Valencian Community after this age largely because the time they had lived in this community varied considerably and thus they did not form a homogenous group. The 100 informants whose responses will be considered in this analysis ranged in age from 18-44. Of these, 93 fell within the 18-30 age range and the majority (76 informants) fell within the 18-23 age range. For the purposes of this investigation, I have divided my informants into two age groups: 18-23 and 24-44 years old. This division is based on the assumption that those who fall

within the 18-23 age range are likely either still university students or very recent graduates, whereas those who fall within the 24-44 age range have likely already completed their university education.

Sex. Men and women tend to use and view language in different ways, so sex is often considered an independent variable in sociolinguistic surveys. Since I was not in any contact with those who received my survey link and I was removed from the distribution process, I do not know how many males and females received the link to my survey. I had hoped to receive a somewhat even distribution, but in the end, 70 informants who identified themselves as female and 29 who identified themselves as male will be represented in my analysis. One additional participant chose not to answer this question. That participant's responses will be included in all parts of the following analysis except for in the section dealing with sex as an independent variable.

Mother tongue. Although all of my informants indicated that they speak both Castilian and Valencian, it is possible that the order in which they learned the languages may have affected their feelings toward the two languages. Someone who learned Valencian as his or her second or third language also may not be as fluent in Valencian (even if he or she began the language learning process early), and this could also affect the speaker's attitude toward the language. Even though one may speak both languages without difficulty, it is possible that he or she values one for instrumental reasons and the other for more affective or integrative purposes. In other words, the speaker may identify with one language more than with the other.

Of the responses that I analyzed, 42 people listed Valencian as their mother tongue, 31 listed Castilian as their mother tongue, and 25 claimed both Valencian and Castilian as their mother tongue. Only 2 respondents didn't learn Valencian or Castilian as their first language

(one first learned Berber and the other Romanian). Given this information and what we know about bilingual speakers from areas with regional languages (we know for instance, that even though most Catalans living in Catalonia speak both Catalan and Castilian fluently, they tend to identify more with Catalan than with Castilian), it seems reasonable to include mother tongue as a potential independent variable.

All respondents indicated that they knew both Valencian and Castilian and all but two learned both simultaneously (24 respondents) or as their first and second languages. Of the two who did not learn Castilian and Valencian as their first and second languages, one learned Castilian as a third language and one learned Valencian as a third language.

Other potential variables. I also asked about informants' university areas of specialization, and whether or not respondents speak any languages in addition to the first and second languages that they had already noted. Because I used a snowball effect to gather responses, most informants (66 of 100) studied education, with 56 of this majority specifically studying elementary education. Consequently, the results of my sample are more accurately linked with attitudes that university students who are studying to be educators or university graduates who are educators in Valencia hold toward Valencian. Since so many of my informants intend to teach elementary school where Valencian is commonly used as the language of instruction, their responses may reflect what we may expect to find in the school system in coming years.

I asked about additional language experience out of curiosity, not expecting it to be a significant variable (and it wasn't). However, I do find it interesting to note that 78 respondents speak a third, fourth, fifth, or even sixth language. While these final two variables (area of

university specialization and additional language experience) may be worth considering in more detail in future studies of this type, they will not be analyzed here.

Distribution of the Survey

Professor José Luis Blas Arroyo graciously sent a link for the online survey to his students at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló and to his colleagues in the Department of Philology and European Cultures so that they could send the link to their students if they desired. Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, is situated in the city of Castellón de la Plana, which, as stated in the Introduction, is located along the northern coast of the Spanish Autonomous Community of Valencia. Because of its location, many people in the region speak Valencian. Involvement in this survey was voluntary and no incentives or rewards were offered to those who completed the online survey, but everyone who participated was required to indicate consent to participate before completing the survey itself. Students were asked to share the survey with anyone else who might be interested in participating, so, as mentioned above, I used a snowball method to collect my data. Because of this, the majority of my responses came from pedagogy students.

Analysis of the Findings

Rather than claim any statistical significance for my findings, I have followed the method that Blas Arroyo used in his 1994 study in Campanar. This respected researcher used survey responses and percentages to discuss and describe some possible trends that his results pointed to. I will adopt a similar method in my analysis. Results will first be analyzed globally, followed by an analysis of the responses according to the independent variables of age, sex, and mother tongue.

In order to efficiently analyze the results of this 24-question survey, I have grouped similar questions together. Eight of the twenty-four questions gathered some personal details and

were used to determine the independent variables. I have grouped the remaining 16 questions into one of 6 categories of questions in order to facilitate my analysis. The groupings and the questions that they include are as follows: (i) Fluency in Valencian (“Do you feel comfortable speaking Valencian?”), (ii) Valencian in education (“Do you think that Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in primary schools?”, “Do you think that Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in late-secondary education or vocational school?”, and “Do you think that Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in universities?”), (iii) Valencian in various environments and situations (“Do you think that Valencian should be used for official business?”, “Do you think that Valencian should be used in the media?”, “Do you think that Valencian should be used for day-to-day activities?”, and “Which language do you use when you feel sad/excited or emotionally moved/angry?”), (iv) Children and Valencian (“Is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?”, “Why is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?, or Why not?”, “What activities do you do to help your children learn Valencian?”), (v) Acceptance of Castilian and Valencian (“Does it bother you when people address you in Castilian?” and “Does it bother you when people address you in Valencian?”), and finally (vi) Valencian and identity (“Do you think that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know how to speak Valencian?” and “‘The ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity’ Do you agree?”). I have divided my analysis based on the groupings of questions and on the variables I have identified.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings: Global Results

Introduction

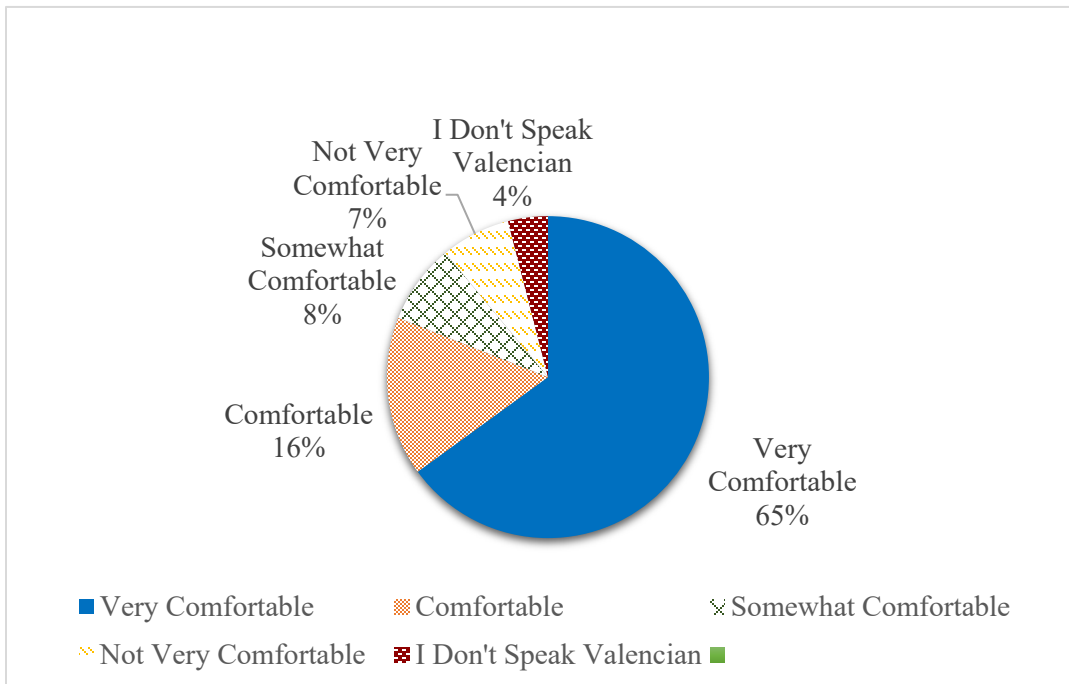
In this section of my analysis, I have included all responses that will be used in the analysis of the results of my survey with no regard for independent variables. The ages of these informants range from 18-44, but all have been living in the Valencian Community since before age 6, all speak both Valencian and Castilian, and all received this survey via connections at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló.

Fluency in Valencian

As represented in Table 1, the majority of respondents agreed that they feel at ease speaking Valencian, with 65% strongly agreeing that they feel comfortable speaking Valencian and 16% agreeing that they feel comfortable speaking Valencian.

Table 1

Global: Do you feel comfortable speaking in Valencian?



Although all participants represented in this analysis indicated that they speak both Valencian and Castilian at varying levels of fluency, 11% of my informants marked that they either do not feel comfortable speaking Valencian or don't speak it at all. I have no way of knowing why so many are uncomfortable speaking Valencian; however, since my informants came from a university population, it is possible that these informants came from regions of Valencia where Valencian is not as common, the social circles in which they use Valencian may be small, or perhaps they may have spent more time hearing Valencian than actually speaking it. Another possibility is that some informants may be covert bilinguals who know Valencian, but who hide their knowledge of the language by not speaking it.

Valencian and education

Three of my survey questions deal with attitudes toward the use of Valencian in educational settings. The responses to these questions point to a general trend toward decreased support for the use of Valencian in educational settings as students progress in their schooling. Of my informants, 79 agreed that Valencian should be used in elementary education instruction, 75 agreed that Valencian should be used in high school and other vocational instruction settings, and 65 agreed that it should be used in the university. Blas Arroyo found a similar trend toward decreased acceptance of Valencian at the university level in his 1995 study in Campanar, though it appears that more of my informants support the use of Valencian in all three educational settings. In response to the first two questions regarding the use of Valencian in elementary and late-secondary education, nine people believed that Valencian should *not* be used in those settings. In response to the question regarding the use of Valencian in a university setting, the number of people who believed that Valencian should not be used doubled to eighteen.

I did not ask participants to justify their responses to these questions, but we do know that increased education correlates with increased prestige universally, so responses to this question of whether or not Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in universities could indicate a tendency to offer Castilian slightly more prestige than Valencian. Additionally, materials at advanced levels tend to be published in more universal languages, such as Castilian or even English, which may also have affected the responses. Regardless of informants' reasoning, the differences are still marginal, and the number of emphatic responses against using Valencian in universities is low. A larger sample size and a rigorous statistical analysis would be necessary in order to indicate any level of statistical significance in the differences between the responses to these questions.

Valencian in various environments and situations

I asked participants whether they felt that Valencian should be used for day-to-day activities, used in the media, and used to conduct official business. These three categories of activities are listed from more informal, or less prestigious, activities to more formal, or more prestigious, activities. Results for this section followed a similar trend to the results of attitudes that respondents held toward using Valencian in lower and higher education. Regarding the appropriateness of the use of Valencian for day-to-day activities, 78 respondents agreed that Valencian should be used and only three thought it should not be used. When asked whether or not Valencian should be used in the media, 73 respondents agreed that Valencian should be used and seven thought it should not be used. In response to the question about the appropriateness of using Valencian for official business, 66 respondents agreed that Valencian should be used and sixteen thought it should not be used. For all three questions, the number of people who were

indifferent toward the use of Valencian in these situations was relatively consistent (between 17-20 informants).

Even though fewer informants advocated the use of Valencian for official business, still many more informants believed that it should be used when compared with the number of informants who believed that it should not be used. Like the results of attitudes toward the use of Valencian in educational settings, it appears that informants of this survey tended to prefer using Valencian for less formal activities.

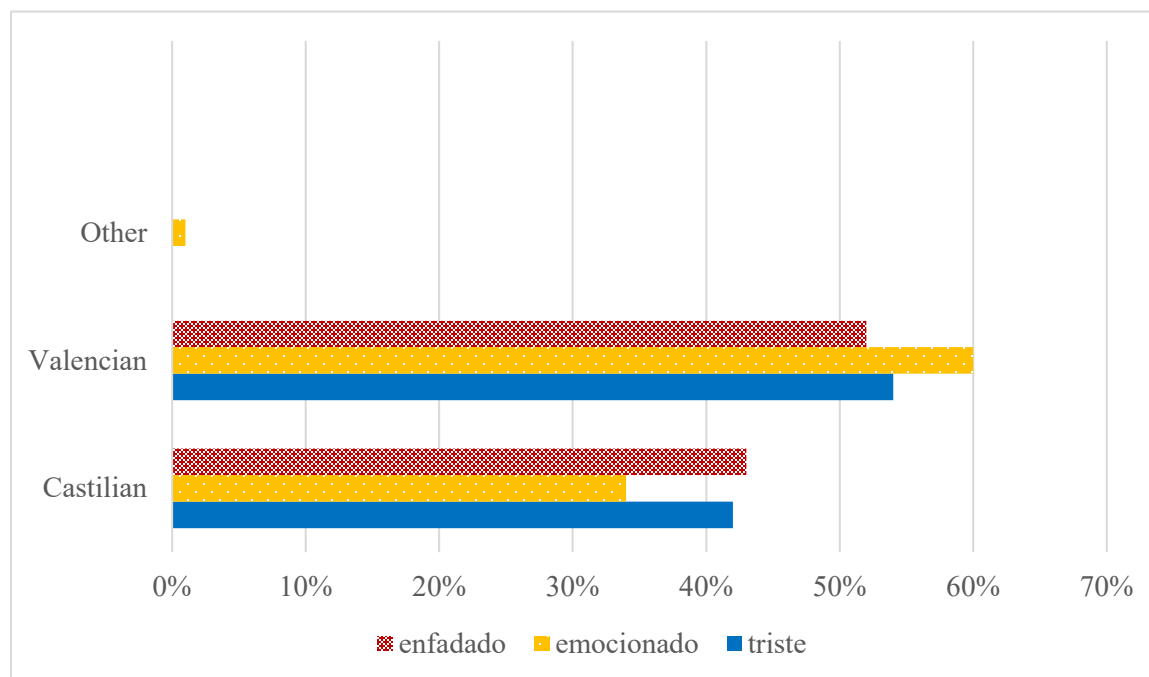
I also asked informants the open-ended question: “If you speak Valencian, in which social environments do you tend to use Valencian?”. Of my 100 participants, 87 responded to this question and although how exhaustive and specific the response was varied from person to person, I found that the majority of respondents use Valencian in most settings. Of the 87 responses, 67 mentioned the use of Valencian in social, work, and family settings. Thirty respondents wrote that they use Valencian whenever they can, and four indicated that they only speak Valencian when needed. Several of the informants who mentioned the use of Valencian at the university also said that it sometimes depended on the professor’s language preference. Nineteen respondents specifically said that they use Valencian when their interlocutor will understand, indicating the awareness of the interlocutor that most bilinguals acquire. I imagine that if I had specifically asked whether participants take into account language cues from their interlocutor, more would have demonstrated that linguistic awareness as well.

The final question that I asked regarding participants’ use of Valencian in different situations was: “Which language do you use when you feel sad/excited or moved emotionally/angry?” Between the three questions, I received 286 responses and as Table 2 represents, Valencian was the most common choice overall for the three different emotions.

However, I also encountered a couple of problems with the responses to the question represented by Table 2. The first problem is that the Spanish word *emocionado*, which I have translated as “excited”, can also be translated as “emotionally moved”. Without additional context or examples, I cannot say with certainty how my informants interpreted this question. Because of this, I have expressed the different emotions in Spanish in the above chart. Additionally, several informants provided comments regarding this question that indicated that the language used in these various emotional states depends more on the interlocutor or on which language they were already speaking when the feeling arose than on anything else. It is probable that others, who did not provide additional comments, agree with these remarks. Because of these comments and the ambiguity of the word *emocionado*, I will only consider the overall responses to this question (regarding which language is selected when experiencing heightened emotions) instead of examining each emotion separately.

Table 2

Global: What language do you use when you feel sad, excited/moved emotionally, or angry?



Children and Valencian

Most informants do not yet have children of their own; however, since so many informants (56) are planning to teach elementary school, this question was still relevant to many respondents. I asked participants how important it was to them that their children learn Valencian and why, as well as what activities they would do with their children to ensure that they learn Valencian. However, I have excluded the results of the last question in this series because most respondents said the same things: either they would talk with and read to their children/students in Valencian (future or current children), or they do not have children. After considering the results of this question in the context of the rest of the survey, I have decided that this question is not relevant enough to the rest of the investigation to include in my analysis.

Of the 98 informants who responded to the first question, 65 indicated that it was very important to them that their children learn Valencian, 25 indicated that it was fairly important, four indicated that it was a little important, one indicated that it was not important, and three indicated indifference toward whether or not their children learn Valencian. This indicates that the majority of participants (90) agreed that it was fairly or very important that their children learn Valencian. The fact that so many of these Valencian residents believe that Valencian is important/useful enough to pass down to the next generation suggests a continued trend toward wider acceptance and use of Valencian.

When asked why these respondents believed that it was important that their children learn Valencian, responses fell into several categories: because of the educational, work, or linguistic benefits (38 responses); in order to maintain the minority language (21 responses); because it is the/a language of Valencia and is thus tied to their culture and identity (62 responses); or because it is the mother tongue of the informant (20 responses). Since this was an open-ended question,

these responses likely only reflect the first few reasons that came to mind at the time informants completed the survey.

In 1985, Gardner suggested that all reasons for acquiring a second language fall into one of two categories: instrumental or integrative. Instrumental motives include those that are used to serve a purpose, usually to advance educationally or professionally; integrative motives refer to a desire to associate with and to become a part of another culture. This distinction can be useful in discerning motives for language maintenance as well. Based on Gardner's division of motives, 59 responses (42%) indicate more motives that are instrumental and 82 responses (58%) indicate more integrative motives. Research has shown that those whose desire to learn a language stems from a more integrative orientation tend to have more success in learning the target language (Gardner 1985). The fact that these results lean toward a more integrative rationale for teaching Valencian may bode well for the Valencian language.

Acceptance of Castilian and Valencian

In order to better compare general acceptance of Castilian and Valencian within the university population at Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, I asked whether or not it bothers participants when others speak to them in Castilian or in Valencian. All 100 informants responded to these questions and nobody indicated annoyance as a result of others carrying a conversation with them in one language or the other, but one person admitted that it bothers her a little when others speak to her in Valencian and seven stated that it bothers them a little when others speak to them in Castilian.

Valencian and identity

I asked two questions about the Valencian language and its ties to identity: "Do you think that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know how to speak Valencian?", and

whether or not respondents agree that the ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity. There was some discrepancy between the responses to the two questions, but overall, informants seemed to agree that speaking Valencian is an important aspect of Valencian identity. In response to the first question, 77 agreed that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know how to speak Valencian and seven disagreed. In response to the second question, 87 somewhat to very much agreed that the ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity and only five somewhat or very much disagreed.

Conclusion

Overall, I found a largely positive attitude toward the use of Valencian, especially in daily activities and in situations of a less formal nature. The large majority of participants indicated that they feel at ease speaking Valencian and agreed that Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in elementary and late-secondary education. Most informants also agreed that Valencian should be used in daily activities and in the media. Nonetheless, they also tended to indicate a decreased acceptance of Valencian in more formal settings, such as in university instruction and while conducting official business. Most informants also indicated that they use Valencian in social, work, and family interactions and when experiencing heightened emotions. The large majority of informants believe that it is important that their children learn Valencian, and the most common reasons that they provided include: because of work, educational, and linguistic benefits associated with learning Valencian or another language in general; and because Valencian is the language of Valencia and is thus tied to Valencian culture and identity. Not many informants indicated being even a little bit bothered when addressed in Castilian or in Valencian, and most did agree that knowing how to speak Valencian is part of the Valencian identity. Based on these general observations, it seems that as a whole, these participants hold

positive attitudes toward the use of Valencian, especially in less formal situations, and intend to pass the language on to their children.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Findings: Breakdown According to Independent Variables

In this section of my investigation, I have broken down my analysis based on the following independent variables: age, sex, and mother tongue. I will use the same question groupings as I used in my analysis of the global results in order to consider the results according to these independent variables. Again, this analysis is a description of my findings, as responses have not been analyzed for statistical significance. Refer to the end of Chapter 3 to see the questions included in each category. Percentages can be useful for comparing two groups, but where I have included percentages I have also counted the number of informants who responded in certain ways because of the unevenness of the response rate among the variable groups.

Age. In total, 76 of my informants fall into the 18-23 age range, and 24 informants are between the ages of 24-44. I have divided this variable into these two age groupings because those in the 18-23 age range are more likely to still be students. Because of this, the age groupings could also be referred to as “university-aged informants” and “post-university-aged informants”. It is impossible to draw strong correlations between age and responses because the number of informants in these two groups is skewed, but I would like to make a few observations about age based on the responses that I received.

Fluency in Valencian. Overall, 83% of respondents (20/24) in the 24-44 age range and 80% of respondents (61/76) in the 18-23 age range indicated that they feel either comfortable or very comfortable speaking Valencian. As with the global findings, the majority of these respondents from both groups indicated that they feel very comfortable speaking Valencian. The one notable difference between the two groups is that only one respondent in the older age group indicated that she does not feel very comfortable speaking Valencian, while six respondents in the younger age group indicated that they do not feel comfortable speaking Valencian. Of those

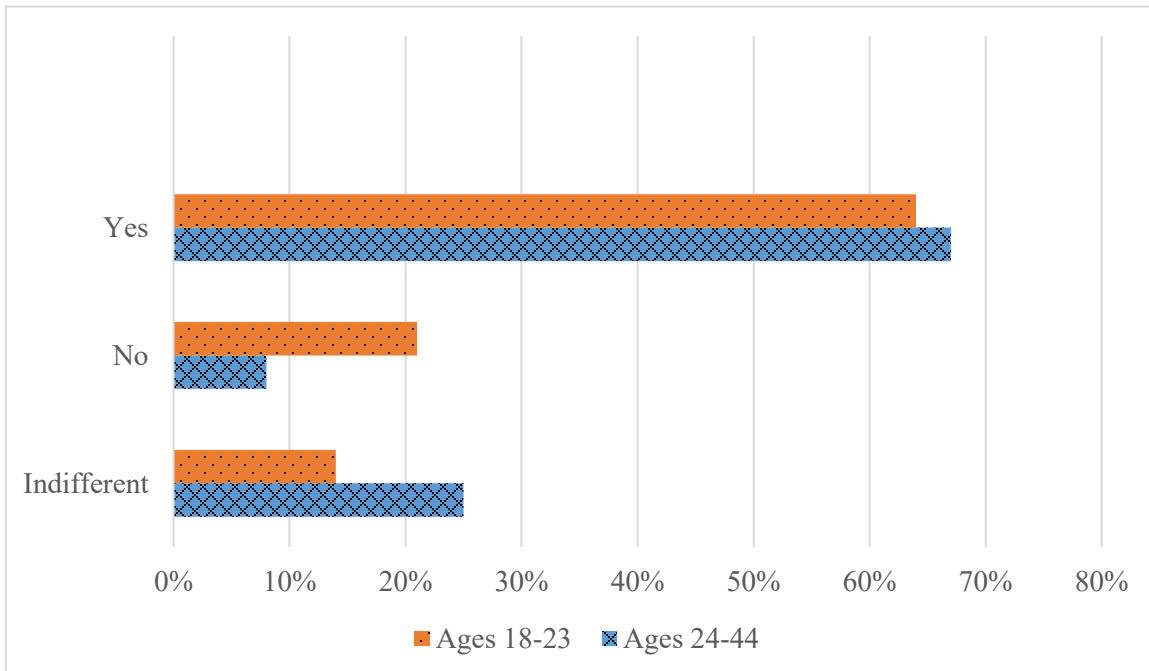
six responses, two informants learned Valencian as a first language and four learned Valencian as a second language, but all have lived in Valencia their whole lives and know both languages.

Valencian and education. About the same percentage of respondents in both age groups supported the use of Valencian in elementary schools but the older group had a slightly higher percentage of informants who did not support the use of Valencian in elementary schools and the younger group had a slightly higher percentage of informants who were indifferent toward the use of Valencian in elementary schools. Responses to whether or not Valencian should be used in late-secondary and vocational education ended up almost identical between the two groups. ,

The question concerning the use of Valencian in a university setting triggered the most variation between the two groups' responses.

Table 3

Age: Do you think that Valencian should be used as a language of instruction in universities?



As Table 3 reveals, the percentage of participants that responded positively toward the idea of using Valencian as a language of instruction in a university setting is similar in the two

age groups. However, more respondents in the younger age group (21%, or 16/76 participants) indicated that Valencian should not be used in this setting, as opposed to the older age group (8%, or 2/24 participants). Conversely, 25% of respondents in the 24-44 age group (6/24) and 14% of respondents in the 18-23 age group (11/76) felt indifferent toward the use of Valencian in university instruction.

Valencian in various environments and situations. Both groups responded similarly to the question concerning whether or not Valencian should be used in the media so the global results reflect both groups' responses, but I found larger discrepancies between the two groups' responses to whether or not Valencian should be used for official business and in daily life. In both of these cases, the 18-23-year-old age group favored the use of Valencian more than the 24-44-year-old age group. The younger age group responded more positively toward the use of Valencian in official business by about 12% and in daily life by about 15%. Overall though, collectively, both groups indicated a greater positive response toward the use of Valencian in daily life than in official business, which is in line with the global results.

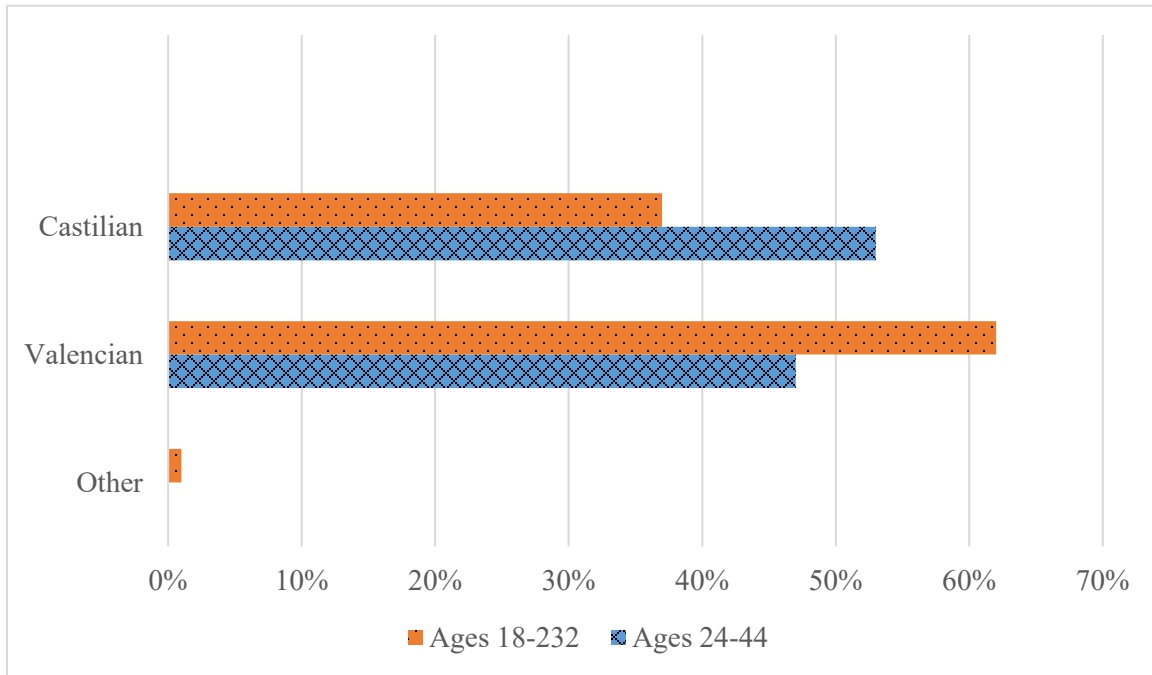
Regarding participants' use of Valencian when experiencing strong emotions, I found that the 18-23 age group tended to use Valencian more than the 24-44 age group did. This correlates with the more positive attitudes that the 18-23 age group held toward using Valencian in official business and in daily life. These responses are compared in Table 4 using percentages.

As Table 4 shows, there is greater variation in the use of Valencian and Castilian among the 18-23-year-old group. From the younger group, 37% of responses indicate that they use Castilian in these heightened emotional situations, while 62% of the responses from this group indicate that they use Valencian in these situations. The responses from the 24-44-year-old group are distributed more evenly, with 53% of the responses representing greater use of Castilian in

these situations and 47% of the responses representing greater use of Valencian in these situations.

Table 4

Age: What language do you use when you feel sad, excited/moved emotionally, or angry?



Children and Valencian. Generally, both groups appear to want their children to learn Valencian. 93% of the 18-23 age group (69/74 respondents) and 88% of the 24-44 age group (21/24 respondents) marked that they believe that it is either very or fairly important that their children learn Valencian. Zero respondents from the 18-23 and only one from the 24-44 age group indicated that it was not important that their children learn Valencian. These results appear to coincide with the global results.

Interestingly, I found that the two age groups seem to have different reasons for teaching Valencian to their children. For both groups, the educational, work, and linguistic benefits and the fact that Valencian is the language of Valencia and thus is tied to their culture and identity were the two most prominent reasons listed. This makes sense because each of these reasons

encompasses several reasons in one. However, only one person from the 24-44 age group said that she wants her children to learn Valencian because it is her mother tongue and 19 from the 18-23 age group listed that same reason.

Table 5

Ages 18-23: Why is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?

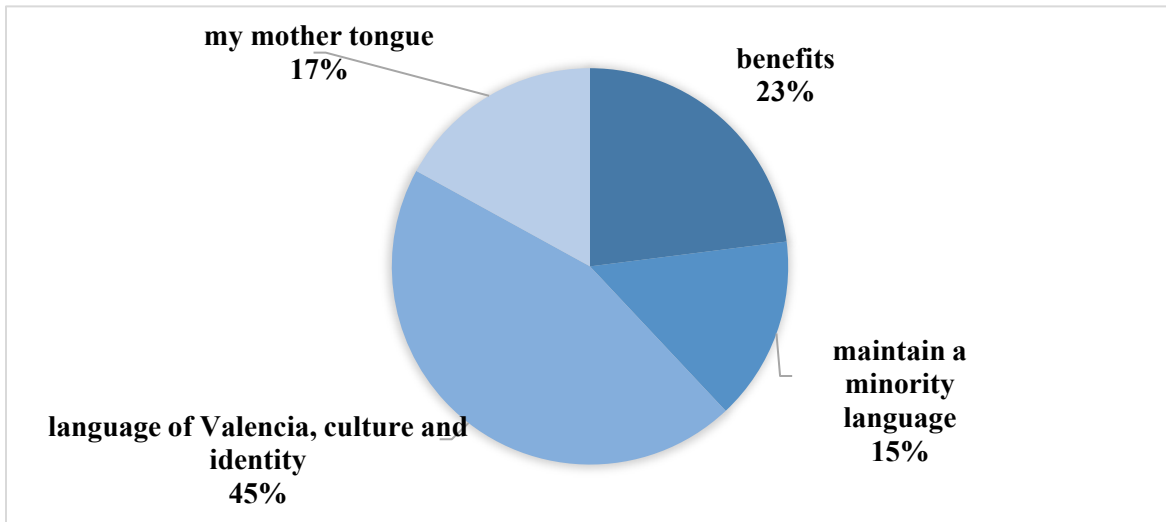
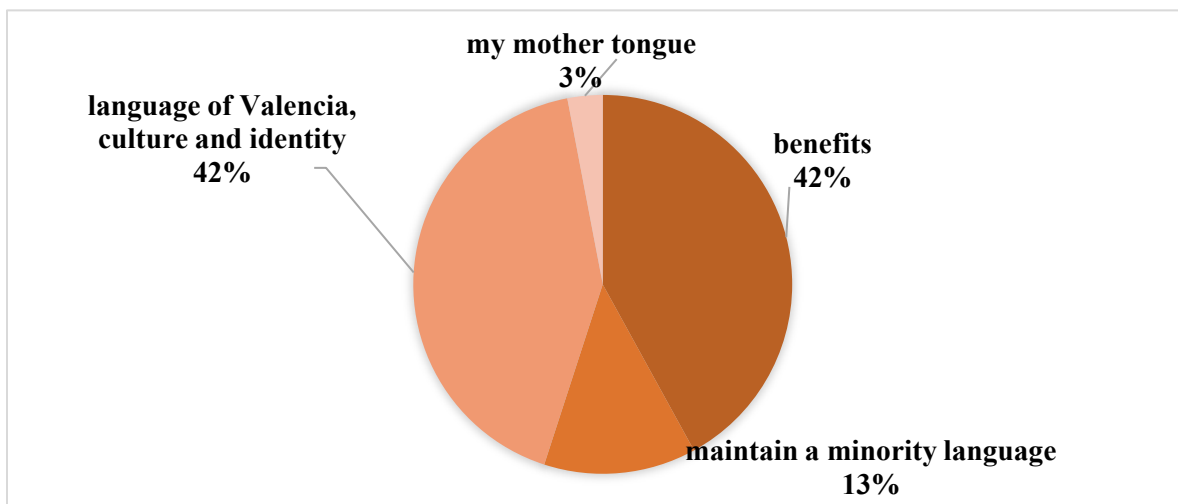


Table 6

Ages 24-44: Why is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?



As a comparison of Tables 5 and 6 reveals, although both groups provided similar reasons for their children to learn Valencian, the distribution was most varied in the benefits and in the mother tongue categories. If we divide these results into integrative and instrumental

reasons for teaching Valencian to their children, the 18-23 group listed more integrative reasons for teaching Valencian to their children (68/110 responses, or 62%), while the 24-44 group listed more instrumental reasons for teaching Valencian to their children (17/31 responses, or 55%).

Acceptance of Castilian and Valencian. The responses to this question were fairly similar, which makes sense because there was not a lot of variation in the global results either. The one respondent who reported feeling a little bothered when others address her in Valencian is in the 24-44 age range, but everybody else reported that it does not bother them when others address them in Valencian. Only one person from the 24-44 age group and six from the 18-23 age group reported feeling a little bothered when others address them in Castilian. Nobody else reported feeling bothered when greeted in Castilian. These results could potentially indicate a slight tendency for the 18-23 age group to prefer Valencian; however, the fact that nobody in this sample was bothered more than a little bit by Castilian weakens this association.

Valencian and identity. The younger age group tended to connect the Valencian language with their identity as Valencian residents. Of respondents between the ages of 18-23, 60 of 76 (79%) agreed that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know Valencian, and 17 of 24 respondents between the ages of 24-44 (70%) agreed with this statement. However, more respondents in the 24-44 age range (6/24, or 25%) showed indifference toward this statement (compared to 10/76, or 13% of respondents in the 18-23 age range).

Even though the two questions analyzed in this section are similar, the difference in responses was not as marked when faced with the statement: “The ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity”. 75% of respondents in the 24-44 age group (18/24) and 69% of respondents in the 18-23 age group (53/76) very much agreed with this statement. 8% of respondents in the 24-44 age group (2/24) and 4% of respondents in the 18-23 age group

(3/76) either somewhat or very much disagreed with this statement. Responses to both questions analyzed in this question grouping correspond closely with the global results, which points to a connection between speaking Valencian and being Valencian.

Conclusion. In most cases of incongruity between the two age groups, the 18-23-year-olds tended to favor Valencian more than the 24-44-year-olds. This is seen in the younger group's greater acceptance of using Valencian in both daily and official matters, in their greater use of Valencian when feeling strong emotions, in their slightly deeper desire to teach Valencian to their children, and in their collectively stronger assertion that those who live permanently in Valencia should speak Valencian. However, the older group as a whole happened to claim greater fluency in the language and had a more positive attitude toward using Valencian as a language of instruction in universities. I also found a difference in motives for teaching Valencian to their children between the two age groups: those in the 18-23 age group focused more on their own personal connection with Valencian as their mother tongue, while the 24-44 age group put more emphasis on the educational, work, and linguistic benefits of knowing the Valencian language. In all other regards, these results reflected the global outcomes of this survey.

Sex . Unfortunately, I was unable to collect an even number of responses from males and females. 29 males completed the survey, 70 females completed the survey, and one informant chose not to identify with either sex. In this section of my analysis I have only included the responses of the 99 informants who did identify themselves as either male or female since only one did not respond. The number of informants in each group is very unequal, which is why I have again used both percentages and fractions to describe my findings.

Fluency in Valencian. In response to the question: “Do you feel comfortable speaking Valencian?”, 79% of male respondents (23/29) and 82% of female respondents (57/70) indicated that they either strongly agree or agree that they feel comfortable speaking Valencian. Although the percentage of females who feel comfortable speaking Valencian in my sampling is higher than the percentage of males, they are still fairly close and since the number of respondents is different, this discrepancy may not be significant.

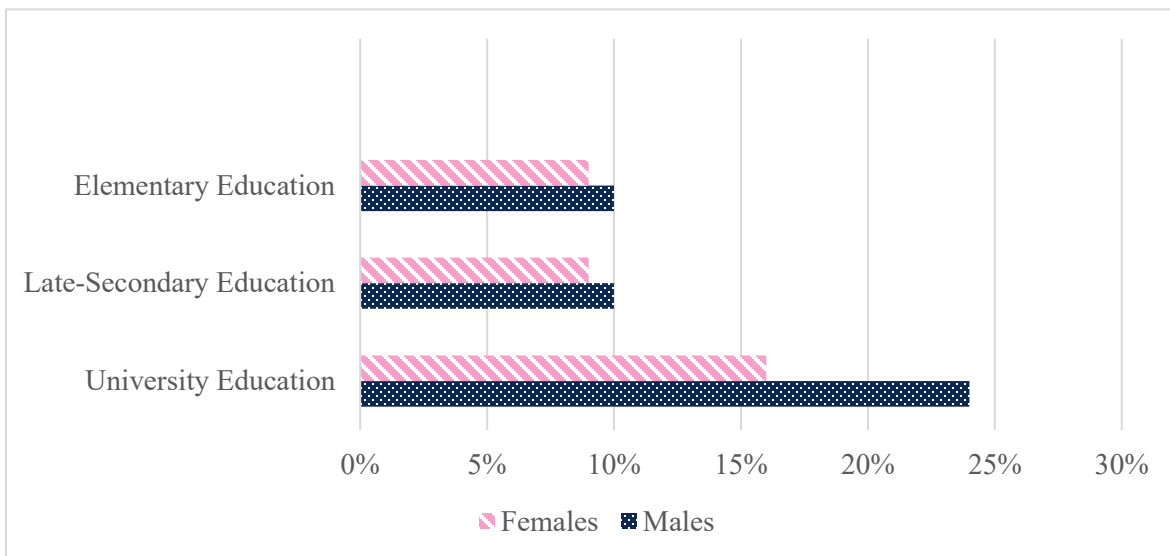
Valencian and education. I found that in general, more females than males marked that they felt indifferent toward the use of Valencian in the school system, so the “no” responses will be important to consider as well. 83% of males (24/29) and 77% of females (54/70) stated that Valencian should be used in elementary schools, and only 10% of males (3/29) and 9% of females (6/70) disagreed. 76% of males (22/29) and 74% of females (52/70) stated that Valencian should be used in late-secondary schools, but again 10% of males (3/29) and 9% of females (6/70) disagreed. 62% of males (18/29) and 66% of females (46/70) agreed that Valencian should be used in universities, and 24% of males (7/29) and 16% of females (11/70) disagreed. A closer examination of these data reveals that even though initially it looks like more males tend to accept the use of Valencian in elementary and late-secondary schooling, the negative responses are almost equal amongst the two sexes. I have charted the *negative* responses in Table 7.

Based on these responses, it appears that of this sampling, males and females have similar attitudes toward using Valencian as a language of instruction in elementary and late-secondary schools (although the percentage of males with strong feelings one way or another is higher). The one exception to this trend is the response that I received to the question about the use of Valencian in a university setting. In response to this question, the percentage of females who

agreed that Valencian should be used ended up slightly higher than the percentage of males who agreed with this statement. The general attitudes toward the use of Valencian in school of both sexes follows the same trend as the global findings in that as the educational prestige increases, the support for the use of Valencian in the classroom decreases.

Table 7

Sex: Negative attitudes toward the use of Valencian as the language of instruction in education



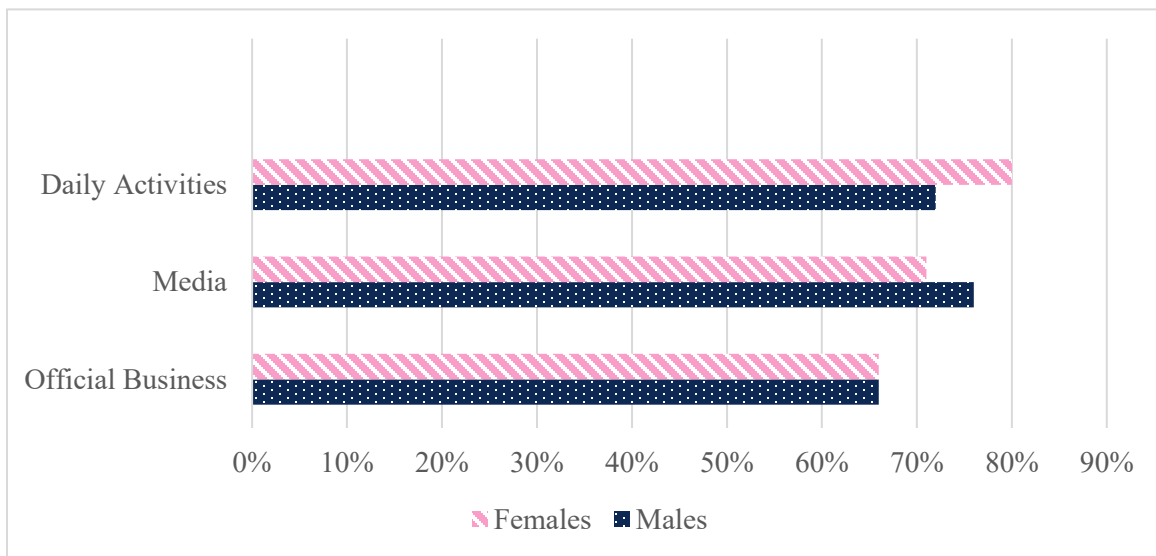
Valencian in various environments and situations. I found a lot more discrepancy between the responses from the two sexes as I looked at the results from this series of questions. Male and female informants' responses to the question of whether or not Valencian should be used in official business turned out to be almost identical, with 66% of males and females agreeing that Valencian should be used, and 15% of females (11/70) and 17% of males (5/29) agreeing that Valencian should *not* be used in these situations.

In response to the questions of whether or not to use Valencian in day-to-day activities and in the media, male and female informants' responses were flipped. Males tended to approve of the use of Valencian in the media more than females did, and females tended to approve of the use of Valencian in daily life activities more than males did. In the global analysis, there

appeared to exist a trend toward heightened use of Valencian as the situation became more and more informal, but when divided by sex this is only true among the females. Since there are so many more females than males represented in these results, it makes sense that responses from females would impose a stronger influence on the global results.

Table 8

Acceptance rate of the use of Valencian in various settings



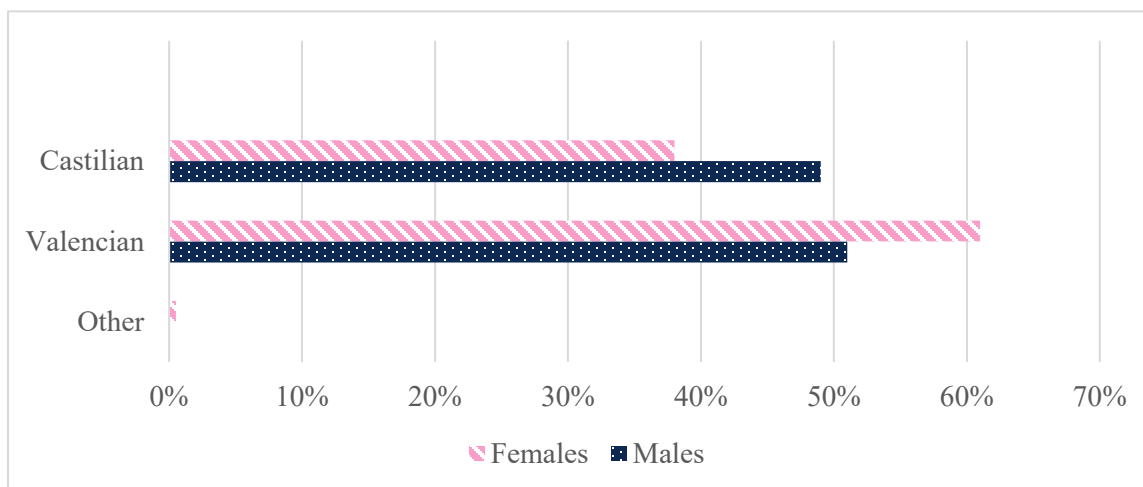
I received 283 replies in response to the three questions dealing with which language informants use when feeling various emotions. Of those responses, I found more inconsistencies among the female participants than among the males. 38% of female responses to these questions (77/201) favored using Castilian when experiencing heightened emotions, but 61% (123/201) favored using Valencian in these situations. Only one participant (0.5%) indicated preference toward non-Valencian or Castilian language when feeling *emocionado*, and since her mother tongue is neither Castilian nor Valencian, I imagine she was referring to her first language.

The male responses were almost even, with 49% of responses (40/82) in favor of using Castilian and 51% of responses (42/82) in favor of using Valencian when experiencing heightened emotions. It appears, based on these responses, that my male informants tended to

favor Castilian slightly more and my female informants tended to favor Valencian slightly more when experiencing these strong emotions.

Table 9

Sex: What language do you use when you feel sad, excited/moved emotionally, or angry?



Children and Valencian. 90% of female respondents (61/70) and 97% of males (28/29) agreed that it was either very or fairly important that their children learn Valencian. Although the percentages are not equal, it still appears that overall, respondents in this sampling want their children to learn Valencian. The remaining five male participants indicated that it is a little important that their children learn Valencian, one female indicated that it is not important, three females indicated indifference, and five females indicated that it is a little important to them that their children learn Valencian.

The most popular reason that both groups collectively gave for teaching Valencian to their children is that it is the language of Valencia, and thus will form part of their children’s culture and identity. The second most popular reason for both groups encompasses the various work, educational, and linguistic benefits associated either specifically with learning Valencian or with learning another language in general. Although both gender groups as a whole agreed on the order of importance for learning Valencian, the percentage of males who brought up the

educational, work, and linguistic benefits outweighed that of females (15/42 male responses, or 35%, vs. 23/99 female responses, or 23%). Overall, both sexes leaned toward more integrative reasons for teaching Valencian to their children; however, females leaned slightly more that way as 59% of responses (59/99) were more integrative and 40% of responses (40/99) were more instrumental. 55% of male responses (23/42) were more integrative and 45% of their responses (19/42) were more instrumental in nature.

Acceptance of Castilian and Valencian. I did not find a lot of variation between the responses that I received from males and females regarding their reactions when greeted in Valencian and in Castilian. 93% of both sexes (65/70 females and 27/29 males) marked that it does not bother them when others speak to them in Castilian. 99% of females (69/70) and 100% of males (29/29) reported that it does not bother them when others speak to them in Valencian. Nobody indicated more than slight annoyance at being addressed in either language. These results are in line with the global findings.

Valencian and identity. Results for this question are fairly similar in the two groups considered here. In response to the question: “Do you think that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know how to speak Valencian?”, results were almost identical. 55/70 females (79%) and 22/29 males (76%) agreed with this notion and only 7% of both groups (5/70 females and 2/29 males) disagreed with this view.

I found a slightly broader range of responses to the question of whether knowing how to speak Valencian is part of one’s identity as a Valencian, which is also what I found in my global results. 90% of male respondents (26/29) and 85% of female respondents (60/70) agreed or very much agreed with this statement, while 7% of male respondents (2/29) and 4% of female respondents (3/70) disagreed or very much disagreed with it. The rest indicated indifference

toward the statement. Despite the greater discrepancies between male and female answers to this question, responses from both groups still reflect the global findings.

Conclusion. In most regards, the male and female populations of my survey sample tended to provide similar feedback. Only four key differences between the two groups stand out: a greater percentage of females indicated indifference toward the use of Valencian as a language of instruction in all educational settings; a greater percentage of males indicated negative attitudes toward the use of Valencian as a language of instruction at the university level; females tended to indicate a greater use of Valencian when experiencing heightened emotions; and males were more inclined to support the use of Valencian in the media. This last finding is the most interesting because it is not easily deduced from an analysis of the global results alone. In all other circumstances, responses correlated with the global findings.

Mother tongue . In order to analyze this variable, I have divided responses into 4 different categories: (i) those who learned Valencian as their first language (42/100 Valencian L1 informants), (ii) those who learned Castilian as their first language (31/100 Castilian L1 informants), (iii) those who learned Valencian and Castilian simultaneously as their first language (25/100 simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 informants), and (iv) those who learned a language other than Valencian or Castilian as their first language (2/100 non-Valencian or Castilian L1). The number of informants in this last group is considerably smaller than the number of informants in the other groups. I have included their responses in some sections of my analysis; however, where I have included charts, I have excluded their results.

Fluency in Valencian. As I examined the results for this question through the lens of participants' first language, I discovered that based on the global results, the most surprising findings came from the Castilian L1 group. Ninety-eight percent of Valencian L1 participants

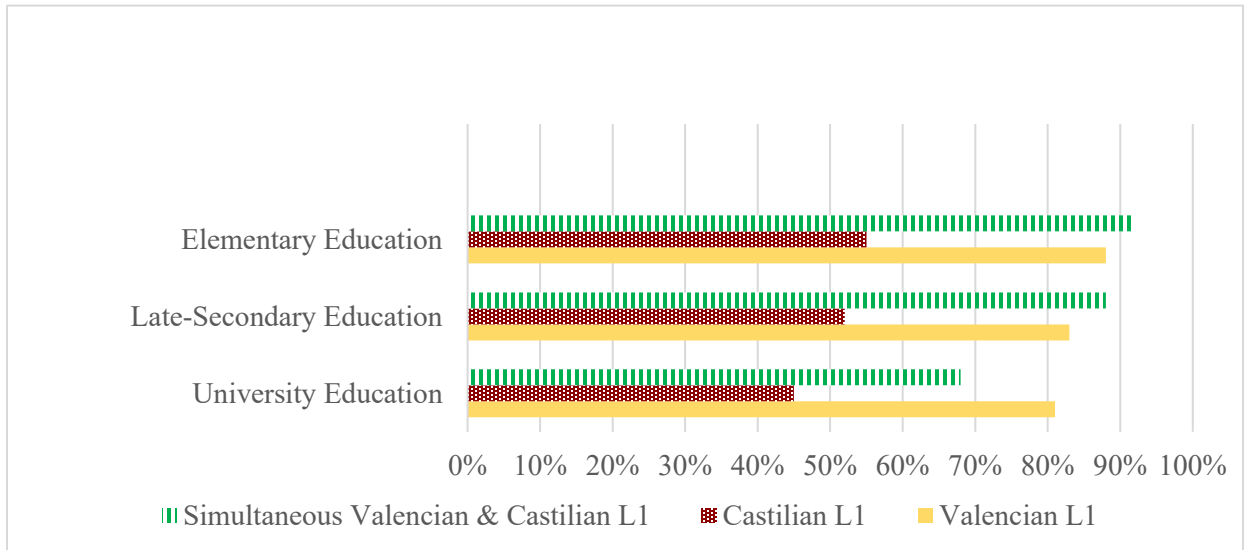
(41/42) and 96% of simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 participants (24/25) indicated feeling either comfortable or very comfortable speaking Valencian. However, only 45% of Castilian L1 participants (14/31) felt either comfortable or very comfortable speaking Valencian, and the results were much more spread out. Both participants from the non-Valencian or Castilian L1 group indicated that they feel very comfortable speaking Valencian, which surprised me. Based on these results, it seems that the L1 Castilian speakers' influence pulled down the overall average of the global results (overall, 81% of all participants reported feeling comfortable or very comfortable speaking Valencian).

Valencian and education. Again, those whose L1 is not Valencian or Castilian surprised me. Both respondents indicated that they do believe that Valencian should be used in both elementary and late-secondary schooling; however, they also both discouraged the use of Valencian in a university setting. In all three other L1 groupings, I found a trend toward more negative attitudes toward using Valencian as the level of the educational setting increased.

Those who learned Valencian and Castilian simultaneously as their L1 held the most positive attitudes toward using Valencian in elementary and late-secondary/vocational educational settings, closely followed by those who learned Valencian first. I also found a larger decrease in acceptance for the use of Valencian at the university level among the simultaneous Valencian and Castilian learners, which led L1 Valencians to harbor the most positive feelings toward the use of Valencian in the university. The variation among responses to these three questions by L1 Castilian speakers is small, but the overall acceptance is much lower than that of the other L1 groups. The mean for responses among L1 Castilian speakers is lower than what the global results show, whereas the mean of responses among L1 Valencian or simultaneous Valencian and Castilian speakers is higher than what the global results show.

Table 10

Mother tongue: Attitudes toward the use of Valencian as the language of instruction in education

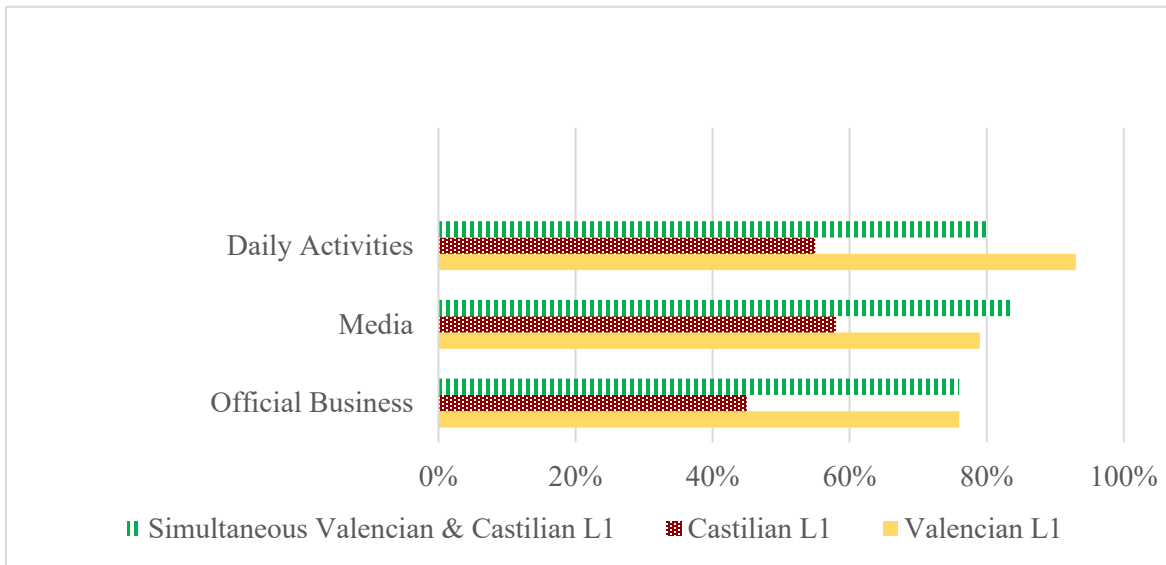


Valencian in various environments and situations. All groups divided according to this variable agreed that of the three environments listed (official business, the media, day-to-day activities), Valencian should be used the least in official business, which is in line with the global results. Both Castilian L1 speakers and those who learned both languages simultaneously agreed strongest that it was acceptable to use Valencian in the media, whereas Valencian L1 speakers indicated a greater preference for using Valencian for day-to-day activities.

Since this Valencian L1 group was the largest of these four groups and such a high percentage of this group (93%, or 39/42) agreed that Valencian should be used for daily activities, it makes sense that it would have a strong influence on the global results. The percentages for the global results are lower than those of the Valencian L1 group for this series of questions, but they follow the same trend as the global results do toward a greater use of Valencian in less formal settings. The two non-Castilian or Valencian L1 speakers were split on whether or not to use Valencian in the media and in conducting official business, but both agreed that it should be used in daily activities.

Table 11

Mother tongue: Acceptance rate of the use of Valencian in various settings



The results to the question “Which language do you use when you feel sad/angry/excited?” follow the expected pattern. Those who learned Valencian first were more likely to use Valencian when experiencing these emotions (114/119 responses, or 96%) and those who learned Castilian first were more likely to use Castilian in these cases (93%, or 84/90). Those who learned both languages simultaneously as their L1 were a little more split, but still tended to favor Valencian (62%, or 42/68 responses in favor of using Valencian, as opposed to 38%, or 26/28 responses in favor of using Castilian).

Children and Valencian. Overall, all groups seemed to agree for the most part that it was important to them that their children learn Valencian. All participants whose mother tongue was Valencian agreed that it was either very or fairly important to them that their children learn Valencian and 96% of those who learned Valencian and Castilian simultaneously as their mother tongue (24/25) felt the same way. Fewer informants from the Castilian L1 group (77%, or 23/30) felt that it was very or fairly important that their children learn Valencian, but only one informant (3%) felt that it was not important to them at all that their children learn Valencian. Again, it

appears that the Castilian L1 group is pulling down the percentage of global support for the use of Valencian. The one informant who learned Valencian and Castilian as her L1 and L2 who responded to this question indicated that it was very important to her that her children learn Valencian.

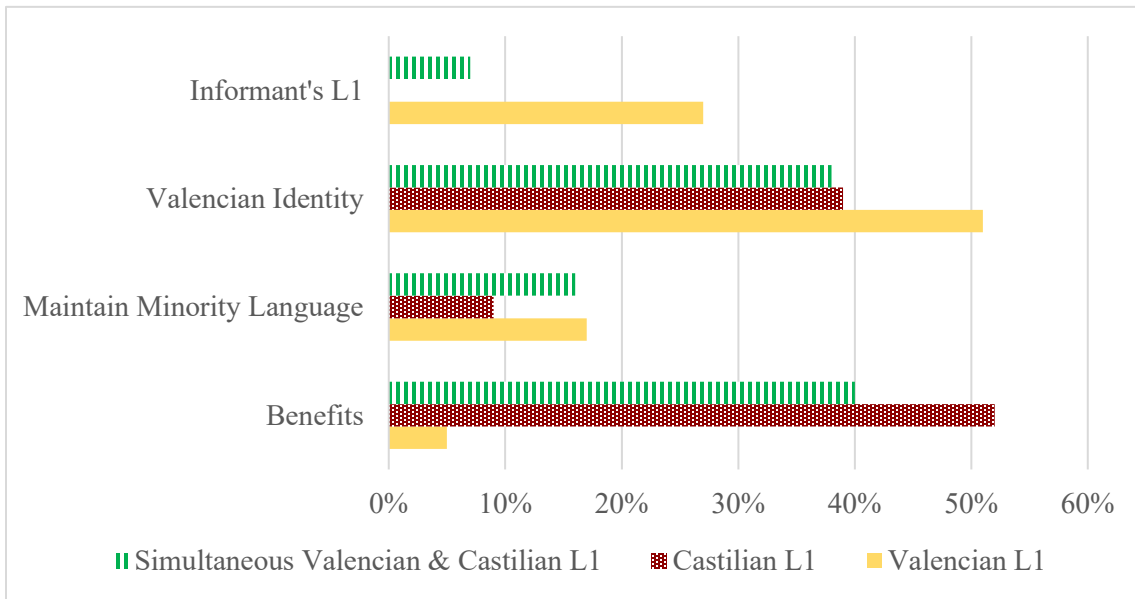
The distribution of responses to the question “Why is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?” is interesting because each category was unique in some way. Those who learned Castilian first focused mainly on the educational, work, and linguistic benefits of knowing Valencian and gave least importance to their role as parents in helping to maintain a minority language. Since nobody in this category speaks Valencian as his/her L1, all responses from this group fell into one of the other three categories. Those who learned Valencian first focused more on the Valencian language’s role in forming part of Valencian identity, as well as the fact that it was their own L1. Even though overall the educational, work, and linguistic benefits formed the second most popular category of responses to this question, in the case of the Valencian L1 group specifically, that was the least important category of reasons to teach Valencian to their children. Among those who learned Valencian and Castilian simultaneously, the most important reasons for participants to teach Valencian to their children were: the benefits associated with speaking Valencian in the Valencian Community, and the fact that the Valencian language is the language of Valencia and is thus connected to Valencia’s cultural identity and history.

If we divide these results into instrumental and integrative motives for teaching Valencian to children, it is interesting to note that the majority (78%) of motives listed by Valencian L1 informants are more integrative, whereas the majority (61%) of motives listed by Castilian L1 informants are more instrumental. The simultaneous Valencian and Castilian

learners leaned more toward the instrumental motives, but sit more in the middle with 56% instrumental reasons and 44% integrative reasons.

Table 12

Mother tongue: Why is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?



Up to this point in my analysis of this variable, reactions from the Valencian L1 and the simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 informants had been similar, so the responses to the question of why it is important to informants that their children learn Valencian surprised me. Perhaps because the L1 Valencian and L1 Castilian groups are so polarized, the global results mirror most closely those of the simultaneous Valencian and Castilian learners.

Acceptance of Castilian and Valencian. There was not a lot of variation among respondents in the global results for this question set, and I did not find much variation between these groups either. Only one person indicated slight annoyance at being addressed in Valencian (a Castilian L1 informant), but the most notable difference between these results and the global results is that 12% of Valencian L1 speakers (5/42 informants) indicated slight annoyance at

being addressed in Castilian, which is the most sizeable negative response to this question for an independent variable. Overall though, these results seem to align well with the global findings.

Valencian and identity. As expected, the Valencian L1 group indicated the strongest opinions that those who reside permanently in the Valencian Community should know Valencian (88%, or 37/42 informants) and those who form the Castilian L1 group indicated the weakest opinions that those who reside permanently in the Valencian Community should know Valencian (65%, or 20/31 informants). Interestingly, both participants who learned Castilian and Valencian as their L2 and L3 agreed with this statement as well.

In response to the statement “The ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity”, all groups tended to agree to some degree or another. This time, the group of simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 learners agreed most heavily, with 96% (24/25) of responses either somewhat or very much in agreement with this statement. Those who learned Valencian as their L1 followed, with 90% (38/42) either somewhat or very much in agreement. Finally, 77% of those who learned Castilian first (24/31) either somewhat or very much agreed with this statement. These results are not surprising, considering other results from this section of the analysis and the global analysis.

Conclusion. I found that the simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 group tended to align most closely with the overall global results, which makes sense because the Valencian L1 group tended to favor more heavily the use of Valencian. Castilian L1 group tended to still demonstrate positive attitudes as a group toward the use of Valencian, but they were more divided and not as strong in their assertions. The most noteworthy findings when considered through the mother tongue lens include: those whose L1 was Castilian indicated lower fluency in Valencian, which lowered the overall fluency of respondents considerably; those who learned

both languages simultaneously as their L1 tended to indicate more positive feelings toward using Valencian in educational settings than the other groups did, except for at the university level, where those who learned Valencian as their L1 indicated more positive feelings toward the use of Valencian; and finally, there existed a lot of discrepancy with regards to why these groups want to ensure that their children learn Valencian.

Those who learned Castilian as their mother tongue tended to focus on the instrumental motives, such as the work, educational, and linguistic benefits of teaching Valencian to their children. Those who learned Valencian as their mother tongue tended to focus more on the integrative motives, such as the fact that Valencian was their own mother tongue and also a language of the Valencian Community, culture, and identity. The simultaneous Valencian and Castilian L1 group focused on both the benefits, as well as the cultural identity, associated with learning Valencian.

The responses from the two informants whose mother tongue was neither Valencian nor Castilian were interesting. Unfortunately, a sample size of two is not nearly large enough to be used to draw any conclusions, so it would be interesting to make it a point to include more participants who form part of this group in future surveys of this type.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Suggestions for further research

Several informants mentioned that which language they use in each situation varies, often according to their interlocutor. We know that bilinguals tend to be very aware of their interlocutor's language needs and preferences, so future studies of this nature could dig deeper into how informants decide which language to use and which language they tend to use more often overall in various settings. Several participants also mentioned that they often speak a mixture of the two languages if their interlocutor knows both, so these studies could also include more questions regarding when and how often they code switch between Valencian and Castilian. Finding out which language informants actually use more often could be an important indicator of how they really feel about the two languages.

In conjunction with the idea of focusing more on which language informants actually use and in which situations, it could also be informative to give participants the option to complete the questionnaire in either Castilian or in Valencian. I wrote my questionnaire in Castilian and did not specify which language participants should use in completing the survey. Most informants responded in Castilian, but a few responded in Valencian despite the fact that the questions were presented in Castilian. If I were to repeat this study, I would offer a survey link in Castilian and one in Valencian so that I could also observe which language link was more often chosen. The language of my instrument may have influenced the results of this investigation.

I only received responses from two participants who learned Valencian and Castilian before age 5 but not as their mother tongue. I was surprised by how positively they regarded Valencian, but a sample size of two responses is not nearly large enough to compare against

other L1 groups. For this reason, it would be interesting to increase my sample size in order to collect more data from immigrants who moved to the Valencian Community before age 6.

Finally, although I targeted university students in the distribution of my survey, I am not sure how many informants were university students and how many were professors, friends, or family members of those who received the survey link. Including a question asking whether or not the participant had completed his or her university degree would have made it easier to accurately distinguish between university students and university graduates, which is how I divided the age variable.

Conclusion

Overall, I found that the university students that I surveyed at the Universitat Jaume I de Castelló seem to harbor positive feelings toward the Valencian language and believe that it is important that the next generation learn Valencian as well. Informants seemed to agree that Castilian is important and an acceptable language of communication in this region, but they also generally accepted the use of Valencian in every situation presented. The two situations in which participants were least likely to advocate the use of Valencian were in performing official business and in university instruction, but even in those situations 65-66% of informants agreed that Valencian should be used. Participants were also more evenly split concerning which language they default to when feeling strong emotions.

Regarding results for the different variables, I found the least variation between sexes. Males tended to have stronger opinions (more men chose “yes” or “no” instead of “indifferent” when given the option) than females did, but females tended to be less strongly against or more strongly in favor of the use of Valencian in a variety of circumstances.

The 24-44 age group indicated slightly higher levels of fluency in speaking Valencian and were more in favor of using Valencian in university instruction than the 18-23 age group was, but in most other situations the younger age group indicated a greater desire to see Valencian used in more situations and passed down to the next generation. This 18-23 group also was composed of more people who had learned Valencian as their mother tongue or simultaneously with Castilian as their mother tongue, while the 24-44 group focused more on the educational, work, and linguistic benefits of learning Valencian. Finally, the Valencian language was viewed as tied with the Valencian culture and as a part of what it means to be Valencian more often by the 18-23 age group.

The results from the group of informants who learned Valencian and Castilian simultaneously as their first language most closely align with the global results. Those who learned Valencian as their mother tongue tended to have more positive attitudes, whereas those who learned Castilian first tended to have more negative attitudes toward the use of Valencian in just about every situation. This makes sense because those who learned Castilian first also indicated that in general they do not feel as comfortable speaking Valencian as other informants. Those who learned Castilian first still believed that their children should learn Valencian, but they included more instrumental reasons, whereas those who learned Valencian first included more integrative reasons for teaching Valencian to their children.

Overall, females, those aged 18-23, and those whose first or simultaneous first and second language was Valencian demonstrated more positive attitudes toward Valencian. However, the global results also indicated largely positive attitudes toward the use of Valencian in most situations. The fact that so many university-aged students in Castellón promote the use of Valencian bodes well for the Valencian language in that region of the Valencian Community.

Many participants in this investigation plan to teach elementary school, so it is likely that their opinions about Valencian will transfer to their students. Previous research regarding attitudes toward Valencian and Castilian in the Valencian Community points to lower acceptance of the Valencian language than I found. I believe this in part is due to the location of the investigation and the methods for collecting informants, but it could also indicate a trend toward greater acceptance of Valencian as a language of prestige among university students within Castellón de la Plana.

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Appendix A: The Instrument (English)

1. How old are you? _____
2. Sex:
 - Male
 - Female
3. What is your area of study? _____
4. What is your first language?
 - Valencian
 - Castilian
 - Valencian and Castilian (both)
 - Other: _____
5. What is the second language that you learned?
 - Castilian
 - Valencian
 - Other: _____
6. Which other languages or dialects do you speak? _____

7. Do you feel comfortable speaking Valencian?

I do not speak Valencian	Not very comfortable	A little comfortable	Comfortable	Very comfortable
--------------------------	----------------------	----------------------	-------------	------------------

8. Were you raised in a rural or an urban area? _____
9. How long have you been living in the Valencian Community? _____

10. Do you think that Valencian should be used as the language of instruction in primary schools?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

11. Do you think that Valencian should be used as the language of instruction in late-secondary education or vocational school?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

12. Do you think that Valencian should be used as the language of instruction in universities?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

13. Do you think that those who reside permanently in Valencia should know how to speak Valencian?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

14. Do you think that Valencian should be used for official business?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

15. Do you think that Valencian should be used in the media (radio, television, etc.)?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

16. Do you think that Valencian should be used for day-to-day activities (shopping, in the streets, etc.)?

Yes	No	Indifferent
-----	----	-------------

17. If you speak Valencian, in which social environments do you tend to use Valencian?

18. Is it important to you that your children learn Valencian?

Very important	Fairly important	A little important	Not important	Indifferent
----------------	------------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------

19. Why is it important that your children learn Valencian?, or Why not?

20. What activities do you do to help your children learn Valencian?

21. Does it bother you when people address you in Castilian?

Yes	No	A little
-----	----	----------

22. Does it bother you when people address you in Valencian?

Yes	No	A little
-----	----	----------

23. "The ability to speak Valencian is an important part of the Valencian identity" Do you agree?

Very much agree	Somewhat agree	Indifferent	Somewhat disagree	Very much disagree
-----------------	----------------	-------------	-------------------	--------------------

24. Which language do you use when you feel...

a. sad?

- Castilian
- Valencian

b. excited?

- Castilian
- Valencian

c. angry?

- Castilian
- Valencian

Appendix B: The Instrument (Castilian)

1. ¿Cuántos años tiene? _____
2. Sexo:
 - Hombre
 - Mujer
3. ¿Cuál es su especialización universitaria? _____
4. ¿Cuál es su primera lengua?
 - Valenciano
 - Castellano
 - Valenciano y castellano (los dos)
 - Otro: _____
5. ¿Cuál es la segunda lengua que aprendió?
 - Castellano
 - Valenciano
 - Otro: _____
6. ¿Qué otras lenguas o dialectos habla? _____

7. ¿Se encuentra Ud a gusto hablando valenciano?

No hablo valenciano	No muy a gusto	Poco a gusto	A gusto	Muy a gusto
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8. ¿Creció en una zona rural o urbana? _____
9. ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que vive en la Comunidad Valenciana? _____

10. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano como lengua de instrucción en la escuela (E.G.B.)?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

11. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano como lengua de instrucción durante el Bachillerato o la Formación Profesional?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

12. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano como lengua de instrucción en la Universidad?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

13. ¿Cree que los que residen de manera estable en Valencia deberían saber hablar valenciano?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

14. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano en los actos oficiales?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

15. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano en los medios de comunicación (radio, televisión, etc.)?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

16. ¿Considera que debe utilizarse el valenciano en la vida cotidiana (en los comercios, la calle, etc.)?

Sí	No	Indiferente
----	----	-------------

17. Si habla valenciano, ¿en qué ámbitos sociales tiende a utilizar el valenciano?

18. ¿Le parece importante que sus hijos aprendan valenciano?

Muy importante	Bastante importante	Un poco importante	No es importante	Indiferente
----------------	---------------------	--------------------	------------------	-------------

19. ¿Por qué le parece importante que sus hijos aprendan valenciano? o ¿Por qué no?

20. ¿Qué actividades realiza usted para que sus hijos aprendan valenciano?

21. ¿Le molesta que le hablen en castellano?

Sí	No	Un poco
----	----	---------

22. ¿Le molesta que le hablen en valenciano?

Sí	No	Un poco
----	----	---------

23. “Saber hablar valenciano es una parte importante de la identidad valenciana” ¿Está de acuerdo?

Muy de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Indiferente	Un poco de desacuerdo	Muy de desacuerdo
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24. ¿Qué lengua utiliza cuando se siente...

a. triste?

castellano

valenciano

b. emocionado?

castellano

valenciano

c. enfadado?

castellano

valenciano