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Media Representations of Language and Identity in a Catalan Television Comedy.

An approach to language ideology and linguistic identity.

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for
the degree Master of Arts

in

Anthropology

by

Aida Ribot Bencomo

Committee in Charge:

Professor Kathryn A. Woolard, Chair
Professor John Haviland
Professor Rupert Stasch

2013

The Thesis of Aida Ribot Bencomo is approved and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2013

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, who always support and encourage me to continue with what I most enjoy doing, and whose values in life I most admire and try to live up to. Also for their dedication and hard work in their lives, which have made possible that I can now write these lines to them.

I also want to dedicate it to my iaia Virtudes whom I learned to be critical and sensitive with the past through her countless life stories. Also for having such a youthful spirit at all times.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Throughout the thesis, original Catalan examples will be in *italics*, Times New Roman and between “inverted commas”. Original Castilian examples will be in **bold**, Times New Roman and between “inverted commas” too. The subsequent English translation will be in Times New Roman (no italics or bold) with single quotes and between –‘hyphens’-. E.g. “*llengua*” –‘language’- // “**lengua**” –‘language’-

Other italicized words or single quotes will be used in the English analysis in order to emphasize or mark specific concepts or words.

The characters appearing in dialogues will be addressed as:

Mimí: M
Rosario: R
Piluca: P
Anselm: A
Andrew: AN

Transcription conventions in dialogues:

Original Catalan utterances will be in Times New Roman-

Original Castilian utterances will be in **bold**.

Original English utterances will be underlined.

English translation will be in *italics*.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Media Representations of Language and Identity in a Catalan Television Comedy.

An approach to language ideology and linguistic identity

by

Aida Ribot Bencomo

Master of Arts in Anthropology

University of California, San Diego, 2013

Professor Kathryn. A. Woolard, Chair

Media representations provide a window to analyze possible ideological changes in linguistic ideologies. I examine the *multivocality* (Bakhtin 1981) of ‘Dues Dones Divines’ –a failed situation comedy broadcast in Catalonia in 2011- in its parodic representation of Catalan and Castilian typified speakers. I analyze firstly the multilingual practices and the stances on identity of four characters –two of them from a transnational immigrant origin-, and their evaluation of such practices and stances among themselves. This shows the ideological world in which fictional characters evaluate the legitimacy and authority of their identities, their space, and their discourse through their linguistic practices. Secondly, I examine the TV program’s evaluative stance toward its characters’ perspectives on those topics. This approach shows the program’s frame of reference on how native and non-native

speakers (in real life) experience linguistic, social or ethnic tensions in Catalonia, and from which the program builds its humorous commentary. Finally, I address the audience evaluation of the whole program in order to provide an explanation to how the program –as a comic representation of Catalonia’s multilingualism- eventually failed.

The program presents new emerging and contrasting positions regarding language and identity, but the analysis of its characters shows that these positions sometimes clash, hence revealing a continuing anxiety and tension over social and linguistic issues. The failure of the program manifests that some of these new positions are currently unresolved in Catalonia

Introduction

Studies on language-related topics in the media have shown that while some images of language may be distorted or distanced from the reality that people experience in their daily lives (Johnson 2001, Heller 1999), it is still worth considering how the media represents language related topics that usually are linked to broader issues in social, cultural, national or political domains. As mass media is a valued and highly consumed tool nowadays in most of the Western countries, it influences and is influenced by the domains above mentioned. Media representation of language hints at the ideological world where producers and writers move as media can comment on “what kinds of speech and speakers are considered authoritative and/or authentic” (Jaffe 2007: 149). As Johnson and Ensslin also note “the media *mirror*, and hence implicitly *promote*, a dynamic set of ideological frameworks” (2007:13). However, media representations are also subject to the audience’s evaluations, which can be critical for their success or failure.

Several examples have shown the interest that the media has in producing entertainment out of social and linguistic tensions in language minority contexts. Jaffe’s analysis of language practices in radio and television in Corsica showed the effort in revitalizing Corsican in different settings other than the traditional ones - hence providing a space for the visibility of a wider range of registers- , and also showed the role of the media in shaping a public evaluation of Corsican language itself (Jaffe 2007). Another one was the parody of a “Tom Cruise” interview in an Irish televised popular program, which made use of extreme attitudes regarding ideologies on Irish linguistic practices and identity in order to provide a middle ground

perspective of such attitudes (Kelly-Homes&Atkison 2007). Woolard's analysis (2012) of the caricature of the former president of Catalonia in a popular political satire program is an example of the visibility of these social and linguistic tensions addressed in the media under the form of parody.

The representation of sociolinguistic tensions in the entertainment media often takes the form of parody. Bakhtin understood parody in medieval literature as a necessary tool to unmask authoritative discourses and power, and double-voicingⁱ was a key element that enabled the production of parody.

In parody two languages are crossed with each other, as well as two styles, two linguistic points of view, and in the final analysis two speaking subjects. (1981: 76)

Parody is useful to address questions (or discourses) that would be hard to deal without the joking side, as its use precisely evidences the limitations of addressing a specific issue seriously. Jane Hill (1995, 1998) shed light on the Mock Spanish used in the US, and found out that under the innocent appearance of using specific Spanish words or pronunciation by English speakers in order to sound humorous or skilled in foreign languages, mocking implied reproducing the negative indexical meaning of the Spanish language and its speakers, which made that mocking –sometimes unwittingly-discriminatory and denigrating (Hill 1995). Similarly, Santa Ana (2009) analyzed some of the popular Jay Leno's humorous comments and jokes on immigration in his late-night show as a means to evaluate “group formation and division (...) on the basis of current political issues” (2009: 30). Whatever the media has to say can be disguised through double voicing (Bakhtin 1981, 1984); media's discourse does not often

remain neutral or unbiased, which is one of the reasons why it is significant to examine those representations from all different levels of analysis.

Representations of language-related issues in Catalonia in radio and television (Woolard 1987, 1995) have served as a way to picture the social and linguistic changes that Catalonia has undergone since it achieved its autonomy in 1979. Woolard, who noted that the social message is determinant for any comedian's success (ibid 1987: 118), examined the role of Catalan and Castilian code-switching in Eugenio's famous jokes in his monologues (ibid 1987). Eugenio's particular use of both languages broke the traditional ideological boundaries as the "[social message] did not exploit the social contrast traditionally attached to their use" (ibid 1987:119). TV3, the main public Catalan channel in Catalonia since 1983, has traditionally used comedy or parody as a means to convey different linguistic practices while inevitably commenting on social, cultural or political issues. *Explicit* commentaries on topics related to Catalan and Castilian linguistic forms, practices, ideology, or ownership, however, have always been rare in the televised media, suggesting a risk in talking publicly about them. Recent series and sitcoms have timidly addressed some of the topics (*Plats Bruts* 1999-2002, *El Cor de la Ciutat* 2000-09 or *Ventdelplà* 2005-10), but never made value judgments on those topics. A very popular satire of the political situation in Catalonia called *Polònia* (2006 -) was the first to make explicit commentaries on the Catalan forms that Montilla, the former president of Catalonia of immigrant origin, used in his public appearances.

Dues Dones Divines was a failed situation comedy broadcast by TV3 in 2011. The program presented a set of stereotyped characters with very distinctive linguistic

practices. A good deal of the parody revolves around the linguistic forms that some characters use and around explicit as well as implicit commentaries on those. The program parodies different and sometimes extreme perspectives regarding language use, and it does so with a voice that goes unnoticed, which is also hard to define (Bakhtin 1981, Woolard 1995). Unlike Friedrich's (1966) use of the Russian realist novel as primary data to explain the Russian pronominal usage, the following analysis does not intend to provide an explanation of how *naturally*-occurring talk works in real life in Catalonia, but understands the program as an artistic representation of talk talking about language.

I will be examining the 'multivocality'ⁱⁱ (Bakhtin 1981) of *Dues Dones Divines* in its parodic representation of Catalan and Castilian typified speakers. I analyze firstly the multilingual practices of four characters –two of them from a transnational immigrant origin- and their evaluation of such practices among themselves. This will show the ideological world in which fictional characters evaluate the legitimacy and authority of their identities, their space, and their discourse through their linguistic practices. Secondly, I will examine the TV program's evaluative stance toward its characters' perspectives on those topics. This approach will show the program's frame of reference on how native and non-native speakers (in real life) experience linguistic, social or ethnic tensions in Catalonia, and from which the program builds its humorous commentary. Finally, I address the audience evaluation of the whole program in order to provide an explanation to how the program –as a comic representation of Catalonia's multilingualism- eventually failed.

On the whole, this media representation provides a window to analyze possible ideological changes in linguistic ideologies regarding multilingualism in Catalonia. It reveals new emerging and contrasting positions at different levels of representation that can sometimes clash, showing that some of these new positions are currently unresolved in Catalonia.

Theoretical framework

The representation of issues such as language practices, language acquisition, language revitalization, ethnic boundaries or multilingualism in general inevitably calls for the analysis of *enregisterment* (Agha 2005) i.e., “the social recognition and link of different registers [or codes] to index types of ‘social personae’” (ibid: 39). This recognition is conditioned by the ideological construction of cultural, ethnic, or social differentiations that become essentialized (Gal and Irvine 1995) through semiotic processes like *iconization*ⁱⁱⁱ (Gal and Irvine 2000). Enregisterment allows people to map out the different social types, and also position themselves according to the common understanding of a community of speakers^{iv}. Consequently, individuals are able to align or disalign with the proposed set of typifications (Gal and Irvine 1995) and respond accordingly to those. As Keane also notes, typifications “are simultaneously ready-to-hand vehicles for indicating stance, and media for the emergent objectification of moral values” (2011: 175). Keane’s explanation of the

construction of indexical relations will be of special importance in analyzing one of the characters' voices in the program.

Analyzing what the media has to say in relation to multilingualism in minority language contexts requires the analysis of explicit metalanguage (Johnson&Ensslin 2007) –henceforth ‘explicit commentary’ on language - and implicit metapragmatics^v (Woolard 1998) -henceforth ‘implicit commentary’ on language in this discussion. Jaffe’s *stancetaking* -“taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one’s utterance” (Jaffe 2009: 3)- becomes crucial in social interaction as the “speaker positionality is built into the act of communication” (ibid 2009:3). Stancetaking may comprehend an evaluation, a self-presentation and a positioning (ibid) with which the individuals play in order to position themselves in relation to specific discourses. Jaffe continues:

Speaker stances are thus performances through which speakers may align or disalign themselves with and/or ironize stereotypical associations with particular linguistic forms; stances may thus express multiple or ambiguous meanings. (ibid 2009: 4)

Dues Dones Divines enables characters to take stances that are presented through the individual’s explicit commentary in a given situation. Furthermore, as Jaffe argues, stances can also reveal a much more subtle evaluation of social actors through the use of *differentiated* linguistic practices (hence implicit commentary). These practices mobilize specific (linguistic) ideologies that contribute to the production and (re)negotiation of connections with those social types.

At the same time, the program itself makes (underlying) evaluations of its individual characters' stances, which requires a *multivocal* (Bakhtin 1984) approach in the analysis, that is, taking into account the stances "formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses" (ibid 1984: 18) at the same time. The program ostensibly shows a wide range of multiple voices in dialogue with multiple consciousnesses, histories, ideological positioning, and so on, thus showing a dialogic relationship among the fictionalized character's interactions (Bakhtin 1981). These voices comment on different aspects of social, linguistic or identity-related tensions in Catalonia, and are presented by the program as a comprehensive "description" of a Catalan reality. Through the form of parody, the program presents this dialogized (ibid 1981) set of relations that are relevant to examine.

The issue of parody is, consequently, central in the analysis of this situation comedy as it provides the nuances of the program's commentary in relation to the characters and the topics discussed. Irony –as a constituting part of parody- has been studied in order to understand how this act of communication is used and interpreted by a community. Examining how parody is used in the program is important for understanding the characters' and the program's positioning, stances and evaluations of language and identity topics. The classical perspective toward irony has always defined its meaning as "the opposite of its literal form" (Searle 1991:536, Brown 1995). Irony has been proved to be more complex than the above statement (Shoaps 2009), but the discussion here will be more close to the traditional approach to it. I believe that Basso's (1979) distinction in his analysis of the Western Apaches of

primary and *secondary texts* in order to interpret any kind of joking situation is especially useful.

Drawn from various sectors of community life, these strips of ‘serious’ behavior furnish the raw materials from which joking performances are fashioned. Consequently, any actual performance may be said to consist in the construction and presentation of a secondary text that is intended to be understood as a facsimile or transcribed copy of the primary text on which it is patterned. (1979: 41)

Goffman’s *key* -“the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed by the participants to be something quite else” (1974: 43)- helps us understand how parody or acts of play are interpreted. The program uses particular keys –like linguistic varieties, styles, etc- in order to signal playfulness to the audience; something different is whether the program achieves it or not. For the keys -or the process of *keying*- to be successful, Sperber and Wilson emphasize the relevance of ‘echoic mentions’ in ironical utterances, that is, sharing a set of assumptions and expectations among participants of an interaction in order to interpret and understand an ironic utterance or parody (Sperber and Wilson 1981).

Data

The data used for this analysis come from the 12-episode-Catalan program called *Dues Dones Divines* broadcast by the main Catalan channel TV3 in 2011. The analysis will be focused on four main characters: Rosario, a hyperproficient speaker of Catalan from an Ecuadorian immigrant origin who is a domestic worker; Piluca, a

stubborn upper class Castilian speaker from Madrid, who apparently does not speak Catalan at all; Andrew, a young Australian man who speaks a “Tarzan-like” Catalan, and who works at an art gallery as a plumber; and finally, at the center of the social and linguistic opposition of the program, Mimí is a middle class native Catalan speaker from Barcelona, a long time friend of Piluca. Additionally, I will also use some of the comments written by the audience that can be easily accessed through the main website (<http://www.tv3.cat/divines>). This will enable us to see some of the responses that the sitcom had in order to analyze its failure as a comedy.

The program presents four differentiated linguistic varieties that I label here according to what I believe the program intends to represent. The ‘lax Catalan’ variety (Mimí) is differentiated from the most prescriptive forms of Catalan mainly because it introduces widely used castilianized expressions or colloquial Catalan vocabulary into daily interactions, especially in relaxed, informal and familiar settings. The ‘hypercorrect Catalan’ variety (Rosario) that the program presents is the one that rigorously observes the prescriptive forms of the language. It is very formal and literary, and using it in colloquial or informal settings is very uncommon. A third variety is the ‘Tarzan-like Catalan’ of Andrew, making a parallel with the popular fictionalized character of *Tarzan*, who is widely known for his ungrammatical constructions of English when he meets ‘civilization’. My label follows one of the character’s descriptions of Andrew’s Catalan: “*Parla com el que dobla el Tarzan, oi?*” –‘He speaks like the person dubbing Tarzan, doesn’t he?’. In Castilian or Catalan versions, *Tarzan* is also known for ungrammatical forms; mainly the inability to

produce subject-verb agreement or full grammatical sentences. The last linguistic variety is ‘Castilian’ (Piluca), which I do not specify with any dialectal variety as it is not presented as such. However, it is institutionally and popularly known as standard Castilian, typical of central areas of Spain such as Madrid. The character has a slight Madrilenian accent, which is not exaggerated or marked at all; hence I assume it is part of the actress’ own Castilian accent, and not part of the characterization made by the program. It is important to note that Piluca’s is the only Castilian used in the program.

Anselm’s character is a TV presenter of a third-rate Catalan channel who wants to be hired by the public and widely known Catalan channel, TV3. Like Mimí, he is also presented as a native and lax Catalan speaker. However, not much emphasis is put in his linguistic practices (with one exception that will be covered in the analysis) or his characterization through these practices whatsoever.

Brief historical background

The traditional social boundaries between Catalan and Castilian that were established before, during and after the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) are still found nowadays (Woolard 2003, 2008). The massive wave of Spanish workers from southern Spain into Catalonia in the fifties, and especially in the sixties challenged these boundaries, as there was not a clear perspective on whether or not to use Catalan with Castilian speakers coming from those regions of Spain. The new Castilian-

speaking workers coming from mainly agrarian economic systems were positioned in their majority within the lowest waged jobs, while Catalan workers remained or moved into higher positions in the industrialized Catalonia of that time. The Catalan language was regarded as belonging to Catalan middle (and upper-middle) classes in contrast to the Spanish working classes, creating the idea that speaking Catalan was the means to achieve upward mobility. Language planning campaigns in the democratic period have tried to erase or redefine those boundaries by encouraging Spanish speaking immigrants to use Catalan. Different perspectives have challenged the existing sociolinguistic tensions, but these have not been completely erased at all. Transnational immigration from Morocco, Rumania, China and South America in the 90s and in the 21st Century has added a new challenge to the existing situation. Immigrants now find themselves immersed in a social, national and linguistic debate that the media uses in order to produce entertainment.

Analysis

A general approach to the program

Dues Dones Divines is a situation comedy set in the heart of urban Barcelona. The program talks about change, decadence, and corruption in contemporary Catalan public life. Every episode is named “*Salvem...*” -‘Let’s save...’-, referring to the characters’ intention to try to overcome public problems that are actually beyond their control. For example, the episode named “*Salvem la salut*” –‘Let’s save healthcare’- relates to the public health system; the episode named “*Salvem la música*” –‘Let’s save the music’- is about a real-life corruption scandal involving the emblematic Catalan institution of music since the early 20th century; another episode is named “*Salvem la diada*” –‘Let’s save the Catalan National Day’, which is about the degraded significance in the celebration of that day in Catalonia.

The starring characters are in some ways similar to the popular British sitcom *Absolutely Fabulous*^{vi} (1992-2012). Mimí is a middle aged, upper-middle class native Catalan speaker. She is not shown to have any specific job, but she has an art gallery that her father gave her when she was younger, and which has been shut down for many years. She is a hard drinker, a smoker and a soft drugs abuser, similar to the main characters in *Absolutely Fabulous*. Mimí is also a declared republican and a Catalan nationalist.

Piluca is a long-time friend of Mimí from childhood^{vii}. She is a middle aged, and upper-middle class Castilian speaker from Madrid. She is trying to get a work contract in Catalonia as a TV commentator when she finds Mimí and decides to stay in Barcelona in order to recover the relationship that they once had. Piluca is also a hard

drinker and smoker but does not abuse substances as much as Mimí does. She is presented as a very naïve character who comments on issues that she does not know much about. She flirts often with masculine characters in the program, and has extensive social networks that allow her to interact with famous and rich people. She is a declared monarchist.

Rosario is an Ecuadorian working class character, who works at Mimí's apartment as a domestic worker. She is more interested in mastering the Catalan language in order to qualify for Catalan-D certification (a C2 level of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*^{viii}). Rosario's character actually speaks a hyperproficient Catalan with a very correct, native-like accent that is very improbable in an immigrant arrived only six years earlier. She helps Mimí and Piluca to fight for the causes, but with a more down-to-earth and serious perspective. Andrew is a very secondary character who works at Mimí's art gallery once she is persuaded to reopen it. He is young and handsome, and works as a 'handyman'. Andrew mostly dresses in overalls and tank tops. He speaks "broken" Catalan with a strong English accent, as he is from Australia. Mimí and Piluca are stunned by his good looks.

The character's stance: language

The program features four linguistic varieties: the linguistically unrealistic hypercorrect Catalan of Rosario; the more 'lax Catalan' of Mimí (and other native Catalan characters); the Castilian of Piluca, and the 'Tarzan-like' Catalan of Andrew. Each variety is connected -in the general public view- with a type of person identified

with a certain role, which makes the linguistic practices stereotyped and over simplified, much as Gal and Irvine (1995) note.

Rosario's hypercorrection with highly formal and literary lexicon and phrasing is finely worked to be perfect at all times. Rosario's Catalan included many recognized Catalan expressions with a highly prescriptive and archaic flavor, which are no longer widely known. Instead, there are widely accepted equivalents that are commonly used in everyday interactions. For instance, in a scene where Piluca brings all her luggage and takes a large space of Mimi's living room with it, Rosario, who is helping them to carry all Piluca's stuff to the apartment, states: "*què carai, què carai farem amb tot aquest embalum?!*" -'what the hell, what the hell are we going to do with this volume [of stuff]?!'- . The word "*embalum!*" -'volume/mass'- could be replaced with something like "*pila*" -'pile'. This is odd as Rosario is talking about an amount of stuff piled up in the living room, but her expression has a more dramatic connotation, and it clearly lacks the informality that the situation suggests. Similarly, in a scene where Rosario says: "*Guaiti, guaiti l'esdejuni...incòlume!*" -'Look, look at the breakfast...unscathed!'. "*Incòlume*" -unscathed- could be replaced by "*intacte*" -'intact'- in this scene to make the adjective sound less dramatic, especially because Rosario is talking about an ordinary breakfast. The expression "*aquí no hi ha pany que tanqui*", literally, -'there's no keyhole that locks in here' is used by Rosario when she angrily responds to Piluca's use of English with her, meaning Piluca is a lost case and that Rosario cannot manage the situation any better. An expression like "*aquí no hi ha res a fer*" -'there's nothing to be done in here'- would be more appropriate to the situation and informal setting. The two following examples present expressions that

are no longer used, especially in the Barcelona area. “*Això és can seixanta*” –‘this is a mess’- would more commonly be phrased as “*això és un embolic*” or “*això és un enrenou*”. The second one is extremely odd (even in highly formal settings) as it is a very literary expression: “*quina és la seva gràcia*” –‘what is your pleasure?’- which could be replaced with “*què vol*” or “*què demana*” –‘what do you want’ or ‘what would you like’. Rosario uses this expression when welcoming Piluca for the first time, in an attempt to display extreme politeness and even servitude (see example 9). These lexicon and expressions are used by Rosario in very informal settings, and these are inserted in standard but still informal sentences, which make the use of literary words and formal phrasings even more odd. As well as following the most prescriptive forms herself, Rosario constantly corrects native Catalan speakers on their more lax use of the language; for example, “*ojalá!*” -‘I wish!’-, a borrowed Castilian expression widely used in Catalan interactions and that Mimí also uses is quickly corrected by Rosario for its Catalan counterpart: “*tant de bo!*”

In addition to that, Rosario’s character is madly obsessed with a very difficult grammatical feature in Catalan, the cliticizing weak pronoun system, the “*pronoms febles*”. The weak pronoun system comprehends a set of 13 monosyllabic pronouns used to refer to direct, indirect, predicative, attributive, adverbial and prepositional objects; these can form a lot of combinations, some of which are difficult to follow for contemporary speakers (see figure 1, page 59). The weak pronouns are a well-known distinctive feature of the Catalan language because of their difficulty in acquiring and applying their prescriptive forms correctly. However, despite people not using them correctly, weak pronouns are often considered an essential part of the Catalan

language by speakers mostly defending their use (even if they do not use them or misuse them). The complaints that lax use of the weak pronouns create are an increasingly common target of public humor in the media, as Woolard (2012) and Frekko (2009) have shown. *Polònia* –the popular political satire program in Catalonia– is a good example of the importance that the weak pronouns played in caricaturing the former Catalan president’s linguistic skills (Woolard 2012). The use or misuse of this grammatical feature tends to be linked with questions regarding legitimate membership in the Catalan community.

Rosario criticizes the misuse of weak pronouns in communication media because, according to her, the media is supposed to set a good example. In a scene, in which Rosario is reading the news, she states “*Oh quina vergonya! Ja han tornat a fer un mal ús del pronom ‘hi’*”- ‘Oh what a shame! They have misused the pronoun ‘hi’ again’. Her character is committed to the revitalization of these forms by using very accurate forms that would not normally be used by native Catalan speakers. In the following example, Rosario uses a combination of direct and indirect weak pronouns that construct a highly prescriptive form when actually combined. However, this form is not normally used by lax Catalan speakers: “*torna-les-hi!*” –‘give them back to him’ [refers to ‘the pills’ and ‘to him’]- would commonly be realized as “*torna-les*” (without the indirect pronoun) or “*tornalis*”, which is prescriptively wrong.

In an interaction with Mimí, Rosario compares the misuse of the weak pronouns with a corruption scandal at the *Palau de la Música*, the very emblematic Catalan institution dating from the early 20th century. In this example, Rosario depicts

the language concern as a social issue, as dramatic and scandalous as the corruption scandal that shocked Mimí.

(1) Episode 3, minute 0:49

R: [mentre llegeix el diari] Mimí, els pronoms febles se'ns moren.
[while reading the news] *Mimí, the weak pronouns are dying.*

M: ..i la música, i la música sen's mor!
..and the music, and the music is dying!

R: ...i tant, són com les notes de la llengua, mal tocaades desafinen tota la parla.
...of course, they are like the notes of the language, the speech is out of tune if you play them badly.

M: ..on deuen haver anat a parar aquesta munió de calers malversats, milions i milions d'euros, és que és un escàndol!
..where must all this amount of corrupted money be, millions and millions of euros, this is a scandal!

R: Tanmateix com la llengua catalana...està ben guarnida, corrupte, putrescent, insana...també és un escàndol això.
That's exactly like the Catalan language...it is well adorned [full of prescriptive errors], corrupted, putrefied, insane, this is a scandal as well!

Rosario's stance toward the Catalan language is expressed through a lot of explicit metalinguistic commentary. She feels in a position to comment on the linguistic forms that she or other characters use, and openly criticizes those of others. She talks about the 'genocide' of the weak pronouns, bemoaning that "*els pronoms febles se'ns moren!*" – 'the weak pronouns are dying!' or "*la llengua se'ns mor*" – 'the language is dying'. Rosario passionately teaches the weak pronouns to a group of exploited Chinese immigrants working as in sewing room set up in Mimí's art gallery,

showing how blinded and ridiculous the character is by her preoccupation with the language.

Rosario's use of the most literary Catalan is a way to present the character and construct her identity in contrast to native as well as non-native Catalan speakers. When the character is asked about her mastery in the language, she gives the following response: "*M'insistiren, eh, que per integrar-me a Catalunya havia d'aprendre el català..i en acabat que tothom l'enraona d'una manera que trenquen el timpà...*" – 'They insisted, huh, that in order to integrate to Catalonia, I should learn Catalan..and at the end it turns out that everybody speaks in a way that breaks your eardrum..' - This suggests that it was her desire to belong to the Catalan community that led her to acquire the language, although it shows that her emphasis on correct speech was deliberate. In the character's understanding, 'being Catalan' is equated to speaking the language. Thus, if the language is degraded, then the identity is also threatened.

Rosario's Ecuadorian origins are discussed explicitly in the program, but these are always mistakenly understood by Mimí and Piluca, and not given much relevance by the other characters. The following example shows the first reference to her origins after she tells Mimí the names of her four children. It also shows that Mimí, her employer, has been mistaken in believing Rosario was a Filipino because domestic workers in Barcelona and Madrid have stereotypically been Filipino women, particularly during the 60s and the 70s^{ix}.

(2) Episode 1, minute 3.30

M: "u::h! Quatre Filipinitos ...tan jove...??"

- Who:a! four little Filipino children...so young...??'*
- R: Ai, ai Mimí,
Oh, oh Mimí,
Quantes voltes li ho he de dir que jo no sóc Filipina, no::, sóc,
sóc Equatoriana!
*How many times I have to tell you that I'm not Filipino, no::,
I'm, I'm Ecuadorian!*
- M: va:hh... de de per [a]llà...avui dia tots som iguals, és la
globalització.
*we:ll...from from there...today we are all the same, this is
globalization.*

In another scene, Rosario is asked by Anselm, the TV presenter, about her origin: “*Escolti, escolti..e:hh d'on t'és vostè?*” –‘Listen, listen.. u:hm... where are you from?’-, but she cannot finish her response: “*ah sí, sóc de l'Eq...*” –‘ah, yes, I’m from Ec...’- as Anselm’s character explains why he just asked that question “*ho dic perquè parla un català, si em permet, molt, molt molt acurat...!*” –‘I say that because you speak, if I may say, a very very very refined Catalan...!’. Moreover, the character’s Spanish speaking background and her Ecuadorian identity are completely erased in her characterization; i.e. she never speaks Castilian, talks about or displays anything related to Ecuador or her culture. The fact that Rosario has apparently erased her ‘original’ identity and constructed another one based on her linguistic practices exemplifies what Woolard calls a ‘Catalan convert’^x (Woolard 2009).

Piluca is a naïve character that always speaks Castilian. She understands Catalan spoken by the native Catalan speakers but finds it difficult to understand Rosario’s Catalan as she thinks Rosario is speaking Filipino: “**Ai cariño no te entiendo**” –‘oh dear, I don’t understand you’-; “**no me hables en Filipino que no te entiendo**” –‘do not speak to me in Filipino because I don’t understand you’-; “**cariño**

háblame en cristiano que no te entiendo” –‘speak to me in Christian since I don’t understand you dear’-. The linguistic labels “**Filipino**” and “**cristiano**” that Piluca uses when referring to Rosario’s Catalan have historical connotations from the Spanish Empire and the beginning of the Spanish nationalism: the Spanish ‘Reconquest’ of the Muslim kingdoms, and restoration of the Christian rule during the middle ages; and the Spanish colonization of the Philippines in the 16th Century. “**Hablar cristiano**” –‘speaking Christian’- is commonly used nowadays meaning ‘speaking plainly, simple’^{xi}, but it also means ‘speaking Castilian’. This expression was used especially during the Francoist dictatorship when someone was speaking any other language different from Castilian to denigrate the language spoken, meaning that that language –be it Catalan, Galician, etc- was not the appropriate or accepted one by the Spanish nationalist values (or drawing from the original meaning “not Christian” and thus Muslim). ‘Speaking Filipino’ is not a common expression, but the character uses it as a synonym for ‘speaking Christian’. Both of them refer to the Spanish nationalist and centralist attitude in relation to language. In this sense, Piluca is being identified with this Spanish nationalism when she uses these widely known expressions, especially as she is the Castilian speaking character denigrating the (hypercorrect) Catalan language.

There are, however, some moments when the program shows Piluca’s skills in speaking Catalan. For example, in a first attempt to establish a television contract with a TV presenter, Piluca is asked whether she can speak Catalan in order to work at the main Catalan public channel. At that point, Piluca starts showing off how much Catalan she is able to speak and mentions Montilla, the former president of Catalonia

of Spanish immigrant origin, as an example to follow. However, Piluca's Catalan is presented as minimal, as she only uses a couple of token conventionalized expressions –‘good morning’ and ‘thank you’ and two independent lexical items –‘president’ and ‘as well’.

(3) Episode 1, minute 5.25

A: I tu el català com el portes?
And what about your Catalan?

P: **ah yo, muy bien...** ‘Bon dia Catalunya’... ‘moltes gràcies’...
Oh me, very good... ‘Good morning Catalonia’... ‘thank you’...

A: no..ho dic perquè quan anem a TV3 ‘la teva’ hauràs de parlar en català.
Well, I say that because when we go to TV3, ‘your channel’ you’ll have to speak Catalan.

P: **ah porque en castellano no me entendéis?**
Oh because you all don’t understand me in Castilian?

A: ...això no ho pots dir a TV3
...you can’t say that at TV3

P: **bueno, si el president Montilla ha aprendido, yo també!**
Well, if President Montilla learnt it, I will too!

Another very different example is found when she picks up the 24-hour hotline that Rosario establishes in order to assist with questions related to the weak pronouns. Piluca gives a hypercorrect response concerning the weak pronoun that she is asked about on the telephone “*No, correctament es: ja li ho farem saber*” -‘No, correctly it is: we’ll let you know that’-. This is, by the way, another example that the program uses to show hypercorrection in the weak pronouns, as a lax Catalan speaker would not use this form, but something like “*ja l’hi farem saber*”, which is not accepted in the prescriptive norm. These two examples give very different representations of Piluca’s

Catalan linguistic skills; on the one hand, she is presented as unable to produce full sentences in Catalan, which would be more common or typical of the real life type of enregistered speaker she represents. On the other hand, she is able to produce a hypercorrect version of a combination of weak pronouns, which is atypical for a learner of Catalan, especially one not trying to master the language. This last example shows the absurdity of the character in relation to linguistic skills, as this is the only moment that Piluca is characterized by hypercorrect Catalan, and it is constantly emphasized in the program that her knowledge is minimal.

Piluca does not make many explicit commentaries about the Catalan language *per se*. Despite claiming that she can speak Catalan, the character always speaks Castilian. Her linguistic practices serve as a way to position Piluca in relation to the other characters of the program. By presenting her speaking Castilian in her interactions with Catalan speakers –when she claims to speak Catalan–, an ideological perspective associated with Castilian speaking people from the rest of Spain as disdainful of the Catalan language is invoked. Piluca's character is identified with a type of person enregistered by her linguistic choices, and by representing the imagined social type for Castilian speaking people from the rest of Spain. As a naïve Spanish character, Piluca is not expected by the other characters to understand or comment on debates that relate to Catalan identity issues or the importance of the Catalan National Day.

This assumption is never made explicit in the program. Catalan characters normally give Piluca a chance to express herself, but without taking her too seriously, as she represents the Spanish centrist perspective regarding the Catalan case. When

she does comment or try to participate in any Catalan debate, the characters' responses confirm the ideological perspective that they have toward the Spanish type that Piluca embodies. Catalan characters respond to such comments from Piluca with sighs, gazes, or just silence. For instance, in a scene where Mimí states "*Català és qui viu i treballa a Catalunya*" –'A Catalan is anyone who lives and works in Catalonia'- and Piluca replies "**entonces yo sóc catalana!, sóc catalana!**" –'Then I'm a Catalan! I'm a Catalan!'-, there are a couple of seconds of silence between this last statement and the change of scene, i.e. Piluca apparently receives no response to her claim from Mimí. From the Conversation Analysis perspective, an evaluation is the first part of an adjacency pair, setting up the expectation for a response to the first evaluation. Piluca draws a conclusion from Mimí's definition of a Catalan, and makes a claim that seems to require a response in order to confirm the proposed evaluation. However, there is no response, which implies a negative answer (Levinson 1983).

When other characters dismiss Piluca's comments or treat her as a lost case, she is sometimes bothered by that, and struggles to challenge that perspective. Piluca is at times represented as an unexpectedly smart character that is able to respond to the mockery and the criticism of some of the Catalan characters and Rosario. In a scene where Piluca is being mocked by both Rosario and Mimí because they think Piluca does not know what is being celebrated on the Catalan National Day, Piluca firmly explains to them what is done every year at the ritual site to which Mimí has been invited. Moreover, she responds infuriated "**Yo sé muy bien lo que es la Diada, aunque sea madrileña!**" –'I know very well what the Diada is about, despite being a Madrilenian!' The character's attempts to be recognized by the Catalan characters as a

member of the Catalan community are elicited only when the latter question Piluca's linguistic skills or her lack of empathy towards the Catalan culture. However, other than that, Piluca's character clearly embraces her origins. More than once, the character states "**yo a los catalanes hay veces que no os entiendo**" – 'Sometimes I do not understand [you] Catalans', hence making clear that she actually distances herself from Catalans, and does not include herself in the Catalan community. This is to say that despite the character's claims to be recognized as a member of this community whenever this membership is questioned, the program depicts Piluca as a character clearly positioning herself as someone different from the Catalan characters by whom she is surrounded.

Mimí is the third of the typified speakers in the program. She is the main starring character, the native Catalan speaker. Mass media comedy in Catalonia does not normally posit single characters as having overtly the authoritative voice. There are normally shared starring roles (perhaps with unequal relevance). Even if there is one single character that concentrates more attention, it is not obvious and clearly represented as such. This may mean that the characters' voice and authority is misrecognized (Bourdieu 1986) as they are primarily shown as any other voice in the program. In this program, Mimí and Piluca apparently share starring roles, but Mimí's character and voice is the center for the development of the plot (see further analysis in the section *The program's evaluative voice*).

The "Barcelona Catalan" language that Mimí uses is recognized by native speakers as a lax, informal, castilianized or even degraded Catalan. However, that

does not mean Mimí speaks ‘xava’ (Tusón 1985, Pujolar 2006), a register commonly known from the Barcelona area that has negative connotations because of its different pronunciation (close to Castilian) and its use of Castilian or castilianized lexicon. Mimí’s phonology conforms to a traditional standard and she generally makes use of standard Catalan in terms of syntax and lexicon. This standard is regulated by the *Institut d’Estudis Catalans*^{xii} (IEC) and includes Pompeu Fabra’s normativization of 1932. However, Mimí’s Catalan has some hints of castilianized lexicon (see page 15 for ‘ojalá’ example), making it apparently more common, and providing an ideologically ‘normal’ representation of the Catalan used in Barcelona nowadays (Frekko 2009).

Mimí’s character does not initiate much talk about the Catalan language per se. However, she responds to Rosario’s interjections on Catalan by apparently “supporting” them at first sight. Rosario’s interventions are so repetitive in the program that Mimí automatically replies with ironic and/or dismissive responses, which evidences that Mimí’s character is not really supporting Rosario’s obsession but distancing from it. Rosario fails to understand the metapragmatic meaning of Mimí’s responses: the key (Goffman 1974) that Mimí’s character signals with her tone is not understood. As a result, Rosario does not generally understand the ironic or dismissive comment and reads it literally -as a primary text (Basso 1979), i.e. as if Mimí was actually agreeing with her.

(5) Episode 6, minute 1:10

- R: Jo estic estudiant per treure el nivell D de català, però [de] tant escoltar el castellà a la casa estic com perdent el dring de la llengua catalana!... el “la” [lə]
I'm studying in order to pass the level D of Catalan, but because of listening to so much Castilian at home, I'm losing the sounds of the Catalan language!... the 'la' [lə]
- M: [sarcàstic] NOoo! El dring no l'hem de perdre mai de la vida..!
 [sarcastic] *NOoo! We must never ever lose the sounds...!*

Mimí's sarcastic response can also be interpreted as using another “voice of consciousness” following Bakhtin's double voicing: that of criticism toward purist discourses. The double voicing of Mimí is more visible in the program when the character makes ironic or sarcastic comments on another character's positioning or evaluation. In particular, Bakhtin's ‘vari-directional’ double voicing^{xiii} suggests a very simple way of displaying a particular discourse that is not intended to read as primary text, but as a secondary one. Even if Bakhtin himself did not propose this kind of double voicing as a means to explain irony (only), it is useful in order to distinguish the possible intentions of any double-voiced utterance.

Mimí's linguistic practices position the character in relation to the other characters in the program. The fact that she speaks Catalan is clearly opposed to her long time friend's Castilian. Mimí and Piluca form a linguistic opposition that allows the characters to establish a social and cultural opposition as well. This is linked to a way of thinking, behaving, and feeling the national identity. Mimí's lax use of the Catalan language is also opposed to the hypercorrect Catalan that Rosario uses, hence showing a contrast in register with her that other characters (and the audience) can

also see and understand. Mimí's Catalan is sometimes judged or corrected by Rosario. It is interesting to note that Mimí's character is not presented as welcoming linguistic corrections as she does not normally reply verbally to Rosario but uses silence, gazes and sighs to show her opinion about it. Mimí's responses to Rosario's obsession are presented as the most appropriate and common sense evaluations that are not contested or questioned by Rosario in a similarly 'common sense' way. The fact that there is no contestation, and that there is apparently no need for one -as Mimí's responses provide an "unquestionable truth"- reinforces the notion of *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977) in the program (see the section below *The program's evaluative voice*). The concessions that Mimí's character makes to Rosario's obsession seems only to please the latter, as the Catalan character may agree with some of Rosario's positions, but not with the obsession that characterizes her. The program does not present Mimí as caring about the appropriate use of the Catalan language, i.e. not making an "extra" effort in order to speak the language well. The character does not apparently care whether she is using castilianized alternatives or not, 'a relaxation of tension' (Bourdieu 1991) that is clearly opposed to Rosario's hypercorrection. Bourdieu's notion refers to "the controlled hypocorrection which combines confident relaxation and ignorance of pedantic rules with the exhibition of ease on the most dangerous ground" (ibid 1991: 63). In this perspective, Mimí is distancing herself from the linguistic tension that Rosario exhibits with the hypercorrect Catalan when struggling for assimilation (ibid 1991: 63) to the Catalan community. Mimí's relaxation reflects a privilege that allows the 'lax Catalan' to be presented as appropriate and unquestionable.

Andrew uses the last of the four linguistic varieties in the program. As an immigrant from an Australian origin, the character has an English accent when speaking Catalan. He is presented as unable to form a ‘subject-verb-predicate’ sentence, so his register is very much like the commonly known Tarzan language. Andrew abridges some common Catalan expressions with his style such as “*puta mare*”, instead of the correct version, “*de puta mare*” –‘awesome’ or his frequent failure to conjugate verbs, using the infinitive form in finite time: “*elles ser dolentes*”- ‘they to be bad’. The character gains some prominence as the program moves on, but on the whole, his is a very secondary role. Both Mimí and Piluca “love” him as a very handsome young character. They regard Andrew as if he was a child, which makes it natural for him to make mistakes and use non prescriptive forms of the language. More importantly, he is presented as lacking intelligence -as his linguistic style is an iconization of this characteristic (Irvine and Gal 2000)-, so no high expectations are placed on him. As a transnational immigrant, but unlike Rosario, Andrew’s usage is regarded with indifference. Nobody overtly criticizes him although he is sometimes laughed at because he just does not understand how language works. The program shows Andrew’s willingness to use Catalan despite not having a standard pronunciation or clear syntactical structures -he actually never uses Castilian. This does not discourage the character from using the language at all times with everybody. Piluca’s character uses some English with Andrew, which shows that she sees him as not understanding Catalan, and, as a result, she accommodates him (see the following example). When Mimí comments on the ‘Tarzan-like’ Catalan (on page 9) or on the fact that Andrew does not understand some situations of the Catalan culture, Piluca

rapidly aligns with Mimí's position, claiming the same authority as Mimí in commenting on Andrew's linguistic skills and cultural knowledge.

Andrew's character is very quiet in the program even when he is surrounded by the main characters. The program does not make him comment on Catalan linguistic forms, nor does he do that with his own Catalan linguistic variety or English. However, he tries to understand and comment on some of the topics being discussed by other characters, but without much success. In a scene where Mimí, Piluca and a third native Catalan speaking character are talking about what to do during the Catalan National Day in September 11th, Andrew gets angry because he thinks they want to celebrate the 9/11 devastation in the US. In his first utterance, he just uses syntactically unconnected items about his idea of 9/11 in order to communicate his disagreement with the celebration. In his second utterance, the character also fails at adding articles or subjects to make a grammatical sentence.

(6) Episode 2, minute 8:30

M: Mireu, amb aquesta senyera em vaig manifestar l'11 de setembre de l'any 1977.

Look, with this 'senyera' [Catalan flag], I demonstrated in September 11th, 1977.

AN: 11S...torres bessones...Nova York...!
9/11...twin towers...New York...!

P: **No! nooo! No! Pobre Andrew, se cree que estamos celebrando el 11S! No, no no...!**

No! nooo! No! Poor Andrew, he thinks we're celebrating the 9/11! No, no, no...!

M: El nostre 11 de setembre és molt molt més antic...
Our 9/11 is way way older...

P: sí, before much, before Andrew, before before!

Yes, before much, before Andrew, before before! [linguistic accommodation to English]

AN: festa no possible...dia trist! Lleig, molt lleig!
Party not possible...sad day! Awful, very awful! [Instead of something like ‘The party is not possible...that’s a sad day! That’s awful, very awful!]

P: Andrew...!

M: [a l’Andrew] tu sí que ets lleig...
 [to Andrew] *It’s you who are awful!*

The character’s stance: identity

The characters’ interaction in the daily situations shapes the negotiation of each other’s identities. The positioning that each character takes up “automatically invoke[s] a constellation of associated social identities” (Jaffe 2009: 8). The interaction is crucial for the characters in order to project their stances, evaluations and/or positioning and, at the same time, being evaluated or contested by others (Goffman 1979). The characters’ contestation helps reveal other social identities and shape the image that characters offer to the audience, which is crucial in order to understand the program’s evaluation of those identities in the following section.

Most of the characters of this analysis are presented in the program as using linguistic varieties without being aware of the strong social indexes or stereotyped personae that they index (Jaffe 2009). In this sense, they do not play with the linguistic varieties and the linguistic identities that those varieties mean. However, the juxtaposition of speaker types brings the characters into contestation, and *negotiation*

of “personal” identities (Balckledge&Pavlenko 2001, Bucholtz, 2004, Bucholtz&Hall 2005). The program proposes every identification against what the other character is, which relies on a linguistic differentiation and simplification (Gal and Irvine 2000). This is to say that the program sets the linguistic practices as the starting point to develop the characterization of each persona in the plot, and not vice versa. The linguistic differentiation is also constructed upon simplified linguistic features that reinforce the stereotype of each typified speakers, which means that the characters are in general very obvious.

Early twentieth century immigrants in the US faced the task of ‘becoming American’ by showing certain characteristics –which normally had to do with language- and replacing others that could call into question their new identity in the US (Dicker 1996). Among those characteristics that immigrants had to show, language proficiency became a basic requirement in the ongoing discourses about integration (Grillo 1998). This is similar to the Catalan case, where traditional discourses in Catalonia emphasized speaking Catalan as the means to achieve a full integration to the Catalan society, which is the position that Rosario’s character takes up in the program.

However, Rosario’s discourse about linguistic purism is treated as odd or out of date by the other characters of the program. Rosario’s positioning on linguistic practices apparently clashes very much with the current idea of language use –or this is what the audience is expected to read from her as she is mocked in the program. The Ecuadorian character is being identified with the imagined Catalan speaker who must defend the Catalan language from laxness and decadence. Since the character has not

been born or raised in Catalonia, her legitimacy as a ‘new Catalan’ must be *earned* (Coupland 2003) out of something else, apparently in her view, the use of formal and literary language. In the following example, Rosario posits a parallel between explaining the “true” meaning of the Catalan National Day with explaining the prescriptive use of the weak pronouns, just because these two emblems –according to Rosario’s character- constitute part of the Catalan identity.

(7) Episode 2, minute 2:10

R: No! Cal recordar d'on som i d'on venim!
No! We must remember where we are from, and where we come from!

M: Però si ningú sap què es celebra l'11 de setembre...surt al carrer I pregunta-ho, pregunta-ho...pregunta-ho!
But nobody knows what is celebrated on Sept 11th...go out on the streets and ask about it, ask about it...ask about it!

R: Haurem d'explicar-ho un cop, dos, els que facin falta...és com els pronoms febles: tothom els malmet però són nostres, ens identifiquen, Mimí!
We'll have to explain it once, twice, as many times as needed...it's like the weak pronouns: everybody abuses them, but they are ours, they identify us, Mimí!

Rosario’s character presents her relation to language as something natural, unmarked and appropriate even if other Catalan characters or the audience itself see an opposed relation; i.e. the character is unaware of how unnatural and ‘letter-wounded’ she sounds to them. The current understanding of the ‘appropriateness’ of very formal register in Catalan is challenged by this character’s use of hypercorrect Catalan in very informal settings. This is proposed to be the character’s way to create a space among a

Catalan dominated context where she –as an immigrant- can represent the model that all the other characters should follow, especially the native Catalan speakers who are pushed to produce prescribed forms of Catalan. Rosario’s character aligns with Mimí’s (or Piluca’s) positioning when responding to Andrew’s lack of understanding in some situations (small laugh or looking for a knowing smile with Catalan speakers), which portrays him as a dumb character.

Even if Rosario’s character creates her own space as a legitimate ‘new Catalan’ who has integrated (linguistically) in Catalonia, her discourse is apparently far from other character’s idea of integration. As Piluca believes Rosario speaks Filipino, she criticizes her lack of interest in learning the language of the country, which the program does not clarify whether Piluca refers to Castilian or Catalan: **“Me da una pena la gente que viene de fuera a trabajar y no se esfuerza en aprender la lengua del país!... Mimí, a mí me parece fatal”** – ‘Look, it makes me sad when people from abroad come in order to work and they don’t make an effort to learn the language of the country!...Mimí, it is awful!’. Mimí responds to Piluca’s evaluation by rolling her eyes, hence providing a required feature of any adjacency pair, and making an ironic comment on what the Madrilenian states. This is actually a very common Catalan comment about the people like Piluca, which is why Mimí rolls her eyes almost mechanically. Even if Mimí does not pronounce any word, her commentary is present (by rolling her eyes), and displays the irony of the above statement, hence making Piluca’s character more ridiculous. The program also make Piluca comment on some social class issues, even if very indirectly. Piluca’s character

presupposes a set of pre-determined tasks that Rosario should fulfill traditionally as a domestic worker such as picking up the phone: “**Es la primera vez que la veo coger el teléfono!**” – ‘It’s the first time that I’ve seen her picking up the telephone!’. Nowadays this kind of task is not very often assumed to be fulfilled by domestic workers unless they work for a disabled or aged person who cannot pick up the telephone easily or quickly. Even if the class issue is not recurrent in the show, Piluca’s presupposition indexes the character’s need to establish class boundaries with a character that is mistakenly understood as a Filipino domestic worker, thus reinforcing the traditional class boundaries that existed in the fifties with these communities.

As stated above, Rosario’s linguistic practices are presented by the program as an *effort* or ‘letter wounded’ rather than a “natural” way of speaking –partly because Rosario makes the other characters believe it with so much explicit commentary on prescriptive forms, and reading on grammar books at all times at home. Therefore, Catalan characters take for granted that Catalan is not her most natural language for communicating, and they treat her obsession as somehow illegitimate, meaning either that she cannot be naturally passionate for Catalan if this is not her native language or that strong prescriptivism in Catalan is just not well evaluated by the Catalan characters. It is likely that the characters –according to their characterization in the program- would not be accepting of a native speaker with such an obsession and discourse either since one of the points that the program seems to criticize is precisely the linguistic positioning. The obsession of Rosario’s character is presented as

something *learned* due to her experience in Catalonia. In one scene, Mimí explicitly criticizes Rosario's obsession with the weak pronouns, which confirms the Catalan character's perspective regarding Rosario's linguistic positioning. At the same time, this infuriates Rosario, going back to the language death issue.

(8) Episode 4, minute 15:27

R: Mimí, potser s'ha obsedit una mica massa pel Dr. Cases.
Mimí, you're maybe a bit too much obsessed with Dr. Cases.

M: Sí home! La Piluca i jo lluitem per una injustícia! Tu sí que estàs obsedida pels pronoms febles!
No way! Piluca and I are fighting for an injustice! You are the one who is obsessed with the weak pronouns!

R: Mimí, els pronoms febles estan en vies d'extinció!...No tinc res més a dir!
Mimí, the weak pronouns are endangered!...I have nothing else to say!

On the whole, a foreign character that corrects the Catalan forms of native speakers, lectures them on how to feel about Catalan symbols and traditions such as the Catalan National Day and, shows that she can be “more Catalan” than the Catalan characters themselves does not receive a positive evaluation from the other characters. The program makes the other characters regard Rosario as having an excessive, not legitimate relation to the language. They just dismiss her interjections with gazes or sighs as they find them annoying and surprising to hear from a character like Rosario, especially Anselm (see further example 11).

Piluca's self-positioning as a legitimate Catalan (see page 23) does not find a positive response either. Piluca's relation to the Catalan language and Catalonia is presented as too opportunistic (see example 3), embodying the imagined Castilian

persona. Piluca's character –as stated above- reinforces the social class distinction with Rosario –which is based on a mistake about Rosario's national origin- by looking down at her and treating her like a foreigner. “**No me hables en Filipino que no te entiendo**” - ‘Don't speak to me in Filipino because I don't understand you’ (see page 19-20 for explanation). More than once, Piluca replies to Rosario in English, reinforcing the characterization of Piluca as an ignorant Spaniard, even if it is reasonable for the character not to recognize the literary forms that Rosario uses. Example (9) shows the very first interaction between Piluca and Rosario in the program. It presents an instance of miscommunication, where Rosario does not change to Spanish even when she realizes that Piluca does not understand her at all. Moreover, the literary Catalan used by Rosario shows Piluca's presumably set of assumptions about Rosario and/or about English that leads her to speak in English.

(9) Episode 1, minute 9:27

P: **La señora Mimí...está en casa?**
Mrs Mimí...is she at home?

R: Quina és la seva gràcia?
What is your pleasure?

P: **Cómo?**
What?

R: Que quina és la seva gràcia?
What is your pleasure?

P: **Ai cariño no te entiendo...**
Oh, dear, I don't understand you...

R: Ai vés quina ignomínia...
You see what a scandal...

P: I'm Pilar...is Mimí here? in the house?

- R: La trinxo.
I'm going to kill you.
- P: Do you speak English?
- R: La trinxo. (x2)
I'm going to kill you. (x2)

Piluca's character seeks to display a similar positioning as Mimi's in relation to the Catalan reality and national identity, as can be seen in the argument about the significance of the Catalan National Day or when she states that she is a Catalan. However, Mimi's responses to Piluca imply an actual linguistic, social or national opposition. Mimi's character takes the role and responsibility of the Catalan nationalist whenever her national "opponent" is around. In a scene where Piluca states that she 'felt like becoming Catalan' ("**me dieron ganas de ser catalana!**") when she saw the September 11th demonstration in 1977, Mimi responds: "*Català és qui viu i treballa a Catalunya*" -'A Catalan is who lives and works in Catalonia'- . This last quote became popular in Catalonia as it was promoted by the former government from the Catalan nationalist party 'Convergence and Union' (CiU in Catalan) with Jordi Pujol (tenures from 1980 to 2003). Rosario's characterization is also meant to play the role of the Catalan defender "against" Piluca. However, Rosario is represented as embodying the imagined Catalanist persona in some senses -both linguistically and nationally-, which the program ironizes by using stereotypes such as the obsession with the weak pronouns. The program is therefore commenting on and mocking the image of the Catalan persona and defender. As an imagined Catalan persona, Rosario's character treats Piluca -the imagined Castilian speaking personawith

hostility. The two of them represent the traditional rivalry between Spanish nationalism and its centralist discourses regarding language and identity, and Catalonia's nationalism. This is a big opposition where Mimí apparently does not enter. From the moment when Rosario appears in scene, the interactions with Piluca are radicalized or intensified to a point that Mimí presents herself as the voice of common sense by means of silence or uninterested responses (Bourdieu 1977). Mimí does not recognize Piluca as a legitimate Catalan either. In a scene where both Mimí and Piluca help a group of Chinese immigrants to show fake bags in an art gallery, Piluca calls herself 'newcomer'. Mimí, instead, calls Piluca "*inadaptada*" – unadapted- because despite spending so many years going back and forth to Barcelona, she has not bothered to speak the language nor get a job or integrate to Catalonia.

(10) Episode 6, minute 14:56

M: Estic emocionada, tots aquests artistes reunits sota el sostre de la meva gal·leria..!

I'm excited, all these artists together under the umbrella of my gallery!

P: **y todos nouvinguts! Como yo! Aunque yo soy nouvinguda de hace 32 años...**

And all newcomers! Like me! Although I'm a newcomer of 32 years ago...

M: sí d'això teu se'n diu 'inadaptada'

This thing of yours is called 'unadapted'. [i.e. unintegrated]

Throughout the program, the characters negotiate their identities through stances on linguistic differentiation that "are only meaningful in relation to other possible stances" (Jaffe 2009: 14), hence allowing a set of explicit and implicit

commentaries to evaluate each positioning. In this sense, there is a clear-cut linguistic differentiation that helps the fictionalized characters to establish very bounded and oversimplified evaluations of the other characters.

The program's evaluative voice

The characters resonate with the experience of the audience in relation to immigrants from abroad and people from the rest of Spain who learn and use (or do not use) Catalan in different ways. Rosario, Piluca and Andrew are presented as contrasting speaker types who have different experiences with the Catalan language. Their representation also mirrors contrasting ways of interpreting how immigrants embrace linguistic and social tensions with different discourses. Since this is a fictional representation, it is important to analyze the program's evaluation of issues such as language acquisition, language practices, ethnic boundaries, or multilingualism in general because the fictional character's perspectives on these issues do not necessarily match the program's perspectives. That means that whatever the fictionalized characters say, "think" or "feel" in relation to these topics, the artistic production of the program and script writers make comments on those by aligning or disaligning with them. The characters end up being the means or vehicle to comment on specific issues, and the humor plays a key role in order to address the tension that is still present in many of them. As Basso reminds us by quoting Vine Deloria in his analysis: "The more desperate the problem, the more humor is directed to describe it" (Basso 1979: 3).

The program uses enregistered language in order to characterize each persona humorously. For humor to be successful, the primary text (Basso 1979) or primary framework (Goffman 1974) must be shared by the community, i.e., there must be an echoic mention (Sperber and Wilson 1981) that allows the community to “start from the same page” in order to interpret any given joking utterance. The program presupposes a set of characteristics in order to describe the state of the primary text. Therefore, the program assumes that the linguistic differentiation (Gal and Irvine 1995) presented among characters is enregistered (Agha 2005) without problems by the audience and, consequently, the comic commentary that the program makes on each character can be easily understood (a different question is whether the program actually achieves it or not). Similar to the Western Apache imitations of ‘the Whiteman’ (Basso 1979), the program uses specific “styles of speaking” in order to “associate [them] with culturally specific attitudes and values that attach to the categories of people who ordinarily speak the languages” (1979:12). Each of the four characters who have a differentiated linguistic variety embodies a set of features taken from the imagined conception of what a speaker should look like. At the same time, the program assumes that the audience will understand –as the program relies on them to react to the humor -*why* this association between language and speaker is being sometimes mocked and under what forms –as with stereotypes.

Rosario’s linguistic skills apparently parody the idea that immigrants cannot learn the language of the host country fully by positing one that actually knows better Catalan than the conventional native speakers. Rosario’s linguistic practices are clearly opposed to both the Spanish speaking character from Madrid, and Andrew’s

English speaking accent in Catalan. Moreover, her character does not fit the standard enregistered persona, which violates the expectations of both the Catalan characters and the audience.

Rosario is presented as both a down-to-earth character -in contrast to Mimí and Piluca's eccentric attitude-, and a very irrational one at the same time. The irrationality is only present when it comes to the Catalan language issue. Her corrections leave Catalan speakers completely baffled to a point that they do not take her seriously. The humorous tone attached to her obsession portrays her as an irrational character that is only concerned with trivialities. In example 11, Rosario is presented as someone who does not care about a Catalan visitor at Mimí's apartment, but rather is outraged at the linguistic misuse that the Catalan character makes of the weak pronoun.

(11) Episode 1, minute 16:46

A: Aleshores...ehh..puc esperar...
Then...ehm...I can wait.

R: 'Què' pot esperar?
'What' can you wait for?

A: Puc esperar...l'Asunció Querol..?
I can wait for...Asunció Querol..?

R: Vostè vol dir si pot esperar-'la'?
Do you mean...if you can wait for her?

A: -la?
her?

R: Se n'adona? És un genocidi! Entre tots, entre tots..s'estan carregant..No!..els pronoms febles!!
Do you realize? This is a genocide! All of you,all of you.. are ruining..No!..the weak pronouns!!

Rosario's character is supposed to be funny because she is a parody the Catalan speaker who is obsessed with the Catalan language, something that not even the native Catalan speakers in the program do. The program presents then a character that endorses a discourse that is nowadays old fashioned. Moreover, her discourse seems not to fit her trajectory as a recent immigrant if she arrived at Catalonia around 6 years ago. This demonstrates what Bakhtin calls a 'ventriloquating' voice, i.e., speaking through someone else's voice (Bakhtin 1981) in that Rosario is voicing the imagined Catalanist's discourse. In addition to that, Keane (2011) analysis of the formation of indexical voices is useful to understand Rosario's ventriloquation. According to Keane, identifying variation in style (known as 'voices') requires recognizing a resemblance to the imaginary (like typified speakers) in order to be interpreted. The semiotic process of iconicity is used to identify (linguistic or stylistic) generalizations of that imaginary that are actually recognized through its circulation and repetition, thus "consolidating a moral figure" (2011: 174). Once the indexical relation is established, voices can be expropriated and circulated, which is much of what the program does with Rosario. This is to say that the program 'puts' a voice in Rosario that can be already identified with specific objectified moral values usually embodied in a very different persona. Furthermore, a character like Rosario is not only typified linguistically but also socially or ethnically by her background. The character represents a crossing of typifications; and it is not clear what the program's intention is in doing so.

The program uses Rosario's voice as a disruptive mechanism to allow the characters to discuss a topic that otherwise would be difficult to justify as relevant

nowadays in the media. Both the characters and the audience are likely meant to react with surprise to Rosario's discourse. The program presents its perspective regarding that discourse through the reactions that the other characters have, which by no means cooperate or consolidate the position (Keane 2011: 174) that Rosario's character tries to achieve: that of gaining membership recognition to the Catalan community. A middle age character from Ecuador with an immigrant origin whose native language is Spanish, who is a domestic worker (working class) and who spent approximately 6 years in Catalonia cannot *legitimately* have such a discourse as hers. The program uses a character to embody the enregistered features of an (imagined) persona, which is primarily based on its linguistic practices, and assumes that she does not fit into that identity.

The program presents Piluca as a character that fulfills the stereotypical conception that Catalans hold of someone living in Madrid, that of the upper class, spoiled and naïve Spaniard. Piluca considers herself a proud Spaniard, and her status as a Spaniard -seemingly equal to the official institutional status of the Catalan characters- makes her "believe" she has a guaranteed place in the Catalan community. Despite Piluca's claims about her being a Catalan in her explicit commentary (see page 23), the character clearly shows a contrast with some of her statements. In the following example, she adds "os" -'you'- when talking about the Catalan speakers. This grammatical particle is the Spanish indirect pronoun that refers to the indirect object in second person plural. The fact that she uses this particle to refer to Catalan characters shows that she excludes herself from this community.

(12) Episode 3, minute 34:40.

P: **Mira, yo a los catalanes hay veces que no os entiendo, la música se os muere, la lengua se os muere, todo se os muere y nadie nadie nadie hace nada para salvarlo...mira, si no fuera por mí...**

Look, I sometimes with Catalans I don't understand you, the music is dying on you, the language is dying on you, everything is dying on you and no one, no one does anything to save it...look, if it weren't for me...

Piluca's character reinforces a symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1991) by speaking Castilian, and assuming that speaking a language that everybody is supposed to understand will be enough for her to become part of the community, although she clearly shows that she does not "feel" part of it. If Rosario's role challenges some of the stereotypes linked to immigrants coming from Spanish speaking South American countries, Piluca's role does not challenge any stereotypes regarding people from other parts of Spain, but instead reinforces the existing ones. The program suggests that Piluca takes advantage of the fact that all Catalan speakers understand Castilian; she represents the people who, despite spending several years in Catalonia and/or understanding the host language, refuse to speak it.

The program, inadvertently or not, seems to be challenging the authenticity of Rosario, Piluca and Andrew as (new) speakers of Catalan and as potential new members of the Catalan community. Most of the implicit comments that the program makes are conveyed through the character of Mimí. She -despite having a specific linguistic variety- is not as stereotyped as other characters are. This leaves her in a position to evaluate from a more authoritative perspective the different roles that Piluca, Rosario or Andrew play in the program. Mimí is the middle ground of these characters, and she is presented as the "right" one; she is the voice of the good

judgment. For example, in a scene where Piluca, Rosario and Mimí need to decide what to do with a huge amount of money that came to their hands, Piluca suggests giving it back to the owner, who happens to be a corrupt person; Rosario suggest investing it to the Catalan language, which can be seen as useless; and Mimí ends up making a donation –disinterestedly- to the emblematic Catalan institution of music in order to re-establish the dignity of the place after the corruption scandal. This decision might be read as the most logical or mature out of the other alternatives, and has a real historical reference that makes it easy for the audience to understand it like that.

Dues Dones Divines is mocking here stances on language purism that have traditionally defined Catalonia by positing a character –Mimí- that speaks loosely standard Catalan with some castilianized lexicon or pronunciation. The commentary that the program makes on the characterization of Rosario, Piluca or Andrew coincides with Mimí’s comments. For example, Piluca sometimes presents herself as a Catalan who speaks Catalan, as someone who knows about the Catalan reality and as a rogue Madrilenian who knows best how to solve the daily problems that Catalans have, but this characterization is obviously ironized as the character is presented as a very naïve, opportunistic, hypocritical or ignorant persona through Mimí’s (and Rosario’s) comments. In an interaction with Rosario, Mimí and Piluca, the latter is being mocked by Rosario for her apparent lack of knowledge on the meaning of the Catalan national day: “*què en sap el gat de fer cullera*”, literally ‘-what does the cat know about making spoons’- meaning that she is talking about something of which she does not know. Mimí’s comments on Piluca are not normally verbally explicit (gazes, silences), but she does sometimes refer to Piluca as “inadaptada” (see example 10) or

'superficial'. If Rosario believes that she is a 'true Catalan' because she speaks a perfect Catalan, that she can be more Catalan than the Catalan characters as stated above or that she is able to understand the real problems of Catalonia, Mimí's evaluation of that (and other Catalan speakers') shows that Rosario's passion is actually an obsession, that her down-to-earth nature is easily shifted to a crazy and irrational nature when it comes to the language and national issue, and that her relation to the Catalan language is not of a natural bonding but a learned, added or artificial one (see example 8). In the example, Mimí clearly shows her opinion on Rosario's stance to language and portrays her as an obsessed character, very similar (if not the same) to the general characterization that the program provides of this character; Mimí just vocalizes it with an explicit commentary.

Andrew, despite not receiving harsh criticism is also portrayed from Mimí's perspective. He is presented as a willing speaker of Catalan, which honors him, but at the same time as an innocent young "piece of meat" that does not understand many of the ongoing situations. As he has an English accent, he is portrayed as the imagined English speaking foreigner who comes to Barcelona and learns the language, but he is not involved with identity and national issues. Andrew is not part of the Spanish-Catalan social, linguistic or even political debate. The fact that he speaks Catalan instead of Castilian seems to be the program's choice to normalize the use of the Catalan language in foreign characters like Andrew. Catalan is therefore the unmarked language in the program. In order to add some more 'realism' to the character, Andrew has an English speaking accent, and therefore he does not speak a standardized variety of Catalan. In real life, a foreigner such as Andrew speaking

Catalan would be regarded as a marked choice, meaning that he would know about the Catalan-Spanish debate. Speaking Catalan would mean aligning with the Catalan community and its authentic linguistic practice over an anonymous and unmarked language like Castilian (Woolard 2005). The program's characterization of Andrew thus attempts at showing a 'normalizing' relationship between a foreign person and the Catalan language.

One could think that Mimí is also an object of linguistic or social commentary, and it would be true. She has another linguistic variety in the program, that of the lax Catalan, and as such she is evaluated both by Rosario, and by the program. Rosario's criticism and correction of Mimí's Catalan for being too lax or simply incorrect at some times is always dismissed by the latter. Moreover, Mimí is presented in the program as the center of social connection. Every character is related to Mimí in some ways, and this relation at the same time makes them relate with each other. As the sitcom is developed almost entirely in her apartment, she owns the physical as well as the social space of the program, which gives her higher authority over the other characters. Hill and Irvine evidence the problematic of establishing authoritative discourses: "The question of authoritativeness arise, too, in cases where a speaker's personal identity or social position is somehow insufficient as a guarantee of a statement's truth or authenticity" (Hill and Irvine 1993). Piluca or Rosario are not regarded as so legitimate Catalan speakers as native Catalan characters are, which makes them less likely to provide these "statement's truths" (ibid). Following Bakhtin's double-voicing can be helpful to narrow down Mimí's authoritative voice. Whereas the double-voicing of Piluca or Rosario seems to present a much more

“visible” contrast between the speaker and the discourse, i.e. it is more evident that their voices belong to someone else’s discourse –that of the imagined personae-, Mimí’s discourse is not presented by the program in such way, in part because there are no exaggerated characterizations of her or ironic commentaries on her. As Rampton puts it “(...) the boundary between the speaker and the voice (...) can diminish, to the extent that there is a 'fusion of voices' “(Rampton 1998). In this case, the double-voicing of Mimí becomes neutralized, part of the speaker’s discourse, hence producing what Bakhtin calls a ‘direct discourse’ (Bakhtin 1984). Mimí’s voice is presented as more natural, unmarked, and balanced when compared to the exaggeration, stereotyping, and even artificiality of the other characters. This brings me to hypothesize that Mimí is the accomplice used to mobilize what the program has to say about the character’s stances, positioning and self-representations. She is the means or the vehicle through which the ideological world of the program’s producers and script writers is conveyed. Despite having Rosario, Piluca or even Andrew taking stances on different issues and evaluating themselves, it is Mimí who very subtly decides which evaluation is right or more appropriate, which linguistic form is better than another or who counts to be a Catalan and a Catalan speaker.

Mimí’s linguistic variety is presented as the unmarked form out of the four types. Her variety is actually not conceived as a differentiated variety and the program does not particularly comment on it, and when the program does –as happens with Rosario’s particular criticism- the comment is dismissed for not being from an authoritative voice. Mimí’s evaluation and her stances are treated as more legitimate than any other’s evaluation –the events take place at her apartment, and she usually

has the last word. The authoritative voice of Mimí helps maintain the power relationship with the other characters as her evaluations are not contested, but just presented as the appropriate ones by having the last word, not always literally (see example 10 or example in page 27). This brings me to consider the notion of symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1991) also used in Mimí's characterization; "when a language is used in a normal (or unmarked) setting, its cultural associations tend to stay submerged, "inactive," outside immediate awareness."^{xiv} (Basso 1979: 12). The sitcom uses Mimí -as well as other Catalan characters- to criticize Rosario's linguistic purism by showing a contraposition that intends to be a unitary language (Bakhtin 1981), i.e. a language that all characters understand (and with which can feel identified). Mimí uses standard Catalan (though less formal) and everybody understands her, especially Piluca, who always seems to have a hard time with Rosario's Catalan. However, at the same time, the program presupposes that one of those linguistic practices is the authoritative one, hence places Mimí's Catalan as a symbol for unity, a middle ground for the extreme positions and the language of sociolinguistic reconciliation.

Continuing with Bakhtin's voicing, it is relevant to note that 'double-voicing' can be examined from at least two perspectives: the fictional world of the characters, and the real world of the program. In the first case, there is a double-voicing of discourses and languages, that is, the characters voicing other people's discourses and languages, which included both 'unidirectional double voicing' and 'vari-directional double voicing' (Bakhtin 1984) as in Mimí's use of irony. In the second case, the program's discourse and "consciousness" is displayed when making a particular (ironic) commentary on the characters or on the characters' discourses, something that

the program does not clarify properly in some cases as it happens with Rosario's character.

Mimí is a central character that inadvertently or not displays some sort of symbolic domination. Blackledge and Pavlenko mention the notion of *counterhegemony*, i.e., “subordinated groups [that] may not always accept the symbolic power of the dominant group, but may symbolically resist that power by adopting linguistic practices which are counter to those of the dominant group” (2001: 248). Both Piluca and Rosario may be represented as attempting to subvert that hegemony where they, as not native Catalan speakers, are likely to feel threatened by the Catalan dominated context. Their linguistic practices apparently challenge or try to dissuade at first sight the established ideological boundaries between Catalan and Castilian –one by questioning the appropriate use of the Catalan language and showing herself as an Ecuadorian speaking it perfectly, the other by using Castilian at all times when interacting with Catalan speakers. However, neither challenge has any effect from the moment Mimí leads interactions with an authoritative voice. The ideological boundaries end up being reinforced by Mimí's role in the program, as an unmarked voice of taken-for-granted common sense on language and identity issues.

The audience evaluation of the program

The last point to analyze is that of the audience's response to the parody of *Dues Dones Divines*. Humor is used as a tool for social commentary and control (Woolard 1987) and it sometimes reinforces a negative connotation (Hill 1995, Basso

1979, Thompson 2010), the meaning of which is conveyed through this humorous tone. When mocking happens, what it is being said belongs to the 'joking world'. As "jokes are not intended to be taken litera[ll]y, 'serious'" (Basso 1979: 37), negative comments can be said and violations of appropriateness can be done, presumably with no harm. Parody can also be a means to negotiate group boundaries (Fine&De Soucey 2005) in terms of its language, identity or culture, and a space to mobilize ideological constructions of language and identity issues. This space is normally used for challenging and/or reinforcing the established ideologies of a community. The humor used in Catalonia is tightly linked to the idea of "we can laugh at ourselves" (Labrador 2009) and media productions are likely to be proud of that since programs making a criticism on the way Catalans are or behave have enjoyed great success (*Plats Bruts, Polònia*).

The audience commentary presented here is taken from the program official website (<http://www.tv3.cat/divines>). Although there were positive reactions to what the program addressed, that is, the reality of Catalonia regarding a variety of linguistic practices, most of the comments made by the audience on the program website were concerned with the artificiality of the characters.

The typification of speakers in the program evidences an opposition that does not always respond to a reality; it is in some cases old-fashioned, especially as it deals with topics that have been addressed in the past (though not in the media). According to some of the examples below, addressing the topic of bilingualism seems to be very repetitive and not part of the current concerns of the society. The following comments come from the website stated above.

(13) [Not in dialogue]

Anna: Qui es creu que Vicenta Ndongo [l'actriu fent de Rosario] és equatoriana??? I la collonada del català i el castellà?? No som bilingües des de fa molts anys?

Who believes Vicenta Ndongo [the actress playing Rosario] is an Ecuadorian??? And the stupidity of Catalan and Castilian?? Are we not bilinguals from a long time ago?

Susanna: Per què tv3 ha anat 30 anys enrera?

Why has tv3 gone back 30 years to the past?

guizeb@tv3mail.com: [...] Penso que aquest tipus de comèdies ja els hem superat amb escreix.

[...] I think that we are already over this kind of comedies.

Rosario and Piluca are the ones that come off most badly of all the characters in the program. In Andrew's case, as a common language learner, he is not so harshly mocked, and the audience can understand his characterization without problems. His linguistic practices –speaking Catalan with an English accent- may be found more easily in real life (though still not especially common), and his role is presented as a natural way of engaging with Catalonia. However, in Rosario's case, the audience does not have a clear reference from which to extract the comic side and understand the commentary that it is being made. Rosario's linguistic skills are simply unrealistic and very unlikely to find in real life. That does not mean that it is completely impossible to find an immigrant obsessed with the correct usage of the Catalan language or the weak pronouns, but it is not part of what the majority of the population have experienced in Catalonia with immigration and therefore people cannot feel identified with at all. The audience cannot understand the parody of something that is

itself artificial. Even if Rosario's voice -indexed to her linguistic practices- is recognized and thus identified by the audience as a specific Catalanist discourse, the speaker using it is not well understood because the iconized speaker type (imagined Catalan) does not match, i.e. the discourse is put in the 'wrong' body, or said differently, there is a crossing of typifications. Therefore, there is a violation of the conditions that allow enregisterment (Agha 2005). The audience may not know whether the program is parodying Rosario as an immigrant speaking Catalan or the Catalans who use her particular discourse. And since there are no such working class perfect-speaker recent immigrants^{xv}, the only referent that the audience can grasp is that the program is actually mocking a particular discourse with which they *are* familiar.

(14)

Pertan: Tan "alliçonadora", semblava que ens burléssim de nosaltres mateixos com si ens avergonyíssim de ser així.

So "lecturing", it looked like we were mocking ourselves as if we were ashamed of being like that.

Piluca's character, on the contrary, is widely recognized by people living in Catalonia, and this contributes to a general understanding of what she represents in the program; i.e. the audience has a clear reference of how this persona should be characterized according to the stereotypes. Even so, I argue that the sitcom does not set clear boundaries between the comic side of the character -with its joking commentary-, and any kind of 'normal' or unjoking side of it. Basso says that "acts of play may be defined as those which are modeled on acts that are 'not play'" (1979: 37)

and as such a contrast must be clear to identify what is being set as comic and what is not. The audience may see a characterization made out of stereotypes that finds no “serious” contrast with which to be compared. If there is not contrast, it is hard to establish when the mocking begins –and by whom- and when it stops. The stereotypes used by the program in order to parody Piluca are not isolated instances of laughter, but rather work as the means to describe the character’s nature. Consequently, the stereotypes lose the intended joking commentary as no contrast is found. In this sense, there might be nothing funny about this characterization made of essentialized stereotypes without its joking side as it actually matches some people’s real life experiences nowadays in Catalonia. If the comment that is intended to address some sort of tension is dispossessed of its humorous part, all what remains is the underlying (realistic) characterization that is obviously too direct, and perhaps not particularly funny to address in the media. As a result, part of the audience thought that Piluca’s voice was too realistic, not clearly a joking parody (as the joking commentary was not understood), which would explain why some people thought her character was actually part of the program’s “serious” discourse. Some of the comments below referred to the need to protect TV3 from Castilianist discourses, interpreting that the programs was aligning to those *unjokingly*.

(15) [Not in a dialogue]

albert2011: Dolenta i en castellà. No podíeu fer res pitjor. A TV3 en català, sisplau! En castellà ja tenim 30 teles!

Bad and in Castilian. You couldn’t do anything worse. TV3 in Catalan, please! We already have 30 TVs [channels] in Castilian!

Pertan: (continua) De veritat, sembla que aquesta sèrie sigui més de Telemadrid o que els guionistes siguin de Ciutadans, el partit de l'Albertito Rivera (...)

(continues) Really, this series seems to be from Telemadrid [a Spanish nationalist TV channel] or that the script writers are from Ciutadans' [a political party popularly known by its "anti" Catalan language discourses], the political party of Albertito Rivera (...)

Furthermore, the evaluation made by the program of typified speakers assumes that the audience will share the same perspective. Parodying characters such as Rosario or Piluca takes for granted that the audience will understand their nature to be "parodiable", and thus, that their stances on language and identity are not to be taken seriously. This is unlikely shared by many sectors of the audience and suggests that the humorous side of the comedy was not accurately chosen. The representation of all the characters in a humorous tone is assumed to represent the experiences with which the audience has developed its "joking culture" (Fine&De Soucey 2005: 17), and it is also a form to confirm the "bonding" among Catalans. This is obviously problematic when the program attempts to show a comprehensive and multicultural/multilingual society (Labrador 2009) but one that, at the same time, is presented through an underlying authoritative voice –the program's- that "decides" the right evaluation, positioning and response to each of the characters stances.

Concluding remarks

Dues Dones Divines was a failed situation comedy that attempted to represent a variety of linguistic practices in Catalonia. The program presented a set of typified speakers who were put in conversation, thus apparently promoting a dialogue among the stereotypes with which each character was defined by the program. The stance that these characters take in relation to language practices, language acquisition, social or ethnic boundaries was the means to negotiate their identities and the means that the program had in order to comment on those. Each characterization, therefore, was intended to be a form of social commentary, but the program's evaluation of each discourse and/or positioning also was unequal, and therefore, some of the comments were given more emphasis through Mimi's comments.

The program presented four linguistic varieties: the hypercorrect Catalan of Rosario, the 'Tarzan-like' Catalan of Andrew, the lax Catalan of Mimi, and the Castilian of Piluca. Each of these differentiated linguistic practices is indexed in Catalonia to a specific set of highly stereotyped characteristics connected to common speakers of those varieties (Basso 1979). The ideological construction formed out of such correlation is presented in the program in each character's self-presentation and positioning. Nonetheless, the conversation among these personae presented evaluation and contestation and enabled different voices to come into play. Many commentaries were said in a very straightforward and harsh way; especially the ones made between Piluca and Rosario, the two characters presented antagonistically, who embodied the imagined Castilian speaking persona from Spain, and the Catalan speaking one.

Piluca and Rosario's characters present different stances regarding themselves

as non-native Catalan speakers and both of them fight for recognition in order to belong to the Catalan community. Their attempts to be accepted by this Catalan community (either by speaking a hyperproficient Catalan or by assuming that a language understood by everyone will be enough) seem excessive or unfounded to the Catalan characters. Their representation evidences the lack of a middle ground between two opposed typified speakers –except the show presents Mimí as this middle ground-, which can be applied to the traditional and real tension still existing in Catalonia nowadays.

At first sight, the program seems to be willing to propose an ideal setting where different linguistic varieties coexist, thus trying to make a positive representation of the Catalan situation. Besides, it makes fun of *all* the stereotypes that each linguistic practice indexes as a way of commenting on the absurdity of all of them. However, Mimí treats any possible disapproval or question addressed to her as something irrelevant, stupid and lacking interest. None of the distanced perspectives thus challenge the sociolinguistic boundaries that the Catalan characters (in this case Mimí) and the program set when they question and mock the validity of other linguistic practices and discourses. The dialogism (Bahktin 1984) of the fictionalized world of the program, that is, the different voices and consciences found in conversation among the characters' positioning, evaluation, self-presentation and contestation becomes a 'monologizing' (ibid) perspective with the program's stance towards this world. Mimí's complicit role shows the program's ideology in relation to these typified speakers and, as hers is the taken-for-granted perspective, she is allowed to "deactivate" or deny all the other consciousness (Bahktin 1981) and treat them as

irrational, trivial or not legitimate.

Some of the Catalan sociolinguistic tensions were exposed to the public scrutiny and commentary through the characters of this sitcom. Perhaps it was too risky to parody certain issues and, as I have been arguing, the program should have had an identifiable enregistered voice (Agha 2005) with a matching body (as it failed with Rosario); clear boundaries on *what* it is being mocked and *when* (as it failed with Piluca); and a critical approach to *all* perspectives (as it lacked in Mimi's characterization). The failure to take these into account showed an artificial, not funny enough, and biased comic representation of multilingualism in Catalonia. The program also revealed the continuing anxiety and tensions over these issues –even as globalization and transnational immigrants are bringing new alignments of language and identity.

Appendix

	el	la	els compl. dir.	les	li	els compl. indir.	en	hi	ho	em	et	ens	us
em	1 -me'l 2 -me'l 3 me'l 4 me'l	1 -me-la 2 -me-la 3 me la 4 me l'	1 -me'ls 2 -me'ls 3 me'ls 4 me'ls	1 -me-les 2 -me-les 3 me les 4 me les	1 -me-li 2 -me-li 3 me li 4 me li	1 -me'ls 2 -me'ls 3 me'ls 4 me'ls	1 -me'n 2 -me'n 3 me'n 4 me n'	1 -m'hi 2 -m'hi 3 m'hi 4 m'hi	1 -m'ho 2 -m'ho 3 m'ho 4 m'ho				
et	1 -te'l 2 -te'l 3 te'l 4 te'l	1 -te-la 2 -te-la 3 te la 4 te l'	1 -te'ls 2 -te'ls 3 te'ls 4 te'ls	1 -te-les 2 -te-les 3 te les 4 te les	1 -te-li 2 -te-li 3 te li 4 te li	1 -te'ls 2 -te'ls 3 te'ls 4 te'ls	1 -te'n 2 -te'n 3 te'n 4 te n'	1 -t'hi 2 -t'hi 3 t'hi 4 t'hi	1 -t'ho 2 -t'ho 3 t'ho 4 t'ho	1 -te'm 2 -te'm 3 te'm 4 te m'		1 -te'ns 2 -te'ns 3 te'ns 4 te'ns	
es	1 -se'l 2 -se'l 3 se'l 4 se'l	1 -se-la 2 -se-la 3 se la 4 se l'	1 -se'ls 2 -se'ls 3 se'ls 4 se'ls	1 -se-les 2 -se-les 3 se les 4 se les	1 -se-li 2 -se-li 3 se li 4 se li	1 -se'ls 2 -se'ls 3 se'ls 4 se'ls	1 -se'n 2 -se'n 3 se'n 4 se n'	1 -s'hi 2 -s'hi 3 s'hi 4 s'hi	1 -s'ho 2 -s'ho 3 s'ho 4 s'ho	1 -se'm 2 -se'm 3 se'm 4 se m'	1 -se't 2 -se't 3 se't 4 se t'	1 -se'ns 2 -se'ns 3 se'ns 4 se'ns	1 -se-US 2 -se-US 3 se US 4 se US
ens	1 -nos-el 2 'ns-el 3 ens el 4 ens l'	1 -nos-la 2 'ns-la 3 ens la 4 ens l'	1 -nos-els 2 'ns-els 3 ens els 4 ens els	1 -nos-les 2 'ns-les 3 ens les 4 ens les	1 -nos-li 2 'ns-li 3 ens li 4 ens li	1 -nos-els 2 'ns-els 3 ens els 4 ens els	1 -nos-en 2 'ns-en 3 ens en 4 ens n'	1 -nos-hi 2 'ns-hi 3 ens hi 4 ens hi	1 -nos-ho 2 'ns-ho 3 ens ho 4 ens ho				
us	1 -vos-el 2 -us-el 3 us el 4 us l'	1 -vos-la 2 -us-la 3 us la 4 us l'	1 -vos-els 2 -us-els 3 us els 4 us els	1 -vos-les 2 -us-les 3 us les 4 us les	1 -vos-li 2 -us-li 3 us li 4 us li	1 -vos-els 2 -us-els 3 us els 4 us els	1 -vos-en 2 -us-en 3 us en 4 us n'	1 -vos-hi 2 -us-hi 3 us hi 4 us hi	1 -vos-ho 2 -us-ho 3 us ho 4 us ho	1 -vos-em 2 -us-em 3 us em 4 us m'		1 -vos-ens 2 -us-ens 3 us ens 4 us ens	
li	1 -li'l 2 -li'l 3 li'l 4 li'l	1 -li-la 2 -li-la 3 li la 4 li l'	1 -li'ls 2 -li'ls 3 li'ls 4 li'ls	1 -li-les 2 -li-les 3 li les 4 li les	1 -li-li 2 -li-li 3 li li 4 li li	1 -li'ls 2 -li'ls 3 li'ls 4 li'ls	1 -li'n 2 -li'n 3 li n' 4 li n'	1 -li-hi 2 -li-hi 3 li hi 4 li hi	1 -li-ho 2 -li-ho 3 li ho 4 li ho				
els compl. indir.	1 -los-el 2 'ls-el 3 els el 4 els l'	1 -los-la 2 'ls-la 3 els la 4 els l'	1 -los-els 2 'ls-els 3 els els 4 els els	1 -los-les 2 'ls-les 3 els les 4 els les	1 -los-li 2 'ls-li 3 els li 4 els li	1 -los-els 2 'ls-els 3 els els 4 els els	1 -los-en 2 'ls-en 3 els en 4 els n'	1 -los-hi 2 'ls-hi 3 els hi 4 els hi	1 -los-ho 2 'ls-ho 3 els ho 4 els ho				

Figure 1: Chart of Catalan weak pronouns
Source: http://lengüaitcat.blogspot.com.es/2012_03_01_archive.html

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Notes

ⁱ “such a discourse (...) [that] must be seen as belonging to someone else. In one discourse, two semantic intentions appear, two voices” (Bakhtin 1984:189)

ⁱⁱ Also polyphony, refers to the multi-voicedness of a discourse, the fact of having different consciousness in dialogue at the same time (Bakhtin 1981, 1984).

ⁱⁱⁱ “Linguistic features that index social groups appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inner nature or essence. (Gal and Irvine 2000: 71).

^{iv} The notion of community is drawn from Anderson’s ‘imagined community’ (1983). In this particular case of the series, it refers to the collective notion of identity.

^v “part of the stream of language use in process and that simultaneously indicate how to interpret that language-in-use” (Woolard 1998:9).

^{vi} Absolutely Fabulous was a popular a British sitcom that treated in a very politically incorrect way topics related to the life of two long-time friends in their 50s living in the fashionable London.

^{vii} Not much is said about their long time friendship except for that they were mischievous teenagers in the past. By the end of the program, the audience is informed that Mimí raised Piluca’s son without him knowing about it.

^{viii} This certification proves a proficient level of the language, and enables the person to teach in that language. (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Cadre1_en.asp).

^{ix} “Filipinas en España: del servicio doméstico al negocio” 18/01/2005. Eduard Parellada. www.casaasia.es

^x Students from Castilian speaking homes who had adopted Catalan-dominant linguistic practices and often hid their Castilian speaking origins. (Woolard 2009)

^{xi} According to the Real Academia Española (RAE), ‘hablar en cristiano’ has 2 meanings: 1. “Expresarse en términos llanos y fácilmente comprensibles, o en la lengua que todos entienden” –‘to express oneself in plainly and easily understood terms, or in the language that everybody understands’ and 2. “Hablar en castellano” –‘to speak Castilian’.

^{xii} <http://www.iec.cat/activitats/entrada.asp>

^{xiii} Bakhtin distinguishes between the ‘unidirectional’ double voicing use of a discourse “ in the direction of its own particular intentions” (1984:193); and ‘varidirectional’ double voicing as “introduce[ing] into that discourse a semantic intention directly opposed to the original one” (ibid).

^{xiv} I am not addressing in any case Silverstein’s levels of linguistic awareness, but the explicit and implicit sociolinguistic commentary.

^{xv} Very few examples of native-like Catalan speaking immigrants are found in popular culture in Catalonia. Matthew Tree is a British writer and journalist who has published works in Catalan and English about language, culture and nationalist topics in Catalonia, and has participated in radio and television programs. Najat el Hachmi is another writer, of Moroccan origin, and has published a lot on her own experience in Catalonia, the language, and identity topics. She won an award of the Catalan letters Ramón LLull for a novel. She has contributed with articles and debates in newspapers and radio programs. Unlike Rosario, both Matthew Tree or Najat el Hachmi are middle class writers that have lived in Catalonia for more than 20 years.