

FROM JAPANESE TO SPANISH, FROM SPANISH TO CATALAN, BUT NO ENGLISH? A CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGE USE AND KNOWLEDGE OF JAPANESE RESIDENTS IN CATALONIA¹

Makiko Fukuda*

Abstract

This study explores the language use and knowledge of the Japanese population in Catalonia. Catalonia, where two languages of different social statuses are in contact, raises some questions about migrants' language practice and also questions the supposed role of English as an international lingua franca. The results of analysis of the data on language use and knowledge collected through the questionnaire survey show that this population are not homogeneous in these two variables, but they can be classified into three subgroups in terms of their main quotidian language. English has little presence amongst them and its supposed role as an international lingua franca has not been confirmed in this study. The study also confirms a positive correlation between language use and knowledge. Those who relate more with their compatriots tend to have a lower level of knowledge of local languages, whilst those who relate more with the local population tend to have a higher level of local languages. Regarding Catalan, however, it has been confirmed that only some subjects have learnt this language and users of Catalan are limited to long-term residents, particularly to inter-married families.

Keywords: language use; language knowledge; Catalonia; English as lingua franca; Japanese sojourners.

DEL JAPONÈS AL CASTELLÀ, DEL CASTELLÀ AL CATALÀ, PERÒ SENSE L'ANGLÈS? UN ESTUDI DE CASOS DE L'ÚS I ELS CONEIXEMENTS DE LA LLENGUA DE RESIDENTS JAPONESOS A CATALUNYA

Resum

Aquest estudi explora l'ús i els coneixements de la llengua de la població japonesa a Catalunya. Catalunya, on aquests dos idiomes, d'estatus socials diferents, estan en contacte, planteja algunes preguntes sobre les pràctiques lingüístiques dels migrants i també posa en dubte el pretès paper de l'anglès com a llengua franca internacional. Els resultats de l'anàlisi de les dades sobre l'ús i els coneixements de la llengua recollits a través de l'enquesta / qüestionari indiquen que aquesta població no és homogènia respecte d'aquestes dues variables, però pot classificar-se en tres subgrups en termes del seu principal idioma quotidià. L'anglès té poca presència entre ells i el seu paper com a llengua franca internacional no s'ha confirmat en aquest estudi. L'estudi també confirma una correlació positiva entre l'ús d'una llengua i el seu coneixement. Els que es relacionen més amb els seus compatriotes tendeixen a tenir un nivell inferior de coneixement de les llengües locals, mentre que els que es relacionen amb la població local tendeixen a tenir un nivell superior de coneixement d'aquestes llengües. Tanmateix, respecte del català, s'ha confirmat que només alguns dels enquestats han après aquest idioma i el cercle dels que utilitzen el català se circumscriu als residents de llarga durada, particularment a les famílies de matrimonis mixtos.

Paraules clau: ús de la llengua; coneixement de la llengua; Catalunya; l'anglès com a llengua franca; els japonesos que estan de pas.

* Makiko Fukuda earned a PhD in Catalan language and literature from the University of Barcelona, and is an assistant professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona's Department of Translation and Interpretation. A member of the INTERASIA research group, she is a regular collaborator of the CUSC (The University Center for Sociolinguistics and Communication), makiko.fukuda@uab.cat

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1 Introduction

The globalization process has changed the linguistic scenery on a worldwide scale, turning English into the principal international lingua franca or global language (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Hjarvard, 2004; Mufwene, 2010; Vettorel 2014 among others) by default.

Nonetheless, English is not always a *wildcard* that permits one to get by with this language only when he or she visits any part of the world (Mufwene, 2010). China, for example, is one of these cases (cf. Selmer, 2006; Kubota, 2012). For international migrants¹, the host society's language has been considered to be a key factor for successful integration (Beacco, 2008; De Vroome, *et al.* 2014; Gsir, 2014; Krumm and Plutzer, 2008). In fact, learning the national language of the host society has increasingly become a cornerstone of integration policy in the European Union (Ros i Solé, 2013). Hence, in non-English-speaking countries where some very basic social interactions may happen without sharing a common language—supposedly English—the language proficiency of the host society obviously constitutes a powerful tool in order to actively communicate and interact with the local populations (Gsir, 2014).

Additionally, globalization has not acted solely to homogenize language and promote the use of English, but it has caused heightened political activity to gain recognition of, and to generally promote regional languages such as Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Catalan and Kurdish (Hjarvard, 2004). Under such tension between universalization and localization, Catalonia, where two languages with different social statuses are in contact, suggests some important questions: how do migrants cope with this host society's languages? Or does English play the role of common language to communicate with the locals? The present study focuses on Japanese people living in Catalonia and aims to explore their language use and their degrees of knowledge of Spanish and Catalan in order to identify the role of each language in their daily life in Catalonia.

2 Background

2.1 Language learning and proficiency in the migrant² context

People learn a new language because they have specific language needs. In the case of migrants, some knowledge of the host society's language is often requested from the very beginning of their migration process for paperwork such as applying for residency or a work permit. However, the language needs—both language of origin and the host society's language—of new adult migrants vary depending on the type of migration. Beacco (2008) argues that for newly arrived adult migrants, their needs in terms of the host society's language(s) will depend partly on the use of their language of origin in that society. This use depends on the factors such as the wish to become more or less integrated in the society and to maintain or abandon the connection with the language and culture of origin, the extent to which it is used in their daily life, and potential access to the language and so forth. These factors may affect various types of linguistic choice from refusal to use the language of origin to refusal to learn the host society's language. (*ibid.*)

The level of proficiency that they achieve in their host society's language learning can be influenced by several factors as have been identified by some previous studies: Length of stay, educational level, linguistic distance between the language of origin and the host society's language, size of ethnic group, age at migration, familiarity with the host language and so forth (See Chiswick and Miller, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2007; Isphording, 2015; Li, 2013; Tubergen and Kalmijn, 2005, 2009; Zemlyanukhina, 2011). These factors do not necessarily all have a significant influence on the immigrants' language learning in every context equally, though in general, exposure to the host society's language seems to be an indispensable aspect of language learning (Tubergen and Kalmijn, 2009; Spolsky, 1989), particularly with speaking fluency (Dustman and Fabbi, 2003). Contrarily, literacy fluency have more to do with the educational level of the learner, since it requires a more systematic way of learning and the educational background of the learner may enhance the efficiency of acquiring these skills (Dustman and Fabbi, 2003).

² In this study, the term migrant will be used to refer to “any person involved in a migration process, whatever its nature or stage” (e.g. arrival, settlement, initial stay, long-term residence, permanent settlement, and so on, Beacco 2008). In the present study, by *temporal migration/residency* we refer to a stay that does not represent the change of usual home in the durable or permanent way and maintains the expectation of returning to their home country.

2.2 Migrants and languages in Catalonia

In Catalonia, immigration is not a new phenomenon; between 1950 and 1975 nearly 1.4 million monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrants entered Catalonia. They were mostly working-class from Southern Spain that reduced native Catalan speakers to being a minority in their own land (Newman and Trench-Parera, 2015). The vast majority of these immigrants ended up in the Barcelona metropolitan area (Woolard, 1989; Vila, 2005).

Since 2001, a massive arrival of international migrants mainly from Africa, Latin America, East Europe or Asia has been produced in Catalonia in the way that they took place the ‘older immigrants’. In 2015, these newcomers’ number has reached 1.028.069, which represents 13,7% of the total population of Catalonia³. *The Common Basic Principles on Immigrant Integration* of the European Council states that basic knowledge of the host society’s language is considered to be essential for successful integration⁴. However, this acceleration of new immigrants’ became a social question of the first order and ‘shook the water of a country which is already complex enough in terms of language and nation’ (Boix and Vila 2006:7) since historically the social position of the Catalan language has weakened due to various issues, e.g. General Franco’s ‘castilianisation’ policy under his dictatorship during the twentieth century and the aforementioned massive wave of Spanish-speaking migrants from other parts of Spain have made Spanish legally and demographically prevalent in Catalonia.

After the dictator’s death in 1975, the social use of Catalan, which had been banned till then, was greatly recovered, though, there is still a disparity between the two languages, with Spanish being prevalent particularly in metropolitan area. This acceleration of newcomers is one of the factors which contributed to Spanish’s prevalence. The percentage of those who responded that their usual language was Spanish (50,73%) was higher than those who responded that their usual language was Catalan (36,29%) in that area⁵. In fact, previous studies on migrants in Catalonia (Aguilera, 2001; Boix and Vila 2006; Llompert, 2007; Ros, 2006) report that Spanish serves as the host language or language of communication amongst these newcomers, while Catalan continues to be the language learned only by those who wish to settle in Catalonia.

In Catalonia, the coexistence of the Catalan and Spanish languages presents special problems that are addressed in varying ways (Brugué *et al.*, 2013). The existence of Catalan is an unexpected surprise since immigrants usually are not familiar with Catalonia’s sociolinguistic situation (Brugué *et al.*, 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Tristán, 2014). Those coming from non-Latin American countries —Europe in particular— have often believed that they would be able to use English to make themselves understood (Brugués *et al.*, 2013).

Previous studies display evidence that immigrants are likely to learn Spanish first for a variety of reasons: they appreciate its pragmatic value (Brugués *et al.*, 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Tristán, 2014); they tend to settle down in a Spanish-dominant area (Huguet and Janés, 2008; Boix and Vila, 2006); Catalans tend to accommodate Spanish-speaking individuals when communicating with them (Estors, 2014; Newman and Trenchs-Pareras, 2015; Trenchs-Parera and Tristán, 2014). Sabaté’s studies (2013, 2014) have shown that Spanish works as a lingua franca amongst the migrants from different backgrounds. Those from Latin America seem to have fewer problems since they have previous knowledge of Spanish. Trenchs-Parera and Tristán’s (2014) study on the language practice of young persons from Latin America and China has found that persons from Latin America do not tend to have strong relationships with local people and they are likely to speak in Spanish within those relationships. Many of them recognize that Catalan is important for their integration (Brugué *et al.*, 2013) though they have less favourable attitudes toward Catalan than other immigrants or local native Spanish speakers (Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera, 2012).

Those coming from multilingual societies such as Morocco or Pakistan tend to identify symbolically with the Catalan language (Alarcón and Garzón, 2013) although many learn Spanish first (Vila *et al.*, 2013). Regarding Moroccans, the percentage of those who accomplish a full integration in the sense of being

3 Institut d’Estadística de Catalunya (<http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?b=0>)

4 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf

5 Institut d’Estadística Catalana. <http://www.idescat.cat/cat/idescat/publicacions/cataleg/pdfdocs/eulp2013.pdf>

capable of expressing themselves at least verbally in both Spanish and Catalan is not high, but is significant (Vila *et al.*, 2013)⁶.

The Chinese population demonstrates a somewhat different behaviour than the aforementioned collectives: the adult migrants usually have very little competence in both Spanish and Catalan. They count on their children or their compatriots with a good grasp of language(s) to act as interpreter(s) for them (Trenchs-Parera and Tristán, 2014). Chinese adult migrants give priority to the pragmatic aspect of a language (Estors, 2014; Trenchs-Parera and Tristán, 2014) so that they can use it for their business.

In 2010, the Law on Reception, the first legal text to recognize the role of Catalan as a common language (Amorós and Bañeras, 2010), was approved in the Parliament of Catalonia. The law establishes that the first reception service of immigrants will provide the training and resources to acquire basic language skills in Catalan through the Consortium for Language Normalization. What is important here is that Catalan is given priority over Spanish, since if one starts learning Catalan, he or she will almost surely end up learning Spanish. However, cases in which the opposite occurs are few. For this reason, it can be said that promoting Catalan does not cause any harm to Spanish, whilst enhancing Spanish can marginalize Catalan (*ibid.*). In this way, as long as Spanish intervenes (Aracil, 1983) between Catalan and immigrants, it makes their access to the Catalan language even more difficult (Boix and Vila, 2006) and simultaneously it enhances the presence of Spanish.

2.3 Japanese sojourners and languages

The Japanese communities overseas, made up mainly of business sojourners, are a product of globalization (Befu, 2001; Glebe, 2003). The terms ‘expatriate’ or ‘sojourner’ are often used while referring to these Japanese citizens, who are clearly distinguished from other ‘immigrants’ in that sojourners and expatriates are individuals who work or live for a period outside their home country on a non-permanent basis (Cottrell, 2011; McGinley, 2008; Schmider, 2005). Expatriates show more specific motivations for staying in the destination country due to their high professional skills and are already employed with legal status when they enter the host society. In this sense, they could be seen as a transient and privileged minority, which tends to defend the exclusiveness of its enclave (Schmider, 2005:7). This category shows more specific motivations for stay, although there are many aspects that overlap with sojourners and sojourner is more encompassing term (Sinangil and Ones, 2001). Therefore, in this study we use this term *sojourner*.

Many previous studies about the Japanese overseas have focused on these sojourners, pointing out that they relate mainly with their compatriots and try to create and maintain the Japanese atmosphere in the host society (cf. Goodman, 1990; Mizukami, 1996; Sato, 1997; White, 2003; Glebe, 2003). However, there is no detailed empirical research about their language use except a limited number of studies. Furthermore, they are likely to be conducted in English-speaking countries such as the United States of America (Diggs and Murphy, 1991; Yamazaki, 2010), Great Britain (Kondo, 2008), Australia (Mizukami, 2007), New Zealand (Kuragasaki-Laughton 2007) and so forth. In these countries, English is naturally the host language, which implies relatively fewer burdens for these sojourners in the sense that, at least, it is not a completely new language for them, since all Japanese citizens have studied English in compulsory education. Okazaki-Luff (1991:98) points out that Japanese people are more likely to interact eagerly with the local nationals when they feel confident about their command of the host language. Conversely, they are likely to stay within their own Japanese network when they find their command of the host language insufficient. In fact, the few studies which deal with Japanese sojourners in non-English speaking societies– for example, Manila (Nagata, 2010), Chiangmai (Kawahara, 2010), Middle Eastern countries (Tanigawa, 2008), Malaysia (Rosli, 2013) – commonly point out that they have a very low level of the host language and have few interactions with the local nationals. Kubota (2012)’s study on Japanese workers’ language use in China found that all the Japanese sojourners interviewed used Mandarin with different levels of proficiency, and Japanese and Mandarin are used in the workplace rather than English. This is because many Chinese workers have a varied range of Japanese proficiency (*ibid.*).

6 Coromelles *et al.* (2013) reported that Amazigh language is no longer considered to be a patois amongst its speakers in Catalonia. They are proud of their language, which may have something to do with ‘Catalan model of claiming their own language and of overcoming hierarchy with the State’s language’ (*ibid.*: 61)

However, it should be noted that Kubota's study analyses language use exclusively in the workplace. Very few studies which explore in detail the sojourners' language use in daily life were conducted in Barcelona ([Author] 2009), Shanghai, Seoul and Düsseldorf (Hirataka [*et al.*], 2014), though the first one also includes long-term residents. The results of these researches reveal that knowledge of the local language is relatively more needed than English in their daily life in the two Asian cities studied than in Düsseldorf where English plays an important role and the sojourners tend to have a lower level of the host society's language.

2.4 Japanese in Catalonia

According to the latest data compiled by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* ('National Institute of Statistics'), a total of 2,256 Japanese lived in Catalonia in 2015, which represent 40% of the total population of this nationality living in whole Spain. More than 90% of them were concentrated in the province of Barcelona.

As regards the motivation for residency, Japanese residents in Catalonia may be classified into the following categories: (1) work, (2) education, (3) family, (4) culture and (5) other ([Author], 2009). The majority of them are categorized into (1) and (2), and they are mainly temporary migrants. Until those individuals who came to Catalonia for academic reasons became the largest sector, those who are categorized into (1) had been the largest group, since the emergence of the Japanese community is directly related to the investment of capital originating from Japan (Beltrán and Sáiz, 2002). Those who came to Catalonia for family reasons come after these two groups. They are usually intermarried families, whilst families of Japanese couples are much fewer. Some Japanese citizens come to Catalonia because they are interested in Catalonia's culture. As a recent phenomenon, passion for soccer, especially for the *Futbol Club Barcelona*, is also increasing. Some young children and their parents come to Catalonia with the dream of playing in the junior team of this team.

In this way, Japanese community in Catalonia is made up by individuals with different sociocultural profile. Taking into account that aforementioned studies mainly focus on the business sojourners and their families, another question emerges: do the rest of the Japanese who are living overseas for other reasons also share a similar language practice? The initial hypothesis of this study is that the Japanese residents in Catalonia are not homogeneous; they display different language use patterns and levels of language knowledge depending on their exposure to the languages in question. Specifically, the study addresses the following questions:

- (1) How do the Japanese residents living in Catalonia organize their language use?
- (2) What level of knowledge of Spanish and Catalan do they have?
- (3) Is there any correlation between their use/knowledge of Spanish and those of Catalan?
- (4) Does English have any role as the common language between these Japanese and the local population?

3 The study

3.1 Data collection

Data on language use and knowledge were collected through the questionnaire survey in cooperation with several individuals and organizations related to Japan in Catalonia such as the Japanese School of Barcelona, the Supplementary School of Japanese Language of Barcelona, Japanese Enterprisers Association in Catalonia, and Association of Japanese Language Teachers. All the subjects are individuals who (1) declared to have Japanese as their native language⁷; (2) were living in Catalonia when the survey was conducted; (3) are adults. Two hundred copies of the questionnaire were distributed and one hundred and twenty one of them were returned completed.

The questionnaire consists of (1) personal data; (2) language use; and (3) language knowledge. The variables used for the data had basically been determined by the previous relevant studies (Torres [coord.], 2005; Vila, 2003; Yamamoto, 2001). Firstly, our subjects were asked for personal data such as age, occupation, reason

⁷ In our questionnaire, the term *mother tongue* was used, as this term is more familiar to many Japanese people than *first language* or *native language*.

and length of stay and so on. In the following section, they were asked about the language(s) they usually use (1) outside the home and (2) at home. (1) is classified into two types. The first type is language use in several social contexts outside the home characterized by face-to-face communication between individuals. The subjects were asked the language(s) they use in six interactional situations (neighbourhood, work place/school, participation in an entity/organization, leisure, friendship, and weekend) and to give the name of three persons with whom they have the most frequent contact in each setting and the language(s) they use with each of them. The second type is language use in commercial facilities and public services such as supermarket, post office, restaurant/bar/cafe, hospital and so on. This type of use is different from the first one in that it is likely that the communication is unilateral and one can satisfy their needs with only a few words. Thus, for this latter type, the subjects were asked what language they use most frequently in each commercial facility and public service. Regarding (2), our subjects were asked which language (s) they use with each member of the family, including those who live together. The uses in media were also asked, though, they are not included in the present study, since they do not necessarily represent the subjects' usual language, although they may imply to some extent their receptive competence in each language.

In the section of language knowledge, our subjects were asked to assess their level of four basic skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in Spanish and Catalan using a scale from zero to five (Level 0: Not at all; Level 1: Some words; Level 2: Some simple phrases; Level 3: Part of a text or conversation; Level 4: The majority of a text or conversation; Level 5: Totally fluent). By the term *language knowledge* we refer to 'the ability that one has to make use of a language' (Vila, 2005:17). The oral and written tests, which are more indirect methods, enable us to obtain observed knowledge, though these tests are extremely costly if we want to include a number of individuals. Therefore, the only method left to obtain declared knowledge was adopted. Self-assessment is often inaccurate, although what we are interested is how they perceive their language knowledge, as their confidence in their language competence may determine their language use (Okazaki-Luff, 1991).

3.2 Analysis and results

3.2.1 Language use

To prove our aforementioned hypothesis, we analysed the data regarding our informants' language use by means of Principal Component Analysis.⁸ We adopted this statistical method for our analysis since we use a number of variables and this method can simplify and reduce the data in the way that we are provided a reduced number of components, which underlie the set of original variables. Furthermore, our objective is to identify subgroups in terms of their language practice. Only interpersonal language uses which require bilateral communication were chosen as a variable for the analysis, since the uses of each language can inform us whether our subjects relate exclusively with their compatriots or they relate with the local population. That is, these variables inform us of their exposure to the languages in question.

As a result, three principal components have been detected: first component divides our subjects based on use of Japanese or the use of local languages, whilst the second component divides them on the use of Spanish or Catalan. The third one showed a positive correlation with the use of English. However, the number of individuals distributed around this area was too small to make up a group. Moreover, the use of English amongst our subjects is basically limited to certain domains such as the workplace, or is used just as a secondary tool to complement their knowledge of local language(s). Therefore, no subgroup characterized by its predominant use as a language of daily use has been identified. In fact, some of our participants reported that the local population is less competent in English than they had expected, which is the reason why they are not likely to use English daily with the locals.

Thus, we decided to discard the third component and use only the first and second components. Then our subjects are categorized into three subgroups in terms of the dominant use of the following languages: (1) Japanese, (2) Spanish and (3) Catalan (For more details, See [Author], 2014).

⁸ *Statgraphics 5.0* was used for both analyses.

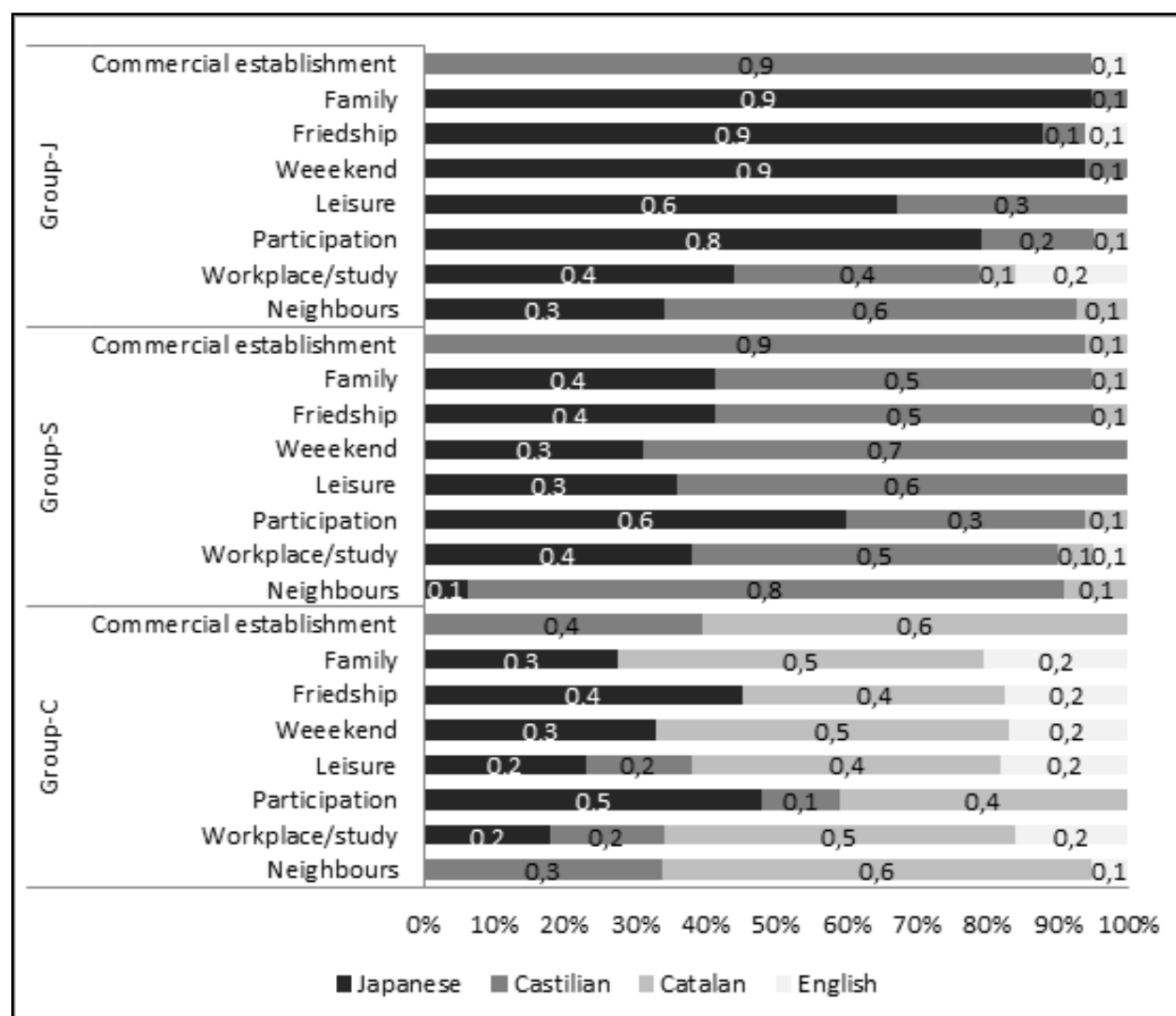
3.2.2. Subgroups in terms of language use

Amongst these three subgroups identified, the largest group, which includes some 60% of our subjects (n=72), is characterized by the predominant use of Japanese (hereafter Group-J). 76% of them are individuals who live in Catalonia for labour reasons and their respective families. The length of residency is the shortest amongst the three subgroups, with an average of three years. Their remarkable use of Japanese in general implies that their interpersonal relationships are established mainly with their compatriots. Immigrants' length of stay or residency in the destination country is directly linked to exposure to opportunities to learn the target language and hence to immigrants' destination language proficiency (Li, 2013:273), thus their short residency time in Catalonia may explain this trend of being confined within their ethnic enclave. The fact that Japanese is used considerably even with neighbours points to their concentrated residence pattern. In fact, 54% of our subjects live in the two districts of the city of Barcelona where almost half of the residents of this nationality in this city live. And 13% live in another area with a greater concentration of Japanese where the Japanese school is located. The size of the Japanese community in Catalonia is relatively small compared with other foreign collectives, though the ethnic enclave seems to affect their language use and knowledge of local language(s). English is used only in the limited domain but is not used as the main language of their daily life (Figure 1).

The second largest subgroup, which includes some 34% of our subjects, is characterized by their considerable use of Spanish (hereafter Group-S). Those who are living in Catalonia for family reasons such as intermarriage or permanent residents are the largest sector, representing 32% of this group. Those who came for academic reasons come after this sector (22%). The length of residency is longer than that of the first group, with an average of eleven years. The pattern of their residency is much more dispersed than Group-J. In spite of Spanish being their main language, Japanese has a certain presence as well, which suggests that the members of this group maintain a certain relationship with their compatriots even though they relate more to the local population. In the commercial facilities or services, a small number of subjects who use Catalan together with Spanish have been observed, though its use is limited to those situations which do not require a high level of communicative competence (Figure 1).

Finally, the third group characterized by an important use of Catalan, is the smallest group (n=8, hereafter Group-C). All of the members of this group are intermarried families or permanent residents. The length of residency is the longest, with an average of seventeen years. The pattern of residency is dispersed: except two subjects, they are living outside the metropolitan area of Barcelona. As we saw in the previous group, this group also confirms that ethnic clave and length of residence are related to the language use of the group's member. Catalan is their main language, whilst Japanese also has an important presence in private domains such as weekend or friendship, which suggests that they maintain the relationship with their compatriots outside the home to some extent. What is noteworthy is that Spanish has very little presence particularly in private domains. An important use of Japanese in the family domain is a result of the *One Person-One language* use pattern of inter-married families. In the commercial facilities and services Catalan is the most chosen, though they often use this language together with Spanish (Figure 1). This may be explained by the traditional linguistic etiquette (Woolard, 1989:69–73) whereby Catalan speakers speak in Spanish to all those who are not known to be Catalan speakers. Our subjects' appearance which is obviously different from the local population leads Catalan speakers to use Spanish when communicating with them.

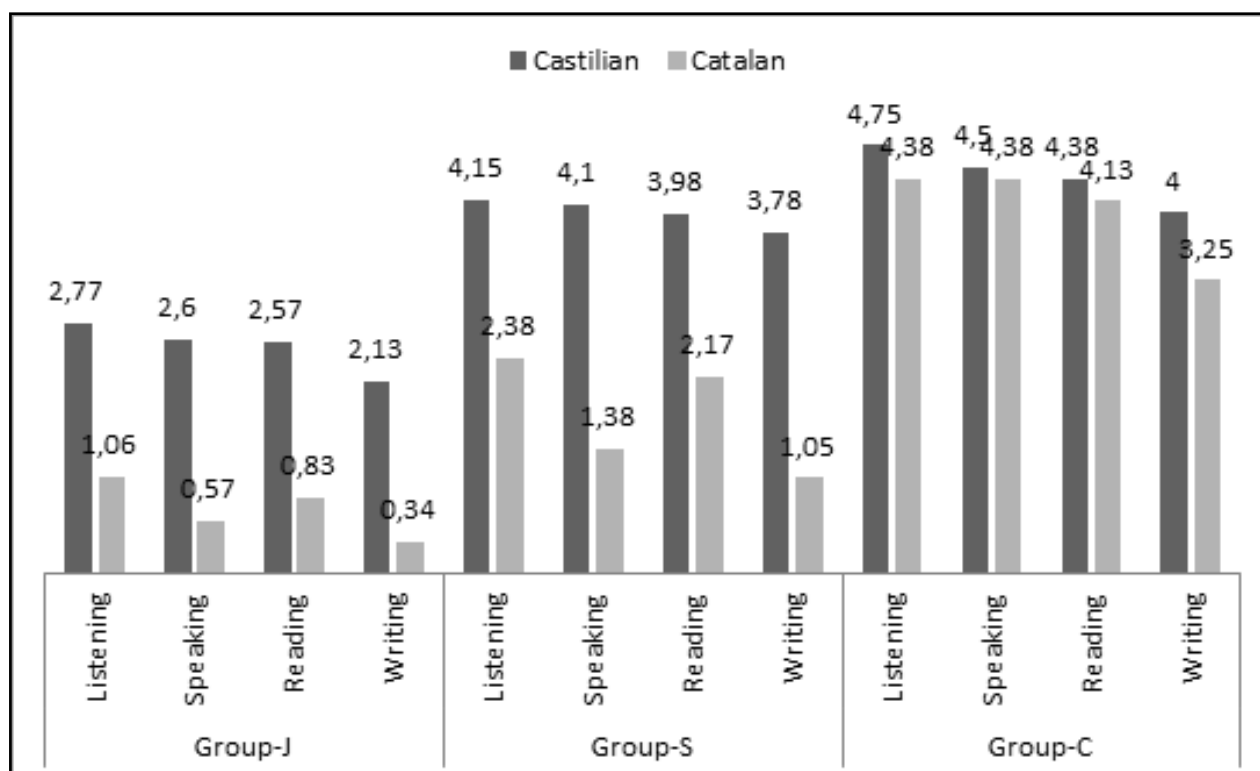
Figure 1. Index of language use by group



3.2.3 Degree of knowledge of Spanish and Catalan

Figure 2 shows our subjects' average levels of self-reported Spanish and Catalan skills, where a marked difference is observed amongst the three groups. In general, listening skills are the most developed, whilst writing skills are the least developed. This tendency was also found in other research such as Zaorska (2012)'s study on Polish in Iceland and Noh *et al.* (2012)'s study on Koreans in Canada. Listening is a receptive skill acquired first, and it provides the primary impetus to initiate first, second and foreign language learning (Bozorgian, 2012:657), whilst writing skills are normally the last of the four skills acquired and viewed as the most difficult (Albrechtsen *et al.*, 2008). It should be reminded that the data on language skills used here are self-reported, since oral and written tests, which are more indirect methods, would have allowed us to obtain observed knowledge, although these tests would have been extremely costly, given the number of individuals we wanted to include (Vila, 2005). Therefore, a method to obtain *declared knowledge* was adopted.

Figure 2. Degree of knowledge according to subgroup. Means.



However, the results obtained provide a general overview, whilst extreme cases can bias these results. As immigrants' second language skills are a direct result of the amount of exposure to that language (Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009), it can be considered that interpersonal language use which characterizes each group identified in the previous section may reflect our subjects' exposure to the local languages. Therefore, now the data will be analysed in terms of these groups by means of box and whiskers⁹ to have an overall view of the distribution of the cases.

(1) Group-J

Regarding Spanish, they are heterogeneous particularly in their listening and writing skill levels. Though the difference is not as notable, the listening skill is the most developed of all, the median of which is situated at level 3. The speaking and reading skills reveal a similar distribution, which is slightly less heterogeneous than the rest. Except for two extreme cases, no member declared an absolute inability, whilst there are fewer members who declared a maximum level in these two skills in Spanish. The writing skill is the least developed of all: few members of this group can write in Spanish to a certain level (Figure 3). The members of this group declared homogeneously a very low level or almost null knowledge of Catalan (Figure 4). The interquartile range is situated at zero and the quartiles in between level 0 and 1, which means that most of the members of this group have almost no knowledge of this language.

⁹ SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Science) 15 has been used to this analysis.

Figure 3. Degree of knowledge of Spanish of Group-J. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75 %.

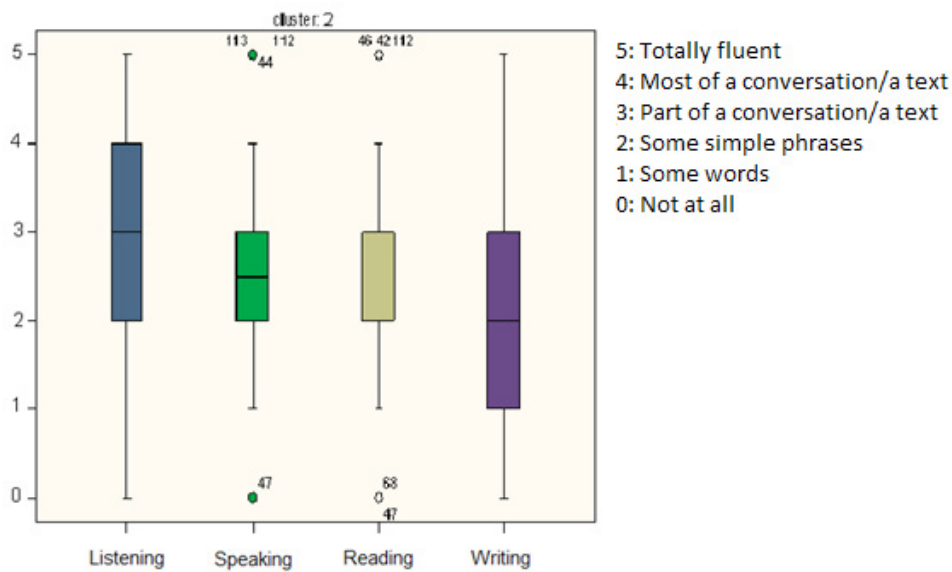
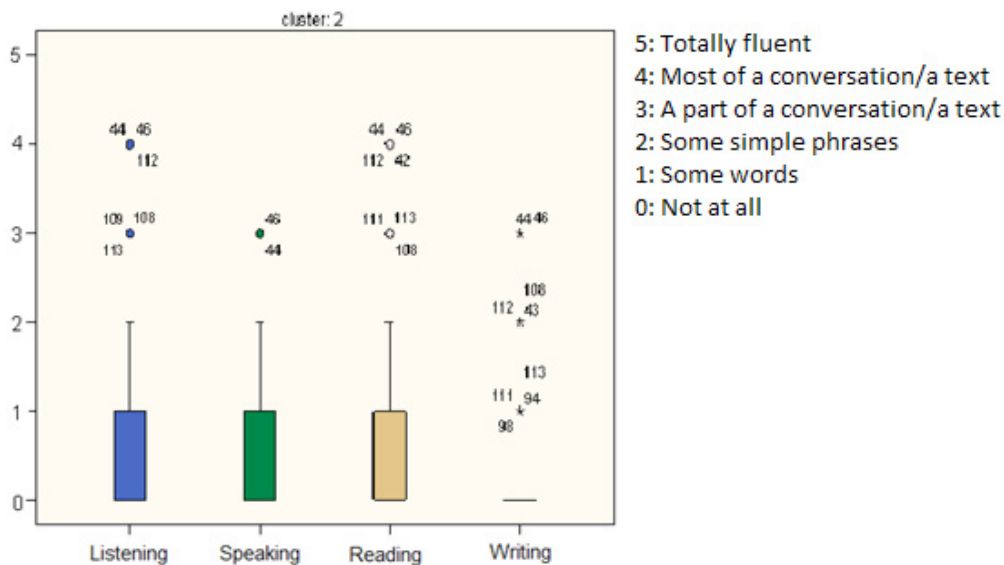


Figure 4. Degree of knowledge of Catalan of the Group-J. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75 %.



(2) Group-S

The members of this group show quite a high level of Spanish, particularly in the oral skills, the averages of which are above four. The literacy skills are slightly lower than oral skills, though the difference is not that remarkable. Except for the most developed listening skill, the central individuals' third quartile of which is situated between 4 and 4.5, the members of this group are quite homogeneous in terms of the degree of knowledge of Spanish (Figure 5).

As regards Catalan, they present quite a heterogeneous mix particularly in terms of receptive skills in which the quartiles are situated between 1 and 3 points. They provide slightly higher levels compared with Group-J. The receptive skills are more developed than the productive skills: Most of the members of this group understand and/or can read some words or at most a part of a conversation or text in Catalan. Concerning speaking skills, most of them are concentrated between one and two points, which means that they can only

say some words or simple phrases in Catalan. The writing skill is the least developed and most of them are situated between 0 and 2 points, which means that they cannot write in Catalan or at most only some words. In this group, no one declared the maximum level in any of the four skills in this language (Figure 6).

Figure 5. Degree of knowledge of Spanish of Group-S. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75%

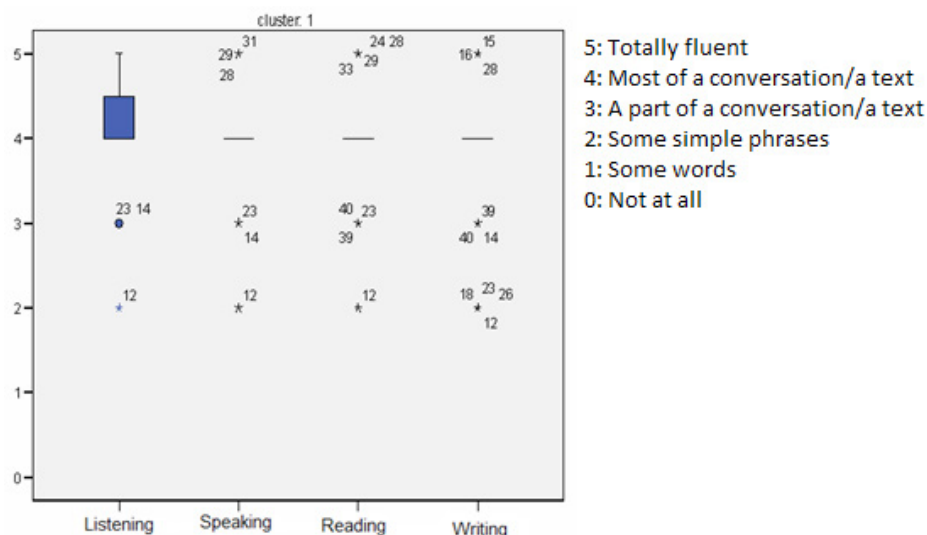
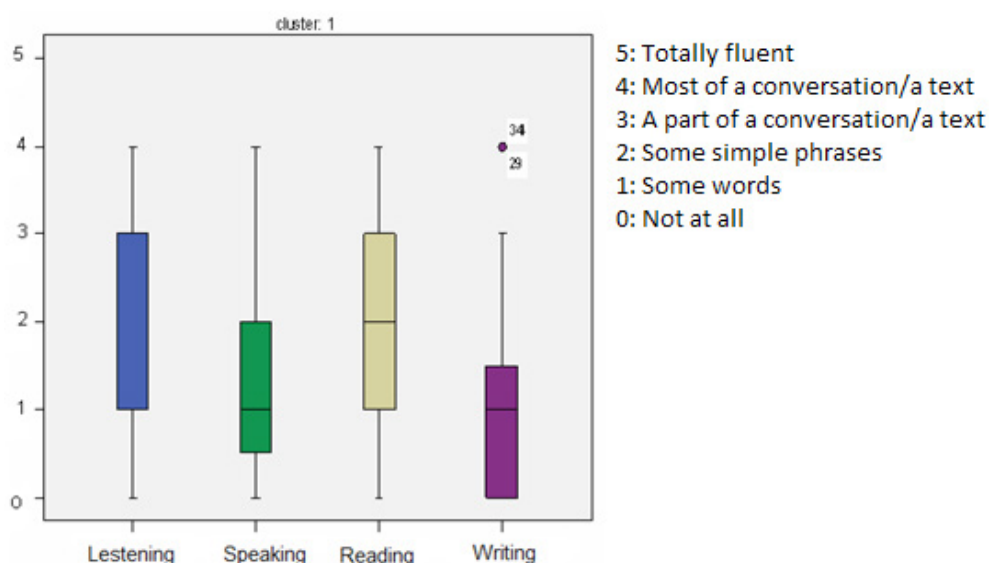


Figure 6. Degree of knowledge of Catalan of Group-S. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75%.



(3) Group-C

This group stands out from other groups since all the members except one declared to have fairly high levels in both Spanish and Catalan.

The average levels of Spanish are above level 4 in all skills, amongst which the oral skills are developed more homogeneously. All the members of this group fall between the levels 4 and 5, and 75% is the maximum score. It suggests that they understand most or all conversations/texts in Spanish and speak it well or fluently. In the reading skill, the group is slightly more heterogeneous: 50% of the members are situated between level 3 and 4, and those who declared the highest score (level 5) represent 25%. The writing skill shows more heterogeneity since it collects from level 2 to level 5 (Figure 7).

They present notably homogeneous in terms of the level of Catalan. They provide higher levels of Catalan in oral skills than in literacy skills. In oral skills, except for an extreme case, the median and the quartiles are situated at level 5: Most of them can understand and speak Catalan mostly or perfectly. Reading skill also shows a similarity, though fewer members declared level 5. Writing skill is the least developed skill, though the percentage of those who can write in Catalan to some extent is relatively high compared with the rest of the groups. In this skill, they show a notable heterogeneity: 50% declare relatively low levels (from 0 to 3) whilst another 50% declare fairly high levels (4 or 5). The level of this skill is quite inferior compared to other skills, the percentage of those who can write in Catalan in some way or other is relatively high, with a maximum of five points (figure 8). It is interesting to point out that all the members who declared high levels in Catalan also provide a good level in Spanish. Furthermore, this group has shown the highest average in the level of Spanish among all the subgroups identified. However, if we compare it with the result of Group-S, a high level of Spanish does not necessarily ensure an equivalent level of Catalan. This result suggests that, as far as our subjects are concerned, if one does not know Spanish, he or she does not know Catalan, either. That is, Catalan is the second language learnt optionally after having learnt Spanish.

Figure 7. Degree of knowledge of Spanish of Group-C. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75 %.

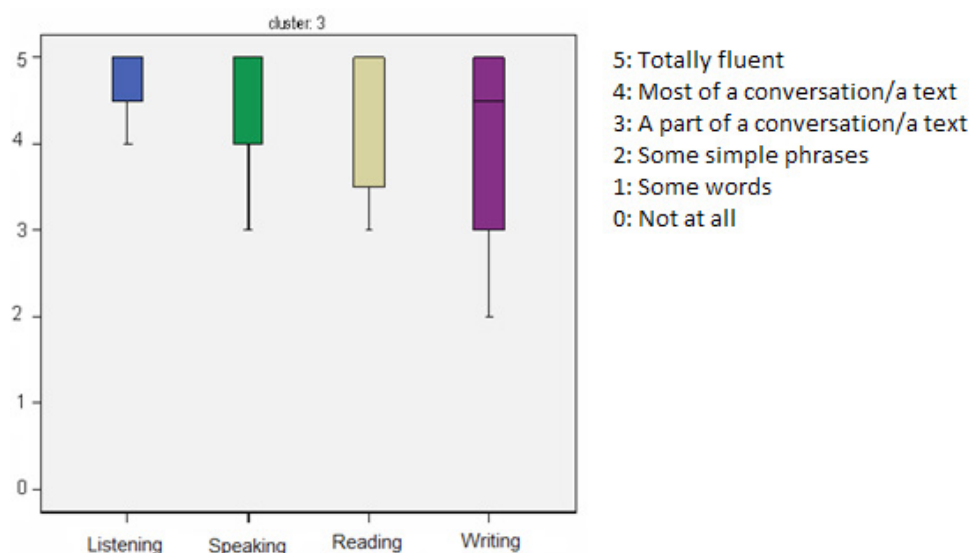
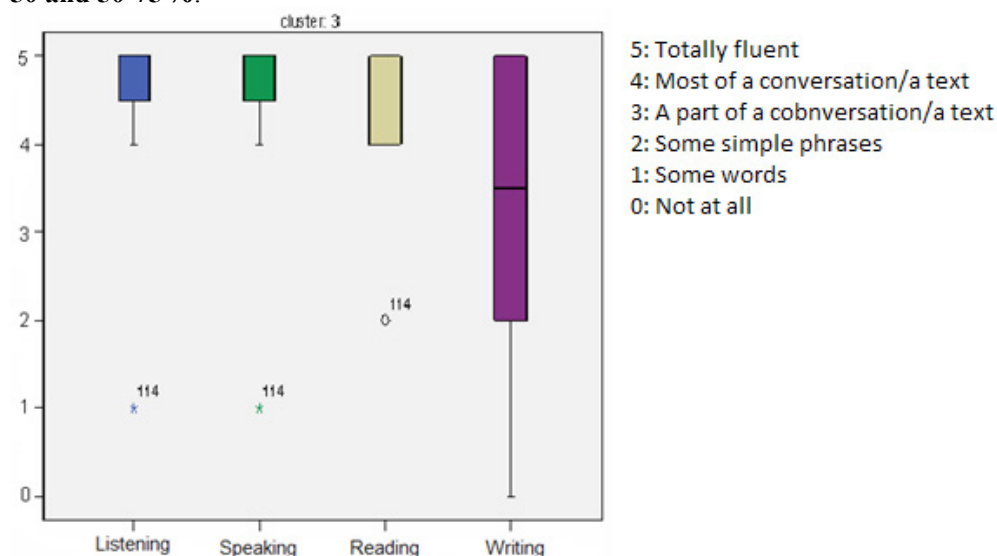


Figure 8. Degree of knowledge of Catalan of Group-C. Medians, maximums, minimums, and quartiles 25-50 and 50-75 %.



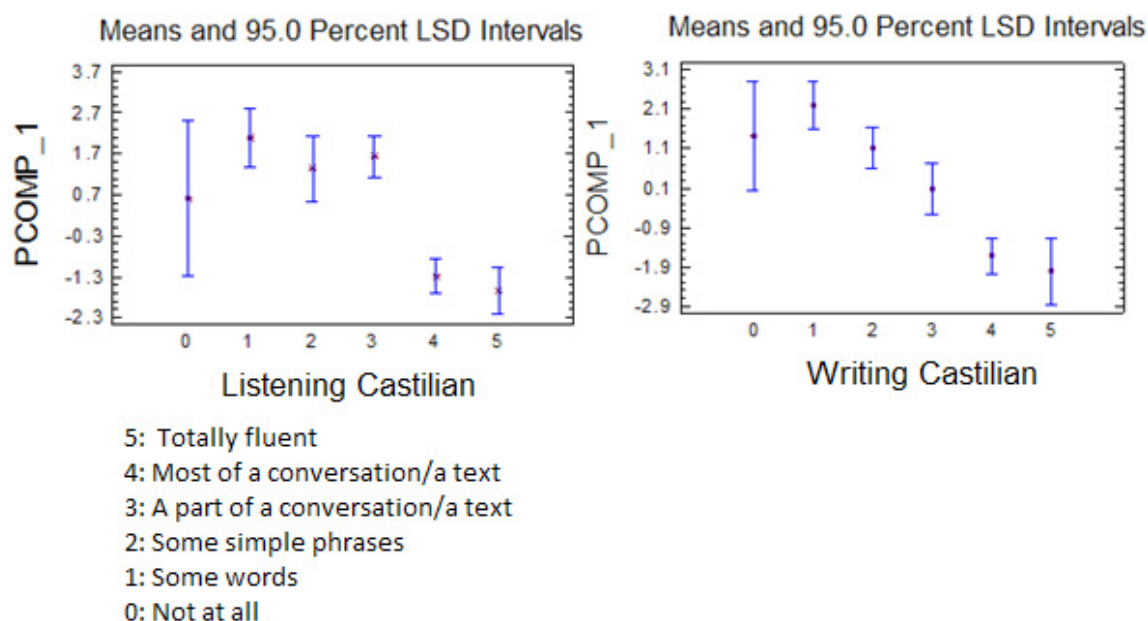
3.2.4 Language knowledge and language use

Migrants are strongly hindered from speaking the second language when they do not at least understand it to some extent. By using the language in day-to-day contexts, people find it easier to learn the language (Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). In the following section, the relation between the degree of knowledge of local languages and language use pattern are analysed by means of analysis of variance (ANOVA) to see if there is any correlation between these two variables. To do that, two principal components identified in the previous section are used.

First, the degree of language knowledge in relation with the principal component 1 is examined. The result of the analysis shows that there is a significant correlation between the degree of knowledge of both local languages and language use pattern (p -value < 0.001). Figure 9¹⁰, for example, shows our subjects' listening level of Spanish in relation with the language use. Those who declared a higher level of oral skills of Spanish are observed in the lower part of the two dimensional space which corresponds to the area of those who relate mainly with the local population; whilst the individuals who declared a lower level are concentrated in the area of those who are living predominantly in Japanese. In the literacy skills in Spanish, compared with the oral skills, a less clear difference was observed between language use and knowledge.

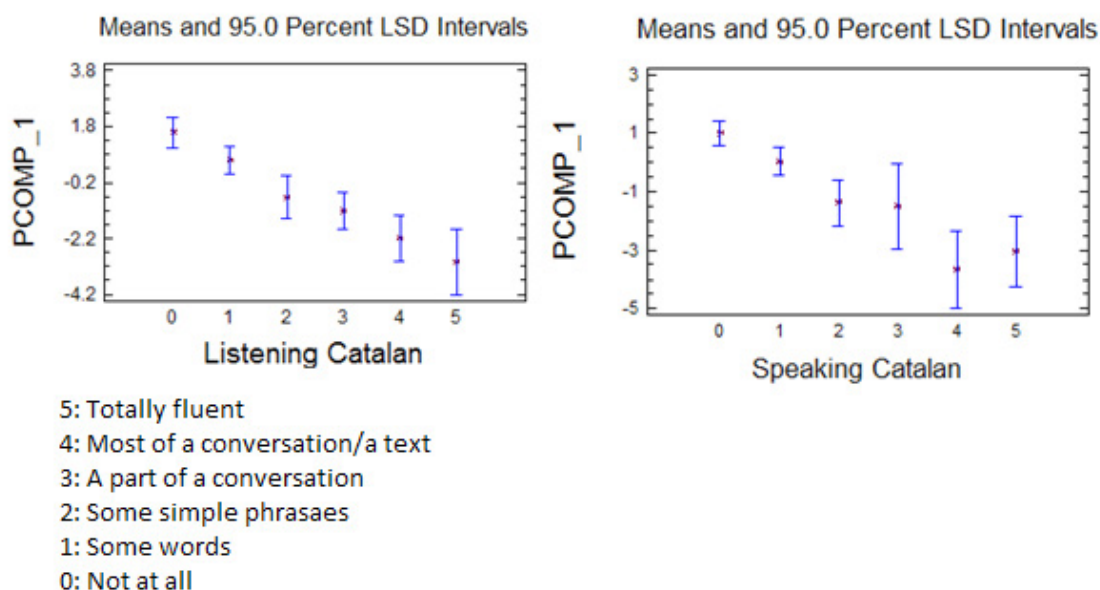
A similar tendency is also observed in the skills in Catalan but more clearly: those who declared higher levels particularly in productive skills are very few and all of them are distributed around the area of preferred use of local languages.

Figure 9. Level of listening and writing skills in Spanish. First principal component.



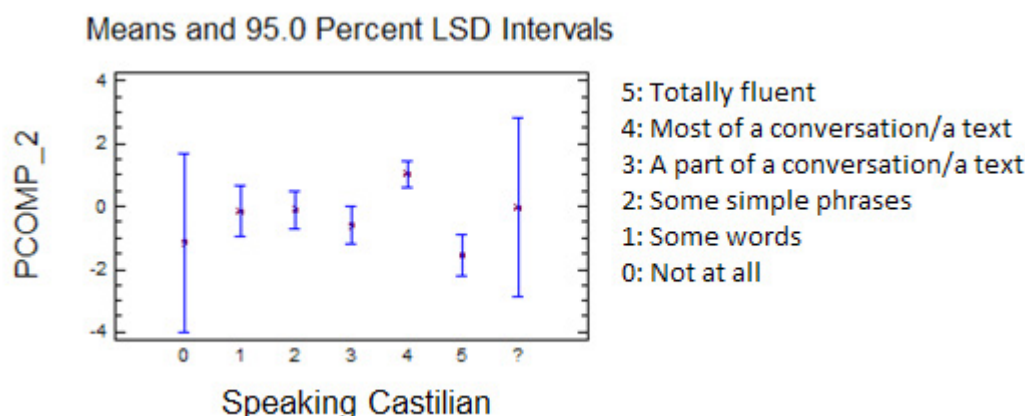
¹⁰ The general patterns are similar to the rest of the skills, and so only those figures which show quite a marked difference are presented here.

Figure 10. Level of listening and speaking skills in Catalan. First principal component.



The principal component 2 has a strong positive correlation with the use of Spanish and a strong negative correlation with the use of Catalan. Group-S and Group-C declare a fairly high level particularly in oral skills in Spanish, thus their levels of these skills cannot be a factor determining their language use. That is, regardless of which local language they usually use, they are highly competent in Spanish. However, as a result of the analysis, apart from the listening comprehension skill (p-value = 0.1388), a statistically significant correlation between the degree of knowledge of Spanish and the language uses (speaking: p-value = 0.0012 reading: p-value = 0.012 writing: p-value = 0.0032) has been observed. In higher levels, they show similar levels in all skills, though a clear divergence has been observed between levels 4 and 5: the subjects situated in the Spanish use area declared level 4, whilst those subjects who are found in the Catalan use area declared the maximum level, 5 (Figure 11). This suggests to us that the individuals who make a daily use of Catalan have already achieved a good level of Spanish. That is, it implies that Spanish is the first language that they learned in order to live in Catalonia, and that Catalan is learnt as a second stage of integration into Catalan society.

Figure 11. Level of speaking skill in Spanish. Second principal component.

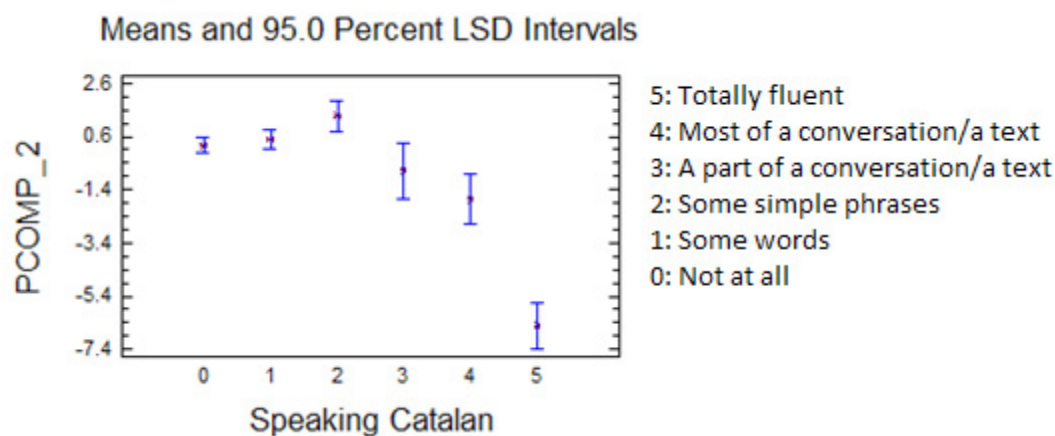


Moreover, a clear significance has been observed between the degree of knowledge of Catalan and the language use in all skills (p-value < 0.001). The subjects who declared higher levels of this language are concentrated in the Catalan use area with a big leap between level 4 and 5. It suggests that those who speak Catalan fluently use this language daily on the one hand, and that those who have declared to have quite a

good knowledge of Catalan do not necessarily use this language, on the other. As we have seen before, it alludes that they do not always have a chance to use this language despite their good knowledge due to the local populations' or our subjects' inertia in speaking Spanish.

Contrarily, those who declared an absolute inability or lower levels of Catalan are found in the Spanish use area. This tendency has been observed commonly in all skills. The result suggests that many of the subjects who have quite a good knowledge of Spanish do not learn Catalan, and only some subjects learn Catalan after having achieved a certain level in Spanish.

Figure 12. Level of speaking skill in Catalan. Second principal component.



4 Conclusions

The results of the present study have shown that Japanese living in Catalonia are heterogeneous in terms of language use and knowledge, depending on their interpersonal relationships and their migratory type. Our findings can be summed up as follows:

Firstly, this collective is not homogeneous in terms of language use and knowledge, but is rather heterogeneous depending on their interpersonal relationships and their migratory type. An ethnic enclave is one of the factors affecting the language learning of our subjects that are here on a temporary basis, but it does not necessarily mean that it hampers their learning of local languages, since almost all of them have different degrees of knowledge of Spanish and use it minimally in some contexts. The long-term residents relate more with the local population and use mainly local languages, though users of Catalan are limited to those who live in Catalonia for longer periods. That is, our subjects' length of residency in Catalonia is directly linked to exposure to opportunities to learn the target language and hence to achieve proficiency in this language (Li, 2013).

Secondly, the languages play a crucial role in the dynamics of the incorporation of this collective. In fact, Spanish is learned by almost all of our subjects regardless of the length and reason of residency, whilst Catalan is learned optionally only by some permanent or long-term residents. A high degree of knowledge of Spanish does not always guarantee an equivalent level of Catalan, whilst all subjects who declared a high degree of Catalan knowledge also declared a high level in Spanish. This suggests that knowledge of Catalan is always accompanied by that of Spanish, that is, as far as our subjects are concerned, Spanish is learnt almost necessarily, whilst Catalan is learnt optionally and always as a second stage of integration. Furthermore, our study has found that a quite good knowledge of Catalan does not always mean its use, which suggests the local population's or our subjects' inertia of speaking Spanish. All these findings confirm that Catalan has not achieved yet the role of host language of Catalonia and Spanish continues to intervene between migrants and Catalan society.

Finally, the data that we have analysed do not confirm the stereotype of English as the international language. The importance of English in Catalonia is increasing. Those from outside of Spain —except for Spanish

speakers from Latin America—believed that they would be able to use English to make themselves understood. However, it is not yet a language for communication in this country (Brugué *et al.*:81). Furthermore, Catalonia is struggling to defend the Catalan language from Spanish central authorities' continuous interference in Catalonia's language-related issues, trying to keep Spanish dominant with all other languages being demoted (Vila, 2013). In such a situation, our subjects use Spanish to relate with the local people, and only some of them move on to learning and even using Catalan. English is used in some limited domains, or is used only as a complementary tool to cover their low level of the host society's language, and thus, has little presence in general amongst our subjects. That is, the role of English as an international lingua franca by default should be reconsidered. English may be a necessary condition for many international communicative situations, though in non-English speaking countries, it is by no means a sufficient condition (Kubota, 2012).

Appendices

1. Relation between level of language knowledge and language use (Principal component 1)

(1) Spanish

	Effects	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F-value	P-value
Listening	Intergroups	288.024	6	48.0041	12.98	< 0.001
	Intragroups	421.627	114	3.69848		
	Total (Corr.)	709.651	120			
Speaking	Intergroups	298.103	6	48.6839	13.66	< 0.001
	Intragroups	410.879	113	3.63609		
	Total (Corr.)	708.982	119			
Reading	Intergroups	259.586	6	43.2643	10.88	< 0.001
	Intragroups	449.396	113	3.97696		
	Total (Corr.)	708.982	119			
Writing	Intergroups	280.928	6	46.8214	12.36	< 0.001
	Intragroups	428.053	113	3.78808		
	Total (Corr.)	708.982	119			

(2) Catalan

	Effects	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F-value	P-value
Listening	Intergroups	225.83	5	45.1661	10.83	< 0.001
	Intragroups	450.353	108	4.16994		
	Total (Corr.)	676.184	113			
Speaking	Intergroups	204.814	5	40.9627	9.33	< 0.001
	Intragroups	469.627	107	4.38904		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	674.441	112			
Reading	Intergroups	247.63	5	49.526	12.42	< 0.001
	Intragroups	426.811	107	3.98889		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	674.441	112			

Writing	Intergroups	190.159	5	38.0318	8.40	< 0.001
	Intragroups	484.282	107	4.526		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	674.441	112			

3. Relation between level of language knowledge and language use (Principal component 2)

(1) Spanish

	Effects	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F-value	P-value
Listening	Intergroups	44.7592	6	7.45987	1.65	0.1388
	Intragroups	514.21	114	4.51062		
	Total (Corr.)	558.969	120			
Speaking	Intergroups	97.4107	6	16.2351	3.98	0.0012
	Intragroups	461.023	113	4.07985		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	558.433	119			
Reading	Intergroups	97.4107	6	16.2351	3.98	0.0120
	Intragroups	461.023	113	4.07985		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	558.433	119			
Writing	Intergroups	87.7108	6	14.6185	3.51	0.0032
	Intragroups	470.723	113	4.16569		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	558.433	119			

(2) Catalan

	Effects	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F-value	P-value
Listening	Intergroups	304.08	5	60.816	25.80	< 0.001
	Intragroups	254.607	108	2.35747		
	Total (Corr.)	558.687	113			
Speaking	Intergroups	312.582	5	62.5163	27.32	< 0.001
	Intragroups	244.892	107	2.28871		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	557.474	112			
Reading	Intergroups	174.636	5	34.9271	9.76	< 0.001
	Intragroups	382.838	107	3.57793		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	557.474	112			
Writing	Intergroups	175.239	5	35.0479	9.81	< 0.001
	Intragroups	382.234	107	3.57228		
	TOTAL (Corr.)	557.474	112			

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