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Dossier “New speakers of minority languages: belonging and legitimacy”

Constructing Inequalities in Bilingual Spaces: Teaching Catalan to Female Immigrants

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Abstract

Immigrants are generally expected to learn and use the legitimate language as a practical means of access to welfare services and employment. This argument creates a hypothetical connection between the established language regimes and social and economic integration. Although it is not explicitly defined, this connection implies that integration is a unilateral process that should be undertaken by the immigrant population through language acquisition. Nevertheless, language is symbolic capital that can also be used as an empowering or disempowering tool. Access to the legitimate language, distribution of linguistic capital and strategies of legitimization and de-legitimation in specific fields like adult language schooling can indicate how social inequalities and hierarchies are constructed. In this paper, I focus on Catalan language classes provided to Moroccan immigrant women in a small town north of Barcelona. Basing my analysis on a set of qualitative data collected between December 2013 and January 2014, I argue that these classes contradict public policies that promote the use of Catalan. This is because the Catalan language skills that are supposedly taught are, in fact, under-distributed, with the female new speakers mostly legitimized as Spanish rather than Catalan speakers.

Keywords

language and immigration, bilingualism, female new speakers of Catalan

La construcció de desigualtats en espais bilingües: l'ensenyament del català a dones immigrants

Resum

Generalment s'espera que els immigrants aprenguin i utilitzin la llengua legítima com una forma pràctica d'accedir als serveis socials i a un lloc de feina. Aquest argument crea una connexió hipotètica entre els règims lingüístics establerts i la integració social i econòmica. Tot i que no es defineix explícitament, aquesta connexió implica que la integració és un procés unilateral que hauria de dur a terme la població immigrant a través de l'adquisició de la llengua. Tanmateix, la llengua és un capital simbòlic que també es pot utilitzar com una eina d'apoderament o desapoderament. L'accés a la llengua legítima, la distribució del capital lingüístic i les estratègies de legitimació i deslegitimació en camps específics, com ara el de les escoles d'idiomes per a adults, poden ser un indicador de com es construeixen les desigualtats socials i les jerarquies. En aquest article, em centro en les classes de llengua catalana que reben dones immigrants marroquines en una petita població al nord de Barcelona. Baso la meua anàlisi en un conjunt de dades qualitatives recollides entre el desembre del 2013 i el gener del 2014, i argumento que aquestes classes contradiuen les polítiques públiques que promouen l'ús del català. Això és perquè les habilitats lingüístiques en català que se suposa que s'ensenyen, de fet, estan mal distribuïdes, i majoritàriament es legitima les noves parlants com a parlants d'espanyol en lloc de català.

Paraules clau

llengua i immigració, bilingüisme, noves parlants de català



1. Constructing inequalities by means of the legitimate language

Globalization and the increasing mobility of people and information is transforming the linguistic ecologies of contemporary societies. In this new world order, there is an increasing number of new speakers who need to cross existing boundaries and acquire and mobilize their linguistic knowledge to adapt to overlapping linguistic spaces in their host societies. However, linguistic knowledge can strengthen social inequalities instead of eradicating them. Regarding the linguistic practices of the immigrant communities, these inequalities have been analyzed in various studies. For instance, one of the subject matters of these studies is a gatekeeping process, defining a type of interactional activity in which an institutional representative decides which candidates should be allowed through the gate. Eva Codó (2008) studied gatekeeping between 2000 and 2002 during a legalization campaign for irregular immigrants in Barcelona, and she analyzed the complex bureaucratic process that foreigners must undergo to be authorized to reside legally in Catalonia. In her fieldwork, she took the interactional sociolinguistic analysis a step forward, developing a deeper understanding of the way in which social inequalities are produced and reproduced in and through language use in developed societies. Roberts and Sarangi (1999) analyzed oral medical examinations of undergraduate and postgraduate students in Spain, finding that the hybridity and complexity of the oral examination put additional hidden demands on both examiners and candidates. Gumperz (1989) and others (Celia and Sarangi, 1999) demonstrate how conversational inference often relies on rather small features of talk whose meaning is socioculturally determined and access to which is contingent on intensive engagement within particular kinds of social networks. Their studies show that the possibilities of access to valuable resources allow the researchers to see the connections between talk and processes of social stratification.

Language can also be used in the educational field as a tool to reinforce inequalities. Luisa Martín-Rojo (2000), in fieldwork carried out in secondary schools in Madrid, demonstrated how inequalities and categories are constructed in multilingual classrooms. She reveals how power asymmetries and categories are constructed and how symbolic capitals are allowed in the front-stage or forced to the back-stage (see Goffman, 1967) during the interaction. She also reconceptualizes linguistic capital and explains how capitalization and (de)capitalization occur in different phases of multilingual interaction (Martín-Rojo 2010). She explains that forcing symbolic capitals to the back-stage is a process of decapitalization because the linguistic assets of the students are undervalued in the interaction. I argue that under-distribution of the legitimate language is also a part of the decapitalization process, because immigrants are not provided with the capital that they are supposed to acquire in these classes; furthermore,

territorial bilingualism can also be used as grounds to disempower immigrants by the construction of bilingual spaces that categorize the immigrants as outsiders.

Territorial bilingualism can be used as an instrument to reinforce inequalities in different ways. To explain how this happens in Catalonia, historical information about the Catalan language and a theoretical reflection on the legitimacy of the Spanish and Catalan languages is needed. Catalan, the language originally spoken in Catalonia, went through many bans and revival movements throughout history. In the recent past, the Catalan language was banned during the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) and regained its official status during the period of transition to democracy (1975-1982). Since then, Catalan has been institutionalized as a co-official language. Since the establishment of autonomous government in 1980, Catalan and Spanish are the two official languages of Catalonia. One of the most important milestones in recent Catalan language history was the language normalization law passed in 1983. Since then, linguistic policies have sought to establish Catalan as the predominant public language and, hence, a process of 'Catalanization' of the public school system has gained momentum. However, the immigration structure in Catalonia underwent important changes in the following decades. While until the 1990s the word 'immigrant' was used to refer to Spanish citizens coming from other Spanish regions (see Pujolar, 1995), after the 1990s Catalonia started receiving a growing number of international immigrants. This transformation led the Spanish government and the autonomous states to adopt specific linguistic policies to address specific immigrant communities. In 1983 the Spanish government started allocating resources to language learning programs to address disadvantaged groups. In Catalonia, early initiatives involved Romani people; by 1990 the Arab community was identified as a major target group (Llevot, 2005).

Regarding adult immigrant schooling, the Catalan government tried to make the Catalan language accessible to the immigrant population by launching language programs. A number of different entities provide Catalan education, among them, official language schools (although they do not specifically target the immigrant population), local municipalities (civic centers, in one of which I conducted my fieldwork) and NGOs (Spanish and Catalan courses). Some NGOs and civic centers provide classes exclusively for Moroccan immigrant women, given that some of the newcomers do not know the Latin alphabet and also given that — as I have observed during my fieldwork — some of these learners ask for women-only classes.

Although access to Catalan is promoted by the autonomous government through the language programs mentioned above, there is a constant tension when it comes to defining who the legitimate speaker of Catalan is. For instance, fieldwork by Pujolar (2009) demonstrated that outsiders in Catalonia come into direct contact with the host societies through Spanish not



through Catalan. The acquisition of Catalan is therefore presented as the culmination of a process accomplished in steps, with the first step being the acquisition of Spanish. It is a gradual process of access to what the local community perceives as the core element of its identity, which is the use of Catalan. Pujolar (2009) reconceptualizes Aracil's (1983) concept of 'interposition' to explain how the local society uses the Spanish language to address immigrants. He explains that, by doing so, the local community develops "a sense of the position of a minority language as a restricted source of in-group local legitimacy" (p. 231). Garrido (2010) showed that normalization of the practice of addressing immigrants in the Spanish language is also common in NGOs. She argues that very elementary use of Catalan is regarded as "symbolic integration" (p. 25); meanwhile, Spanish is legitimized as a front-stage lingua franca. I argue that this interposition also occurs, but in a more implicit way, in adult schooling as organized by the local municipalities. In these classes, immigrants are not provided with adequate linguistic education; therefore Catalan learners are forced to foreground their Spanish skills to claim their right to speak. In addition to this, the language teacher creates passive receivers of Catalan and active speakers of Spanish by encouraging learners to interposition Spanish in bilingual interaction. Therefore, these classes legitimize female immigrants as speakers of Spanish rather than as speakers of Catalan by constructing bilingual spaces in which the immigrants are categorized as outsiders.

In this paper, I analyze Catalan language classes given in a small town north of Barcelona.¹ In Catalonia, some local administrations are governed by participatory model (see Salvador and Ramio, 2011) and the local population has direct right to vote on the municipal budget. These language classes were public voted on and therefore were organized and funded by the local municipality (among the towns that declared themselves as Free Catalan Territory in 2012, which implies that Spanish legislation and regulations have effect only in Spain, and this territory is awaiting new legislation and regulations from the Catalan government and parliament). In this town the use of the Catalan language was highly promoted and the local municipality exclusively provided Catalan language courses to the immigrant community. The language teacher, Laia (48 at the time of the fieldwork), was paid by the municipality and had no formal or informal background in teaching Catalan to immigrants but was hired because she was a native speaker. Regarding the organization of the classes, they were divided into three levels (I, II and III). I carried out my fieldwork on Level III, which was presented as conversation classes. There were nine women in the class, all of them Moroccan immigrants originally from northern urban areas of Morocco. They were all native speakers of Darija (the

Moroccan dialect of Standard Arabic). I will demonstrate that, although the aim of these conversation classes was to provide them with upper intermediate conversational skills, the linguistic capital provided was under-distributed and gender-biased and also that the Spanish/Catalan code-switching patterns led to an unequal distribution of Catalan language.

2. The analytic frame

Besides managing the organization of turn-taking in classroom interaction, teachers may also control the content of each turn. The initiation, response and follow-up (IRF) structure can be controlled by the teacher and it is important to analyze how IRF patterns are constructed. Explaining how the teacher controls the structure of the lesson, why the teacher asks questions, how the learners respond to the teacher's questions, what linguistic strategies are used by the teacher and how the learners arrive at the 'right' answer are indicators of how linguistic capital is distributed in the classroom. The analytic frame of this article is based on class recordings (five hours of classroom interaction). Regarding the process of decapitalization (see Martín-Rojo, 2013) in the language classes, the main focus was analyzing how the 'right to speak' (see Sacks and Jefferson, 1974) was assigned by the language teacher and how code-switching patterns were organized. I consider that systematic under-distribution of the linguistic knowledge through gender-biased classroom materials, unequal allocations of turn-taking and explicit and implicit interpositioning of the Spanish language were components of the decapitalization process. In parallel with this, my analysis of the distribution of symbolic capital at the front-stage was built on the following main questions:

1. What is the participation framework of the classrooms? Taking the pedagogical focus of these classes into account, how are the classroom activities and the 'right to speak' organized in the classroom? More specifically, how are the turn-taking centers and peripheries constructed in classroom interaction?
2. How is code-switching organized in the classroom, especially between the Catalan and Spanish languages? Which code-switching elements are allowed and repaired in the classroom?

In order to answer these questions, different analytic tools were used. The analysis of participation patterns such as turn-taking, initiation-response-evaluation sequences and repairs reveal the pedagogical approach of the teacher and 'right to speak'

1. Specific information about the fieldwork location is omitted and pseudonyms are used to replace the proper names of the research participants.



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patterns. Educational practices can explain how power relations are established through the distribution of symbolic capital and the elements that are allowed or placed at the front-stage or forced to the back-stage. Foucault's discourse on power (1979) and language as a symbolic power owning its own market (Bourdieu, 1991) were key analytical tools in this analysis. We will see that construction of the subject positions in the classroom interactions constantly drew on pre-existing discourses on second language teaching for adults who are defined as 'female', 'immigrant' and 'Moroccan'. Power asymmetries produced in the classroom interactions reinforced larger-scale patterns of inequity as they were dialogically consolidated by subject positions adopted by the language teacher and by the female immigrant learners. However, this power mechanism was mobilized in different directions and there were also opportunities for resistance. We will see that, in these classrooms, asymmetrical linguistic positions were also challenged by the learners.

3. Linguistic capital distribution: classroom content, turn-taking and repairs

In classrooms there are particular expectations of what teachers and students should do and say, because particular social roles are played out by each (Fairclough, 2001). Woods (2006) points out that teachers are placed in the position of imparting knowledge and the students are expected to accumulate this knowledge by memorizing the information and engaging in routines of learning, repetition and reproduction (p.159). These subject positions create power asymmetries in the classroom that can be reinforced by other social, economic and cultural asymmetries between the teacher and the learners. In language classes for female adult immigrants, apart from the asymmetry resulting from the teacher and the student subject roles, there are other important asymmetries resulting from the construction of these learners as 'female', 'immigrant' and 'Moroccan'. In this specific context the 'right to speak' and the distribution of linguistic capital is driven by these pre-existing subject categories of learners. Figure 1 depicts one of the visual materials used by Laia to stimulate conversation in the classroom.

This material was part of a 20-page document consisting of pictures and vocabulary regarding the home (rooms, kitchen, furniture, and so on), children and child-rearing and activities such as shopping. In order to teach the verbs related to this vocabulary, Laia combined this visual with questions such as "What did you have for lunch today?" "What color are your carpets at home?" "When was the last time that you went to Morocco?" Excerpt 1 below indicates how she used the visual to guide conversation.

Figure 1.



To begin with, the class materials and content indicate that these classes were reproducing gender asymmetries by re-attributing traditionally organized gender roles to the learners, given that the interactions referred to cleaning, cooking, and so on. The vocabulary used in the classroom and the conversation topics initiated by the teacher were also gender-biased. Second, the teacher's methods provided the students with very basic linguistic skills. Although these were supposed to be intermediate level conversation classes, Laia used a vocabulary list and teaching content taken from a lower level. During the fieldwork period, Laia was never observed to use any different classroom material or to draw up a lesson plan. Structurally, her classes were composed of question/answer sessions and random conversation.

The question/answer sessions were conventional and predictable. During the first fifteen or twenty minutes of class, Laia initiated a conversation using the vocabulary in the classroom material, asking the same question to each of the students in turn or prompting students to ask the same question to the student sitting on their left. As can be observed in Excerpt 1, Laia started



Excerpt 1.

| Excerpt 1 | |
|--|---|
| 1. L: Quines feines fas a casa? | 1. L: What do you do at home? |
| 2. A: Tot. Cuinar:- | 2. A: Everything. Cook- |
| 3. L: Cuinar, netejar. Què més? | 3. L: Cooking, cleaning. What else? |
| 4. A: E::h. Colgar la roba | 4. A: E::h. Hanging the laundry |
| 5. L: Estendre (.) (ho escritu a la pissarra) Estendre. Estendre la roba. Val? | 5. L: Hanging (.) (she writes it on the board) To hang. Hanging the laundry. Okay? |
| 6. (mentre elles parlen en àrab) | 6. (Meanwhile the learners speak in arabic) |
| 7. L: I tens [una mica d'ajuda (()) | 7. L: And do you receive [a little help (()) |
| 8. T: [Cómo se dice limpiar el polvo? | 8. T: [How do you say cleaning the dust? |
| 9. L: Treure (escribe en la pizarra) la (.) pols. Treure eh? Treu-re. Treure la pols. Val? Limpiar el polvo. Molt bé. Val. Cuinar, estendre la roba. Digueu. Estendre la roba. | 9. L: Clean (writing on the board) the (.) dust. To clean ok? Clea-n. Clean the dust. Ok? Clean the dust. Very good. Ok. Cooking, hanging the laundry. Say it. Hanging the laundry. |
| 10. A: E:h estendre la [la roba | 10. A: E:h hanging [the laundry |
| 11. L: [la roba. | 11. L: [the laundry. |
| 12. A: A:h netejar la terra. | 12. A: A:h cleaning the floor. |
| 13. L: Netejar el terra (.) Els lavabo:s (.) Molt bé. Què més? Alguna cosa més ?(()) | 13. L: Cleaning the floor (.) The Sinks (.) Very good. What else? One more example ? (()) |
| 14. (parlen allhora) (@@/@@) | 14. (speaking all together) (@@/@@) |
| 15. L: Val. Gràcies Amina. (.) Ara tu Yasmina. A veure Yasmina. E:h tu: has treballat fora de casa? O treballas fora de casa? | 15. L: Ok. Thank you Amina. (.) Now your turn Yasmina. Let me see Yasmina. E:h have you: worked outside the home? Or do you work outside the home? |
| 16. Y: Sí: Treballo fora de casa. | 16. Y: Yes: I work outside the home. |
| 17. L: Exacte. Quina feina fas (.) fora de casa? | 17. L: Exactly. What do you do (.) outside the home? |
| 18. Y: Fora de casa faig auxiliar. | 18. Y: Outside the home I do nursing assistant. |
| 19. L: Auxiliar de? | 19. L: Nursing assistant in...? |
| 20. Y: De geriatria. | 20. Y: Geriatrics. |
| 21. L: De geriatria. Sabem què és geriatria? Què és? Explica Yasmina. Què és auxiliar de geriatria? | 21. L: Geriatrics. Do you know what geriatrics is? What is it? Explain it Yasmina. What is geriatrics nursing assistant? |
| 22. Y: Atendre la gent gran. | 22. Y: Looking after the elderly. |

a conversation about domestic tasks with a student called Amina, then passed the turn to Yasmina, sitting next to Amina. This conventional and predictable turn-taking pattern was commonly contested by the learners (see line 14). Although there were only six students in the class, this kind of question/answer session created an under-distribution of the students' right to speak, with learners starting to talk in Darija or about other issues as they waited for their turn..

These question/answer sessions were the only parts where Laia repeatedly used follow-ups and repairs. Analyzing her follow-ups, she tended to repeat the learner's answers (see lines 3, 11, 13, 21) and used this type of follow-up very often, thereby infantilizing the learners. For instance, in line 9 she used verbal scaffolding, asking Amina to repeat the phrase with her ("Say it: hanging out the laundry"); when Amina repeated the phrase Laia kept repeating it with her (see line 11), then did the same follow-up later (see line 13). This infantilization was even more evident in line 9, when Laia was explaining the verb "to clean the dust". She wrote the expression on the board, and repeated several times "Clean, okay? Cle-an. Clean the dust. Okay? Clean the dust" (this last time in

Spanish). The content and pedagogical approach had the effect of creating a simplified, infantilized, gender-biased classroom where linguistic capital was under-distributed, given that the linguistic information provided to these learners was insufficient to enable them to carry on a conversation in the Catalan language and was, therefore, below the learners' expectations and needs. The class included learners — such as Yasmina and Fariha — who were working women who needed to speak Catalan for professional reasons.

Random conversation, as initiated by Laia, broke the conventional turn-taking structure and produced interesting interactions in terms of the distribution of students' turns, as shown in excerpt 2, which reproduces a conversation between the six students in the class: Bouchra, Hakima, Fatima, Hasna, Zoulika and Fousia.

Excerpt 2.

| Excerpt 2 | |
|--|--|
| 1 L: <Els medicaments també aquí vénen de> França d'Alemanya d'Anglaterra (no audible) | 1 L: <Here the medications also come from> France Germany England (not audible) |
| 2 B: [però però però nosaltres tenemos la receta de de ahmm fra- francès [sabes? | 2 B: [but but but we have the prescription in ahmm French [you know? |
| 3 L: [aah vosaltres tenui la recepta en francès? | 3 L: [aah is your prescription in French? |
| 4 B: [si en a-àrab no. a francès por eso to:das les vegades que coges (no audible) | 4 B: [yes in a- not in arabic. In French. Therefore e:very time you get (not audible) |
| 5 L: [sí però Bouchra el que dic jo és que tu quan vas a França per exemple amb la targeta sanitària a tu t'atenen i et donen els medicaments? (.) o has de pagar els medicaments? | 5 L: [yes but Bouchra what I am asking is that for example when you go to France with your health insurance card do they take care of you and do they give you the medications? (.) or do you have to pay the medications? |
| 6 B: No [pagar. | 6 B: Not [pay. |
| 7 L: [Pagues o no? | 7 L: [Do you pay or not? |
| 8 B: Al Marroc? | 8 B: In Morocco? |
| 9 L: No, no. per exemple tu vas a França amb la targeta sanitària d'aquí . | 9 L: No, no. For example you go to France with the health insurance card of here. |
| 10 B: Ee [h | 10 B: Ee [h |
| 11 L: [no saps no? <no saps si t'atenen o no > [no? | 11 L: [yo don't know, do you? <you don't know if they (would) take care of you.> [Right? |
| 12 B: [aah no ↓ | 12 B: [eeh no ↓ |
| 13 L: Val. El que passa és que aquí a Espanya o en altres països com França i altres països tens la targeta sanitària i hmm els medicaments són més barats per això. Perquè les taxes ja ho paguem tots [abans | 13 L: Ok. In Spain and in other countries like France or other countries if you have health insurance card hmm medications are cheaper for that reason. Because we pay the insurance [before |
| 14 B: [e:hh las las | 14 B: [e:hh the the |
| 15 L: (()) es paga tots els medicaments, saps? | 15 L: (()) all the medications are paid, you know? |

Laia initiated a conversation about the healthcare system in Europe and asked if Moroccan immigrants could use their Spanish health insurance card in other European countries. For Bouchra — the most competent student in terms of Spanish and Catalan knowledge — an interesting piece of information was



that prescriptions in Morocco were in the French language, so she shared this with Laia. However, Laia was apparently not interested and interrupted Bouchra (see line 5) so as to repeat her question. Bouchra tried to answer the question and so regain her turn but Laia interrupted her three times (see lines 7 and 11). Bouchra tried to take her turn again (see line 14). In lines 11 and 13 Laia closed off Bouchra's opportunities to elaborate any argument and excluded her from the conversation. Apart from indicating Laia's unprofessional pedagogical approach, Laia also made use of her linguistic knowledge to take control of turn-taking; furthermore, her control over turn-taking and constant interruptions constructed linguistic peripheries in the classroom. Laia, as the teacher, used her power to push the rest of the participants to the peripheries. She used interruptions successively and justified Bouchra's withdrawal from the conversation (line 11) by stating: "You don't know, do you?" In this excerpt, Bouchra is represented unequally in terms of floor-taking. The other five students largely remain silent and so are not even represented or collaboratively invited to participate. .

Follow-ups are of vital importance for classroom communication and for the quality of the learning context. Woods (2006) indicates that while the teachers' follow-up utterances can facilitate collaboration in the construction of extended dialogue, they are not coordinated with the learners' responses; also, follow-ups that do not develop student contributions may serve to close down opportunities for in-depth dialogue and discussion (p.185). Considering this, Laia's follow-up patterns in both excerpts constructed inequalities in the classroom in many ways. As in excerpt 1, Laia under-distributes the 'right to speak' in excerpt 2, but this time locating herself at the center of the conversation.

Another important unequal distribution of the linguistic capital involved code-switching patterns. As mentioned above, in Catalonia the Spanish language is typically inter-positioned when addressing immigrants. In this context, code-switching tendencies among the students and the teacher indicate how these two languages are positioned in the classroom. Note that Fariha, Yasmina and Bouchra were competent speakers of Spanish because they had studied Spanish before coming to Catalonia and were constantly exposed to Spanish in their workplace. Laia permitted both languages in the interactions and sometimes also allowed French in her repairs. In the example above, the words in blue show Bouchra's code-switching to Spanish, which Laia ignored when she took her turn without any repair. Regarding the objective of these classes, Laia's organization of code-switching patterns produced a contradiction, especially when the Spanish language dominated, as shown in excerpt 3.

The words in blue show the Spanish-Catalan code-switching patterns. In the dominant use of Spanish by the students and code switching to Spanish by Bouchra and Fariha, Laia never used repairs. Moreover, instead of switching to Catalan, she also switched to Spanish (see line 3), justifying this switch by the fact that Fariha did not understand Catalan (she states: "No, you

don't understand me, what I'm saying is..."). She also provided follow-ups that indicated confirmation (see lines 5, 7, 11 and 13) and as a result of this kind of follow-ups Fariha made a complete shift to Spanish (see line 10).

Excerpt 3.

| Excerpt 3 | |
|--|--|
| 1 L: Però una cosa Fariha el teu marit posa problemes perquè tu treballes o no? (.) El teu marit et diu "no treballis" o "si tu vols treballar, treballa"? | 1 L: But I have a question Fariha, does your husband create problems because of your work or not? Does he say "don't work" or "if you want to work, then work" ? |
| 2 F: No, él también tiene algunas cosas, algunos trabajos sabes? | 2 F: No, he also has some work to do, some work, you know? |
| 3 L: No no no no. No me entienes. Digo que- | 3 L: No no no no. You don't understand me. What I am saying is- |
| 4 B: (()) Mi marido no dice no dice "no treball" porque yo dice primero aprender la lengua y después a ver qué pasa. Jo treballa poco a poco, ganar diners pero de momento treballa él. De momento no hace falta. | 4 B: (()) My husband doesn't say anything "not work" because I say first I learn the language step by step and then we will see what happens. I start working slowly, earn money but for the time being he works. For the time being it is not necessary. |
| 5 L: Sí sí sí. | 5 L: Yes yes yes. |
| 6 B: Moltes hores fora. Si el gana molt no hace falta jo fora. | 6 B: Many hours out. If he earns a lot it is not necessary that I am outside. |
| 7 L: No no. | 7 L: No no. |
| 8 F: És que jo tinc miedo de que hnn quiero tener niños pero yo sola treball pues quan estoy embarazada no puedo trabajar. | 8 F: The thing is I am afraid because hnn I want to have kids but only I have a job and when I am pregnant I can't work. |
| 9 L: Es un problema Fariha. | 9 L: It is a problem Fariha. |
| 10 F: Si me quedo embarazada me echan. Tengo miedo de quedarme embarazada. | 10 F: If I get pregnant they will fire me. I am afraid of getting pregnant. |
| 11 L: Sí sí sí. | 11 L: Yes yes yes. |
| 12 F: Imaginate que estoy embarazada y mi marido no cobra nada. | 12 F: Imagine that I am pregnant and my husband doesn't have an income. |
| 13 L: Clar. Què fas...? | 13 L: Of course, what can you do...? |

This repeated use of the Spanish language by the students and the lack of didactic repairs and exposure to the Catalan language by Laia contradicted the objectives of these language classes in different ways. First, although the Catalan language was being promoted as a priority by the local authorities, the Catalan language classes did not provide immigrants with the necessary linguistic capital to functionally acquire the Catalan language and, therefore, to become legitimized new speakers of Catalan. As could be seen in the excerpts and from the content, female immigrants were equipped with an initial level of Catalan knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, students such as Fariha used their Spanish skills in order to take a turn in the class. In other words, because these classes did not provide conversational skills in Catalan, other languages —such as Spanish and Darija (as seen in excerpt 1) — were foregrounded by the students in



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order to claim the 'right to speak'. Moreover, excerpt 3 shows that although they were expected to understand Catalan, female immigrants were not expected to be active speakers of Catalan. Laia's follow-up patterns and repairs show that the learners were expected to be passive learners rather than active speakers of Catalan. This strategy becomes clearer when this I-speak-in-Catalan-but-you-answer-in-Spanish strategy was normalized. Laia normalized (lines 5, 7, 9 and 11) the constant and absolute use of the Spanish language by means of her affirmative follow-ups ("yes, yes yes", "no, no", "that's a problem"). Therefore, she legitimized Fariha as a speaker of Spanish rather than of Catalan.

Transcription codes

| Convention | Meaning |
|-----------------------------|--|
| words in blue | words in Spanish |
| words in black | words in Catalan |
| : | turn |
| () | comments made by the transcriber |
| = | instant shift between two turns |
| [] | turn overlapping with similarly marked turn |
| - | interruption |
| (.) | short pause (0'5" seconds) |
| (..) | long pause (0'5—1'5" seconds) |
| | rising intonation |
| - | falling intonation |
| ® | intonation of suspension |
| RIGHT (all capital letters) | loud talking |
| (()) | incomprehensible speech |
| ()° | low talking |
| a: (doubled vowels) | vowel lengthening |
| Ss (doubled consonants) | consonant lengthening |
| ? | questions (also used for tag questions such as "right?", "eh?", "you know?") |
| ! | exclamations |
| (@) | laughter |
| | audible breath |
| < > | fast speech |

4. Further discussion and conclusions

In my research I analyzed Catalan language classes for female immigrant learners organized by the local council in a small town north of Barcelona and demonstrated how inequalities and disempowerment occurred because of classroom content and because of the language teacher's interactions, particularly in follow-ups. The classroom materials used to stimulate conversation and the teachers' initiation patterns indicate that the linguistic knowledge permitted in these classes was highly gendered. The teacher provided vocabulary and conversation topics that were shaped by the learners' traditionally established gender roles as 'housewives', 'mothers', 'spouses' and 'caregivers'. This gender-biased pedagogical approach reproduced gender asymmetries by reconstructing traditional gender categories in the classroom. The teacher also infantilized the female learners and under-distributed the linguistic capital in many ways. Her closed-ended and predictable initial questions to launch conversation and her conventional turn distribution among adult students reflected a poor pedagogical approach and a monotonous classroom that offered no room for creative, student-initiated arguments and cooperation. Turn-taking patterns indicated that the 'right to speak' was distributed unequally, with the teacher constructing linguistic peripheries and locating herself at the center of the conversation.

This under-distribution of the Catalan language and over-representation of the language teacher in turn-taking led the learners to contest this inequality in many ways. They challenged the conventional classroom structure by foregrounding their Darija and Spanish language skills. Constant use of the Spanish language was another way of claiming a turn that was not possible in Catalan. This under-distribution of the Catalan language reinforced the use of the Spanish language — a practice normalized by the language teacher in several ways, for instance, through affirmative follow-ups for the statements made in Spanish and use of the Spanish language to re-affirm her own statements during the random conversation that constituted more than half of the overall class time.

To sum up, while Catalan authorities promote and prioritize teaching the Catalan language to immigrant communities, language classes lack pedagogical competence and immigrants are still legitimized basically as Spanish speakers. This legitimization suggests that inter-positioning the Spanish language between immigrants and the Catalan language not only occurs in local practices (see Pujolar, 2010) and state schools (see Woolard,



2003), but also in adult immigrant schooling. However, this interpositioning does not always occur by means of creating separate monolingual spaces. Catalan-Spanish code-switching patterns can be organized to implicitly make immigrants interposition the Spanish language when they are addressed in Catalan. The qualitative data analyzed above suggest that language teachers create passive receivers of Catalan and reinforce the use of Spanish by allowing both languages in the classroom and by even unconsciously encouraging learners to respond in Spanish. This practice suggests that, in the linguistic integration of adult immigrants, these are expected to understand Catalan but are expected to respond in Spanish, suggesting, in turn, that linguistic segregation in Catalonia can also be reinforced by constructing bilingual spaces.

Finally, the qualitative data suggest that there is a need to re-establish the connection between access to the legitimate language and questions of identity. The way that the immigrants are categorized by educational institutions and policy makers acts as a main organizing factor at the time of deciding which linguistic capital should be allowed to the immigrant community. Therefore, there is a need to carry out further research to explain how regional and national legitimate languages are distributed unequally, how the bilingual practices are used to reinforce linguistic inequalities and how this process is contested by adult immigrant learners in specific fields.

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