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### Putting Policy into Practice: The Problematisation of Catalan Language Planning and Ideologies in Media Discourse

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## PUTTING POLICY INTO PRACTICE: THE PROBLEMATISATION OF CATALAN LANGUAGE PLANNING AND IDEOLOGIES IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

Farah Ali\*

### Abstract

The revitalisation of the Catalan language has been an ongoing effort in Catalonia for decades. The language policies that have stemmed from this effort have perpetuated ideologies that promote the use and legitimisation of Catalan as both an official and a vehicular language. While this effort is widely regarded as an example of successful language revitalisation, the process has not been without conflict between Spanish and Catalan, particularly in terms of domains of use and disparate attitudes towards the two languages (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Woolard, 2016; Soler & Gallego-Balsà, 2019; Ianos et al., 2020). Given that these policies aim to be implemented in public sectors, the objective of this study is to examine how media discourse represents language practices in such domains. Using critical discourse analysis, the present study draws on articles from Madrid- and Catalonia-based news sources that focus on language use in public sectors. While differing perspectives on language use frequently appear together in the same texts, Madrid- and Catalonia-based sources at times use different linguistic strategies to report the same events and often produce seemingly contradictory discourse, such as reporting language discrimination against both Spanish and Catalan speakers in the same domains.

**Keywords:** Catalan, Spanish, Catalonia, language ideologies, critical discourse analysis, news, language policy.

### POSAR LA POLÍTICA EN PRÀCTICA: LA PROBLEMATITZACIÓ DE LA PLANIFICACIÓ LINGÜÍSTICA DEL CATALÀ I LES IDEOLOGIES DEL DISCURS ALS MITJANS DE COMUNICACIÓ

### Resum

*Durant dècades, la revitalització de la llengua catalana ha estat un fet central i ha implicat un esforç continu a Catalunya. Les polítiques lingüístiques sorgides d'aquest esforç han perpetuat ideologies que fomenten l'ús i la legitimitat del català com a llengua oficial i vehicular. Tot i que aquest esforç, en general, es considera un exemple de revitalització lingüística d'èxit, el procés no ha estat exempt de conflicte entre el castellà i el català, especialment pel que fa als àmbits d'ús i les actituds diferents envers les dues llengües (Newman i Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Woolard, 2016; Soler i Gallego-Balsà, 2019; Ianos et al., 2020). Atès que es volen implantar aquestes polítiques en els sectors públics, l'objectiu d'aquest estudi és examinar si el discurs dels mitjans de comunicació és representatiu de les pràctiques lingüístiques en aquests àmbits. Mitjançant l'anàlisi crítica del discurs, aquest estudi es basa en articles de mitjans de comunicació amb seu a Madrid i Catalunya centrats en l'ús de la llengua als sectors públics. Malgrat que les diferents perspectives sobre l'ús de la llengua sovint apareixen juntes en els mateixos textos, ls mitjans amb seu a Madrid i Catalunya a vegades fan servir estratègies lingüístiques diferents per informar dels mateixos fets i sovint produeixen un discurs aparentment contradictori, com per exemple denunciant la discriminació lingüística contra els castellanoparlants i també contra els catalanoparlants en els mateixos àmbits.*

*Paraules clau:* català; castellà; Catalunya; ideologies lingüístiques; anàlisi crítica del discurs; notícies; política lingüística.

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## 1 Introduction

Since Spain's transition to democracy in 1978, the revitalisation of the Catalan language has been an ongoing effort in Catalonia. The implementation of a number of language policies has created a situation that promotes the use of and legitimises the status of Catalan as an official language in this Spanish autonomous community (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). However, such efforts have also resulted in language conflict, such that there is a certain degree of competition between Spanish and Catalan in terms of their domains of use and availability to citizens in everyday services. Given that these policies aim to be implemented in public and government-sponsored sectors, the objective of this study is to examine how media discourse represents language practices in such domains and, specifically, how media discourse represents language practices in domains such as civil protection forces (i.e., the Mossos d'Esquadra (Catalan police force) and the Cos de Bombers (Catalan fire department)), educational institutions (at all levels), and in legal contexts. Of crucial importance is the analysis of news media, which is widely dispersed to a mass audience, giving it the power to significantly shape social ideologies. Using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to examine 45 news articles from newspapers based in Madrid and Catalonia, this case study aims to shed light on how language policies are put into practice, and how policy ideologies and goals are reflected in media discourse, in a timely exploration of an issue that remains relevant among the Catalan population as well as in scholarly research in different disciplines. The topic is of paramount importance to Catalan policymakers in particular, who play an integral role in communicating linguistic and political ideologies through policies which in turn extend to language planning in Catalonia. The present study further shows how the broad dissemination of mass media makes it a potentially impactful medium of discourse, with the power to shape the public's perception of the relationship between language and politics.

## 2 Language policy, planning and practice

Broadly speaking, language policy can encompass multiple aspects of language use in society, and may include “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi). More than that, however, language policy is also a sociocultural process that is mediated by power relations, whereby language policies can “express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses, thereby governing language statuses and uses” (McCarty, 2011, p. 8). Language planning, or the implementation of language policy, involves deliberate efforts to enact the ideas and goals set forth in policies, and can include a range of efforts, such as language standardisation and language in education. In both policy and planning, language ideologies can often play a significant role in shaping language regulations and practices: “Language ideologies are morally and politically loaded representations of the structure and use of languages in a social world. They link language to identities, institutions, and values in all societies.” (Woolard, 2020, p. 1).

While the historical presence and significance of Catalan dates back centuries, much of what has constructed the language's modern status, use and connection to Catalan identity has been shaped by politics in post-Franco Spain (Woolard, 2008). Following the death of fascist dictator Francisco Franco in 1975 and the establishment of a new Spanish Constitution soon after in 1978, regional languages such as Catalan that had been prohibited under the Francoist regime were granted recognition and co-official status in their respective autonomous communities. This right is noted in article 3 of the Spanish Constitution:

### Artículo 3

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

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### Article 3

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The wealth of the different language modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be the object of special respect and protection.

(The Spanish Constitution, 1978)

In the case of Catalonia, the above article reinstated the use of Catalan and paved the way for a number of language policies in support of the revitalisation of this previously endangered language. Various laws were instrumental in achieving this, though perhaps the most significant of these was the *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* (Language Normalisation Act) of 1983. Later amended in 1998 as the *Llei de política lingüística* (Language Policy Act), this was the first law to reclaim space for Catalan in the public sphere, affirming its official status in Catalonia as well as relating it to Catalan identity:

[...] la Llei regula l'ús de les dues llengües oficials a Catalunya, i estableix mesures d'emparament i promoció de l'ús del català per a aconseguir-ne la normalització i mesures de foment per a garantir-ne la presència en tots els àmbits.

[...] the Act regulates the use of the two official languages in Catalonia, and establishes measures to protect and promote the use of Catalan in order to achieve its normalisation and measures to ensure its presence in all areas.

(Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998)

One of the central goals of the Language Normalisation Act a Catalunya and the Language Policy Act was to promote the use of Catalan in all areas of public life, but particularly in the sphere of education to ensure that subsequent generations would develop equal competence in both Catalan and Spanish. Moreover, the original text of the law employs the term “normalisation” to describe the everyday use of Catalan, as well as to emphasise that the use of Catalan “should become ‘normal’ again” (Hoffmann, 2000, p. 430), an ideology that has become commonplace in subsequent policies and has led to specific planning in different spheres of the public sector. Besides education, language planning has made significant gains in the legal field. For example, the Departament de Cultura (Catalan Ministry of Culture) and the Departament de Justícia (Catalan Ministry of Justice) came to an agreement with the main professional organisations in the legal sphere to promote the use of Catalan in legal environments, with the result that, as of 2015, more than 1,300 professionals have enrolled in courses on Catalan language and legal terminology in Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015). Similarly, the Departament de Salut (Catalan Ministry of Health) has also made efforts to promote the use of Catalan in the healthcare sector, such as providing Catalan language training for healthcare professionals and providing key clinical texts and documents in Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

Language policy and planning in Catalonia has been widely regarded as a success story in language revitalisation. For the last few decades, all school-age children have been required to learn both Catalan and Spanish, with the result that the number of Catalan speakers has steadily increased since the passing of the aforementioned laws (Roller, 2002), and Catalan itself is often regarded as a public, de-ethnicised language, or one that has at least successfully downplayed its ethnolinguistic boundaries (Pujolar, 2001; Woolard, 2003; Pujolar & González, 2013; Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Aramburu, 2020). These claims have met with disagreement in some circles, however, where it is argued that Catalan is a language indicative of exclusivity (Roller, 2002) and whiteness (Khan & Balsà, 2021). At present, this exclusion appears to be salient among racialised, lower-class members of Catalan society who may be distanced from identifying with and using Catalan (Block & Corona, 2022).

Nonetheless, language ideologies in Catalonia have shifted a good deal over the last few decades (Soler & Erdocia, 2020). Many studies have examined whether shifts in language use in Catalonia have played any role in shifting ideologies and attitudes among communities in Catalonia. In an early study conducted soon after the ratification of the Language Normalisation Act, Woolard and Gahng (1990) performed a matched-guise test among students in Barcelona in 1980, and again in 1987, to examine shifts in attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. The study found that, while conflicting attitudes were present among non-native speakers in 1980 (associating Catalan positively with status, and negatively with solidarity), these disparities appeared to have diminished by 1987.

However, the association between Catalan and status remains significant in Catalonia. Joubert (2011) has aptly described the language as one that “embodies the complex combination of a minority position with high prestige” (p. 222). The language capital (see Bourdieu, 1991) attached to Catalan is further evidenced by employment data. From an economic perspective, Rendon (2007) notes that Catalan represents a significant positive premium, in that the probability of being employed increases with oral and/or written knowledge of Catalan. These findings are further supported by Di Paolo and Raymond (2012), who estimate that monthly earnings are around 18% higher for individuals who are able to speak and write Catalan. However, it is worthy of note that much of Catalan’s cultural capital is limited to the public sector, while Spanish has continued to retain an important role in employment in the private sector (Pujolar, 2007).

As noted by Woolard and Gahng (1990), the connection between the Catalan language and solidarity, group membership and identity has increased and become more nuanced since the implementation of the aforementioned language policies. Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) point out the complexities of such language identities, and the involvement of intersectionalities – gender or class, for instance – that shape individuals’ language preferences. Moreover, Catalan’s place in Catalonia and its relationship with identity has frequently been examined as having a status relative to that of Spanish. Woolard (2005, 2016) draws on the notions of authenticity and anonymity as key elements that contribute to a language’s authority and legitimacy in a given space, where authenticity refers to a speech variety deeply rooted in a community’s identity, while anonymity reflects a speech variety with no obvious roots in a specific group, as it is used by all. In the case of Catalonia, Woolard (2005) has argued that Catalan is in the paradoxical position of having been heavily linked to ethnic authenticity in order to ensure its survival as a minoritised language, and this has clashed with the policy discourses that aim to establish Catalan as a public language typically characterised by anonymity.

This interplay between Catalan and Spanish is manifestly present in public discourse and popular attitudes. Frekko (2011) uses data from a Catalan radio phone-in show to illustrate how individuals may use their heteroglossic repertoire to construct language identities, such that Catalan represents personal identity, while Spanish is positioned as a State language, thus creating monoglot identities in spite of heteroglossic language practices. In a similar study looking at popular opinions in public discourse after the December 2017 elections, Atkinson (2018) revisits Woolard’s notions of anonymity and authenticity, and observes that Spanish in Catalonia may not be quite as anonymous as traditional associations would suggest, since popular discourse shows that individuals associate Spanish as having clearly defined roots in the Spanish State and its history of repression in Catalonia. However, this does not necessarily suggest that Catalan has supplanted Spanish with regard to anonymity. Atkinson argues that language policy and planning in Catalonia has yet to successfully “transform Catalan from an ethnic voice into a civic one” (p. 779). In a more recent attitudinal study, Byrne (2020) argues that – within the context of Catalan independence discourse – both Spanish and Catalan appear to represent anonymity, though perhaps to different degrees.

It is critical to note that the heterogeneity of Catalonia’s population may also result in diverse language attitudes and identities. Immigrant populations in particular may present attitudes towards Catalan that diverge to some extent from those of native Catalonians. In a study of immigrant students in Catalonia, both Madariaga et al. (2016) and Huguet and Janés (2008) found that, while most attitudes towards Catalan were favourable, there were still a significant number of students with more neutral attitudes, and students from Spanish-speaking countries had even less favourable attitudes towards Catalan compared to students from other backgrounds. These findings are not unique to immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, however. In a more recent study (Ali, 2022), Muslim women of diverse geographical backgrounds showed relatively neutral attitudes towards Catalan and expressed a preference for Spanish. Additionally, immigrants who can be visibly identified as

non-European have the added challenge of experiencing some degree of exclusion, in that Catalan speakers may assume they do not know Catalan and automatically use Spanish (Pujolar, 2010; Block & Corona, 2019).

### 3 News media and critical discourse analysis

As is evident from the influence of language policy on the status of Catalan, public discourse can also play a crucial role in shaping the linguistic behaviour of individuals and communities. Media discourse in particular can be a barometer for sociopolitical change in a society, and therefore a powerful tool in perpetuating and contesting language ideologies (Abdullah, 2014). News headlines alone are influential in communicating ideologies: besides informing readers about the content of a news article, headlines are often written to attract attention (Kuiken et al., 2017) and may even be the only portion of an article that readers will notice and remember (Dor, 2003). While headlines and articles produced in news media may represent latent or overt political interests, this type of discourse reports on specific events to the masses, thus involving a variety of active and passive participants: producers of texts and the parties whose interests they may represent, individuals who may be the focus of news stories, and consumers of news (Fairclough, 1995; Devereux, 2014). Despite the different participants involved in the production of and engagement with a news item, media discourse, like other public discourse, can appear as a monologue, given that the largest group of participants, the audience, plays a passive role and makes no active contribution to the discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Considering the uneven roles of active and passive participants, such discourse may wield significant power to shape individual and group ideologies, though this social power may not be visible for much of the time (Wodak, 2009). Fairclough (1989) notes: “[...] the hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of the capitalist class and other power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.” (p. 54). This is especially crucial to the study of linguistic and political ideologies, as both can iteratively construct community identities (Krzyżanowski, 2010).

In Spain, these ideologies have often been propagated by the press, whereby Spanish is pitted against other languages in use in Spain (Marimón Llorca, 2021). In the Catalan context, Juárez Miró (2020) argues that media discourse can be a major contributor to the disconnect between Catalan and Spanish societies. In his study of media discourse, Juárez Miró demonstrates that Catalan and Spanish identities are constructed differently, and frequently through an “us vs. them” lens that ties Catalan identity to secessionism; and that Spanish and Catalan identities are given different treatment by Spanish and Catalan news sources.

Beyond the actual content of news reports, however, other elements can shape the interpretation of a news story. These elements include images, word choice or, in multilingual contexts, code choice. Corominas (2007) points out that, in Catalonia, the very process of language normalisation relied heavily on the mass media, and involved the creation of public and private audiovisual media in the Catalan language. As Catalan reclaimed some degree of space in the media, this resulted in an overall increase in Catalan usage in Catalonia.

With Catalan gaining a more prominent role in news media, both as the language of production and as the occasional topic of discussion, the space it shares with Spanish in this sector can be an arena for language conflict. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) can be a useful way of examining the media discourse in this context, since the media “enhances the constitutive effect of discourse – its power, that is, to shape widely shared constructions of reality” (Mautner, 2008, p. 32), and thus holds the power to regulate everyday thinking and influence both politics and everyday life (Jäger & Maier, 2009). Moreover, CDA approaches linguistic analysis through a sociopolitical lens through which to highlight processes in which different discourse participants enact or contest unequal power dynamics (Van Dijk, 2015). These linguistic analyses may include, but are not limited to, lexical and syntactic constructions, the use of rhetorical tropes (e.g., metaphors), and narrative analyses (Richardson, 2007).

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## 4 The present study

Language policy and planning evidently plays a vital role in shaping the linguistic situation in Catalonia, which at times has resulted in the Spanish and Catalan languages maintaining polarised positions in this autonomous community. Given the significant impact that widely disseminated discourse (i.e., media discourse) may wield over society, the objective of the present study is to examine how ideologies from Catalan language policies are reportedly put into practice in the domains that fall under the jurisdiction of the Catalan Government, the Generalitat de Catalunya. Specifically, this study explores the way in which the media discourse in Spain represents language practices and attitudes in public and official domains. As such, four central questions guide the present study:

1. How do news articles describe and characterise language practices in public and official domains in Catalonia?
2. How does the media discourse uphold or problematise language ideologies as reflected in Catalan language policy?
3. Given the shared official status of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia, how do these languages compare in terms of their public use, as reported in news articles?
4. Do the Spanish and Catalan media differ in their approaches to this discourse, both in terms of the source of news and the language of publication?

## 5 Methods

Using a CDA framework (Fairclough, 2003), this case study draws on data from 45 online newspaper articles that focus on language use and attitudes in public and government-regulated contexts, such as the civil service, education, advertising, and medical transactions. In order to determine whether publication sources and/or language of publication could be influencing factors, a mix of articles published in Catalan or Spanish were selected (based on availability) from news sources based in either Madrid or Catalonia. Thirty of these articles were published on Catalonia-based news sources – 15 in Spanish and 15 in Catalan – and another 15 articles were published in Spanish on Madrid-based news sources (see Appendix). Articles from both regional bases span a six-year period, from 2016 to 2022, with a relatively even distribution of publication dates. Articles were chosen based on availability using the search terms *català/catalàn* and *castellà/castellano*. Another of the inclusion criteria was that the linguistic situation in Catalonia needed to be the focus of the article. As a result, various articles focused on Spanish and Catalan in other parts of Spain (i.e., Valencia and the Balearic Islands) were excluded.

The first step in this analysis consisted of conducting initial detailed readings of the articles and their headlines to gain an overall understanding of the texts as well as an idea of the key concepts and themes. Using NVivo 12 (2018), the next step involved coding the articles by assigning descriptive codes to these emergent themes and concepts. Lastly, broader themes among these codes were then identified as the central points of analysis. These included linguistic strategies used to describe events and participants, as well as discourse relating specifically to language discrimination and language rights. In the next section, these themes are discussed in turn, first with a discussion of the linguistic strategies employed in the headlines of the articles, followed by analyses focused on the content. Together, these analyses demonstrate how the media discourse characterises language practices in the public sector as a reflection or response to popular language ideologies and policies, as well as how the discourse varies across news sources and languages of publication.

## 6 News article headlines

The headline of a news article serves a very different purpose from the article itself, and may be written by an editor rather than by the author. Regardless of authorship, however, the headline offers a succinct summary of the content of the news article while simultaneously attracting the attention of the reader, since it is the first



excerpt of the text that will be read. In this section, the focus is specifically on how these snippets of discourse reflect ideologies about Catalan and Spanish through the use of specific linguistic strategies.

First, given the brief time frame in which the analysed articles were published, several sources reported on the same event, though at times employing a different word choice. In the examples below, three different sources report on the same event, the Generalitat decision to change the minimum Catalan proficiency requirement for firefighters:

La Generalitat empieza a exigir un C1 de catalán a los Bomberos que quieran trabajar en Cataluña

[The Generalitat makes a C1 in Catalan a requirement for firefighters wishing to work in Catalonia]

(Madrid news source, Spanish: *El Independiente*, 2020)

El Govern empieza a pedir el nivel C1 de catalán a los Bomberos de la Generalitat

[The Catalan government is now asking Generalitat firefighters for a C1 in Catalan]

(Catalonia news source, Spanish: *Catalunya Press*, 2020)

El Govern comença a demanar el nivell C1 de català als Bombers de la Generalitat

[The Catalan government is now asking Generalitat firefighters for a C1 in Catalan]

(Catalonia news source, Catalan: *Catalunya Press*, 2020)

The most notable difference here is the use of the Spanish *pedir* and its Catalan equivalent *demanar* in the articles from Catalonia-based sources. Both these verbs indicate “request,” while the article from the Madrid-based source employs stronger wording by using *exigir*, indicating a demand or a requirement. Strong, evocative language is certainly common in news article headlines, and is often used to draw in readers. Among the articles analysed in the present study, this type of language was most frequently utilised in headlines that focused on the use of Catalan, rather than Spanish. In addition, almost all these articles were published in Spanish, albeit from news sources in both Catalonia and Madrid:

La “Gestapo” del catalán: graban y amenazan a un médico porque se habló en español a una paciente

[The Catalan “Gestapo”: a doctor is recorded and threatened for speaking to a patient in Spanish]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *El Español*, 2019)

La Generalitat, denunciada por tolerar el espionaje a alumnos en el patio para investigar si hablan catalán

[The Generalitat, denounced for tolerating spying on schoolchildren in the playground to find out whether they speak Catalan]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *ABC*, 2019)

“¡Parla en català, collons!”

[“Speak Catalan, damn it!”]

(Catalonia news source, Spanish<sup>1</sup>: *El Periódico*, 2019)

As is evident from the above examples, the headlines report critically on the regulation of the use of Catalan, portraying the regulation as an act of policing. While *ABC* reports that the Catalan government is “spying” on students, *El Español* goes further and compares those providing language regulation to the “Gestapo”.<sup>2</sup> In the last example, *El Periódico* uses a quotation from the article itself, a direct command to use Catalan,

1 While the title itself uses Catalan, the cited article was published in Spanish.

2 This is a reference to the secret police of Nazi Germany responsible for political suppression, persecution and creating an environment of fear in Germany’s occupied territories during World War II.

uttered emphatically in Catalan, as denoted with the use of exclamation points and the insertion of *collons*.<sup>3</sup> The allusions of these headlines to institutional involvement (i.e., *La Generalitat*, *La “Gestapo”*) suggest a critical take on language planning in Catalonia. Planning appears to be recast as language policing, with a clear emphasis on forcing the use of Catalan over Spanish. In contrast to the articles published in Spanish, only one article published in Catalan employed a degree of evocative language:

La mala salut del català al pati de l’institut

[The poor health of Catalan in the playground]

(Catalonia source, in Catalan: *La Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals*, 2019)

Here Catalan is still the focus and is described with an expressive word choice. In this instance, however, Catalan is portrayed in a more helpless role, described as being in “poor health”. Moreover, the headline focuses on the Catalan language itself and in fact personifies it, while the articles published in Spanish use headlines that depict institutional bodies (i.e., the Generalitat) enforcing the use of Catalan.

This juxtaposition of the Catalan Government as an active agent and the victimisation of a language and its speakers is further observable in grammatical constructions. Specifically, some headlines use the active voice for representing the former, and the passive voice for the latter:

Imputados dos mossos denunciados por un agente que se negó a escribir en catalán

[Two *mossos*<sup>4</sup> accused by an officer who refused to write in Catalan]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *20 minutos*, 2017)

La justicia obliga a un mínimo del 25% de enseñanza en castellano en Cataluña

[The Ministry of Justice requires a minimum of 25% of teaching in Spanish in Catalonia]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *El País*, 2020)

El Ayuntamiento de Barcelona margina el castellano

[Barcelona City Council marginalises Spanish]

(Catalonia source, Spanish: *El Liberal*, 2020)

El Congrés aprova l’esmena d’ERC, Podem i el PSOE que elimina el castellà com a llengua vehicular a l’escola

[Congress approves the ERC, Podem and PSOE<sup>5</sup> amendment to eliminate Spanish as the vehicular language in schools]

(Catalonia source, Catalan: *Catalunya Diari*, 2020)

The first headline cited above was the only article to use the passive voice, and reports on the alleged victimisation of a member of the Catalan police force for using Spanish instead of Catalan. The other headlines used either the active voice, or neither construction (e.g., “El catalán en el patio”). In the many cases where the active voice was employed, institutional and governing bodies were typically assigned the agentive role, (e.g., the Catalan Ministry of Justice, Barcelona City Council, and Congress) and connected to either the centring of Catalan or the decentring of Spanish. In some instances, such as the examples from *El País*

3 *collons*: “damn it”. While the meaning of this term varies depending on context, it is an interjection frequently used in colloquial speech to express annoyance or anger.

4 Also known as the *Policia de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, the Mossos d’Esquadra is under the exclusive jurisdiction of Catalonia.

5 These acronyms refer to Spanish and Catalan political parties: ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) is a pro-independence, social democratic party in Catalonia; Podem/Podemos is a Spanish left-wing party with a local section in Catalonia (Catalunya en Comú–Podem); PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) is a Spanish social democratic party.

and *Catalunya Diari*, the headlines appear to assign agency to government bodies without casting them in a positive or a negative light. However, in several cases, particularly among the articles published in Spanish, these institutional bodies being assigned responsibility for language planning were more frequently portrayed as tending to marginalise Spanish, discriminate against Spanish speakers, and enforce the use of Catalan.

## 7 Conflicting discourse on language discrimination

As is evident from some of the headlines highlighted in the previous section, language discrimination is a major theme in many of the news articles. However, one particularly striking aspect of these reports is that, in some instances, different sources report on the same broad issues or specific events, yet produce incongruous discourse that constructs its participants (i.e., Catalan-and Spanish-speaking individuals involved in discrimination allegations) in diverging ways. For instance, a Catalonia-based source reports on language discrimination against a police officer for using Spanish:

(...) los conflictos en este ámbito vienen de lejos. En 2008, en época del Tripartito, un mosso destinado en Girona fue sancionado por redactar un informe en español. Posteriormente, el castigo fue anulado por la justicia ordinaria.

En 2018, otro agente – en este caso destinado en Sant Andreu, Barcelona – fue sancionado y suspendido de empleo y sueldo por redactar los atestados en castellano en contra de lo ordenado por los mandos. La excusa utilizada fue que cuestionó la autoridad de un superior.

[...conflicts in this area go back a long way. In 2008, at the time of the Tripartite, a *mosso* stationed in Girona was disciplined for writing a report in Spanish. The punishment was later revoked by the ordinary courts.

In 2018, another officer – in this case stationed at Sant Andreu, Barcelona – was disciplined and suspended from work without pay for writing reports in Spanish against the orders of his superiors. The excuse given was that he questioned the authority of a superior.]

(Catalonia source, Spanish: *Crónica Global*, 2019)

In this example, a police officer who is a member of the Catalonia police force, the Mossos d'Esquadra, is reported to have been disciplined for using Spanish in a work-related written communication. It is also noted that the actions taken against this employee were related to insubordination, rather than because the officer in question contravened any specific language policy. However, the author of the article describes this detail as an “excuse”, suggesting inadequacy in this rationale and hinting at the possibility that the officer’s use of Spanish was the latent motive behind the punishment. While news reports focused on language use among civil servants like the Mossos d'Esquadra are often critical of their enforcement of the use of Catalan use at the expense of Spanish, the opposite is reported in the case of members of one of Spain’s two national police forces, the Guardia Civil:

Un conductor a qui la Guàrdia Civil va aturar en un control fiscal i antiterrorista a Viladamat ha denunciat que va patir “discriminació” per dirigir-se en català als agents. L’afectat ha presentat dues queixes a la Comandància de Girona perquè considera que se’l va sotmetre a un escorcoll “ostentós” i que es va produir “abús de poder”. El denunciant sol·licita que es revisi el cas i s’obri una investigació interna per “irregularitats”.

[A driver who was stopped by the Civil Guard in a fiscal and anti-terrorist checkpoint in Viladamat reported that he suffered “discrimination” for addressing the officers in Catalan. The victim has lodged two complaints with the Girona Civil Guard Command because he considers that he was subjected to an “ostentatious” search and that “abuse of power” took place.]

(Catalonia source, Catalan: *Diari de Girona*, 2020)

In this particular instance, a member of the Guardia Civil, the gendarmerie of Spain, is accused of discriminating against a civilian driver for using Catalan. It is worth noting that, while the excerpt from *Crónica Global* refers to an incident in Barcelona – where Spanish is more widely used than in any other part of Catalonia – the incident reported in *Diari de Girona* took place in Viladamat, a small village in northern Catalonia where the vast majority of the population is considered to be able to speak Catalan (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2011). In other words, the discrimination being reported in each instance relates to the use of the socially dominant language of those municipalities. One possible explanation for this discrimination may be rooted in the differences in the police forces involved in each story. While the Guardia Civil is a national (and thus Madrid-based) body that functions in Spanish and is directed by the Spanish Ministry of the Interior, the Mossos d'Esquadra is under the authority of the Generalitat de Catalunya, which essentially functions in Catalan. In each case, the authority of the police officers (or their superiors), and the languages used to communicate this authority, take precedence in each of the reported incidents, and this creates conflict where that language is not the socially dominant language of the locale, as illustrated by the above excerpts.

Conflict discourse can also be found in other domains of use. Multiple news outlets reported on the incident of a video-recorded dispute between a doctor and patient at a local hospital in Girona, Catalonia, though victim and perpetrator roles were assigned differently according to the source:

Son, al menos, nueve radicales que graban, amenazan y exigen, como si se tratara de un tribunal público, al doctor Bonavent que justifique por qué una doctora atendió en “lengua castellana” a una paciente el pasado mes de septiembre. Dirigiendo al grupo está Santiago Espot, un conocido empresario, escritor y activista por la independencia que se sitúa al lado del médico y le señala que el hospital ha “incumplido” la “ley de política lingüística y el Estatuto de Cataluña”. El momento más surrealista del escrache se produce cuando los acosadores preguntan al médico “si han echado ya a la doctora”. “¡Solo faltaría!”, contesta el médico que todavía no entiende qué pretenden los activistas con esa actitud. Acorralado bajo los gritos de los independentistas, el vídeo ha provocado polémica en las redes sociales. Jordi Cañas, eurodiputado de Ciudadanos, tras compartirlo, ha comparado a los radicales con “la gestapo”.

[As if the scene were a public tribunal, at least nine radicals are recording, threatening and demanding that Dr Bonavent justify why a doctor treated a patient in the “Spanish language” last September. Leading the group is Santiago Espot, a well-known businessman, writer and independence activist, who stands next to the doctor and points out that the hospital has “failed to comply” with “language policy law and the Statute of Catalonia”. The most surreal moment of the *escrache*<sup>6</sup> occurs when the bullies ask the doctor “if the (other) doctor has been fired”. “Of course not!”, replies the doctor, not yet understanding what the activists hope to achieve with this protest. Intimidated by the cries of the Catalan independence movement, the video has stirred controversy on social media networks. Jordi Cañas, Euro-MP for the Ciudadanos party, has shared the video and compared the radicals to “the Gestapo”.

(Madrid source, Spanish: *El Español*, 2019)

In this excerpt from *El Español*, a Madrid-based news source, the incident in question – an act of alleged language discrimination between doctor and patient – is not the focal point of the news story. Rather, the focus of attention is the noisy protest staged by individuals associated with the Catalan separatist movement as a result of the doctor-patient dispute. In this news source, these individuals are variously referred to as “radicals”, “bullies” and “the Gestapo”, and depicted as self-appointed vigilantes enforcing Catalan language policy laws with aggressive tactics such as threats and demands for the doctor who had insisted on using Spanish to be fired.

By comparison, *El Gerió Digital*, based in Catalonia, reports on the same story from an entirely different approach:

La Plataforma per la Llengua denuncia la “discriminació” i “vexació” d’una pacient de l’Hospital de Figueres per parlar en català. L’entitat assegura que l’afectada, que va presentar una queixa al centre

<sup>6</sup> A noisy protest in which individuals chastise public figures en masse, often involving chanting and/or harassment.

hospitalari i a l'Institut Català de la Salut, va parlar en català a un metge i que aquest li va recriminar afirmant que fa cinc anys que treballa aquí, que no l'ha après i que no té intenció de fer-ho.

[La Plataforma per la Llengua has denounced the “discrimination” and “harassment” of a patient at Figueres Hospital for speaking Catalan. The organisation says that the victim, who filed a complaint with the hospital and the Catalan Institute of Health, spoke in Catalan to a doctor, who reprimanded (the patient), stating that they (the doctor) had been working there for five years, had not learned Catalan, and had no intention of doing so.]

(Catalonia source, Catalan: *El Gerió Digital*, 2019)

The article published by *El Gerió Digital* makes no reference to the individuals referred to in *El Español*. Instead, the article focuses on the altercation between the doctor and patient, in which the doctor insisted on using Spanish when the patient spoke in Catalan. However, much like the article published in *El Español*, this article also draws in other participants, namely La Plataforma per la Llengua, a non-governmental organisation that promotes the use of Catalan and monitoring its status. As an additional participant in this text, La Plataforma per la Llengua is positioned as an arbitrator in the conflict, assigning responsibility to the doctor and the hospital, while assigning the role of victim to the patient.

## 8 Language rights

Very closely tied to the theme of language discrimination, another recurring topic in many of the articles is the discourse relating to language rights in Catalonia. Few articles included discourse that explicitly noted the right to use a specific language. For example, only in one instance did any of the articles comment on language rights attached specifically to Catalan:

La Sala de Gobierno dice: “La señora jueza con sus expresiones fuera de tono y con el reiterado reproche por descortesía dirigido hacia la señora letrada manifestó, primero, ausencia de equilibrio reflexivo a la hora de dirigir el acto procesal; segundo, escasa sensibilidad y compromiso activo de protección hacia lo que significa el derecho a utilizar la lengua propia; y, tercero, y además, una falta de consideración personal hacia la profesional afectada”.

[The Government Chamber says: “With her inappropriate tone and repeated reproaches for discourtesy directed at the lawyer, the Honourable Judge demonstrated, first, an absence of reflective balance in her direction of the procedural act; second, little sensitivity and active commitment to protect what the right to use one’s own language means; and, third, a lack of personal consideration towards the professional concerned.”]

(Catalonia source, Spanish: *El Nacional*, 2016)

The judge described in this news report is criticised for not allowing a lawyer to use Catalan during a trial. While *la lengua propia*<sup>7</sup> is not explicitly noted as Catalan in this excerpt, the article constructs Catalan language rights as the main concern, and disregarding this right as the principal offence of the judge in question. While no other article mentioned language rights specifically pertaining to Catalan, other articles focused on the right to use Spanish:

...los aspirantes se vieron privados de su derecho a ser examinados en castellano. Sólo le fueron ofrecidos cuestionarios en catalán. Y no por error: la Generalitat defiende la imposición de esta lengua a los opositores.

[...the applicants were deprived of their right to be tested in Spanish. They were only offered questionnaires in Catalan. And not by mistake: the Generalitat defends the imposition of the Catalan language on job candidates.]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *El Mundo*, 2019)

7 A legal term used to describe official languages in different autonomous communities in Spain.

La profesora de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), Isabel Fernández, miembro de Impulso Ciudadano, Universitaris per la Convivència y Foro de Profesores, ha reprochado a PpL de “buscar siempre el enfrentamiento” y explica que “mi asignatura este año está anunciada en español (lengua vehicular) y seguramente habrá seminarios en catalán. Y no será para vulnerar los derechos lingüísticos de los castellanohablantes”.

[Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) professor Isabel Fernández, a member of Impulso Ciudadano, Universitaris per la Convivència and Foro de Profesores, has reproached PpL<sup>8</sup> for “always seeking confrontation” and explains that “my subject this year has been announced in Spanish (vehicular language), and there will certainly be seminars in Catalan. And that will not be designed to violate the language rights of Spanish speakers.”]

(Catalonia source, Spanish: *Crónica Global*, 2020)

No obstante, el *mosso* ha llevado el caso finalmente a la justicia porque cree que los dos mandos se extralimitaron y que trataron de cercenar su derecho a escribir el atestado en castellano, según las fuentes.

[However, the *mosso* has finally brought the case to justice because he believes that the two commanding officers exceeded their powers and that they tried to curtail his right to write the report in Spanish, according to sources.]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *20 Minutos*, 2017)

All of these excerpts, printed in Spanish, report on the right to use Spanish for work-related communication, namely, healthcare job applications, university course instruction, and filing police reports. In each of them, individuals are reportedly pushing back against efforts in their workplace to impose the use of Catalan, in favour of Spanish, noting in each instance that being denied the opportunity to use Spanish at work was a violation of their rights. It is also worth noting that, in the excerpt from *Crónica Global*, Professor Isabel Fernández’s quote includes a parenthesis which clarifies that Spanish is assigned as the “lengua vehicular”, a phrase typically associated with Catalan, especially in pre-university education. While it is unclear whether this parenthesis was added by the author of the article or by Professor Fernández herself, its presence suggests that Spanish is viewed as the default language in the university setting, centring the discussion of language rights around the use of Spanish.

More commonly found in news reports, however, was discourse that emphasised the right to use any language in Catalonia, though this discourse was focused on the use of Catalan in each of the instances below:

Interpelados sobre este planteamiento, los Mossos d’Esquadra niegan que haya ninguna imposición lingüística a los agentes. Aseguran que es “falso” que se les prohíba el uso de una u otra lengua, e insisten en que castellano y catalán son de uso habitual “en la calle, en las comisarías y en las emisoras” y que se han hecho “atestados e informes en castellano cuando ha hecho falta”.

El propio presidente de Impulso Ciudadano, José Domingo, señala que de esta sentencia se infiere sin ninguna duda que los mossos d’esquadra tienen derecho a utilizar español y catalán de forma indistinta entre ellos y con sus superiores “como cualquier otro funcionario de la Generalitat”.

[Questioned about this approach, the Mossos d’Esquadra deny the imposition of any language on their officers. They assert that it is “false” that they are prohibited from using one language or the other, insisting that both Spanish and Catalan are in common use “on the street, in police stations and on radio stations” and that “statements and reports” have been made “in Spanish when necessary”.

The president of Impulso Ciudadano himself, José Domingo, points out that this sentence infers without any doubt that the Mossos d’Esquadra have the right to use Spanish and Catalan interchangeably, with each other and with their superiors, “like any other official of the Generalitat”.]

(Catalonia-based source, Spanish: *Crónica Global*, 2019)

8 Plataforma per la Llengua.

In this excerpt, language use and regulation among the Mossos d'Esquadra is first described equitably: no language is imposed, and “both Spanish and Catalan are in common use”. However, the excerpt goes on to centre Catalan by indicating that Spanish is used “when necessary”. This phrasing suggests that Catalan is the default language in this domain, and that Spanish can be used as an alternative. A similar discourse can also be seen in an article published in the same year from a Madrid-based source:

«El catalán es la lengua propia y oficial» de la universidad, aunque, a diferencia de lo que ocurre en la escuela, donde se impone un modelo monolingüe en la lengua autonómica, en el ámbito académico el profesor tiene libertad para utilizar en clase cualquiera de los idiomas oficiales en la comunidad (catalán y castellano). También el inglés, en función de la planificación del centro. Del mismo modo, los alumnos tienen la misma libertad para expresarse en ambas lenguas en sus actividades académicas.

[“Catalan is the official language that corresponds to” the university. However, unlike the situation in schools, where a monolingual model is imposed in the autonomous language, in the academic environment teaching staff are free to use either of the autonomous community’s official languages (Catalan and Spanish) in the classroom. Even English, depending on the centre’s planning. Similarly, students have the same freedom to express themselves in either language in their academic activities.]

(Madrid source, Spanish: *ABC*, 2019)

This excerpt opens by situating Catalan as the principal language in universities in Catalonia, but then goes on to note that both instructors and students have the freedom to use either Catalan or Spanish (or sometimes even English). The text goes further by juxtaposing this linguistic freedom in universities against the situation in primary and secondary educational institutions, where Catalan is reportedly “imposed”.

## 9 Discussion and conclusion

This study has examined how media discourse characterises language practices in public and official domains in Catalonia, and has resulted in a number of findings. First, the media discourse in Spain frequently uses a variety of linguistic strategies to describe the conflict between Spanish and Catalan, wherein perpetrators and victims of language discrimination are discursively constructed, not only among individuals, but also in the languages themselves. This is achieved through word choice (e.g., using evocative language) and grammatical constructions, such as employing the active or passive voice to assign blame and victimhood, respectively. However, such representations occur in disparate ways that often depend on the source and language of the news article. Madrid-based sources (all published in Spanish), for instance, are typically more critical of the use of Catalan, and use the linguistic strategies noted above to portray the Catalan language being imposed at the expense of Spanish. Catalonia-based sources published in Spanish<sup>9</sup> portray Catalan in a similar way, but these news reports avoid the use of strong language evocative of policing in the way that Madrid-based sources do.

News articles published in Catalan, on the other hand, stand in stark contrast. Not only do they focus more on the marginalisation of Catalan, but these articles generally fall short of criticising the use of Spanish in the way that Spanish language articles criticise the use of Catalan. These differences suggest that the language of media discourse is a more significant factor than the news source itself (whether Madrid- or Catalonia-based) with regard to the ideologies and attitudes being represented. In addition, the discrepancies between Catalan and Spanish language publications suggest that language plays a critical role in constructing political ideologies and national identities, much in the way described by Krzyżanowski (2010) and Atkinson (2018). This is particularly salient in the similar treatment given by Spanish language articles from both Madrid and Catalonia-based sources to the themes of language rights and language discrimination, with articles from both groups of sources focusing on the marginalisation of and right to use Spanish, and even more so when associating the Catalan language with policing and political radicalism. Collectively, the disparities described above contribute to perpetuating the “us vs. them” disconnect between Catalan and Spanish that Juárez Miró (2020) has noted as being prevalent in Spanish media discourse.

9 One exception to this observation is the Spanish language article from *El Nacional*, which publishes primarily in Catalan.

This study also supports Corominas (2007) argument that media discourse is deeply connected to language policy discourse, though it is both upheld and challenged in different instances. First, policies have a notable presence in the news articles analysed, often being evoked in language-related altercations. For example, the use of “vehicular language” permeates both policy and media, and is connected to the notion of the normalisation of Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998). While Catalan is frequently described as the vehicular language and thus the socially dominant code, the same phrase is occasionally used to describe Spanish. This is suggestive of a pushback against Catalan and its role as the dominant language, since Spanish occupies this role outside of Catalonia, and even in parts of Catalonia (namely, Barcelona). The connection between policy and media discourse is further evidenced by the frequent mention of institutional bodies in many of the news articles. Institutional and organisational voices such as the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Plataforma per la Llengua, respectively, are positioned as active participants either advocating for and defending the right to use Catalan or, alternatively, policing and enforcing the use of Catalan. Ultimately, these bodies are used to both uphold and contest language ideologies related to Catalan.

Finally, an interesting pattern to emerge from this study is the way in which language conflict in specific domains is reported across different news articles. While language discrimination and conflict are reported across different domains of use, the language of focus appears to depend on the source of publication as well as the location of the reported incident. Discrimination for using Spanish is often reported to have occurred in Barcelona, where Spanish is most frequently used, while discrimination for using Catalan is reported in other parts of Catalonia, where Spanish is less prevalent. The prevalence and social dominance attached to each language is a potentially critical component in deciphering language conflict in Catalonia, which can be seen in an examination of reports on specific domains of use. Returning to the examples of reports focusing on interactions involving police officers, there is a stark difference in the discourse according to the specific police force involved, as well as the location of the reported incidents. Catalonia’s police force, the Mossos d’Esquadra, is reported to discriminate on the basis of use of Spanish, while discrimination on the basis of use of Catalan is reported for the national police force, the Guardia Civil. In other words, the vehicular language of these authorities is strongly connected to the language of the government that oversees them (Catalonia and Spain, respectively).

Given the significant potential impact of policy and media discourse on shaping public opinion (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Devereux, 2014), this study highlights issues that are relevant to both the linguistic and political situation in Catalonia. It is, however, a small-scale case study focusing on a very particular context; further research is needed for drawing generalisable conclusions. Moving forward, future studies should further examine the role of publication language in the representation of language conflict in Catalonia, using a broader scope and a wider publication time frame than the one presented here, as a diachronic layer of analysis may also shed light on historical changes in discourse. Additional research in this area could also use linguistic approaches to specifically address political discourse in the media, namely, the discourse on Catalan separatism, and how the construction of and opposition to Catalan nationalism relates to language ideologies. With an ever-changing political landscape in Catalonia and Spain, the media discourse continues to be a relevant point of analysis as it adapts to reflect popular and political ideologies (Juárez Miró, 2020).

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## Appendix

### Articles sourced from Madrid

Article title	Year	News source
Ajuste de cuentas en catalán: historia de dos venganzas en la Generalitat	2022	El Confidencial Autonómico
Incumplimientos de la Generalitat contra el castellano y a favor del catalán	2022	El Mundo
Endurecen la exigencia de catalán para los bomberos de la Generalitat	2020	El Mundo
La justicia obliga a un mínimo del 25% de enseñanza en castellano en Cataluña	2020	El País
La Generalitat empieza a exigir un C1 de catalán a los Bomberos que quieran trabajar en Cataluña	2020	El Independiente
La Generalitat, denunciada por tolerar el espionaje a alumnos en el patio para investigar si hablan catalán	2019	ABC
La ‘Gestapo’ del catalán: graban y amenazan a un médico porque se habló en español a una paciente	2019	El Español
Rodillo contra el español en la universidad catalana	2019	ABC
“Ninguna” escuela pública catalana cumple con el 25% de horas mínimas de castellano	2019	La Razón
Los Mossos valorarán más en los concursos internos el dominio del catalán	2019	El Confidencial Autonómico
El catalán en el patio	2019	El País
La Generalitat obliga a opositores sanitarios a examinarse en catalán	2019	El Mundo
La sanción por desobediencia de un mossos a un superior que los titulares han convertido en un debate sobre la lengua	2018	El Diario (eldiario.es)
Imputados dos mossos denunciados por un agente que se negó a escribir en catalán	2017	20 minutos
La Generalitat desobedecerá al TSJC y no modificará su política lingüística	2016	El País

### Articles sourced from Catalonia

Article title	Year	News source
¿Cuándo se quebró la paz lingüística?	2022	La Vanguardia
Un alto asesor de Cambrey acata las sentencias lingüísticas del Govern	2022	Crónica Global
El Consell de l'Advocacia pide al Govern proponer a Sánchez que los jueces deban saber catalán	2021	Catalunya Press
El Ayuntamiento de Barcelona margina el castellano	2020	El Liberal
El Govern empieza a pedir el nivel C1 de catalán a los Bomberos de la Generalitat	2020	Catalunya Press
Plataforma per la Llengua arremete ahora contra las universidades por usar el castellano	2020	Crónica Global
Ciudadans quiere reprobar a la portavoz Budó por discriminación lingüística	2019	La Vanguardia
“¡Parla en català, collons!”	2019	El Periódico
La Navidad, en catalán: así discriminan el castellano en las escuelas de Cataluña	2019	Crónica Global
“Por lo visto, si te expresas en español estás incapacitado para ser Mosso d'Esquadra”	2019	El Periodico
Jesús Rul: “La inmersión lingüística en catalán vulnera derechos de los alumnos porque discrimina y lesiona”	2019	El Liberal
Así funciona la discriminación lingüística en los Mossos d'Esquadra	2019	Crónica Global
El irónico vídeo sobre la discriminación del castellano en las aulas catalanas	2018	La Vanguardia
Los web de los Mossos, sólo en catalán e inglés	2017	La Vanguardia
Sanción a una jueza por no dejar hablar catalán a dos abogadas	2016	El Nacional

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Article title	Year	News source
Vila-seca, en contra del 25% en castellà: «Ara i sempre, l'escola en català»	2022	Nació Digital
Nova sentència pel 25% en castellà: ara en un institut de Vila-seca	2022	Ara
L'abandó de la llengua a l'escola: el cas de les Aules d'Acollida	2021	El Punt Avui
La Guàrdia Urbana de Vic protesta parlant en castellà	2021	El Nacional
El català busca al Congrés el tracte donat al castellà	2021	El Punt Avui
El congrés espanyol debat una proposició no de llei per acabar amb la imposició legal del castellà	2021	Vilaweb
El Congrés aprova l'esmena d'ERC, Podem i el PSOE que elimina el castellà com a llengua vehicular a l'escola	2020	Catalunya Diari
El Govern comença a demanar el nivell C1 de català als Bombers de la Generalitat	2020	Catalunya Press
Denuncien discriminació per parlar català en un control de la Guàrdia Civil	2020	Diari de Girona
L'Hospital de Figueres es va disculpar amb la pacient que va ser discriminada per parlar en català	2019	El Gerió Digital

Article title	Year	News source
La mala salut del català al pati de l'institut	2019	La Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals
Quan la policia vulnera els drets lingüístics	2019	El Temps
El desinterès de la justícia per la llengua catalana esdevé crònic	2018	El Punt Avui
Els Mossos sancionen per falta greu un agent que es va negar a vetar el castellà	2018	El Periodico de Catalunya
El debat sobre la immersió lingüística no arriba a les aules	2018	El Pais(.cat)