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# 1

## Introduction

*Clare Mar-Molinero and Miranda Stewart*

The themes and threads underpinning the chapters of this book arise from considering the spread of Spanish today and particularly its role in the face of processes of globalization. However, it is also our belief that discussions of the global – the macro level – must be informed by detailed observations of how the impacting outcomes of globalization play out at local or micro level.

All the contributions analyse linguistic situations in the Spanish-speaking world, very many of them from the perspective of language contact. In the majority of cases Spanish is the dominant language in this contact situation, but we will see that this is not always so. Some of the chapters focus on the languages with which Spanish is in contact in order to examine how these are prospering in a world where it is generally thought that a few strong, global languages are, or will be, taking over the linguistic domains of many other weaker, minoritized languages. Generally the view to emerge is that Spanish is a dominant, hegemonic language with a steadily increasing number of speakers and whose value, symbolic and actual, is being exploited and promoted by certain agents of language spread. However, the authors in this volume also question how homogeneous this profile of Spanish is; to what extent its hegemony is contested or alternatively promoted; and how far contact with it does indeed threaten other languages. How porous are the boundaries around Spanish? How unified or fragmented are its forms? What is the nature of its influence and its dominance? Who are those who are determining its influence? These are all questions variously addressed in the chapters of this book.

The authority of Spanish can usefully be analysed by adopting the approach proposed by Gal and Woolard (2001) and developed by Woolard (2005) in the specific context of Spanish and Catalan, in which

## 2 Introduction

they argue that '[t]wo distinct ideologies underpin linguistic authority in modern societies ... *authenticity* and *anonymity*' (Woolard, 2005: 1). Gal and Woolard describe dominant, hegemonic languages as resting their authority on anonymity because this corresponds to the depersonalized, generalized context of public languages and public spaces. Woolard writes:

The citizen-speaker is supposed to *sound* like an Everyman, using a common, unmarked standard public language. In that public standard, we are not expected to hear the interests and experiences of a historically specific social group. Rather, the language is idealized as a transparent window on a disinterested rational mind and thus on truth itself (Silverstein 1987; Woolard 1989). By this reasoning, public languages can represent and be used equally by everyone precisely because they belong to no-one-in-particular. (2005: 2, italics in original)

Global Spanish could well be expected to be presented as just such a language, and has been by certain commentators (see, López García, 1985; Lodaes, 2001; Salvador, 1987, 1992). Discussions particularly about the Instituto Cervantes (for example Mar-Molinero, and Del Valle, this volume) resonate with this description. However, many of the case studies examined in this volume explore the use of Spanish or of other languages in contact with it at a more local and marginalized level. In these cases Gal and Woolard's concept of the ideology of authenticity seems more appropriate:

Within the logic of authenticity, a speech variety must be deeply rooted to social and geographic territory in speakers' consciousness, or it has no value ... Often, speech that is heard as authentic is taken as not just an indexical sign associated with a particular group, but even as iconic, as a natural image of the essence of a particular kind of person. (Woolard, 2005: 1)

Woolard specifically refers to the notion of '*lengua propia*' (best translated into English as 'own language') which is used to refer to the minority languages in Spain, as an example of the concept of authenticity. However, we will see in some of the following chapters that authenticity is not necessarily a label exclusive to minority languages and that this description may well fit certain speakers of Spanish. This raises the interesting question of whether in fact such groups or communities are,

through the authority they acquire from their authentic relationship with Spanish, influencing global Spanish from a grassroots impact from below.

An important aspect of this book is to focus on the impact of globalization on the local and on the minoritized, to foreground the micro albeit framed by the macro. In a recent collection of papers edited by Camagarajah (2005) which specifically sets out to address a perceived absence of the local when discussing language policies, he writes,

... we talk of globalization as ushering in a new life of border-free, unrestricted, fluid relationships between communities, but knowledge itself is narrowly constructed, splintering along different communities, devoid of effective attempts at developing an intercultural understanding of a fair exchange of ideas. (Camagarajah, 2005: xiv)

Camagarajah (and other contributors in his volume) argue the need to 'point to ways in which the negotiation of the global can be conducted by taking greater account of the local and respecting its value and validity' (*ibid.*); this is a concern mirrored in many of the following chapters.

In order to establish an overarching framework for the chapters of the volume, Mar-Molinero's chapter discusses some of the characteristics and processes of globalization that are commonly suggested as relevant to the study of current macro sociolinguistics. She also specifically applies these to the spread of Spanish, giving a brief historical context to its spread, and then focusing on two salient features of Spanish today: the policies of the Spanish government in promoting the global spread of Spanish, and the role of the US Latino Spanish-speaking population in its promotion. The former, and in particular, as she highlights, those of the Instituto Cervantes, are clear examples of the top-down impact of linguistic globalization (and imperialistic) forces, whereas, the situation of Spanish and the Spanish-speaking community in the USA is in diametrical contrast, as we have mentioned above.

José del Valle's chapter continues the theme of interrogating the language policies of contemporary Spanish governments, and in particular their desire to promote Spanish in the USA and to be a counterweight to the spread of US Spanish. He explores the language ideologies that he sees surrounding the complex sociolinguistic situation of the US Latinos, and he discusses the debates about Spanglish and standard Spanish. As Del Valle writes, 'in the negations of Spanglish, the aggressive promotion of monoglossia operates at times by excessively conspicuous erasures' (pp. 75–6). Moreover, we would argue, that when

speaking of Spanglish, detractors are not comparing like with like. They set it against standard, written, formal Spanish when maybe it should be located within a style-shifting paradigm with speakers drawing on the resources of two languages to create a colloquial, in-group, conversational style which then may migrate to other areas (for example literature, song) for a countercultural effect.

Using a conflict-imperialist framework, Rainer Enrique Hamel also explores the spread of global Spanish whilst making a strong plea that such discussion must adopt a micro perspective too. He argues that

we must explore the concrete, practical and multiple ways in which different ethnolinguistic groups interact on a local and a global level, how they communicate successfully and to what extent they fall prey to cultural misunderstandings ... how conflicts emerge, explode or are settled in negotiated ways. (pp. 1–2)

Hamel's micro case study investigates the Hñähñú (formerly known as the Otomi) peoples of central Mexico, their relationship to Spanish, and the processes of language shift which he observes are defined 'by clashes between cultural models, competing discourse strategies and discourse styles'. He also suggests, following the methodology he has developed for his micro case study on Hñähñú, that a more sensitive model for investigating language shift, of a micro-macro nature, can help us understand the US Latino sociolinguistic situation.

Marta Fairclough also offers a micro perspective on the wider implications of globalization processes, again taking a US Spanish example. She examines language-mixing phenomena in the writing of heritage learners of Spanish in the United States. The description and quantification of the different types of Spanish/English interaction show the degree of grammaticalization or lexicalization of the code-mixing and the possible emergence of a new mixed code. As such it demonstrates a fascinating example of Gal and Woolard's concept of authenticity that suggests, as does so-called Spanglish generally, different and innovative influences on global Spanish.

The possible emergence of a new form of Spanish is also explored with the detailed micro observations carried out in Chapter 6 by Carol Klee and Rocío Caravedo. They, too, focus on the language changes brought about by forces of globalization, in this instance the linguistic shifts produced by the mass migration of Peruvians from their Andean homelands to the capital Lima. Many of these migrants are themselves native Quechua speakers and bring with them their second language, Andean

Spanish. Klee and Caravedo study the outcomes of the contact of Andean Spanish, a largely stigmatized variety in Lima, with Coastal Spanish of the *limeños*. They conclude that

in Lima while the forces of globalization combined with negative attitudes toward indigenous languages are bringing about an end to Quechua within the city, at the same time the contact of Andean and coastal Spanish may result in the creation of a new variety of Spanish – different from the traditional coastal model – by the descendants of Andean migrants. (p. 173)

The informants that Klee and Caravedo interviewed were, by the nature of their migrant status or the fact that, in the case of the *limeños*, they interacted with the migrants, all from lower social classes. They share this characteristic with the informants of Luis Ortiz López's study of Haitians and Dominicans living on the border between the two countries. This is the third of our three micro-intensive studies of linguistic shift in contexts which are the direct result of globalizing processes. In this case Ortiz López observes the particular features that are displayed by various groups of Haitians or descendants of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic. He notes processes of reduced inflection in their Spanish and argues that they are determined as much by extra-linguistic factors as by linguistic variables. Extra-linguistic factors include, firstly, degree of contact, ranging from that of the '*viejo*' (long-established immigrants) or '*congó*' (new arrivals) Haitian, on one side of the linguistic cline, who has poor access to the target language, and, at the opposite extreme, the *arayano* (of mixed Haitian-Dominican ancestry) who is always bilingual to some degree. Secondly, there are the ethno-linguistic attitudes which arise from a contact situation which is rarely amicable and which frequently occasions linguistic stress, due to the rejection on grounds of ethnicity, culture and language, to which Haitians and their descendents are always subjected.

The role of borders is important in very many of the case studies in this volume, and much of the linguistic contact and conflict is a result of the need or desire to cross them. A useful frame for conceiving the role of borders and the barriers and obstacles they present is that of 'contact zones' as proposed by Mary Louise Pratt (1987, 1992). She describes these as 'the space of colonial encounters, the space where peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict

(1992: 6). This reminds us of the comments of Camagarajah quoted earlier in which he emphasized the fact that encounters such as those that Pratt describes are rarely equal, symmetrical and unproblematic, but rather are conflictual and painful to the less powerful. This is certainly the case for the Haitians.

Jane Freeland takes up the concept of 'contact zones' centrally to frame her study, which besides examining the linguistic practices of bi/multilingual speakers on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and the impact once more that typical forces of globalization have had and are having on language in this community, is also an interesting reflexive examination of the processes involved in translation and of the outsider's role in multilingual communities. Freeland offers an innovative and important critique of the concept of *lingua franca*, showing how the use of Spanish in this way is not neutral and unattached, but instead laden with ideological overtones of the dominant linguistic community, conveyed through the education system. Far from the 'anonymous' language of 'no-one' that we have normally considered a *lingua franca* to be, she demonstrates that Spanish belongs, and is seen to belong, very clearly to those in power. As global languages spread across the world, above all but not exclusively English, and perform the role of *lingua franca*, this is a timely reminder.

The final three chapters concentrate on linguistic situations in the minority language communities of Spain, where Spanish is in contact with those historic languages which have recently received considerable support and protection from the post-Franco constitution and political organization (the 'autonomous regions'). The first of these by Steve Marshall reminds us also that a further interesting outcome of globalization is that the language contact and conflict that we have already observed with migrant languages and dominant national languages is further complicated by the presence of other autochthonous languages. The recent arrival of hundreds of thousands of allochthonous new migrants in Catalonia has altered the sociolinguistic situation during a key stage of linguistic 'normalization' of the Catalan language. This not only presents new problems to policy-makers, it also challenges many of the existing analytic paradigms that have been employed recently to analyse the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia (Woolard 1989; Pujolar 2001; Turell 2001a). Marshall explores the experiences of Spanish-speaking Latin American immigrants as they encounter the '*lengua propia*' of their new home, Catalan.

Whilst the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia is complex and significantly affected by immigration, both from Spanish speakers

and others, another of Spain's minority linguistic communities, Galicia, provides a sharp contrast. Here, the autochthonous language, Galician, is still the majority mother tongue in its community, a region which has not experienced globalization in the sense of movement of peoples into Galicia, although many have emigrated to other parts. O'Rourke discusses the impact that modernization, urbanization and the recent Spanish language 'normalization' policies have had in this region and on the use of Galician. She analyses the attitudes of a key group of informants, university students, to gauge likely trends for the future of Galician amongst a group of people who can be expected to be role models in their society. Her findings suggest that despite the recent positive political and legal changes towards Spain's minority languages, Spanish is seen increasingly as the hegemonic – necessary – language.

Finally, continuing with the analysis of Spain's minority languages, Casesnoves, Sankoff and Turell present some interesting data on the demographic trends noted in recent census figures in the Catalan speaking regions of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. They present and analyse the comparative data from 1991 and 2001 in order to discover what factors are influencing language shift. The picture varies across these regions, due in large part to the very different political support and resources Catalan receives in them, as well as the diverse historical context for its use. However, the authors observe some 'de-regionalization', admittedly least strong in Catalonia, but present in both other communities. They suggest that

the trend we have sketched towards a degree of de-regionalization in all areas where traditionally Catalan was strongest, and despite strenuous efforts, particularly in the case of Catalonia, to revitalize the language, could be seen as evidence of the globalizing power of Spanish, and this within its traditional homeland. (p. 326)

This collection of studies demonstrates a wide range of geographical case studies, many different methodological approaches and a variation in the emphasis on the macro and the micro. However, all the chapters recognize the impact of globalization on Spanish and the languages with which it comes into contact in the current era, and whilst acknowledging the significance and the status of global Spanish, we are given insights into interesting and innovative discussions which raise questions about the nature and totality of its all-embracing dominance.

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