"Qui no té passat, no té identitat:" tales of transgression and voices from history in activist Barcelona

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia
in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
University of Virginia May, 2017

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Abstract:

This dissertation examines activist storytelling, situated language use in social movements, and the linguistic landscape of protest and direct action discourse in Barcelona. I collect the stories of a group of elderly activists who were involved in clandestine labor-organizing under Franco's dictatorship, and who continue to organize today, aligning themselves with the anti-austerity, anti-capitalist 15M movement. Since the 1975 death of Franco and the ensuing 'transition to democracy,' there have been various efforts, both legislative and social, to suppress or 'forget' the nearly 4 decades of Franco and the atrocities of the Civil War which preceded it. As a result, the various triumphs of the Left that occurred during and preceding these eras are also absent from public memorialization, including the brief de facto era of anarchist socialism that was centered in Barcelona in 1936. I demonstrate how the elderly activists of today are able to mobilize different semiotic modalities to preserve the memory of these earlier moments in Spanish and Catalan history. In particular, their actions preserve the values of worker self-management that have been associated with the centuries-old *lucha obrera* (labor movement) in Barcelona.

In discussion of several specific cases and texts, I argue that the trope of transgression (*desobediencia*) is a central foundation upon which these activists construct a moral geography (Hill 1995) that places them, as activist subjects who resist unjust authority, in the center. Overall, each of the specific reminders of past activist transgressions which I document can be considered a part of the one overarching transgressive act of these elderly activists: preservation of the memory and values of a now-occluded episode of Spanish and Catalan history.

For Zella

Acknowledgements

What follows is an incomplete yet earnest attempt to amplify the voice of a generation that has much to remind us of. My deepest gratitude and solidarity is with those elderly activists whose voices and historical memories are echoed here. May they continue to be heard.

This work, generously funded by the Graduate School of Arts & Sciences and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Virginia, in many ways represents a crossing of so many winding paths which no-one, least of all myself, would have ever envisioned as heading toward a singular point on a map. It is only through the great effort and support of many that I have recently become able to see that perhaps there was a focal point all along. To begin with, my enormous gratitude is with my committee chair, Eve Danziger, whose often-astounding ability to see things that I was not yet able to see in my research has re-ignited my faith in my own work again and again. Since my acceptance to the program, when she stuck her neck out for a linguist who didn't even really know what anthropology was, Eve has given generously of her time, her ideas, and her editing skills. I owe an enormous debt to Richard Handler as well, whose instant availability and support is the image of a dedicated faculty advisor. In addition to his excellent ideas and amazingly prompt feedback, I appreciate his candor and his honesty. Richard remains the only person who has ever looked me in the eye and suggested that, under incredible pressure at the time, perhaps I just couldn't make this happen. It was with these honest words that I at last found myself able to finish this dissertation for me, and not for the sake of finishing. Carrie Douglass provided me not only with a ground wire to the anthropology

of Spain, but with the encouragement that only someone who's walked in very similar shoes can do. Frequent reminders that being a mother of a young child and a PhD student are not mutually exclusive got me through many a late-night reading of Pitt-Rivers while rocking a little one back to sleep, and many a difficult day in the field with a toddler in tow. I also have immense gratitude for Dan Lefkowitz, for his kindness and valuable feedback on multiple new project ideas and past-deadline chapters of a dissertation on Catalan that turned out to not be about Catalan at all. Ricardo Padrón to be an encouraging and enthusiastic outside reader, as well as very flexible in accommodating me last minute, for which I am eternally grateful.

My family members, always supportive, have been essential not only for their logistical and emotional safety net, but for their remarkable ability to offer endless encouragement for something even when they had no idea what could possibly be taking so long. They have kept me (somewhat) sane and anchored my feet to the ground through the entire process. I am so grateful to each and every one of them, child and adult, for being my respite and my real-world reminders. To my mother and father, I thank you for giving me the courage to blaze such a willful and independent path, and the trust that it would eventually lead somewhere. None of us probably imagined that place might be a completed dissertation, but yet, you never doubted me either. Mom, thank you for your never-faltering support of all kinds, your tireless listening ear, your powerful love, and for editing every paper I've ever written; Dad, for your fierce independence, for the superpower of productive procrastination I have somehow inherited, and for the understanding of the benefit a beer and a game of pool can be for one's writing process. Jake, you came late to this game, but you've been the only one who's understood me when I said it'd be ok if I didn't finish too—thank you for believing me, for getting it and for encouraging me anyway. This dissertation is as much for Jesse as for anyone, my intellectual mentor and my

dearest conversation partner since we could talk.

It is difficult to put into words what having a community of colleagues has meant to me. Having never had a typical college experience, I was amazed and at times horrified to find myself re-immersed in academia at 35 and with a 1 year old. It has been through the community of my peers that not only have many of the ideas formulated herein emerged, but also that I have found the ability to stick to it against all odds. I'm thankful to the graduate students of the Department of Anthropology as a whole for the years of hearty conversation, shared stress and blowing-off-of-steam, but among those to whom I am most personally and intellectually indebted are Roberto Armengol, Alison Broach, Lucas Carneiro de Carvalho, Jacqui Cieslak, Dannah Dennis, David and Liza Flood, Nathan Hedges, Carolyn Howarter, Dionisios Kavadias, Arsalan Khan, Sue Ann McCarty, Nathalie Nahas, Susan Palazzo, Giancarlo Rolando, Alessandro Questa, Sheena Singh, Julie Starr, and Rose Wellman. Special thanks again to my cohort: I am honored to be among you ladies.

The map of the city of Barcelona, site of the majority of my fieldwork, is engraved in my mind like no other place on earth, besides perhaps Charlottesville. I suppose this is proof it's as much like home as anywhere else. As a 25 year-old with an insatiable wanderlust, a 40 year old researcher with child in tow, and the many years in between, I have always found a reason to return. *Ciutat valenta i sense por*, I am forever indebted to Barcelona and its people, without whom none of this work would be possible. As this proud and fearless city never fails to demonstrate, even in times of uncertainty such as now, we must look to the past to see the future.

Finally, this dissertation and all the years that led to it are dedicated above all to Zella. As a 2 year old riding a scooter around Plaça Catalunya and sleeping in a backpack through protest after protest, you were a born traveling companion and research assistant, put here to

teach me what is important and what is not, what is worth fighting for, and what is not. We have

had an incredible journey, sweet girl.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

"Qui no té passat, no té identitat"

(One who has no past, has no identity)

The following is an exercise in examining how voices are put to use today by a group of elderly political activists, in Barcelona. A particular focus is on the moments in which the voices of these activists become subversive reminders of a history that is not frequently discussed in mainstream political discourse, yet is omnipresent in the historical memory of these activists' generation: the history of Franco's authoritarian rule in Spain from 1939-1975, and its aftermath. I describe how it is not only through their activism, but through their presence itself, through the content of their speech, and through their code choices, they serve as a frequent reminder of this history.

In the following collection of stories and protest discourse, I find that the activists construct a moral counter-myth to the myths promoted by the powerful in both Franco's Barcelona and today, placing themselves and their deliberate acts of transgression (*desobedencia*) at the counter-myth's moral center. The following chapters intertwine storytelling of clandestine organizing under Franco's 40-year dictatorship with current protest events and situated language use, all of which evoke a type of historical memory that, to many in power, is better kept silent.

The Iaioflautas

The fieldwork for this project was carried out with members of the ***Iaioflautas*** -- a group of seasoned Barcelona activists, mostly of retirement age or beyond, who sometimes refer to themselves as "*hijas del 15M*" or 'daughters of the 15M movement,' regardless of gender. Having witnessed the occupation of public squares in 2011 by the 15M-- a broader, anti-austerity, anticapitalist movement that emerged via encampments in public squares in 2011-- the founding members of the ***Iaioflautas***, most of whom were involved in some form of clandestine organizing for labor, women's and civil rights during Franco (many were early Communist party members, anarcho-syndicalists, Republicans, or otherwise heavy-hitters in then-clandestine labor unions), felt aligned with the message of the growing crowds in cities throughout Spain and wanted to be involved in some way. As the story the Barcelona ***Iaioflautas*** like to tell goes, several of them were in a cantina in the Raval (a working-class and largely immigrant neighborhood near Barcelona's center) one afternoon, when the television in the room displayed a quote by Esperanza Aguirre, president of the Community of Madrid, referring to the young people occupying the plazas as '*perroflautas*' (literally 'dog-flutes', a derogatory reference to young anti-capitalists, and the idea that they would hang out in public squares with dogs and flutes). Enraged and annoyed with the treatment of the protestors by the media and political figures, one elderly person spoke up to say, "*Si ellos son unas perroflautas, pues nosotros somos Iaioflautas!*" (If they're '*perroflautas*', well then we're ***Iaioflautas***!). Blending the colloquial Catalan word for grandparent, **Iaio**, with the Castilian ending of '*flauta*,' a new moniker, not-

quite-Catalan and not-quite Castilian, was coined. This group joined the 15M at the same time

as they began to plan their own transgressive enactments designed to draw attention to inequality

and austerity measures of the early 2000s. Soon, ***Iaioflautas*** began to spring up in small groups

in cities and towns throughout Spain. Using the Castilian version, '*Yayoflauta*' in areas outside

of Catalonia, and several blended iterations of the Castilian and Catalan moniker in Catalan

towns (including '**Iaioflautes**,' in which both halves of the word are in Catalan), the term

became a household name for many when the groups began proving themselves to be some of

the most outspoken and fearless of the 15M movement, sometimes providing security for

younger protesters more likely to experience police aggression.

The ***Iaioflautas***, being one of many affiliate groups of the 15M, are quite different from

other groups in that, rather than a focus on a particular issue like foreclosure evictions or

immigration reform, their age and position as societal elders define the membership of their

group. Their actions, mostly falling into the category of direct actions[1], are focused on pointing

out social inequalities produced by austerity measures, as well as on broader issues of social

justice, yet they are not single-issue based or demographically broad, as many other affiliated

groups are. In short, *who they are* defines *what they are*. Thus it is that the following chapters

delve deeply into the semiotics of *who they are*, *what they are*, and the sorts of social meaning

created interactionally through their presence and their actions. This is done in different

chapters through analyses of the linguistic landscape of protest, narratives of personal

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[1] Direct action, in its most general definition, refers to a category of protest, strike, demonstration, sit-in, etc. that is against a powerful authority or institution, designed to point out or call attention to an issue, and which is not mediated politically through voting or negotiation ("Direct action"). Graeber, however, goes several steps further to describe it as "the insistence, when faced with structures of unjust authority, on acting as if one is already free. One does not solicit the state. One does not even necessarily make a grand gesture of defiance. Insofar as one is capable, one proceeds as if the state does not exist (Graeber 2009)."

experience, and through situated language use. Semiotic techniques of preservation and remembrance are put to use as a framing mechanism to draw these threads together.

Techniques of preservation and remembrance

Many, but not all, of the Barcelona *Iaioflautas* form a part of the large Spanish-speaking working class that immigrated from impoverished parts of southern Spain to Barcelona during the 1940's, 50s and 60s. Many came as children, already having worked in patron-client relationships in the South as shepherds or daylaborers for wealthy landowners, some came alone or with only their mothers as their own fathers had been killed or exiled during the war. These *Iaioflautas* speak a distinct variety of Spanish, inflected with many of the noticeable hallmarks of 'Andaluz' that marks them as members of this demographic. (there are, of course, many *Iaioflautas* who are native Catalan speakers or who otherwise do not have the lived experience described above),

The *Iaioflautas* of Barcelona, who are the founding members from which all other chapters spread, are of a generation that has seen its share of repression and struggle. Some of the eldest of the group remember the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, a bloody and polarizing war which pitted Republican and other left-leaning factions against Nationalists and right-wing falangists, the latter led by General Francisco Franco (Payne 2012). The Spanish Nationalists won the war in the spring of 1939, with the fall of Barcelona and other Catalan cities earlier that year being some of the war's key turning points, and thus Spain was plunged into 36 years of a repressive dictatorship under Franco, ending only with his death in 1975.

While not all *Iaioflautas* have a personal recollection of the Civil War, it is very present in the collective historical memory as '*la peor cosa que puede pasar a un pais*' ("the worst thing that can happen to a country"), as one elderly member told me in an emotional story about his

father and his uncle fighting on opposite sides during the war. Unlike younger 15M activists, however, all ***Iaioflautas*** do have a very intimate recollection of the years under Franco's dictatorship, in which organizing was strictly forbidden. They also are, if not through personal recollection, the repositories of leftist historical memory that goes back even beyond the Civil War, to the decades before, which encompass the democratic Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), and the de facto anarcho-syndicalist era of this time, particularly intense in Catalonia, known as the Spanish Revolution (1936-1939). It is to these eras and its collectivist spirit that much of the ***Iaioflautas***' current activist imaginary harkens back, so some unpacking of this cultural-historical backdrop is warranted.

The *ancien regime* in Spain, in which the monarchy, the government, the church, and wealthy landowners formed the top of a rigid feudalist ladder and the vast majority of the population occupied the working-class bottom rung, endured for centuries in a Spain characterized by agriculture and a general lack of industry, except in the early-industrialized areas of Catalonia and the Basque Country. In much of the rural areas of the country, patron-client relationships between landowners and landless peasants was the norm, even well into the first half of the 20th century. In the cities, especially Barcelona and Bilbao, where industry grew more on par with other areas of Europe during the Industrial Revolution, factories were similarly devoid of labor rights and laws.   During the second half of the 19th century, however, this rigid system began to show signs of instability. A *First Spanish Republic*, contentious and short-lived, was established for only one year in 1873 following the abdication of the monarchy and much internal governmental turmoil. Although it was short-lived and was followed by the restoration of the throne, Republican sentiment remained and grew stronger afterwards. The enormous working class became highly politically-informed through literature, ideas, and prominent

theories on labor, anarchism and socialism spreading through Europe. Large unions were formed, including the two largest at the turn of the century, the CGT (Anarchist) and UGT (Socialist), and membership was in the millions.

Following the loss of the Spanish colonies of Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Phillippines and the associated governmental turmoil, the first two decades of the new century saw *la lucha obrera's* massive power blossom in the form of large strikes and lock-outs, often received by state authorities with violence and repression (Paniagua 2007a). An anarchist, communist and socialist uprising in Barcelona (in 1909) was met with a crushingly violent response now known as the '*Semana Tragica*' (Tragic week). The intensity of the labor movement continued, as did the intensity of nationalist movements, and against the backdrop of a struggling economy, it culminated in a military coup in 1923, in which the right-wing nationalist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was installed. His rule, however, was doomed as the government became bankrupt and in 1931, the King fled the country after a vote favored anti-monarchist candidates. The *Second Spanish Republic* was proclaimed, and a constitution was adopted, which extended suffrage to women, further autonomy to Catalonia and other regions, and allowed freedom of speech and assembly, all of which were later to be revoked under Franco's dictatorship.

By 1936, there was increasing violence between left and right among both the populace and the government, and the right-wing Falangist party had been formed. Although much of the Republican government had become under the de facto control of the Anarchists and Socialists (see chapter 3 for more description of this period of time known as the Spanish Revolution), new elections in 1936 saw the formation of the *Popular Front*, an attempt to unify the Socialists, Communists and Republicans against the right-wing Nationalists (NO CITED PAGES FOR

REPEATED CITATION). Shortly thereafter, the Civil War broke out following the assassinations of political leaders. The Republican government remained officially in power until 1939, when Barcelona and then Madrid fell to the Nationalists, and the 36 year Franco regime began, during which unions were outlawed, organizing was grounds for treason, and all of the social progress of the earlier Republic was rolled back.

The trajectory just traced over the last decade of one century and the first 4 of the next can be painted, with admittedly broad brush strokes, as an enduring tension between a Left (made up of the Socialists, Republicans and Anarchists) whose class-consciousness had been activated by a "belief that social and political change were a product of struggles—at times involving bloodshed—aimed at securing a voice and vote for sectors marginalised by Spanish capitalism (NO CITED PAGES FOR REPEATED CITATION)," and a Right that was rigid and unwilling to accept changes to its historic and hegemonic role, even less so if it meant a shift in the balance of power from the top down (254). Thus it was with this tension that Barcelona, and Spain, entered into the nearly four decades of Franco, during which all of the hardfought rights were revoked, and bans such as one on the use of the Catalan language, were invoked.

Barcelona itself was a center for many of the above struggles, and continues to be a hotseat for political activism today. As the capital of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, and the largest industrial center of Spain for much of recent history, both the *lucha obrera* and the Catalan nationalist movement have had natural homes there for the last two centuries. Although Catalan nationalism in its current form will be given its due in Chapter 4, much of the struggle leading up to the Second Spanish Republic and the Civil War had to do with political and social demands from nationalists in Catalonia and the Basque country and the radical opposition these demands faced from the Right (NO CITED PAGES FOR REPEATED

CITATION), and indeed some significant opposition from within the Left as well. Barcelona was also, as is the case for many of the *Iaioflautas*, the site of massive immigration during the Franco years from other parts of Spain. This Mediterranean city, seated at the crossroads between southern and northern Europe, along the natural geographic boundaries of the sea and the Pyrenees, has been at once the site of great resistance movements and great and often bloody repression, both of which are memorialized in the historical memory of the *Iaioflautas*, among others. It is adjacent to both cosmopolitan Europe and traditionalist Spain, yet it faces off with both of these hegemonic institutions with its own blend of nationalism, which itself survives with the help of its industrial prosperity, brought to it in large part by its Castilian-speaking working class. It stands to reason that the *Iaioflautas* and the 2nd largest 15M chapter would both emerge here in this urban center of contradictions, and also that this contentious site serves as the ideal laboratory to examine language in social movements today.

An element that has been present in Spanish left-wing politics, and particularly in Catalonia, for over a century is an emphasis on **autogestió**, or worker self-management. Although the left-wing alliance before and during the Civil War that included the Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists was fraught with internal contention, they were unified in their rejection of the ultra-conservative Spanish Nationalists. **A**utogestió was also one goal and value shared by all and served as another unifying thread. Although there are various types and systems of **autogestió**, it broadly refers to the idea that workers would control the means of production and thus have greater autonomy and less alienation. **Autogestió** has had, in Spain and especially Catalonia, some successes, which will be described in more detail in a later chapter, in particular, the collectivist Spanish Revolution of 1936, in which much of Barcelona was under the de facto control of anarcho-cyndicalists and socialists. **Autogestió** is a value that was

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emphasized and fought for explicitly before and during the Civil War, then clandestinely under Franco, and now continues to feature not only in the goals of current left-wing social movements, but also in the activist imaginary, where it extends beyond the realm of labor and into the day-to-day ethics of activists and their movements, in which horizontality and consensus are stressed. It shares some roots with the honor-shame complex that has been known to characterize much of the anthropology of Spain and other Mediterranean countries.

Some of the earliest 'community studies' (Redfield 1960) in rural Spanish villages emphasized the egalitarian sentiment of villagers and absence of social hierarchy among them(Pitt-Rivers 1954; Campbell 1964; Tax-Freeman 1970). This absence of social hierarchy, however, defined village relations but not class relations: it was counter-weighted by a deep resentment toward the rich and the feeling that they were not only responsible for the hardships of the poor, but were themselves the source of corruption and the land itself had somehow been spoiled by them. The rich man came to "play a part in the contemporary mythology, and it is always the part of the villain characterized by the complete absence of morality (Pitt-Rivers 1954, 205)." This is not unlike the attitude that characterizes la lucha obrera, and the current actions by the ***Iaioflautas***; the tension between the values of individual and collective honor is played out in part through the resistance to the wealthy landowners, factory owners, and today's ruling class (often referred to by its detractors as '*La Casta*,' the caste). While it is important to protect and build one's honor via the accrual of prestige and moral distinction, which itself is gained over the course of a lifespan (thus the elderly generally have the highest levels), it is equally important to protect one's honor by maintaining solidarity and identification with one's peers—in this case, the working-class. In fact, as will be shown in Chpter 3 via activist tales of transgression during the Franco regime, this working-class solidarity in the face of the

bourgeoisie is constructed as the only moral choice—the center of an activist's moral geography. The value of **autogestió**, or worker self-management, that has endured many eras in labor history, runs deeply as a cultural value that emphasizes the place of social solidarity (Gilmore 1980), egalitarianism, moral unity and cultural cohesion in this society, and which are interwoven with other aspects of honor and shame. Many Iaioflautas fought clandestinely, at great risk, against the Franco regime and for civil, labor and women's rights during Franco's rule. These elders preserve the memory of the Civil War, the decades before, the Franco years, as well as the value of **autogestió,** in several ways.

This is significant because the official Spanish state's position on historical memory of these events and historical eras has been somewhat feeble and unsatisfactory for much of the population. Firstly, the '*pacto del olvido'* (pact of forgetting) in 1977 – a bipartisan political decision said to aid in the peaceful transition to democracy-- effectively avoided prosecution for crimes committed and suffering imposed, which has led in part to the continued existence of mass graves full of still-unidentified remains, as well as avoided the answering of difficult questions about the past. More recently, an attempt to redress this pact was in the 2007 *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (Law of Historical Memory), which aimed to give rights to the families and victims on both sides as well as formally condemning the Franco regime. The latter, although passed, was, however, opposed by the conservative parties for weakening the memory of the 'democratic transition' – the phrase used when speakers desire to place a favorable light on the arguable continuities between the Franco regime and current political leadership in Spain, and derided by much of the Left for not doing enough to invalidate judicial rulings made during the Franco years.

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The ***Iaioflautas***, however, preserve the memories, as well as the messages of the '*lucha obrera'* (the worker's struggle, or labor movement, beginning well before Franco and continuing today), including its emphasis on **autogestió**, and they do so in part just by being present and active in today's social movements, as physical reminders of these epochs. They also preserve and remember these historical moments by every semiotic means possible. This dissertation uses the framework of the Peircean triad of signs and their relation to their objects (relations by association: indexes, relations by convention or rule: symbols, and relations by depiction and modeling: icons) as a heuristic for organizing the description of the various ways in which this elderly group is able to bring the past into the present for political purposes.

Peirce's Triad

For the influential 19th century semiotician, Charles Sanders Peirce, (Peirce and Houser 1998) a sign consists of three parts: sign, object and interpretant. The latter 'sign' refers specifically to the signifying element of a sign: a written word, an utterance, a red bump on one's skin, smoke seeping out of an oven. The 'object' is that which is signified, or 'attached' to the sign: the object attached to the written word or utterance, a mosquito or perhaps measles, a fire in the oven. The third part making up a sign, the 'interpretant,' is perhaps ambiguously named, yet is the Peircean system's central feature: it refers to the understanding we 'apprehend' from the sign/object relationship (Gurdin 1994; Atkin 2013a), or perhaps, how we make sense of the sign. For Peirce, there is no simple dyadic Saussurian relationship between a sign and its object, and in fact, "a sign signifies only in being interpreted ("Peirce's theory of signs")." Although the nature of interpretants is that they exist in one's mind, for explanation purposes here we can say that an example of the Peircean three part sign might be illustrated as shown below.

Sign (signifier):

smoke seeping from oven

Interpretant:

"Dinner is burning, I   **Object** (signified):

fire

should do something"
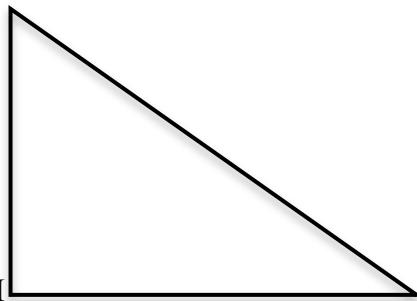
In this illustration, the signifying element of the sign is smoke, which in turn signifies fire as its object, but only through one's apprehension or understanding of the sign/object relationship, or the sense we make of it. Of course, now that the interpretant has been represented by signs above, we would need another interpretant, not represented by signs, to 'apprehend' it, and so on.

Peirce's theory of signs, as it is used in this research, holds that the signifying element of a sign, also itself referred to as a 'sign,' can take three forms: icons, indexes, and symbols. The

type of sign refers to the nature of its relationship to the object. An icon has a physical

resemblance to that which is signified, as a photograph of a person will closely resemble its

object, or a diagram capture the essentials of what is diagrammed. An index, put simply, has a

connection with its object. The classic example is of smoke indicating fire, but Peirce himself

offered such examples as a "guidepost, which points down the road to be taken, or a relative

pronoun, which is placed just after the name of the thing intended to be denoted, Lastly, a

symbol, in Peirce trichotomy (not to be confused with the anthropological 'Symbol' which often

has more in common with Peirce's index or icon, see for example Turner [1967]), refers to a sign

that is connected to its referent only through agreed-upon convention; that is, the connection is

arbitrary. Most words in the dictionary are symbolic in the Peircean sense. The relationship

between the word 'cat' and the object to which it refers is arbitrary and must be learned

culturally. Traffic lights are symbols to the extent that they bear no resemblance to that which

they represent, but are meaningful by convention only.

Most actually occurring signs make use of two or all three of these modes of representation, and

can also become another type over time. Take for example the image of a floppy disk on a

computer screen, once iconic in that it was a relatively faithful depiction of the medium on which

a file would be saved, but now symbolic in that is conventionally understood to mean 'save file'

to even those who have never seen a floppy disk.

In each chapter of what follows, I show how the ***Iaioflautas*** preserve their values and

memories, passing along historical memory intergenerationally, by re-announcing them in each

of the modes of Peircean representation.

Chapter two examines how the ***Iaioflautas*** are often even more confrontational with

police than other protesters, yet they enjoy a certain immunity to violence. They are able to

claim an authority uncontested by police and others through a few semiotic and rhetorical mechanisms. First, their very presence serves as an indexical reminder of a tarnished history often swept under the rug. Second, they use intertextuality to bring their past into the present. Third, they claim authority and render others complicit subjects via voicing mechanisms and inclusive language. In all of the above, they are employing a predominantly indexical mode of Peircean representation.

Chapter three relays several short narratives of clandestine transgression under Franco, told to me by activists. The narrators use a trope of disobedience and transgression to construct a moral geography that places themselves and their transgressions at the moral center and sets up oppositions between themselves and their ideologies (principal among them **autogestió**) and others and other ideologies. They do so via a 'symbolic' (in the Peirceian sense) mode of representation that works to preserve counter-values of self-management and solidarity.

Chapter four focuses on how ideologies of linguistic parochialism and cosmopolitanism are held and enacted differently by various members of the Barcelona activist community, in particular by one ***Iaioflauta*** who defies tradition in order to inhabit a 'free space' in which he can make the choice of 'not choosing at all' amongst the different politically-charged linguistic varieties in his heteroglossic Catalonian repertoire. He becomes a sort of 'iconic speaker' (Mendoza-Denton 2014) who gives us a glimpse through situated, language use, of what an environment might look like in which social and linguistic hierarchy don't exist. His speech choices thus preserve and transmit a 'model' or 'diagram' of the historical values of autogestió and equality that operates in Peirce's iconic mode.

Fieldwork and methods background

For more than a decade, I have informally and formally researched language use in Catalonia. From 2001-2005, I lived and worked as a language teacher in Barcelona. During this time, I pursued and completed a Master of Education, studied both Catalan and Spanish, and worked as a language professional in many institutions, including public and private schools and as a translator. It was during this time that I began to develop an interest in the unusual language and power relations in Catalonia. While there, I attended numerous very large protests when Barcelona was a hub for activist networks in the previous era of anti-corporate globalization activism (Juris 2008). Thus, I was able to experience the burgeoning of the 'new, new' social movement as well as several more traditional activist events in the time pre-dating the Arab Spring, 15M, Occupy and other recent movements. In addition, I was present at a massive protest against Spain's military involvement in Iraq post-9/11, as well as a number of marches for Catalan independence at the dawn of what has since become a full-fledged and local government-backed movement for independence from Spain. After returning to the US, I continued to visit Catalonia as an importer of Spanish wine and olive oil, and thus continued to improve my Spanish and Catalan by being involved with many Catalan and Spanish businesspeople. Additionally, while doing graduate coursework in Linguistics, I began conducting research on minority languages. Experiencing changes in Catalonia over a period of 15 years has allowed me to take a longitudinal view of some aspects of language use, as well as the development of social movements. Additionally, I have observed the effects of the European economic crisis on this previously prosperous region, which has contributed to the rise of both the 15M and the concurrent movement for Catalan independence.

The fieldwork for this project took place, for the most part, between 2011-2014 in the city of Barcelona, Spain's second largest city and the capital of the autonomous community of

Catalonia. However, some significant events discussed herein also took place in Vic, a small city in the interior of Catalonia; Sabadell, another small Catalan city close to Barcelona; and Madrid, which, being the capital city of Spain, is large, central, and decisively Castilian speaking.

Early in my fieldwork, I spent a large amount of time attending and taking fieldnotes at 15M assemblies and protests not only in Barcelona, but also in smaller Catalan neighborhoods and towns, the majority of which were public events, organized around the consensus-based principles of this type of horizontal social movement. I also attended numerous meetings, protests, and other events organized by a wide range of anti-austerity groups, observing the gradual decentering of the movement into smaller, focused affiliate groups. Later, I began conducting and recording interviews with members of 15M affiliated groups in their homes or in cafes, and discovered the Iaioflautas, whose personal narratives and historical relationship to the clandestine labor movement under Franco intrigued me. These interviews provide much of the data that is herein presented. Data for this project consists of recordings and field notes from dozens of assemblies, marches, and other transgressive enactments, as well as open-ended interviews with 12 activists, each ranging from 1 to 3 hours in length.

Researching a social movement inherently requires one to spend an awful lot of time in the street. It is worth mentioning that I was not alone during this time: my then 3-5 year old daughter accompanied me during the day to assemblies, marches and meetings, sailing around the public plazas on a scooter with other children or sometimes asleep in a backpack on my back. As challenging as conducting research with a child in tow has been, it also, as in many parenting occasions, has served to open some doors that may not have been open to me otherwise, and has

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helped me to establish myself among my informants as a particular type of person: one that was, for the most part, welcomed and accepted as part of the group.

Following with local and academic convention, Castilian Spanish is referred to throughout simply as 'Castilian' (abbreviated CS) and is represented in italics, as the terms 'Castilian' and 'Spanish' both refer to the same language, with the latter term being politically laden (Woolard 2016). Catalan is represented in bold type, and abbreviated as 'CT.' All personal names, with the exception of public figures, are pseudonyms. Translations to English are my own except where indicated otherwise.

Transcription Key

[xxx]   overlapping speech, also author's comments

/   short pause

//   long pause

(x)   unintelligible

…   material omitted

word   text in Catalan

word   text in Castilian

word   neither only Catalan nor Castilian: bivalent or simultaneous

CHAPTER TWO: *Iaioflautas* and the linguistic landscape of protest

Every Wednesday, just before the Barcelona evening rush hour, a group of older folks begins to gather near the top of the escalators above the Hospital Clinic Metro station. Nothing appears odd about this scenario: they look like retirees, grandparents perhaps, meeting up with others and chatting casually.   After a while, when there are 8 or 10 of them, they start down the escalator, several of them taking yellow hats or safety vests out of their pockets or bags and donning them on the way down. One of them produces a megaphone. Several have handwritten signs rolled up in their bags.

On this Wednesday, the *Guardia Urbana* (traffic police) officers stationed in the subway know to expect the **_Iaioflautas_**—they've been showing up every week at this time—but they stand aside and watch as the group, now wearing the yellow safety vests—emblazoned with '**_Iaioflautas_**', 'by/for/with the people', and 'for historical memory'— walks past into the vestibule, greeting them with grins and '*Hola Guardia Urbana!*' shouted through the megaphone. The group continues to the subway turnstiles, where 2 or 3 of them jam open the plexiglass doors atop the turnstiles, while another reaches over them with duct tape, quickly taping the doors so they will stay open (See Appendix A, Fig 1). Several of the other members tape small flyers over the slots in the turnstiles where tickets would be inserted, thus completing the task of making it effectively impossible to pay for one's subway ride. Their setup is complete, and for the next hour, the group chants and sings their practiced phrases to passengers, while the *Guardia Urbana* looks on.

Unless, like me, you've come to the Hospital Clinic metro station specifically to see or participate in this protest, or you are a regular Wednesday evening passerby at this station, you

are caught off guard by the spectacle you encounter. Whether exiting a train at this stop, or

descending the escalator from the street, you enter the vestibule through a narrow hallway and

hear the commotion before you see what is causing it. Tentative looks of nervousness and

hesitation turn quizzical and bemused when passengers encounter a group of elderly citizens

with placards and flyers, some of whom wave their canes or their fists in the air to passersby,

encouraging those still hesitant to pass through the turnstiles. "*Adelante*," they prod them,

"**Jornada de portes obertes al metro**!" (Go on [CS].   Open house in the metro! [CT]). Some

walk through, never quite seeming to understand that this is a protest over transportation fare

hikes, others cheer them on and join in the chants as they continue on their way. A few try

unsuccessfully to pay for their fare, either by attempting to insert a ticket into the slot at an

already taped-open turnstile, or by carrying out the act of purchasing a ticket at an electronic

kiosk, only to find themselves unable to actually use it. Many recognize the ubiquitous

'chalecos' (yellow reflective safety vests) of the ***Iaioflautas***, and stop to snap a photo in the same

manner one might at a celebrity sighting. Some shout encouragement, some stand to the side and

watch for a moment or two. All the while, 2 or 3 Guardia Urbana officers stand at the base of

the escalators, looking on and doing nothing. From time to time, the woman wielding the

megaphone turns to the officers and speaks directly to them:

   "**Hola Guardia Urbana! Un altre jornada de portes obertes al metro! El senyor
Trias no vol retirar la pujada del transport…**"

   (Hello Transportation Police! Another open house ['open door day'] in the metro! Mr.

Trias [transportation minister] doesn't want to take back the fare hike…")

A few minutes later, during a familiar chant, the same woman turns to the Guardia

Urbana, points at them, and directs her speech at them:

"A tu, a tu, a tu també et roban! A tu, a tu, a tu també et roban!"

(From you, from you, from you they are also stealing! From you, from you, from you

they are also stealing!)

After an hour or so, the group and some hangers-on they have attracted head down to the

platform, still chanting, and board a train.   Then, at a time agreed upon by the larger platform

Stop Pujades Transport (Stop fare hikes), which includes many other groups, they stand in the

open subway doors at whatever station they may stop at next, not allowing them to close. They

hold the doors for approximately 15 minutes. while other protesters chant, sing, and even hold

dance parties on the platform. As several other groups are simultaneously doing so on each of

the city's other train lines, the effect is to paralyze the Barcelona metro during peak evening rush

hour once a week.

Desob14

Meanwhile, events in Barcelona billed more overtly as transgressive, or 'disobedient,'

and attended by activists of broader demographics include "***Desob14***" (from '**Desobeir**' or

'*desobedecer,*' to disobey), a forum, conference, and series of protest events by groups linked

with the University of Barcelona as well as local social movements like 15M, feminist groups,

and the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Platform for those affected by mortgage laws,

most often referred to as the 'PAH'). Aimed against a newly proposed law (which has since

passed) that would criminalize many aspects of social protest—the ability to cover one's face,

photograph or record police, march on city streets, or gather in certain places, including in front

of Parliament or in banks or corporate offices— ***Desob14***'s opening act was a series of talks and

presentations by prominent city activists as well as university professors, centering on the theme

of urging the public to "disobey" the proposed restrictions in the law. A large march followed,

which drew tens of thousands to the streets on a spring night in Barcelona, and had, in addition to

the normal procession down the city's streets, several 'sideshows' promoted by various groups.

One such event was a photo contest titled '#ishotthesheriff,' organized by a small group known

for unconventional transgressive enactments, in which protesters were encouraged to photograph

as many of the police officers (who were lined up by the thousands in unusually presumptuous

riot gear along the protest route) as possible, and to post resulting pictures to social media sites.

Some protesters brought along empty picture frames (see Appendix A, fig. 2) to hold up in front

of themselves for "selfies with the police," and had varying degrees of success in doing so.

Protesters were also encouraged to cover their faces in disobedience of another aspect of the new

law. This protest, peaceful in spite of its flouting of the proposed laws, proceeded through the

city and to march in front of the Parliament of Catalunya (an existing law already prohibited

disrupting or threatening Parliament's ability to function, and there have been a series of

historical protests surrounding Parliament, the most recent of which was still big news and for

which there were still protesters detained after 2 years)[2]. The crowd made its way into the very

narrow, tourist-packed streets of the old city toward Via Laietana, a major thoroughfare, which

was also packed with tourists. As the protest entered the narrow streets, some violence erupted,

a small explosion broke the plexiglass in a bank window, and dozens of Catalan police (**Mossos**

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[2] The law in place before and during this protest is a controversial one, put in place in the early years of the Franco regime, and imported at the time from Nazi Germany. In essence, it allows one person to be considered responsible for the acts committed by the group in which he/she participates (*El Supremo Condena La Protesta En El Parlament Y Dobla El Brazo a Los Movimientos Sociales | Público* n.d.)

d'Esquadra) vans suddenly appeared from all sides and boxed in the protest, effectively

trapping many thousands of people—protesters and unsuspecting tourists— in the maze of

narrow old streets between the two larger thoroughfares. Police vans began driving wildly up and

down the streets, nearly running over protesters and tourists alike, leaving those of us trapped

with literally no way out.

What followed was an hour or so of intense police vs protester activity: the police mostly

in their riot gear, driving wildly up and down the main boulevard in no less than 20 vans, and

protesters mostly observing the spectacle from the sidewalk, unable to cross the street or reenter

the narrow streets behind them. A group of perhaps 50 protesters decided to try to block Via

Laietana in order to quell the constant high-speed back-and-forth of police vans by lying or

sitting down in the street, standing in groups with their hands raised in surrender, or hauling

garbage dumpsters and police barricades into the street (see Appendix A, fig 3). As the police

vans approached at breakneck speeds, most protesters would scatter. An officer or two would

emerge from a van with the apparent intention of intimidation, descending on a protester in the

street until he/she either ran off or was thrown in a van. In the narrow streets behind us, more

police vans inched toward us, kettling the protesters into an increasingly cramped space. All

along the protest route, *antidisturbios* (riot police) had been poised at the ready, with helmets,

shields and rubber-bullet rifles.[3] This concentrated presence of riot police and the display of

force is not atypical at the end of protests, whether peaceful or not, and although the violence

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[3] I spent some time with an activist group dedicated to getting the use of rubber bullets
outlawed in Catalunya. During this time, I translated a report from Catalan to English that
detailed the type of incidents and injuries inflicted. Although the legal protocol for using rubber
bullets specifies that the bullet must be fired toward the ground and only potentially hit someone
indirectly, the rate of incidents in which protesters were fired upon directly and at close range
was high, and a number of high profile cases in which protesters had lost an eye were in the news
at the time. Rubber bullets are a common intimidation tactic used in Spain, and especially by the
Mossos d'Esquadra, the Catalan police.

didn't escalate at this event, the air was thick with potential and could have changed at any moment, as I have witnessed at other events preceding and following this one.[4] It also serves to reinforce a particular narrative given by the state and often the media, one of protesters turned violent and disruptive.

Claiming authority

The above vignettes, while admittedly describing distinctly different sorts of protest events, also describe distinctly different behavior on the part of state authorities. The ***Iaioflautas*** create public spectacles, perform transgressive enactments, and draw attention to their issues much like other groups. In fact, they often have more direct confrontation with state authority figures than others. However, the reaction to them by police, media and political figures is in stark contrast with that of other activist groups.

Historical contextualization, collective voice, and the semiotics of the elderly

The 'collective voice' of a social movement, while carefully crafted to appear in chants and slogans as a neutral, spontaneous linguistic statement that reflects the popular will, is, of course, far from neutral OR spontaneous. As Elliott Colla writes on slogans, "they are performatives in the sense that they are deliberate compositions intended not so much to reflect

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[4] Social media posts, videos and photos from that evening, including my own eyewitness accounts from the evening, told a counter-story to that depicted in the next day's mainstream media, one very familiar to protesters but scoffed at by others: that of undercover police infiltrating the protest in order to incite violence with the police. As I found a window in the police activity and was able to retreat after an hour or so of watching (and being physically trapped in) the police vs protester spectacle, I walked up Via Laietana, past a group of "encapuchados" (hooded protesters usually described as violence-inciters) who crossed Via Laietana along with me and then walked right into a group of police, each discreetly revealing a colored wristband to the officers while doing so, and then proceeding to gather safely in the dark behind the mass of police vans parked on site. I witnessed a very similar scenario a month later in Madrid, at a highly-organized, massive and peaceful march that brought millions of protesters from all over Spain, and also ended with a massive display of force on the part of Spanish police, which in turn became the main story for the media the next day.

collective will but to create it (Colla 2013a)." While the strength of a slogan may often be evaluated on how far it can travel as a seemingly authorless text, and the rhetorical and social construction of a collective, anonymous voice typifies the linguistic landscape of new social movements, the idea of a collective, anonymous voice in a social movement is complicated by the fact that slogans have histories. They often build on previous slogans, chants or songs, or they reflect popular culture in their choice of referents. For the **_Iaioflautas_** especially, authorlessness seems to be neither a goal nor a strength. In nearly all of the above examples, an intertextual process is at work which links movements across history—movement participants *themselves* have histories too.

The **_Iaioflautas'_** actions, stylistically, are like many subcultural protest forms, but the **Iaios** pack a distinct visual and functional punch in part for the opposite reasons--they look, dress and, when not protesting or performing *travesuras* (pranks), act anything but subcultural. They look like grandparents—**iaios**—essential and ubiquitous figures in Spanish and Catalan social fabrics. Iaioflautas can claim authority and respect via their venerated status as elderly in a cultural tradition that places great emphasis on the strength of family ties, as is typical in southern Europe (Brandes 1993; Viazzo 2013). The Iaioflautas often use a slogan "*Luchamos y conseguimos una vida mejor para nuestras hijas e hijos*" ("We fought and won a better life for our daughters and sons"), recognizing and invoking in their addressees the strong moral obligation towards family and the importance of kinship networks within Spanish and Catalan society as a source of social security that has traditionally functioned well, especially in the weaker welfare states of southern Europe (NO CITED PAGES FOR REPEATED CITATION). Much of the anthropological work on the honor/shame complex in Spain distinguishes a particular category of 'honor' as that of status, which--unlike the honor of position or wealth,

which is derived from one's material capital—is accumulated through one's evolving reputation and processual achievement of "seniority" and "respect" (Gilmore 1982). The model for intergenerational relations, described in detail below, contributes to this status in elderly such as the Iaioflautas.

The ***Iaioflautas*** are also undeniable reminders of a recent time in Spanish and Catalan history that is often swept under the rug: the 40 year dictatorship of Franco only ended in 1975, and the transition to democracy that followed, while heralded internationally as 'peaceful' and 'democratic,' is a commonplace narrative that the Iaioflautas vehemently reject as a whitewashing of a transfer of power to the next generation of a corrupt political caste and royal family. It is these aspects of historical memory that this group of elderly activists evokes *with their very presence*—they are an indexical reminder that history is also in the present. Their awareness of this is evident, in their stories as well as emblazoned on their yellow *chalecos--por la memoria historica*. Their name itself is semiotically endowed with oppositional meaning (as described in Chapter 1), repossessed symbolically and put to use as a challenge to hegemonic institutions they are addressing simply by being present. The challenge is expressed in their style and appearance, performing acts conventionally not associated with one's grandmother or grandfather (Hebdige 1995), like forcing open metro turnstiles, or peacefully hijacking a city bus, or occupying the headquarters of a large bank. In the early days of the 15M encampments and protests, they were known to form human chains around younger protesters to protect them from police violence. They also volunteered to run security for the occupation of a vacant movie theater where a controversial documentary exposing alleged police brutality and wrongful imprisonment was being shown. Their presence and their transgressions challenge hegemonic

notions of authority; they in turn claim authority for themselves through their ability to make the past exist in the present.

There are very few public situations in which the Iaioflautas do not explicitly reference their own past in some way: their historical links are so salient that their present actions can only be understood in terms of their past. As noted previously, their *chalecos* read "for historical memory," and protest banners and signage often reference their lifelong struggle for labor, women's or civil rights—a banner that Iaioflautas often march behind reads "**Hem lluitat i lluitarem**" ("We have fought and we will fight"). In a massive protest in Madrid, one woman holds a sign that reads, "*Tras 40 años, vuelvo a pedir pan, trabajo y libertad!!*" ("After 40 years, I again demand bread, work and freedom!!") (See Appendix A, fig.5). These elements of their linguistic landscape work, like their presence itself, to remind their audiences of the history they stand for as well as to claim and legitimate authority for themselves.

The physical appearance of the *__Iaioflautas__* is, like their name, their slogans and their chants, is semiotically endowed with authoritative meaning. It is through their appearance—gray haired, wrinkled, sometimes cane-wielding—that their message of historical contextualization can function. These features of the elderly not only index their age, but their lived experiences, and thus their ability to embody the collective voice of the Franco years and, through an intergenerational process, the voice of their parents' generation as well.

But while the *__Iaioflautas__* embody the struggles of their and their parents' generations, they are also responsible for the success of their children's and grandchildren's generations, and their current struggle is to not lose what they already fought for. Far from a societal liability due to their age and employability, they are instead the repositories of both historical memory and

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familial responsibility, and as such command the veneration of younger generations and claim an authority that can only be allocated to those with this special social and cultural status.

The model of intergenerational relations that has remained somewhat intact up until at least the last few years in southern Europe is, in addition to close feelings of emotional solidarity between adult children and their ageing parents, one that stresses the fact that multiple generations continue to live closely, maintain frequent contact and provide mutual support of various kinds. Financial support in the form of monetary transfers, however, continues to flow downward from the elderly to their children, at least until age 80 and sometimes beyond; only a very few Iaioflautas are of this advanced age. In this way, it is only the oldest members of a society that are the receivers of financial support rather than the givers. The adult children, on the other hand, provide instrumental support {Künemund 2008, 112-113}. Therefore, in this familistic model, the elderly are contributors both financially and instrumentally (in childcare and otherwise making up for shortcomings of the welfare state), and are respected as such. It is just this familial strength that is often pointed to as an explanation for the longevity in the populations of Southern Europe, as opposed to Northern Europe, where welfare states are characteristically stronger, yet lifespan is shorter (Viazzo 2013).   However, in the current context of austerity measures, which include cuts to social security and pensions, coupled with the skyrocketing rate of unemployment among the generation of the Iaioflautas' children, the ultimate strength of this cultural emphasis on generational interdependence is being questioned. How long can this cultural emphasis offset the weakening structure of European welfare in this climate of cuts and austerity? How thin can the strength of the family be stretched when the Iaioflautas' children and grandchildren lose their jobs and homes and move back in with the grandparents, who in turn suffer cuts to their pensions, the only 'sure thing' that the family had

to support the family unit? It is precisely this tension between the traditional cultural emphasis on family and the weakening economic climate that has created a space for the ***Iaioflautas*** to emerge and join with the younger generations in a continuation of the *lucha obrera*.

However, it is not simply their age and experience that functions as a reminder; they invoke a type of authority that is, for the most part, uncontested, as can be seen most clearly at the metro occupations as well as at events at which they function as security for younger protesters. The following pages will examine several mechanisms through which the Iaioflautas invoke an authority that stems from an implicit and alternative cultural logic that goes unrecognized yet uncontested by police, media and political figures. Among these are the use of frames of interpretation of the social act of protesting, intertextuality, and addressivity in the linguistic landscape.

The linguistic landscape of protest

Traditionally, linguistic landscape (hereafter LL) research has been oriented toward analyses of static elements of text in a given landscape, or as initially proposed by Landry & Bourhis (Landry and Bourhis 1997):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration.

An expanded definition includes "*language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces (Shohamy and Gorter 2008).*" Within the context of the discourse of protest, the scope is widened further to include not just written but various other sources that interact in the transmission of messages in public spaces—images, videos, graffiti,

moving signs and sounds, people, buildings, etc. (Barni and Bagna 2015). It is in the vein of this latter definition that my research can be considered a contribution to linguistic landscape scholarship, as protest itself is an exercise in the display of language in public spaces, and thus inevitably a political act of participation, inclusion, exclusion, evocation, erasure and negotiation of languages as well as their speakers. The inclusion of the temporary, 'transitory linguistic landscape (Hanauer 2012)' as is exemplified by protest and direct action expands the horizons of LL scholarship in important ways: while the study of fixed signs has often led to a foregrounding of physical place and territoriality in LL studies, there is certainly no prerequisite of static 'fixed-ness' in order to view protest signs, chants and speech as semiotic resources (Said and Kasanga 2016). In fact, these semiotic artifacts are potent agents in the social and political act of protesting as it unfolds over time, lasting a few moments, hours, a day, or longer, relaying messages and expressing feelings before being destroyed or stowed away until they are re-used for another, also temporary, protest event.

Often, however, LL studies focus on an etic analysis of protest signage in particular protest events, with little triangulation with data collected in other contexts or through other methods, which doesn't allow for an understanding of meaning-making procedures. This chapter intends to instead draw on some conventions of the field of LL as a complement to ethnography, participant observation and linguistic analysis, bringing attention to ways that space, texts, and actions collude to mark solidarity, oppose institutional power, reappropriate space and claim authority for protesters.

To begin with, as others have noted (Hanauer 2011; Said and Kasanga 2016), protest signage and slogans, especially in post-Arab Spring social movements, tend to fall into semiotic categories, or frames, which render visible the "structured understandings of the way aspects of

the world function (Labov 1972a)." From a Goffmanian (Goffman 1974) perspective, these frames give observers various perspectives to look at sense-making resources, or 'what is going on.' Since this chapter's focus is only partially on specific protest events, I take as my starting point a general overview of semiotic resources deployed by the *__Iaioflautas__* across contexts in order to determine two general 'frames.' Partially reflecting a recent analysis of frames in Arab Spring protests in Tunisia and Egypt (Said and Kasanga 2016), I find two commonly occurring frames: the people's power and agency frame, and the frame of rights and demands. Often more than one frame is found on a particular semiotic resource, and varying rhetorical strategies are used to convey the messages within each frame. These frames, while at the outset an etic mechanism, offer an initial sense of how visual and textual devices are used and potentially interpreted by their target audiences. Each frame is briefly discussed and examples provided, below, and a table organizing them appear in Appendix B.

The people's power and agency frame

Within this frame, agency is conceived of not only as the capacity to act, but also the exercise of power and the sense of ability to bring about effects (Said & Kansanga 2016: 77). Within this semiotic frame fall examples such as '**Del/per el/amb el poble***' (of/for/with the people-CT), which is printed on the yellow safety vests often worn by the *__Iaioflautas__*, as well as '**Hem lluitat i lluitarem**' [We have fought and we will fight-CT], as well as a meme which circulated on the *__Iaioflautas'__* Facebook page, depicting Arturo, a retired bus driver, forcing open the metro turnstiles during the above protest against metro fare hikes, with the text 'He was a bus driver and spent his whole life fighting for transportation. We continue today at 5pm at Hospital Clinic metro station*' (original in CS) (see Appendix A, figure 4). In addition, this category includes motivational texts meant to mobilize others: '*Ni silencio, ni miedo…Mobilización*!*'

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(neither silence, nor fear….Mobilization!-CS), or chants such as '**A tu, a tu , a tu també et roban**' [from you, from you , from you they also steal-CT] as well as negative statements of solidarity about a perceived lack of agency: '*Todos jodidos, menos banqueros, ricos y politicos*' [Everybody's screwed, except bankers, the rich and politicians-CS], or '*Capital y sus servidores, contra los mayores* [Capital and its servants, against the elderly-CS]. Statements of victory also abound, as they did in the Arab Spring protests with the ubiquitous 'Game Over,' here with slogans like '*P.Peor, Adiós*' [a play on the acronym for the ruling right-wing political party, PP or Partido Popular, *peor* meaning 'worst' and ´*adiós*´ meaning goodbye- CS].

The Rights and Demands frame

This frame encompasses texts which reference those things perceived as human or civil rights to the **_Iaioflautas_**, whether things they feel have been restricted or taken away, or those things they have fought for in the past. Examples include '*La pensión, mi derecho*´ [The pension, my right-CS] or '*Renda basic, vida digna*' [basic salary, dignified life-CT]. Also in this frame are demands for more basic necessities, such as '*Tras 40 años, vuelvo a pedir pan, trabajo y libertad*' [After 40 years, I again demand, bread, work and freedom-CS]. Also in this frame are accusations, moral reproaches, and demands for the reconstitution of the status quo (Phillips 2012): '*Ladrones, pagué mi pensión*!´ [Thieves…I paid for my pension!-CS], or '*No a los recortes!'* [No to the cuts!-CS]. As Phillips (2012) found in his examination of the 2004 protest against the restructuring of the German welfare system, claiming a reconstitution of the status quo generally does not propose a vision that goes beyond a demand to withdraw the proposed legislation in question: '**No a les privatitzacións, si a la memória histórica**' [No to privatizations, yes to historical memory-CT] appears to, but the two are actually separate demands against the status quo, which, as discussed in the Introductory chapter, refers to the *Ley*

de Memoria Histórica, which met with much critique from the Left for not going far enough to preserve historical memory.

Voicing and intertextuality

> *"Tras 40 años, vuelvo a pedir pan, trabajo y libertad!!"*
>
> [After 40 years, I again demand bread, work and freedom!]

It is important that the carrier of the sign with the above slogan (Appendix A, fig. 5) has chosen to reference a previous utterance; whether real or hypothetical, there is a significant semantic and pragmatic difference between this sign and one that might simply read, *"Pan, trabajo y libertad!!"* This particular version has the additional element of using its dialogicity in order to command authority for the user. The slogan itself is an example of the Bakhtinian double-voiced word: while she is not exactly quoting her hypothetical self 40 years in the past, the quotational and multivocal effect is nonetheless achieved through her use of exclamation points to set the previous utterance apart, as well as through its form and significance, which, to quote Irvine's work on Wolof Insult Poetry, "presupposes a second voice—another party— whose utterances are invoked by the one at hand because they are partly imitated, quoted, or agued against (Irvine 1996)."

Bakhtin's 'actor,'—like Goffman's 'animator' imbued with an ethical component — responds to something each time she speaks and takes a stance in relation to other utterances, which in turn shapes the content and style of what is being said. The actor always imparts a 'something new' to an utterance, and this 'something new' must include an evaluative stance, regardless of whether the text itself has changed. The evaluation is carried by the tone, context

and the past experiences of the actor herself. "*Tras 40 años…*" not only references the actor's own past, but past utterances, past struggles and their continuity with the present struggle.

But slogans, as part of social movements, cannot be seen as merely semantic texts or linguistic statements—they are indeed public performances that move with and through the movement, just as the protester herself does, and as such are part of the enactment and indexical creation of the movement itself. Characteristics of the earlier utterance are preserved, 'shellacked' so to speak, within the present utterance (Morson and Emerson 1990). In this view, however, the semantic content of the utterance takes a back seat to the collusion of voices—past, present and hypothetical—that come together to achieve a 'stylistic aura' (139), in which the words themselves 'remember' earlier contexts and indeed constitute this aura. She is performing the demand again, both with her presence and her sign, and that voice collaborates with the present voice to add a dimension of authority and persistence to what might otherwise be deemed a list of demands.: "Bread, work, and freedom." There is a continuity being referenced: this is the same struggle she was involved in 40 years ago, and there is a critique—it is based on the implied premise that what she asks for was either never given to her, or was taken away, now twice. It also evokes authority and legitimacy through establishing what Kuipers would call 'a direct link' between herself and the original source (Kuipers 1984). Indeed, this particular sign could not be carried by anyone other than the original source or someone who could pass as such.

The current movement, while part of a new wave of social movements linked with the Arab Spring, Tunisia, Greece and others, is framed differently by the **_Iaioflautas_**. In their view, these are new events in an old frame, and must be understood in the context of their previous struggles. Information is demonstrated here to be moving across historical and geographical

contexts from the past to the present via an intertextual chain of both persons and texts linking

movements and eras, from previously known and experienced events to those which are

unknown and uncertain in the present (Colla 2013b). Unlike many of the slogans from the

broader 15M movement, which echo voices from other cities and indeed, other movements such

as the Arab Spring, Greece, or Occupy, the ***Iaioflautas*** echo themselves and their own past. To

them, this is the same struggle as always.

The ***Iaioflautas*** are doing something distinct in their linguistic landscape: rather than

circulating slogans and chants as 'authorless texts,' easily detached from the specifics of their

original composition (as '*Pan, trabajo y libertad*!!' on its own might), they incorporate elements

of authorship (using 1st person) and draw on the specifics of time and place (*Tras 40 años*).

They are metapragmatic statements whose meaning comes in part from their relationship to their

referent, which, in the case of "*Tras 40 años…,*" is itself. These types of slogans have histories,

and in drawing on them, their users embody these histories, serving as vehicles for

intergenerational transmission not only for their own stories, but for those of their parents'

generation, those who were most affected by the tragedies of the Spanish Civil War. For the state

to react with violence could explicitly reflect the very past that these elderly protesters are there

to remind us of, and which even the establishment discourse of the public sphere in Spain today

ostensibly rejects. In fact, the "After 40 years..." slogan only works because the timeframe she is

referencing has not been whitewashed successfully via dominant narratives of a 'peaceful

transition to democracy.' It is instead understood to be powerful because it is reminder that this

narrative is questionable. Rather than an anonymous, collective 'voice from nowhere' available

to speak for anyone who'd like to use it, the voice of this group of elderly activists commands

authority because it evokes an authenticity, an undeniable voice from somewhere and someone very specific.

While many slogans can draw power from their ability to circulate as the anonymous expression of a collective will, the **_Iaioflautas'_** slogans appropriate power via their inability to do so—only they can use a slogan referencing a time period 40 years in the past and use the first person to do so, and do it effectively.

Addressivity

The 'system of signifying elements' (Said and Kasanga 2016) at work in protest suggests interpretation by a target audience. A constitutive element of any utterance is its addressivity, which, in the genre of protest speech, may be more intentionally constructed than in other genres to appear as though the addressee is known and the author is the collective movement itself; however, there are subtleties that work to include or exclude people and groups that are deployed through various rhetorical strategies. The occupation of the metro station and the forcing open of the turnstiles by the Iaioflautas, as described earlier, is an example worth delving into.

Much of the public speech at those weekly events is chanted, sung or spoken through a megaphone and ostensibly at passersby and metro travelers, but it is not merely a collection of planned linguistic texts, repeated each week and intended to raise awareness of fare hikes. Rather, they are part of a public performance, and as such their semantic content as texts cannot be effectively teased apart from the performance event itself (Colla 2013b). They are performed by embodied people who themselves are moving through the space in coordinated ways, as are most members of their audience, and so the events and performance become part of the landscape itself.

The shouts of encouragement to passersby to enter the train station through the taped-open turnstiles without paying are punctuated from time to time by speech and chants addressed directly at the Guardia Urbana officers stationed in the metro—those figures embodying state authority. Throughout the events, the megaphone user addresses the crowd, as well as the police, personally, using 'tu' (you), a direct pronoun indexing solidarity and familiarity. While in Spain and Catalunya it is customary to use the informal 'tu' in most environments, one function of doing so in this environment is to convoke, to invite, and to draw people in. The fact that she turns toward and speaks directly to the police, chanting "*A tu, a tu, a tu també et roban*" (From you, from you, from you they steal also) extends the invitation to the police, establishing an inclusive environment in which everyone is seen to play a similar role as being exploited by the state's policies.

Through their presence and rhetorical strategies, the ***Iaioflautas*** in the metro occupations are re-appropriating authority, using force to open the turnstiles, declaring an 'open house in the metro' and inviting the very state agents charged with maintaining and enforcing order to participate in the action.   The ***Iaioflautas*** are able to appropriate authority from its usual repository by activating the frames of 'people's power and agency' and 'rights and demands' via their actions, their texts (written and chanted) and their very presence. In addressing the police directly, including them with one's own group socioeconomically, the woman with the megaphone is recruiting—interpellating— the police, as well as passersby, into a subject position in which they become subjugated not by the state, but momentarily and essentially by these elderly protesters.

This authority is not so easily created via the use of inclusive speech and direct addressivity—as discussed previously, the ***Iaioflautas*** themselves create a sort of uncontestable

authority with their very presence, as reminders of the potential effects of state corruption and fascism. In this sense, rather than creating authority, they are demonstrating the power of their own, reminding others that it exists. This contrasts sharply with the transgressive enactments of other groups such as the 'I shot the sheriff' photo contest described above, in which the effect is to sharpen the lines of conflict between police and protesters, and framing the police themselves as the adversaries. Inviting the police to participate in the metro protests is essentially to render them complicit. While the former firmly establishes the police as the outsider 'others,' the latter invites them to be insiders. As Bourdieu noted, local interactions can be "sites of struggle and of competing and contradictory representations [with] a potential to change dominant classifications (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999)."

Conclusion

In their protest chants, slogans, and transgressive enactments, the ***Iaioflautas*** are performing deeds which could be viewed as 'acts of citizenship (Isin 2009):' "deeds by which actors constitute themselves (and others) as subjects of rights' (2009, 371). These acts take place where one might least expect them - in the nooks and crannies of everyday life, outside of institutional contexts (Besnier 2009) where "diverse actors jostle (Stroud 2016)," enacting various forms of conviviality or contest with others, creating inclusiveness or resisting marginalization. The metro occupations might be seen as layering of one type of 'act of citizenship', the transgressive type, on another conventional act of citizenship, the swiping of a metro card to access public transportation. But the ***Iaioflautas*** call attention to the un-democratic and unequal nature of this conventional act—pointing out the easily overlooked fact that only those with the means necessary to pay the increasing fares may perform this conventional act of citizenship. Instead, they encourage, in fact they force, passengers to

disobey, to do what is done every day by those without the means to pay for a fare—to jump the turnstiles, or in this case, walk right through them without paying. In doing so, there is thus produced a feeling on the part of passengers of complicity. The place itself—Hospital Clinic metro station— is reconfigured as a deliberate space of the transgressive practice of citizenship, only the practice has shifted and different demands are placed on the passengers. I observed several who insisted on looking for a way to pay the fare, noting that there could be police inside the station who would scan their ticket and see that it had not passed through the turnstile and been stamped. The perceived 'threat of force' and the strong desire to comply with the law as the conventional repository of authority reflects the uncontested and reproduced nature of hegemonic state institutions that the ***Iaioflautas*** are, in fact, attempting to point out.

The ***Iaioflautas*** are often even more confrontational with police than other protesters, yet they enjoy a certain immunity to violence. They are able to claim an authority uncontested by police and others through a few semiotic and rhetorical mechanisms. First, their very presence serves as an indexical reminder of a tarnished history often swept under the rug. Additionally, they use intertextuality to bring their past into the present by revoicing themselves and their historical struggles. Third, they claim authority and render others complicit subjects via addressivity, voicing mechanisms and inclusive language.

CHAPTER THREE: Voices from the past: counter-voices, cooperativism and tales of transgression in activist Barcelona

The 'collective voice' of a social movement, as discussed in the context of protest slogans in the previous chapter, is far from neutral or spontaneous, and draws on the diverse experiences of its constituent voices, as well as their anticipated and/or presupposed responses, yet is itself dialectically created in the space between. The collective voice, then, culturally-situated in time and space, embodies the histories, myths and symbols of a collective author, and stylistically incorporates a 'sidelong glance' at the hypothetical response of the addressee(s). Rather than an anonymous, dominant, collective 'voice from nowhere,' a 'voice from everywhere' emerges in social movements that serves as a calculated affront to the dominant narrative voice, a subversive 'countervoice' that, in Barcelona, draws on a strong historical collective tradition that is being preserved in the face of the dominant political narrative. One way in which this collective tradition remains visibly preserved is through the emphasis on horizontal organizing—in labor or other movements—that typifies social action in Barcelona. While discourse on horizontal, leaderless social movements against austerity, corruption, and neoliberal politics has become commonplace in the last several years since the Indignados, the Arab Spring, Occupy, and other related movements, in Barcelona's long and active '*lucha obrera*' (workers' struggle, or labor movement), horizontality and collective organizing has been the default in the activist imaginary for far longer. This chapter focuses on the ways in which activist stories from the past are brought into the present and how concepts such as transgression

and self-management **(autogestió)** take a morally central role in their consciousness and subjectivity. The following chapter will further examine transgression as a ubiquitous trope in the modern context of activist Barcelona via protest events, the linguistic landscape, and artistic performance.

Autogestió and cooperativism in historical Barcelona

Home to the major stronghold in the 'Spanish Revolution,' a time little discussed in historical accounts but very powerful in the trajectory of Spanish worker consciousness, Barcelona was under the de facto control of anarcho-syndicalist unions to varying degrees between 1936 and 1939, in the midst of the Spanish Civil War between Republicans and Nationalists. During this time, up to 75% of all industry, from cafes to hotels to factories, was collectivized and run through workers' coops (Dolgoff 1974). Rank-and-file members of the CNT (National Labor Confederation) and the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation), both anarcho-syndicalist labor unions, orchestrated the collectivization, with the concept of '*autogestión*,' or worker self-management, as key to the revolution. Of the many first-hand accounts of the socio-political environment in Barcelona during this time, Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* documents his meticulous participant-observation in, as well as his romantic admiration of, the half-realized utopia he encountered there after enlisting as a POUM (Worker's Party of Marxist Unification) soldier in December 1936:

> I had come to Spain with some notion of writing newspaper articles, but I had joined the militia almost immediately, because at that time and in that atmosphere it seemed the only conceivable thing to do. The Anarchists were still in virtual control of Catalonia and the revolution was still in full swing. To anyone who had been there since the beginning it probably seemed even in December or January that the revolutionary period was ending; but when one came straight from England the aspect of Barcelona was something startling and overwhelming. It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the

working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivized; even the bootblacks had been collectivized and their boxes painted red and black. Waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and even ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared. Nobody said 'Señor' or 'Don' or even 'Usted'; everyone called everyone else 'Comrade' or 'Thou', and said 'Salud!' instead of 'Buenos dias'. Tipping had been forbidden by law since the time of Primo de Rivera; almost my first experience was receiving a lecture from a hotel manager for trying to tip a lift-boy. There were no private motor-cars, they had all been commandeered, and the trams and taxis and much of the other transport were painted red and black. The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud. Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loud-speakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night. And it was the aspect of the crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appearance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist. Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no 'well-dressed' people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working-class clothes, or blue overalls or some variant of militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was much in this that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for. Also, I believed that things were as they appeared, that this was really a workers' State and that the entire bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed or voluntarily come over to the workers' side; I did not realise that great numbers of well-to-do bourgeois were simply lying low and disguising themselves as proletarians for the time being. (Orwell 1952)

He continues,

I had dropped more or less by chance into the only community of any size in Western Europe where political consciousness and disbelief in capitalism were more normal than their opposites. Up here in Aragon one was among tens of thousands of people, mainly though not entirely of working-class origin, all living at the same level and mingling on terms of equality. In theory it was perfect equality, and even in practice it was not far from it. There is a sense in which it would be true to say that one was experiencing a foretaste of Socialism, by which I mean that the prevailing mental atmosphere was that of Socialism. Many of the normal motives of civilized life—snobbishness, money-grubbing, fear of the boss, etc.—had simply ceased to exist. The ordinary class-division of society had disappeared to an extent that is almost unthinkable in the money-tainted air of

England; there was no one there except the peasants and ourselves, and no one owned anyone else as his master. (104)

Although the Spanish Revolution was not the first time that collective, horizontal labor organizing was used in Barcelona, the relative, if short-lived, success of this model in taking control of both industry and institutions to the extent that it was able points to its saliency as a cultural discourse, at least at that time. When Franco outlawed labor unions at the end of the Civil War in 1939, they went underground, with the only legal organization being the *Organización Sindical Española* (Spanish Trade Union Organization), a vertically organized entity that, indicative of its opposition to horizontalism, became more commonly referred to as "*El Sindicato Vertical*," or, as in most of my interviews, simply "*El Vertical*." Spanish workers were required to join '*El Vertical*,' in which both owners and employees were supposed to cooperate for the good of the nation. To be sure, the language of '*autogestión*'--self-management-- is likely as common in my interviews and in public protest today as it was in 1936. Likewise, just as the anarcho-syndicalists of 1936 were said to have "kindled in everyone the required sense of responsibility, and knew how, by eloquent appeals, to keep alive the spirit of sacrifice for the general welfare of the people (Rocker 2004)," today's activists, particularly the elderly, latch onto disobedience as a cultural discourse through which this responsibility to act and sacrifice is realized. I sat with several of these elderly activists and collected some of their stories of transgression during the Franco years.

While the preceding chapter addressed transgression in the modern context, this chapter looks at short activist stories of personal experience, told by elderly activists about their experiences organizing clandestinely under Franco, through which the theme of transgression emerges, often through the trope of 'disobedience.'   Civil disobedience, certainly, as this is a

definitive marker in action and discourse of labor and other social movements, but transgression in other forms as well: in language use, in organizing, and in collective actions that preserve traditions and historical memory not emphasized (or acknowledged) in the dominant narrative of 21st century Barcelona.

Transgression, as constructed by activists, has many faces and meanings, some that circulate more widely than others. Most overtly, it serves as a deliberate and publicized goal for those participating in any number of today's social movements in this hyper-activist city, from the top of the power structure down. The verb '*desobedecer*' ('**desobeïr**' in Catalan) itself is in frequent and casual use, from roundtable discussions to horizontal assemblies in public squares, to the center-right autonomous government's current fight for Catalan independence from Madrid, nearly always representing what is deemed an appropriate and expected response to whatever is being protested.

Civil disobedience as protest also has a well-worn seat in the activist imaginary in Barcelona, as elsewhere. But this sort of broad, popular use of the word and range of activities considered to be 'disobedient' by various sectors of the activist population does not lend a nuanced understanding of what transgression is, of the role it plays in making sense of activists making sense of themselves. Rather, it gives the impression that 'disobedience' may be so common that it loses some of its vitality, efficacy or even some of its meaning. There is also something about the nature of 'organized' disobedience—which most acts of civil disobedience undoubtedly are—that seems to obscure the fundamental place that transgression itself holds in the activist imaginary, and indeed make it appear quite like obedience, only to a different group, power structure, or social order. To examine the construction of the concept of transgression itself, it is necessary to look at how it figures in the moral imaginary of activists, how it is that

they come to choose and perform it, and what it is that they are disobeying. The first part of this may be sought by looking at the stories activists choose to tell and how they choose to tell them. I sat with several activists, one on one or in pairs, in their own living rooms, at a sidewalk café, or at their labor union's headquarters. The interviews lasted from an hour to over 3 hours, and were mostly unstructured.

Some stories take the form of narrative, and as such conform to Labov's (Labov 1972b) narrative framework: a temporally ordered sequence of clauses retelling an event, with evaluation of the experience distributed throughout the narrative via various embedded and external verbal strategies. Other stories do not take this form, yet contain the same elenents of evaluation in spite of the lack of some structural features of narrative. I have included both types, for while the differentiation between narrative and other forms is relevant to structural properties, I find similar themes and evaluative strategies throughout both. The following sections of this chapter are devoted to the analysis of a few short activist stories, with specific focus on how transgression becomes a central foundation upon which consciousness and subjectivity are constructed. I argue that transgression is constructed via storytelling not only at the moral center of activist consciousness, but that it is constructed as necessary and in fact, the only option that preserves an emphasis on collective worker self-management, as opposed to individual business for profit. Texts are reproduced here first in their original Castilian version, then in their English translations, and later in the chapter again with further transcription conventions.

Tales of transgression

Arturo

Arturo, a Barcelona ***Iaioflauta***, comes from the Andaluz region of Cordoba. Arturo

came to Barcelona as a young adult after working '*al señorito*' from the age of 7 as a shepherd

and '*al jornal*'[5] until he left for Barcelona. In 1940s and 50s Barcelona, he, like many others,

learned to read and write, and found work in industry or, in Arturo's case, as a bus driver. His

description is an example, of the indirect style of transgressive struggle adopted by these activists

during the Franco era.

'Black shoes and socks'

48.Había una conciencia que se luchaba por todo

49.Yo recuerdo como yo entré en transporte,

50.la empresa nos exigía un uniforme sin dartelo completo

51.y tenemos que llevar zapatos negros y calcetines negro [Alvarez: huh!]

52.y dijimos "no, vamos a llevar zapatos cada uno de un color y los calcetines de cada

uno en un color"

53.para que nos dieran el uniforme completo.

54.nos daban el uniforme

55.pero no nos daban ni zapatos ni calcetines

---

[5] 'Al señorito' refers to a common patron-client relationship in the south of Spain at this time, during which young boys and men would work for a wealthy landowner who would provide them with food, but no wages. Arturo's early life was spent as a young shepherd in the years just following the Spanish Civil War, sleeping out in the fields to protect the sheep from wolves which, in Arturo's words, "were very dangerous because they had tasted a lot of human flesh during the war." To work 'al jornal' meant as a day laborer, but independently, performing whatever sort of work was available seasonally, from picking olives to loading charcoal, as Arturo did, and being paid in cash.

56.entonces, la organización dice "aqui nos tiene que dar--si tienen que llevar zapatos negro y calcetines, nos lo tienen que dar ellos"

57.y montamos una lucha, unos empezaban con las alpargatas otros empezaban con calcetines blancos cada uno en un color.

58.hasta que la empresa no tuvo más remedio que darnos el uniforme completo.

English translation:

48. There was a consciousness that we fought for everything.

49. I remember, as I went into transportation,

50. the company insisted on a uniform without giving it to you completely

51. And, we have to wear black shoes and black socks [Alvarez: "huh!"]

52. and we said, "no, we are going to wear shoes each of a different color and socks, each of a different color"

53. So that they would give us the complete uniform.

54. They gave us the uniform

55. but they didn't give us shoes nor socks.

56. so, the union says "here you have to give us—if we have to wear black shoes and socks, *they* have to give them to us"

57. and we began a struggle, some starting with espadrilles and others starting with white socks, or each one in a color.

58. Until the company had no other solution except to give us the complete uniform.

Arturo describes an episode in which collective and cooperative subversion was used to counter authority. There's much to be said about this story, but for my purposes, what's important to note about Arturo's story, along with many others which focus on these subversive transgressions, is that the essence of it is that he makes his moral center in this place of subversion. The stance of this voice is confident. It is clearly in opposition to another voice, which is the voice of authority, and the confidence resides in his moral certainty.

The other voice—that of the employer— is implicitly in dialog here;however it does not cast doubt on Arturo's voice. It is not, as Jane Hill says of Bakhtin's 'active' double-voiced word —the word of the other 'resisting and interrupting the authorial voice in a struggle for dominance(Hill 1995). " This is passive double-voicing and the implicit 'other' has no say here. In my collecting of these stories, however, I also discovered that this type of stance does not come easily, and not without identity work.

Núñez

Núñez is 83 years old, ex-president and spokesperson of the **Associació de Veins** (Neighborhood Association) of the Barcelona neighborhood **Nou Barris,** and one of the more elderly of the ***Iaioflautas.*** More than a neighborhood gathering, these associations have been important stalwarts of self-organization and cooperativism in Barcelona for generations, their activism forming a powerful link between civil society and public affairs. . He walks with a cane, yet was present at the front of nearly every march or other action attended by the ***Iaioflautas***. I had been instructed by several ***Iaioflautas*** to talk to Núñez, because "he doesn't forget anything" or because "he'll tell you the story about the streetcar strike of '51," regardless of the fact that I did not specify that I wanted to talk to someone with "good stories." He is locally-known as a repository of leftist historical memory, something which is seen by many elderly in Barcelona to be sorely lacking and intentionally dismissed in the mainstream political

discourse. He sits in the living-dining room of his small apartment on the top floor of an old

building. Lining one wall of the room are wooden bookshelves that, as I found out later in the

visit, Núñez built himself, along with most of the other furniture in the room. He worked in the

'*marcos y molduras*' — framing and molding— industry for decades before going to work in his

own shop towards the end of his career. Núñez has been active in the '*lucha obrera*' (worker's

struggle) in Barcelona since shortly after he immigrated there with his mother from the south of

Spain as a teenager to find work. His father had been exiled during the war, and was living in

Morocco, where he ahd apparently established a new life and family. For several decades,

Núñez was an active member of the CCOO (Workers Commissions), a trade union (now Spain's

largest) organized clandestinely by Núñez and others in the illegal Communist Party during

Franco's dictatorship to fight against the regime and for labor reform.

Núñez is from Jaén, in Andalucía, in the far south of Spain, not too far from Arturo's

Cordoba. His early life story is one that is shared by many thousands of his generation who

came at very young ages to look for work in Barcelona. In fact, the combination of his age and

his accent would index to many the massive Spanish working-class immigration to Barcelona of

the 1950s through 70s, and for some, the '*lucha obrera*' itself. He speaks in Spanish with a

marked Andaluz accent, characterized by, among other features, intervocalic /d/ and /r/ elision

('*pesado*' -> '*pesao*', '*para -> 'pa*'), and word-final consonant or syllable-dropping, even after

over 60 years in Barcelona.

Núñez' history, at least the one he begins to tell me, is punctuated by moments in his life

during which he felt "*toques de mi conciencia*" (touches on my conscience): moments when he

felt called to action, usually transgressive action, that disrupted the day-to-day life of factory

work in Barcelona.   The first '*toque*' he describes to me, however, is one in which he didn't

answer the call to act. The story he tells me takes place in the late 1940s, a decade or so after the end of the Spanish Civil War and into Franco's authoritarian regime, under which labor organizing, and even gathering in groups of any sort was highly illegal, classified as treasonous, and closely patrolled:

'El primer toque (The turning point)'

(English translation follows)

1.En una fabrica de marcos y molduras.

2.Ahí me duré 21 años trabajando.

3.Ahí pues ahí pues a los 18 18 18 ah

4.llegé con 16.

5.Al año que estaba ahí había una huelga

6.pero una huelga—tomate cuenta!— una huelga no se podía hacer!

7.Estaba todo prohibido en la epoca de Franco

8.por una huelga de no hace ahora— extraordinaria! (Si) ah eso ah

9.pero bueno en aquella epoca bueno no no

10.y mi madre pues me lo dije "Mama!" y esto.

11.Y mi madre dice "no hijo no no! no que tu padre, y no sé que…"

12.que ah que // para mi madre le dió mucho miedo una madre que había trabajado tanto pues.

13.Y yo me quedé bueno pues nada, hicieron huelga

14.pero yo me quedé pues ahí como dos o tres mas y lo encargado.

15.Pero luego yo me dí yo cuenta

16. que cuando ya terminó aquello

17. para mi no me dieron ni cinco de la aumento nada

18. porque no había participado.

19. pues claro y luego mal visto.

20. era 'el esquirol'

21. que pasé y me volví bueno pasé las mil y una noches.

22. Y al final pues digo aquello fue el primer toque de mi conciencia

23. a dar mi cuenta yo de lo que era//lo que era// la cuestion de// no ser participe de las cosas.

24. y aislarme?

25. Claro yo era muy joven

26. y ademas no tener experiencia de estas caracteristicas todo era miedo todo era miedo.

27. y mira por donde ahí ya al año que estar yo ahí de pasar esto

28. y yo empezé ahí a poner un poco en mi sitio tambien

29. y me acuerdo que ya tenía yo 18, 18 años tendría.

30. Pues entrando madera y ya hicimos nosotros un plante.

31. Era un compañero y lo era porque venía y traía madera para//

32. venía del muelle del puerto aquí de barcelona y a llevar ahí en carro.

English translation

1. In a framing factory

2. There I lasted 21 years working.

3. There, well there, then, at 18, 18, 18, ah

4. I arrived at 16.

5. The year that I was there there was a strike,

6. but a strike—understand!—you couldn't go on strike

7. it was all prohibited in the era of Franco,

8. a strike that's not done now, extraordinary! ah that ah

9. but anyway, in that era no no

10. and my mother, well I said "Mama!" and so on

11. And my mother says "no no son, no no! …no, because your father, and I don't know

    what"

12. for my mother it made her very scared, a mother who had worked so much, then.

13. And I stayed, well then, anyway, they went on strike

14. but I stayed, well, there, like 2 or 3 others and the boss.

15. But later I realized

16. that when that had finished,

17. for me they didn't give me even five of the raise, nothing,

18. because I hadn't participated.

19. So it's clear, and later I'm seen badly.

20. I was 'the scab',

21. I went through, I came back, well I passed the thousand and one nights

22. and in the end, that was for me, well, the first touch to my conscience,

23. to realize what it was// what it was// the issue of not//being a participant in things.

24. And stay away

25. It's clear, I was very young

26. and what's more not having experience of this type, it was all fear, it was all fear.

27. And look where there in the year I came there for this to happen

28. and I began there to stand up for myself a little

29. and I remember that then I was 18, 18 years old I would be,

30. Well, delivering wood and then we made a protest

31. It was a colleague and it was because he would come and bring wood to us

32. He came from the port [CT] from the port [CS] here in Barcelona to take it there by cart…

From the outset, we can see that Núñez is at once beginning a chronicle of his life as a labor activist, and also 'explaining the way things used to be' to a much younger, and foreign, interlocutor; indeed, the form it takes in this case is typical of narrative discourse directed at an outsider (Labov 1972b). Before delving more deeply into an analysis of this narrative, it is important to note that 'The Turning Point' shows, in contrast with 'Black shoes and socks', active double-voicing, a struggle for dominance with another voice—the early part of the story shows the doubt in the voice of a young naive Núñez who listens to his boss and his mother, and the story shows the transition from dominance of the voice of authority to dominance of the striking, no-longer-naive-and-powerless Núñez. By the end, his moral center has shifted and strengthened. He is not operating from fear, not subordinating his own voice to the voice of the authority. He moves from the undesirable to the desirable space, a 'before' shot to Arturo's 'after.'

Below is another description of clandestine organizing efforts that add nuance to Núñez' narrative regarding what was entailed in order to gather at all under the tight grip of the Franco

regime. It came a few minutes later in our interview than the above, and details some of the effort and danger involved in trying to disseminate information among activists working to organize the CCOO illegally and clandestinely.

'Tying shoes'

32.Y empezaba ahi a darle un poco de ejemplo , si,

33.y tal aquello ya que yo empezé yo a despertar un poco,

34.empezaba a dejarme unos libros y luego por las reuniones que teníamos.

35.Que aquí las reuniones eran muy peligrosas

36.a veces te tirabas dos horas andando por la calle,

37.hablando, si si, hablando contandote esto contandote el otro

38.y habría un grifo en la calle de agua

39.que yo que para beber agua o descansar un poco coger y mojarte un poco mas ponerte los zapatos

40.pero no era para ponerte los zapatos, para mirar si te seguían!!

41.Claro porque la vigilencia era de miedo [ah y había que],

42.si si hacer un gesto como de te amarrabas

43.pero para mirar para ver si te seguía alguien.

44.Y iba hablandolo

45.a lo mejor terminas a Lesseps hasta aqui hasta Canyelles

46.andando y te iban contando te iban contando,

47.o te daban una material o alguna cosa

32. And I began there to set a little of an example, yes,

33. and in that then I started to wake up a little,

34. I started borrowing books and later, in the meetings we had.

35. So here, meetings were very dangerous,

36. at times you'd spend two hours walking in the street,

37. talking, yes yes, talking, telling you about this, telling you about that,

38. and there'd be a water fountain in the street,

39. and I, so, to drink water and rest a little, get wet [quench thirst] a little more, tie your shoes,

40. but it wasn't to tie your shoes! to look and see if they were following you!!

41. Yeah, because the surveillance was scary [oh and you had to…],

42. yes yes, make a gesture like to, to tie

43. but to look to see if someone was following you.

44. And he'd go talking about it

45. at best you'd end up at Lesseps or here or at Canyelles,

46. walking and they'd keep talking, keep talking to you,

47. or they'd give you some material or some thing.

While the above stories emphasize Núñez's and Arturo's positions as young, bold activists in the '*lucha obrera*,' there is much more happening here than the telling of old battle stories; in fact, the battle stories themselves are the vehicle for the transmission of a moral stance constructed by and through activist choices.   Their storytelling also appears at first look to be start to a process of textualization, one that begins with the speakers' 'mental texts' and has been

carried out through the stages of interview, recording, transcription, translation, and the subsequent chopping up into chunks deemed meaningful for analysis. But a closer look at the generation of these stories shows that the process of creating these texts began long ago, and that not only is it nearly certain that these stories have been told before, and thus continually processed through repeated oral communication, but they have been continuously processed mentally as well in the 60 or so years since the events described took place. Indeed, the performance event of reproducing them to an interviewer, to me, specifically, can be seen as the means of transmitting, exchanging, and validating social and aesthetic values, as well as the speakers' own views on how stories should be told.

It is important to note that these interviews, while in a typical interview context—taking place in a cafe or a person's home and with an outsider— were open-ended. Each interview began with an explanation that I was interested in talking to people who had been involved in social movements in the past, and who were continuing their struggle today (via 15M, Iaioflautas, etc). I mentioned that I would like to start with some background information on the person, with the nearly consistent interpretation that I wanted to talk about the background of the 15M or Iaioflautas movement. After a brief, remarkably similar stock description from each interviewee of the origins of the current movements, I would then ask members to "tell me a little about yourself—where are you from, how did you come here (to Barcelona) and how did you get involved in '*la lucha*?'" With very few exceptions, this was the last question I asked for over an hour. Interviewees were generally eager to begin talking about their lives from a very young age and followed a typically chronological path to the present day, interspersed with storytelling and short narratives of personal experience. This begs the question of how the choices were made in the transmission of these stories of what to include and how to present it.

By and large, the interviews I conducted with elderly activists, a category of which Núñez and Arturo are demographically representative, are typified by frequent pauses in an overall chronological 'life-story recounting,' to further elaborate on a specific event or type of event in which activist values of self-management and transgression as moral center were present. Whether in typical narrative form or not, these storytelling moments often have themes of subversive practices, like "Black shoes and socks" or of danger, as in "Tying Shoes." Both of these themes contribute to their construction of transgression, which the narrative "The Turning Point" tackles more directly, by explicating the dangers and moral stance taking involved in undertaking transgressive action.

Jane Hill, in her work on an elderly Mexicano man's narrative about the murder of his own son (Hill 1995a), took up the Bakhtinian challenge to "imagine a peasant" who is faced with the moment at which he must actively choose his orientation among all of the linguistic possibilities presented by the heteroglossia of his community of speakers. Related to stance-taking—the ways a speaker continually positions himself in relation to an interaction--Bakhtin suggests a closer look at this 'moral' choice has the ability to reveal how this moment of the 'inter-animation (Bakhtin 1981)' of normally compartmentalized languages, or ways of speaking, constituted a formative moment in the emergence of consciousness, which finds itself "inevitably facing the necessity of *having to choose*…(Bakhtin 1981a; Hill 1995a)." In Bakhtin's words, during this inter animation of languages in the speaker's consciousness,

"it became clear that…the ideological systems and approaches to the world that were indissolubly connected with these languages contradicted each other and in no way could live in peace and quiet with one another…[when] the inviolability and predetermined quality of these languages came to an end, and the necessity of actively choosing one's orientation among them began (Bakhtin 1981b; Hill 1995b)

In taking up Bakhtin's challenge, Hill was able to show how, in the process of telling the narrative, the speaker claimed a moral position among a conflict-laden complex of 'voices,' each with its own contradictory ideologies and moral positions.

Like Bakhtin's peasant and Hill's elderly Mexicano man, Núñez and Arturo *must address* an ideology that is antithetical to their own values of cooperativism and solidarity in order to tell their stories. A problem thus arises: how to relay these conflicting ideologies within one's speech without assimilating them and losing the clarity and grounding of one's *own* moral position and values. Núñez does so in "The Turning Point" through a narrative framework constructed by voices that not only tell the story and evaluate it, but also construct a moral position that is grounded in transgression as a manifestation of working-class solidarity and cooperativism. Núñez and Arturo address this ideology in 'Tying shoes' and 'Black shoes and socks' as well, representing transgressive action as worth performing dangerous acts (the transmission of information under potential surveillance), and resisting normative requirements through indirect actions (wearing mismatched shoes and socks) for. All of the actions—striking, organizing clandestinely, and resisting job requirements—risk consequences, but it is notable that they are only meaningful or successful if done in cooperation with others; in the case of 'The Turning Point' and 'Black shoes and socks,' the actions require large numbers of participants in order to effect change but also to protect each person from consequences, while in the case of 'Tying shoes,' the action is only immediately performed by two or three people at once, yet the goal is to spread information in this way to large numbers of movement participants clandestinely.

A 'voice system,' a part of the rhetorical structure of a narrative, has been shown (Hill 1995;Bakhtin 1981;1984;Voloshinov 1986;Silverman and Torode 2011 (1980);Woodbury 1985)

to construct a field for dialogue and conflict, where "authorial consciousness attempts to dominate and shape the text (Hill 1995, 109)" through chosen voices, both via reported speech and other rhetorical strategies. Núñez' voice system in 'The Turning Point,' like that of Hill's Don Gabriel, is constructed along a moral axis, and the voices are distributed along this axis, removed to varying degrees from this moral center. The voices themselves constitute a discursive field for dialogue and conflict between narration and evaluation. The two shorter stories from Núñez and Arturo use similar rhetorical strategies to further ground the moral center in cooperativism and solidarity through transgression.

As useful as Hill's model is to the current analysis, there are two aspects of the speech events under analysis that it fails to address. The first is that her model of the voice system, as constructed by Don Gabriel in his narrative, does not take into account any interlocutors or others present at the time of the interview, neither researcher nor, in her case, Mexicano interpreter. In the case of Arturo's story 'Black socks and shoes,' there is another interviewee present, Alvarez, who is an old friend and fellow activist with Arturo, and who interjects laughs and affirmations along with the story. In fact, it is fair to assume that Alvarez and Arturo have traded stories before, as they nod along with each other often and remind one another to tell certain stories they deem important. As mentioned above, Núñez' narrative is clearly directed in part at me, as addressee, interlocutor, and importantly, a younger, foreign, somewhat naive yet interested, outsider. To neglect my presence in this narrative would essentially be to overlook the questions: "Why is he telling me this?" and "Why is he telling it this way?"

The second aspect which must be considered has to do with the fact that these stories are certainly not being told for the first time. Both Núñez and Arturo were highly recommended interviewees by their peers; regardless of the fact that I had not specifically requested to speak

with skilled storytellers, both of them were well-known among the ***Iaioflautas*** and their followers as such. As previously explained, Núñez is well-known for having an iron-clad memory ("*No pierde nada*," I was often told about him "He doesn't forget anything"), and for his memories and renditions of certain historical protest events which circulate among leftist social movements as being of great historical importance, and which he, as elder and participant, has the authority to speak about. Arturo as well came highly recommended: when I first approached some ***Iaioflauta***s on *the Ramblas* one Thursday afternoon, I was directed immediately to Arturo and Alvarez with the general sentiment that, with their activist and storytelling experience, they were the ideal representative subjects of the ***Iaioflautas*** for a young foreigner to speak to. In addition, when interviewing some of the Sabadell **Iaioflautes**, a separate group of activists in a smaller city about 20 minutes outside of Barcelona, both Arturo and Alvarez' names were suggested to me as people who would "give me a book" with all of their stories, even though they formed part of the activist group in the neighboring city and not their own.

The classic linguistic model of a 'speaker' and a 'hearer' tossing utterances back and forth fails to take into account the complexity of participant roles engaged in any "utterance event" (Irvine 1996). Work by Hymes, Goffman, Levinson, and others has called attention to the importance of the relationship between participant roles, the context of a speech event, and social identity, yet has still fallen short of taking into account the culturally-specific ways that other contexts, real or imagined, influence and inform the discourse. Irvine's dialogic analysis of Wolof insult poetry, written prior to a wedding by family members but performed by a hired storyteller at the event, exemplifies the important role that previous utterances play in informing the participation structure of the moment, and how they contribute greatly to the form,

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significance, and performative force of the storyteller's words (1996): "The insult utterance's relationship with a presupposed earlier utterance event [the writing of the insults by family members], whose participants cannot all be firmly identified, helps the performer get away with making a seriously wounding statement (140)." In short, responsibility for one's own speech is mitigated through the dialogic process. An approach that takes into account the dialogic nature of speech allows the researcher to decenter the focus from participant roles such as speaker, author, hearer, animator, etc, and instead focus on the forms of discourse in a speech act that cannot be adequately attributed using these, or other, finite bounded structures. Irvine proposes that, rather than focus on devising an increasingly complex formula for mapping participant structure, we instead focus on the process itself by which these structures are imagined, constructed, socially understood and distributed. Thus, activist stories are informed differently not only by the speakers' life experiences, but also by the historical and social experiences of the utterances themselves, each of which participates in 'shadow conversations' with (Irvine 1996) or takes 'sidelong glances' at (Morson and Emerson 1990) past, future, or hypothetical utterances, as well as with those of the present interlocutors at an utterance event. This approach is particularly attractive to a study of language in social movements, as it allows movements to be seen not as cohesive 'things' but rather as a conglomeration of cultural discourses competing to inform the everyday actions of movement participants. In addition, it emphasizes the significance of 'voices' that inform the discourse, and the stance-taking techniques that enable a speaker to accept or reject 'responsibility' to varying degrees for different voices.

We can thus draw gently on Goffman's participant roles of author and animator without approaching a finite system of participation roles and look at the voicing structure of Núñez' '*The Turning Point*' as a way to see his words as participants in history and society,

incorporating multiple historical, presupposed, or hypothetical authors to inform the present-day

animator and to tell his story to me in the context in which he did. In addition, the animator is

able to mitigate and manage responsibility for speech through the dialogic process, allowing

some voices to assimilate and others to "fall out" of the dialogue—as though to "put themselves

in quotation marks against the will of the speaker (Hill 1995)."   It is in part through this latter

process that Núñez is able to construct disobedience as the moral center of his story, as is

discussed more fully below.

In order to understand the voice system of Núñez' narrative 'The Turning Point,' and the

moral axis it constructs, it must be situated in the context in which he places it, which is within a

framework built by a number of other rhetorical strategies.   These include the construction of a

framework of oppositions, which itself charts a 'moral geography (Hill 1995),' the sequencing of

narrative elements (Labov 1972b), and the plot itself, its variable tension structured using

rhetorical strategies such as indirect vs. direct discourse, pauses, and oppositions. Although this

is a short narrative, especially in comparison to that of Don Gabriel, it nonetheless makes use of

some similar strategies, and it is worth taking the time to discuss each briefly.

Framework of Oppositions

Núñez sets up a system of oppositions in the course of this short story, which in turn

contribute to the layout of a 'moral geography' (Hill 1995).   He does this in several ways; first,

by introducing physical spaces and population concentrations that are in opposition or contrast to

one another. He also brings out a theme, transgression, that plays a liminal role between both the

physical space and population concentrations. Finally, over the course of the narrative, he traces

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movement from one of these space and concentrations to the opposing one via the enactment of his transgression.

In lines 1-4, Núñez describes the physical space of the framing and molding factory where he worked. In addition to the industrial and factory-oriented nature of working-class Barcelona during this time period, the lengthy amount of time he worked there (21 years) and the young age at which he began (18, although he correct himself to 16, but I believe that is the age he arrived in Barcelona and 18 is the age at which he began to work in the factory) lend the idea that this is a stable, unchanging, institutional space in which, at least by design, there is not much room for agency nor variation. In the narrative and in the context of the '*lucha obrera*,' the space is easily seen as a playing field for the capitalist mode of production, in which, particularly in Núñez's view as a once-clandestine organizer of the then-illegal Communist Party, workers are deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as the director of their own actions; in short, the factory is set up as an oppressive space in which Núñez was destined to work from a young age and for 21 years. This space is further constructed as oppressive in lines 5-9, in which he introduces the strike, which was against labor conditions at the factory, as well as the constraints on striking by the factory and the oppressive Spanish government ("but a strike—understand!— you couldn't go on strike! It was all prohibited in the era of Franco!"). The negative construction—"You couldn't go on strike"— references a contrast between the conditions of that time and current conditions, and introduces an element that conveys the storyteller's evaluation of the event as "oppositional to expectation (Wennerstrom 2001)."

In lines 10-12, Núñez has a conversation with his mother, in what can be seen as the 'complicating action' (see narrative sequencing, below) of the narrative. The space in which these conversations take place may arguably be called 'the home.' Normally a space of

relaxation or escape from working life, in this case 'home' is set up not in opposition to 'factory,' but rather as sharing some ideological commonalities. Núñez, at 18, ostensibly wanting to join the strike, pleads with his mother, who says "No" with a vague explanation and reference to Núñez's father as a reason, although the nature of the reason is not given (Núñez's father had been living in exile in Morocco since the Spanish Civil War, at least two decades at the time of this event, and had begun a new life with children and a business there) for her son not to participate. His next statement references his mother's fear after having worked so hard at that time. While the space of 'factory' here is constructed as an oppressive space due to limited mobility and the capitalist wage-labor system in which he was caught, the space of 'home' appears equally oppressive because, again, he is unable to conceive of himself as the director of his own actions. His own mother is oppressor in this space via the deployment of 'fear' for what might go wrong should he disobey.

Núñez, with hands figuratively tied both by his employer and his mother, by capitalism and by fear, and powerless to act on his own behalf, remains in the factory during the strike: "and I stayed, well then, anyway, they went on strike but I stayed, well, there, like 2 or 3 others and the boss (lines 13-14)." All of the others took to the streets on strike. The oppositional gap between 'factory' and 'home,' on the one hand, and 'on strike,' on the other hand, becomes further pronounced when we consider the contrast in population concentration between the two poles—in the home, there is only Núñez and his mother, and in the factory during the strike, there is only Núñez, 2 or 3 others, and the boss. In the strike, there is everyone else. The ideological contrast between 'factory/home' and 'on strike' deepens along with the geographical and population contrast. It is clear from Núñez's chosen rhetorical strategies that he has set up a hierarchy of physical spaces, with striking—ostensibly in public streets— as the most desirable

place. This sentiment is echoed in Núñez's story 'Tying Shoes,' wherein the disobedient action is carried out completely publicly in the streets, over long distances (Lesseps to Nou Barris— where Núñez was probably referring to with 'here'—to Canyelles is a significant amount of city walking distance. Canyelles is, in fact, a neighboring town. Not insignificantly, this journey involves a very steep uphill climb, as this part of the city lies in the foothills of a mountain ridge that extends across the entire western border of the city of Barcelona). In that case, the danger is with them all along, in the form of a hypothetical person following them and the possibility of being punished or shot, yet the action—like a labor strike— takes place publicly in this space of the 'street,' the playing field for agentive disobedience.

Núñez moves from the undesirable to the desirable space in the course of his narrative. While staying in the factory means no benefits and being labeled a scab, striking in the streets mean benefits, in terms of money and in terms of solidarity with other workers. This is where the 18 year old Núñez wants to move, and this is where he ends up, in line 27, when he "began to stand up for himself a little too." The way to mediate between these two spaces is through disobedience, to one's employer (i.e. capitalism) and to one's mother (i.e. fear). Indeed, the two are inseparable, as Núñez's representation of his mother as fearful could also be seen as a comment on the political oppression of the time that extended even into the home, and had strongly affected the trajectory of their family members' lives. Núñez feels a "touch to his conscience," a call to disobey, after this, and begins for the first time to understand what it means *not* to participate in disobedient acts, like all the others (line 22), again setting up an evaluative contrast. He has clearly constructed a moral geography (Hill 1995) in which not only is 'disobedience' the vehicle from one space to the next, but it is the mediator from being stuck with fear, alienation of labor, and being unable to direct one's own actions, to a space in which

he claims both agency and solidarity via cooperative disobedience. It is, ideologically and physically, a journey towards solidarity via disobedience, albeit with the requisite amount of danger.

The "Tying Shoes' story represents a similar ideological journey in addition to the obvious physical journey, in which the participants climb steep hills through city streets in order to exchange important information clandestinely. By appearing to work within the boundaries of accepted behavior—drinking water, tying shoes—they are performatively creating a space in which to perform disobedience clandestinely, the end result of which is signified by physical ground covered and ideological material exchanged. The journey, difficult due to the danger of surveillance and the steep uphill climb, is an indexically and interactionally creative process: it is through the acquisition of certain knowledge that an activist consciousness and subjectivity is created, and through the act of transmitting this knowledge that the relationship between walkers as co-conspirators is performed and maintained.

Sequencing of narrative elements

The narrative 'The Turning Point' itself is structured largely according to a typical narrative framework (Labov 1972b), beginning with an orientation (lines 1-9) that describes the time and place, as well as some other information relevant to an outsider's understanding of the event being described:

1. In a framing factory

2. There I lasted 21 years working.

3. There, well there, then, at 18, 18, 18, //ah

4. I arrived at 16.

5.   The year that I was there there was a strike,

6.   but a strike—understand!—you couldn't go on strike /

7.   it was all prohibited in the era of Franco,

8.   a strike that's not done now, extraordinary! ah that ah

9.   but anyway, in that era no no

as well as a coda that includes some elements of moral evaluation:

27. /and I began there /to stand up for myself a little too/

In between, there is a complicating action, established through a conversation between Núñez and his mother:

10. // and my mother, well I said "Mama!" and so on

11. And my mother says "no no son, no no! //no, because your father, and I don't know what"

12. for my mother it made her very scared, / a mother who had worked so much, then.

13. /And I stayed, well then, anyway, /they went on strike

14. but I stayed, well, there, like / 2 or 3 others and the boss.

and a result/resolution:

15.   But later I realized

16. that when that had finished,

17. /for me they didn't give me even five //of the raise, nothing,

18. because I hadn't participated.

19. So it's clear, / and later I'm seen badly. I was 'the scab',

20. I went through, I came back, I passed the thousand and one nights

21. …and in the end, /that was for me, /well, the first touch to my conscience, /

22. to realize /what it was, //what it was,// the issue of, not being, //a participant in things. //

23. And stay away?

Interspersed, both within the above sections and separately, are evaluative elements, some of which will be distributed among voices in the voice system and others which are made through reported or indirect speech and other rhetorical strategies. He makes use of the narrative framework and evaluative strategies to create a space for the theme of 'disobedience' to arise as the only moral and viable option that preserves values of cooperativism and self-management.

Plot and tension

Although this is a brief narrative, Núñez builds tension in the plot using a few strategies. The only instance of direct reported speech occurs in the complicating action, arguably the peak of the narrative. The rest of the narrative does not use reported speech unless indirect, as in the case of 'the scab' (line 19), which is an embedded evaluative strategy: according to Labov, "sometimes, a third person is introduced who evaluates the antagonist's actions for the narrator (Labov 1972, 373)." This voice might well be attributable to the narrator himself, but carries more dramatic force when it is perceived to come from a third party, in this case, the hypothetical voice of the striking workers. In addition, it is during the peak that the opposition

between few people and many people (at factory vs. on strike) is rhetorically and indexically created with "and I stayed, well then, anyway, they went on strike but I stayed, well, there, like 2 or 3 others and the boss (lines 13-14)." Also happening just after the peak is a decrease in the pace of the narrative. The result/resolution is characterized by more frequent and longer pauses as well as repetition of phrases, especially in the evaluative statements in lines 21-22. These pauses are also concurrent with a sequence of verbs in the preterite, beginning with 'I stayed' as the peak of the plot and tension, and followed by "I realized," "I crossed," "I came back," "I passed," "I began," which themselves indicate concrete events that reflect the transformation from 'scab' to morally-grounded activist.

Voice System

A preliminary voicing structure of the narrative 'The Turning Point' follows, exploding the idea of participant roles to include elements of other, past and hypothetical contexts. Following Hill's (1995) methods and drawing on Bakhtin and Goffman, the initial step is to categorize the constituent voices as A. 'Figures,' personages created through voicing by the speaker; and B. 'Laminations' of some self belonging to the animator along a moral axis.

Figures

Three voices arise in the course of the narrative that can be attributed to figures (personages created through voicing) (Goffman 1974). The first is the most debatable one, as I have made the choice to list the figure of 18 year old, naive Núñez not as a "lamination of self" but as a figure, separate from Núñez as animator mainly because of his distance from the center of the moral axis he constructs in this narrative and because the animator, as narrator, evaluates and mitigates responsibility for everything this young Núñez figure does and says. This young

figure, in conjunction with the mother and the implied yet indirect voice of the striking

coworkers (line 19) constitute the core of the narrative, through the dialog that happens in lines

10 and 11 between mother and son, and through the representation of the striking coworkers who

call Núñez a 'scab', the latter of which represent the morally ideal place to be.   It is in this brief

dialog between mother and son, however, that we see the ideological opposition between values

felt to be foreign and 'outside' the moral geography (Hill 1995) of the narrator and the values

forming the grounded center of the moral geography (Hill 1995). While his mother's words echo

her (and that of many at this time) recent experience during the Civil War, in which to be caught

resisting meant execution or exile (as was the case with Núñez's father, which had resulted in

hard work and difficulty in her own life and that of her children), the pleading words the narrator

attributes to the young Núñez ("Mama!") evoke a resistance to her fear and to the ideology that

generated that fear, perhaps even evoking words and acts of his own exiled father. In order for

his mother to represent a point of view that aligns with that of the fearful, compliant, non-striking

workers as opposed to that of the disobedient, striking workers, Núñez must choose a voice to

use for her that does not get assimilated into his own moral position, or call into question the

ideology he aligns with—that of cooperativism and worker solidarity through disobedience. The

reported speech he ascribes to his mother consists of a vague negative statement that alludes to

but never actually gives a reason not to strike and instead, trails off as he seems to move to

quickly brush this part of the narrative aside ("No, no son no, no because of your father, and I

don't know what…"). In fact, regardless of the appearance that it is entirely reported speech of

his mother, it is the voice of the evaluator that actually takes over the second part of this

quotation (" and I don't know what…"), embedding an evaluation within his mother's quotation

that implies that whatever reason was given was inadequate. It is consistent with Bakhtin's

assertion that some voices will 'fall out' of the dialog, as if they "put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker (Hill 1995, 109 citing Bakhtin 1981, 294)." When Núñez must speak of any hypothetical reason not to approve of going on a worker's strike, he appears, if not unable to utter the words, then at least not interested in following through with the exercise of doing so. The points that, a) his mother was a reason for him not to strike, and b) that this was not *his* choice, have been made, but his utterance is dismissive not only of whatever the reason his mother had given at the time, but also of any possible reason itself, to the point that he exhibits dysfluency when encountering the pivotal moment of interanimation in which he *must choose*, and will dismiss it with a trailing "I don't know…" As discussed above, telling a story of disobedience addresses an ideology, if not directly, then via a 'sidelong glance' at a hypothetical utterance taking up that ideology, in this case one of capitalist wage-labor and fear. To perform a voice that speaks from that ideology, Núñez must be cautious not to cede moral ground and risk assimilating that voice. When the lexicon of capitalist wage-labor and fear penetrated close to his moral center of solidarity and disobedience, he dominates it by trailing off and thus rejecting responsibility for this voice and the ideology it indexes entirely.

Laminations of self

Following Goffman, the notion of 'self' here is presented as lacking any sort of essential core, consisting instead of a complex construction, a polyvocalic collection of ways to present the self. Núñez constructs the voice system along a moral axis, the center of which Goffman refers to as the "Addressing self" (Hill 1995; Goffman 1974). The laminations of self present in this narrative include the post-strike Núñez, whose place on the moral axis begins to move closer to the center—to the addressing self—with "to realize what it was // the issue of // not // participating in things (line 22)" and "I began there to stand up for myself a little too…(line 27)."

Another lamination is the Narrator, perhaps significantly overlapping or blending with the Evaluator, both of whom are in dialog with each other in a struggle for definition of 'self' and moral center. At times, the narrator pauses and takes account of his audience, and assumes the role of elder and teacher to me, a younger, foreign, interested interlocutor. For example, in lines 6-9, there is an evaluative digression from the narrative to explain the conditions for striking during that era, an era in which it is known to us both that I was neither alive nor was it part of my own cultural knowledge schema. This type of evaluative digression by the Narrator is repeated again in line 12, when his mother's stance on the strike must be justified to the listener ("for my mother it made her very scared, a mother who had worked so hard then"), and then again with some external evaluation in lines 19-26, in which the Narrator details the consequences of not striking and mitigates responsibility for the young figure of Núñez ("It's clear, I was very young…"). These types of frequent external evaluation that explicitly stop to tell the listener the information that she should glean from the story indicate that perhaps the story itself serves mostly as the framework for the evaluation, not the other way around.

Discussion and Conclusion

As Polletta remarks on storytelling's role in protest, "the evaluative component indicates why the story is important to tell…the story's larger meaning seems to arise from the events themselves (Polletta 2004)." In 'The Turning Point,' Núñez is doing several kinds of social and interactional work through his evaluation. He is instructing his interlocutor in how to think about his story, as well as explicitly how to understand the event he describes and the historical trajectory that dialogically informs his retelling of the event. Stories such as these are never free of the effect of the outside observer, but in recounting it, the interviewee nonetheless undergoes a sort of "reliving" because the experience itself and the emotions involved form an important part

of the animator's biography (Labov 1972b). While this event is, to Núñez, a pivotal one in which he undergoes a sort of transformation into an activist, a 'touch to his conscience,' it is also one in which the importance of disobedience is perhaps most clearly defined. He sets up an ideology—that of capitalist production, alienation of labor, oppressive regimes and fear of repercussions, and then clearly aligns himself in opposition to it. He does so not only by setting up oppositions between physical spaces ('factory' and 'home' vs. 'on strike') and population concentrations (few vs. many), but also by describing the journey from one space to the other, a ritual-like process that is accomplished through the willingness and dedication to disobey the ideology to which he is opposed. This sentiment is echoed both in 'Tying shoes,' where the journey itself is reflected as well as the dedication to disobey regardless of the danger, and in "Black shoes and socks,' in which an indirect form of protest is collectively lodged quite directly and consistently at an employer's requirements. Tension is built in the course of his story by placing the dialogue between himself and his mother —which is also a dialogue between the two ideologies—at the peak of tension, with the rest of the story characterized more dramatically by frequent pauses and a sequence of preterite verbs detailing the process through which Núñez becomes an activist. It is through a voice system, however, that Núñez constructs disobedience not only as morally-grounded action, but as the center of his own construction of self, indeed, the only possible voice for which he takes responsibility is that of the disobedient addressing self which occupies the center of his moral geography (Hill 1995). Other voices, like his mother's and the 18 year-old Núñez's, are constructed in opposition to the disobedient, activist Núñez and responsibility for these voices is mitigated through a variety of evaluative and rhetorical strategies.

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Transgression, in this brief collection of stories, is constructed as a moral counter-voice to the voices promoted by the powerful in both 1950s Barcelona and today. Voices compete within the authorial consciousness of the animator to construct this concept of transgression, and through rhetorical and dialogic strategies each voice is assigned a place on a moral axis on which transgression occupies the central position. In Hill's analysis of Don Gabriel's narrative, she finds the 'voice' of a peasant ideology in opposition to the voice of business for profit: "A peasant consciousness is at least partially constituted as a domain of ongoing ideological resistance to a capitalist ideology (Hill 1995, 138)." This is reflected in Núñez's and Arturo's stories of organizing clandestinely under Franco, in which the voice of the dominant and authoritarian capitalist narrative of the 1950s vies with the counter-voice of cooperativism and solidarity that is being preserved through these sorts of stories. Polletta maintains that this is the place of storytelling within protest movements: "where authorities are unyielding, storytelling sustains groups as they fight for reform, helping them build new collective identities, link current actions to heroic pasts and glorious futures, and restyle setbacks as way stations to victory. Even before movements emerge, the stories that circulate within subaltern communities provide a counterpoint to the myths promoted by the powerful (2006, 2)." Rather than an anonymous, dominant, collective 'voice from nowhere,' Núñez, Arturo and their stories contribute to the collective 'voices from somewhere,' serving as counter-voices to the dominant voice and participating in a cultural discourse of disobedience that preserves, rather than introduces, the long-standing counter-values of self-management, cooperativism and solidarity in activist Barcelona. The storytelling also serves as an example of Peircean symbols, in their referential, convention-based nature which nonetheless elicits a certain type of response and understanding

by an interpreter, a necessary element of the symbolic sign-object relation that is not as vital to indexicial or iconic sign relations.

Early in this chapter, the Bakhtinian view of linguistic choice as a moment of the 'emergence of consciousness' was discussed; this moment is something Núñez has navigated very deftly in constructing his moral geography (Hill 1995), and which another *Iaioflauta* will do quite differently in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: Choosing not to choose: Linguistic choice and ideology in Barcelonese social movements

> *"No hay problemas," says Pablo, "La gente de la calle tiene otros problemas—ese problema de banderas no lo tienen."*
>
> (There's no problem. People on the street have other problems—they don't have this problem of flags.)

Pablo sits at a cafe sipping beer. He is in his late 60s, an elderly activist who often participates with the ***Iaioflautas***. He sits telling stories of his lifetime of activism during and after Franco's fascist regime, and of his involvement in the current movement.   I ask him how the theme of Catalan independence is related to the 15M movement. He begins describing to me in Castilian his overt reluctance to engage with linguistic politics:

> *"A mi no me pasan estas cosas. La gente ve que hablas castellano e intenta cambiar o si no, sigue en Catalan y tu en Castellano."*
>
> (These things don't happen to me. People see that you speak Castilian and they try to switch, or if not, they continue in Catalan and you in Castilian.)

In a bilingual nation with entrenched historical ideologies about speakers of Catalan and Castilian, it is a statement in itself to gloss over language choice and nationalism as unproblematic in Catalonia, despite the desires of many for this to be true. Indeed, Pablo's recognition that '*estas cosas*' [these things] happen at all is peculiar alongside his insistence that there are no problems with language, flags, or nations. What '*estas cosas*' are is left somewhat ambiguous, but it is no stretch to infer that he means the idea that speakers are either unable to use their language of choice freely, or are offended by those choosing to speak the other. He

brushes all of this aside by claiming it's not a problem at all—that it doesn't even really happen on the street.

In the 'autonomous community' of Catalonia, the two official languages, Catalan and Castilian, have historical indexical ties to socioeconomic classes and also to political ideologies; Castilian, the nearly-hegemonic language of the Spanish state, is also peculiarly the language most often linked with the working class in Catalonia as well as Spanish centralist politics, while Catalan, the regional language promoted through powerful language policies and the now-independentist Catalan government, has historically been at least partially associated with the middle class and Catalan intellectuals. Although new research (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo 2015;Pujolar 2015;Woolard 2016, xxii) is tracking some important shifts in these indexical relationships, these language ideologies have been engraved deeply in the social imaginaries of Catalonia's residents for generations. Everyday linguistic choices are, then, tightly bound up in the politics of identity.

It seems paradoxical then that at the outset, the two languages have what appears to be a harmonious arrangement within the 15M movement in Catalonia. The environment at assemblies seems to be one in which it is possible to speak either language, and Pablo's statements above would have us believe this, but this becomes problematic nonetheless when the social positions being indexed through language use are examined. The 15M movement's Catalan chapters implicitly espouse a linguistic environment in which members can use either Castilian or Catalan 'freely,' without the social stigma or stereotypes attached to either language. Yet, any movement in today's Catalonia that attempts to use the languages 'freely' is belying the complexity of the social facts of local language choices. Indexes of social position expressed in such linguistic choices are not easily 'wished away' in the interests of a broader form of

solidarity. In spite of this desire to use Catalan and Castilian 'freely,' the underlying indexical

forces at work within the community are less in the realm of conscious desire than they are

metapragmatically perceived to be. Adopting an ideology of 'free choice' is, itself, like Pablo's

pronouncement, a statement—opting *not* to choose one language over another itself constitutes a

stance-taking act regardless of a speaker's language ideologies. At first glance, it is also

practically impossible *not to choose*— this chapter examines this impossibility more closely

through situated language use within the movement.

Conventional research on code choice would point to the negotiation of certain

interactional risks on the part of speakers which emerge in the course of each speech event and

contribute to the creation and projection of individual and group identities. However, as some

new research on Catalan sociolinguistics points out, this view is rooted in a time-honored

assumption that linguistic codes are the vessels for speakers' ethno-linguistic identities. This

chapter additionally traces the shifting landscape of language and identity in Catalunya and

provides support for this new research that shows these assumptions to be less than widely

applicable in today's Barcelona.

A recent study (Martinez i Bou 2015), in addition to my own data collected through

participant observation of Catalan 15M protests, assemblies and their social media presence

suggest that, while the linguistic landscape as well as the 'public face' of the movement— social

media posts, assembly and protest signage, for example— is deliberately produced in Catalan or

with both languages in translation, the majority of the day-to-day workings of the groups, at least

within Barcelona, takes place in Castilian. While at the outset, it would appear that the language

shared by the most activists, Castilian, would be the logical choice for the movement's public

discourse (after all, there are no, or very few, monolingual Catalan speakers), the memory of the

historic suppression of the Catalan language is present enough today that to use only Castilian

would be a semiotically and ideologically-laden choice that would alienate and infuriate many.

Additionally, many Catalan activists and prominent scholars point out that the tradition of

making Castilian the unmarked choice reinforces a public and historical record that is weighted

towards an apparent invisibility, even within academia, of the "banal nationalism of already-

existing states (Woolard 2016);" meaning, in this case, taking for granted Spanish nationalism in

one's rejection of that of Catalonia. Likewise, a choice to use only Catalan would alienate the

large portion of the population that doesn't speak it, as well as evoke an ideology linked to

Catalan nationalism and disassociate Catalonia's 15M chapters from those in Spain. As it stands,

many Catalan nationalists, especially those who are part of the currently enormously popular

Catalan independence movement, have been suspicious of this movement and its reliance on

Castilian as a lingua franca regardless of some potential shared objectives: while both

movements espouse a goal of self-determination **(autodeterminació)** for Catalonia, 15M

generally rejects explicit calls for statehood as it is seen to reproduce the corrupt political system

already in existence in both Spain and Catalonia. Thus, the '*indignados*'—**indignats** as they are

called in Catalan—face an odd challenge in Barcelona that is not faced in Madrid or elsewhere in

Spain. This movement has the counterintuitive challenge of distinguishing itself to Catalan

nationalists as being something other than yet another manifestation of Spanish domination and

hegemony. My research suggests that, while indexical fields are shifting, linguistic choice is not

yet fully extricable from historical indexical relationships between language and identity in

Catalonia. Members of 15M have to confront the social facts of language use in the area, and

they must make linguistic choices that alienate many who might otherwise identify with their

cause. A vignette later in this chapter illuminates how these seemingly opposed ideologies of

language use bump up against each other in movement dynamics and everyday interactions, and provides a jumping-off point for further discussion of this theme.

Bakhtin's moment of choice

This paradox of language choice, veiled by in 'official' tenets of equality and democracy espoused by social movements and modern political formations, can be unpacked when attention is paid to how it is circumscribed in everyday dialogic speech. Looking deeper at how linguistic choices are made—because the inescapable fact here is that they *are* made— and the effects they have, begins to unpack and yield the social forces at work in a community.

To begin with, let us look at what Bakhtin calls the 'emergence of consciousness'—something that occurs in the moments in which consciousness must choose an orientation. Among all of the heteroglossic possibilities a speaker has in his or her linguistic repertoire, the inevitable moment at which one *must choose one* may be seen as a moment of moral choice:

> Everywhere [consciousness] comes upon languages and not language. [It] finds itself inevitably facing the necessity of *having to choose* a language. With each literary-verbal performance, consciousness must actively orient itself amidst heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Hill 1995; emphasis in Hill's version).

Considering these moments of the 'emergence of consciousness' is an intriguing way to yield the metapragmatic gap between how ideals are publicly constructed and how they are enacted in everyday life. This chapter is an exploration of two themes: situated language choice (and ideologies of language use) within social movements, and the shifting sociolinguistic 'lay of the land' in Catalonia—an anomaly among bilingual communities with a particular intensity of linguistic politics that has undergone drastic and rapid change in the last generation, yet still houses vestigial historical ideologies. These themes become intertwined in an unexpected but

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theoretically fruitful way at the end of the chapter, when a question is raised— can the indexical

links between language choice and identity be pushed aside—willfully or subconsciously—in

order to create a space of solidarity in which the wider community's norms do not apply?

Sociolinguistics of Catalonia

In Catalonia, there is an implicit understanding of the linguistic "lay of the land" that

relies on somewhat outdated class-based linguistic ideologies. From the 1800s through the

Franco years, Catalonia's early industrial concentration was such that the bourgeoisie— factory

owners and entrepreneurs—were typically Catalan-speaking. The industrial boom, among other

factors, led to the influx of massive numbers of immigrants[6] from poorer areas of Spain (largely

from Andalucía and other southern regions) who formed a working-class that was nearly fully

Castilian speaking. One outcome of this migration was a society that, viewed somewhat

simplistically, appeared to be stratified neatly along language and class lines, with a Castilian-

speaking working class and a Catalan bourgeoisie.

But this case is odd—Catalan is at once a minoritized language that has endured attempts

against its survival and oppressive practices and policies on the part of the Spanish state, but also

the language of prestige within its spoken area. Woolard aptly described Catalan's anomalous

position in the years after the transition to democracy following Franco's death in 1975 as "a rare

threatened minority language that makes a bid not just for survival, but to become a principal

public language (Woolard 2005a)." It's clear that its bourgeois class distinction is a large

contributor to Catalan's survival in such numbers (there are close to 10 million speakers of

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[6] Following convention, and despite its seeming dissonance with common usage, I use
this word to describe those coming to live in Catalonia from elsewhere, including and
specifically in the scenario of Catalonia's industrial boom, Spanish workers from outside of
Catalonia.

Catalan in the world today). To complicate matters further, the fact that Castilian is perceived as both the language of the Spanish state *and* the language of the working class in Catalonia puts Catalan in the odd position of being sandwiched between Castilian as both the oppressive state majority language and the everyday working class language—the voice of both bureaucracy and working class solidarity has historically been a Castilian one.

Sociolinguistics of Catalunya, now

As previously discussed, the peculiar sociolinguistic environment in Catalonia is in large part due to immigration and the dominance of the Spanish state. Industrial concentration of the textile industry around Barcelona in the 19th century brought massive immigration from poorer parts of Spain that saw another large immigration boom under Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), reaching huge proportions. As the immigrant working class grew, so did the number of Castilian monolinguals, steadily edging in on the Catalan-speaking population and creating what remains today a somewhat anomalous sociolinguistic 'sandwich.' As described above, Castilian is most often linked in public perception to both the working class *and* to Spanish centralist politics and 'Spain' itself. Meanwhile, Catalan is associated with the middle class, with Catalan intellectuals, and with the now-independentist Catalan government. The latter has promoted the language via powerful language policies since the post-Franco transition to democracy. Language ideologies indexed via this sociolinguistic 'sandwich' are malleable, but engraved deeply in the social imaginaries of Catalonia's residents. For decades, identity politics in Catalonia have been rooted in a 'monolingual Romantic ideal' that pits Catalan and Castilian against each other as mutually exclusive languages and corresponding identities (Woolard and Frekko 2013). For past generations, speaking Catalan was the same as 'being Catalan,' with the same being true for Castilian.

While there are some ways in which the above ideology of neat language/class/identity distinctions applies, the current situation is neither as simple nor as definable. Since the early 1980s, Catalan has been the main medium of education in Catalonia. Now, there are generations of Catalonia's residents who have grown up using Catalan everyday, regardless of their home and heritage languages, effectively altering the previous sociolinguistic landscape beyond recognition and ushering in a new sort of speech community. The distinction along class lines all but dissolves when actual language use is viewed. Indexical relationships, however, persist in many spheres, and as much new research points out, both public discourse and debates on language policy still draw on these outdated assumptions. For example, a recent debate over the language of education in Catalonia drew on complaints by some Castilian-speaking parents that their children were being denied an education in the language with which they identify (Castilian). As Woolard and Frekko (2013) point out, even though the traditional tenets of language ideology have been deconstructed extensively by sociolinguists in the last few decades, in organized politics, they remain extremely tenacious: "Language policy appears like a Sisyphean rock that is pushed up and rolls down the same hill again and again (130)." Not only are Catalan and Castilian often still considered socially stratified, they are also often thought of as mutually exclusive and bounded.

Recent longitudinal research in Catalonia (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015; Woolard 2016) has shown that the deliberate language policies implemented in the late 1970s and early 80s may finally be having their intended effects. A shift away from language choice as the container for ethnic identity and toward specific interpersonal relationships and contexts as catalysts for choice is in progress in Catalonia; Pujolar (2014) demonstrates how Catalonia is an ideal laboratory in which to not only examine this type of change-in-progress, but to exemplify

alternative approaches to traditional code choice theory. While the general trend in sociolinguistic research has been to highlight the boundary-work between codes and communities being performed in bilingual practices, he shows how group identity as a determining factor for language choice is declining, while contextual factors as catalysts for code choice are increasing. In short, younger Catalans who have grown up immersed in Catalan-medium schooling —which has provided them previously more difficult-to-find access to Catalan as well as social mobility—are not using Catalan as the in-group language it once functioned as. Rather than make language choices based on the ethno-linguistic identity of an interlocutor, speakers rely more on contextual factors in making choices, and thus Catalan is becoming increasingly 'anonymous' and unmarked (Woolard 2013; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo 2015). O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo posit that "the de-ethnicization of Catalan is finally reaching the types of social contexts and people who had so far sustained the ethnonational paradigm of language choice and identity—the so-called 'man in the street (142),'" like Pablo, above, who insists there are no problems with language or flags. In addition, there is no clear evidence that language use in Catalonia is diglossic; historically speaking, the H variety in a speech community tends to be the prestigious variety, but also the public language. In Catalonia, this has long been complicated by Catalan's position as a minoritized language of prestige and also a language used in the private and some administrative domains. But language policy and educational access have deliberately transformed Catalan into a public language. To complicate it further, research from the 1990s on shows language shift going both ways and often changing intra-conversationally (Vallverdù 1984).

The shifting ideological ground of authenticity and anonymity

While immigration from peripheral Spain and the domination of the Spanish state have large parts to play in the continued dominance of Castilian in Catalonia, there is an underlying ideological field on which they are mere players in an ongoing battle for linguistic authority. Woolard, drawing on Bourdieu, describes how dominant languages like French in France or American English rest their authority on being received as an anonymous 'voice from nowhere,' belonging to a public that supposedly includes everyone (Woolard 2005b): the 'public' itself (Habermas 1991) being "a social space that generates a common public discourse, supposedly includes everyone, but it abstracts away from each person's private and interested individual characteristics to distill that common voice (Woolard 2016, 25)." This conception is strikingly similar to that of some 15M participants I have interviewed, for whom personal characteristics are abstracted away in order to essentialize a socially-neutral common voice that can speak universal truths. Woolard writes, "In that public standard, we are not supposed to hear the interests of a historically specific group (5)."

The *ideology of anonymity,* an element of Enlightenment universalism, values a public, and by extension a language variety, as a neutral, objective vehicle of expression equally available to all users, and leads to a position of superiority that is naturalized and beyond question—a voice or 'view from nowhere' (Nagel 1986; in Woolard 2005, 5), or "a variety of language that a speaker can stand outside of (Keane 2003)." Under this ideology, it is what is said that matters, not who says it, as the variety itself is not perceived to evoke a certain type of speaker. It is through this ideology that dominant languages are able to solidify their hegemony and achieve what Raymond Williams (1973) referred to as the 'saturation of consciousness' (Woolard 2016).

An *ideology of authenticity,* rooted in an ideal of Romantic particularism, credits a language variety with value "insofar as it expresses the essential, distinctive nature of a community or speaker (Woolard & Frekko 2013, 135)." A language which gains its authority through the ideology of authenticity signals who one is, rather than what one has to say—it is a voice 'from somewhere very specific' (Woolard 2016).

The tidiness of both of these ideologies of linguistic authority—that of authenticity and anonymity—is complicated and problematized when viewed through the lens of language choice in Catalonia. To begin with, authenticity has somewhat oppositional effects on minoritized languages like Catalan. Catalan has traditionally been heard as a local voice of authenticity rather than anonymity, belonging to a particular kind of person, from a particular place, in spite of the Catalan government's marked efforts to make the language an unmarked choice—to render it an anonymous naturalized voice. Its very survival over centuries of oppressive policies and, most recently, the Franco regime, depended heavily on its perceived value as an authenticator of a local identity, yet it is just this authenticating capital that inhibits the ability to extend Catalan language use to new speakers. An authentic speaker is supposed to come by this language 'naturally'; for the generations learning Catalan in school in the first years of autonomy, their authenticity as speakers was not guaranteed because their Catalan wasn't rooted deeply in the "mountains of peasant folk purity (Woolard 2016, 22)," as the authenticity of many European minoritized languages is perceived to be. The shift towards civic rather than ethnic nationalism that was detailed in the introductory chapter exemplifies one of several overt efforts on the part of Catalan language policy makers to extend Catalan to everyone as a public language regardless of one's homeland or mother tongue.

The flip side of this is that Castilian has never fully enjoyed a status as an anonymous language, as French in France has, for example. Due to the dialogic nature of language and its social and historical trajectories, Castilian, especially in certain Catalan contexts, would historically sound like and be remembered as a voice from somewhere very specific—a voice of oppression from the years under Franco, the voice of obstinate domination from the Spanish state, or alternatively, the voice of the *lucha obrera* or the immigrant working-class it has its roots in. When a language is perceived to be anchored in the cultural capital of a particular group, it is impossible to take it for granted and for it to be sociolinguistically naturalized as an anonymous public language. In short, if it belongs to someone, it can't belong to everyone. The name 'Castilian' itself marks it as belonging to a place (Castile) and a people, and further contributes to the difficulty in achieving what Bourdieu referred to as 'misrecognition'— referring to when people recognize the authority of a dominant language, but fail to recognize the historical trajectory that underpins this authority (Woolard 2016 citing Bourdieu 1982, 1991). As with all dominant languages—successfully anonymized or not— it is not actually unmarked, nor does it belong to everyone.

As with class-based language ideologies, neatly drawn lines turn out to be too simplistic when actual language use is taken into account. The 'new' sociolinguistic lay of the land is such that the binary opposition of linguistic authority as *either* rooted in an ideology of authenticity *or* anonymity is neither clearcut nor broadly applicable in today's Catalonia. Today, Catalan is no longer only the domain of the authentic and autochthonous native speaker, nor is it an anonymous public language, and Castilian is neither fully anonymized and under public ownership, nor is it solely rooted in a spatial or temporal ideology of primordial authenticity.

Soler (2013) suggests some similarities between the positions of Catalan and Estonian in modern Europe. Both are medium-sized languages that have been historically minoritized by formerly hegemonic state languages, and both now can be found to be resituated in the public sphere and have regained some institutional recognition. Deliberate language policy and what Soler calls a "relaxation of the authenticity of Catalan (160)" have led to a noticeable change in the acceptance of varying voices and accents in speakers of Catalan. The unconventional, Andaluz-accented Catalan of Santos, below, is an example of this change, but it is evident to anyone with some longitudinal experience in Catalonia. My own anecdotal evidence attests to this: I first began living in Barcelona in late 2001, and as a foreigner, I soon learned that speaking Castilian was expected of me, but that it also served certain distancing interactional functions, especially with those who preferred Catalan. At this time, it was not common for foreigners to speak Catalan, but I learned a few Catalan phrases for performing everyday activities—shopping, introducing myself, asking for directions—and began using them. In the early 2000s, the reception I got as an American speaking Catalan was generally one of either confusion as to how I could have accessed that knowledge, not being Catalan myself, or even, at times, indignation, which usually took the form of an intentional code-switch into Castilian on the part of my interlocutor, giving the distinct impression that Catalan, despite the compliments I often received, was not really for me to use. However, during my fieldwork for this project, which took place between 2011 and 2015, I experienced this changing. In addition to the fact that my spoken Catalan had vastly improved, allowing me to be capable of using it in a variety of communicative environments, it gradually became less and less 'strange' for Catalan speakers to hear a '*guiri*'[7] speaking Catalan, and, despite my obvious foreign accent and intermediate-level

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[7] 'Guiri' is the depreciative and common colloquial term for a foreigner in Spain, most

speaking skills, a statement I often heard from my interlocutors was "**Ostres! que parles Català millor que jo!**" (CT: "Wow, you speak better Catalan than I!"). This statement reflects an element of linguistic insecurity on the part of Barcelonese Catalan speakers (not uncommonly perceived of by themselves and other Catalan speakers to have the 'worst' or 'most contaminated' Catalan), overt language policy that encourages residents to speak Catalan, regardless of proficiency or accent, and evidence of this shifting ground of linguistic authenticity/anonymity. It also is a remnant of the era of hyper-normalization of Catalan, which contributed to many Catalan-speakers, even some native speakers, feeling they did not speak as properly as some who may have learned in an academic setting (Frekko 2009). While there was previously shame or fear of ridicule involved in speaking Catalan as a non-native speaker, a noticeable change in how native Catalan speakers have accepted different voices and accents has occurred in the last 2 decades, as my own and others' documented experiences suggest (Soler 2013; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Woolard 2016a). People of varied ethnic, social, and linguistic backgrounds regularly utilize varying forms of Catalan for various uses. It appears accented Catalan —indeed the Andaluz accent in particular —is no longer as marked (although it is possible another accent may have taken its place as the marked variety) (Soler 2013, 159).

An overall trend in current research documents the displacement of the source of authority of Catalan away from authenticity and toward anonymity, and, as Woolard's summary of this new research suggests, "beyond, to a new legitimating ideology that challenges both (2013, pg)." The decreasing authority and even, as described above and elsewhere (Frekko

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often used for those with paler skin from other European countries or the US. It can also be applied to non-foreigners depreciatively if they are easily sunburned during the first few sunny days of Spring.

2009), *recognizability* of a Catalan 'native speaker' are likely catalysts for this shift in the seat of authority. As was the deliberate ideological shift from ethnic to civic nationalism after the transition, the linguistic ideological shift has mirrored it, as a native, authentic identity no longer anchors 'Catalanness,' having been replaced with a 'civic' identity in which accented, non-native Catalan can vie for authority with autochthonous Catalan.

Linguistic Cosmopolitanism and Parochialism in Barcelonese social movements

Two female 15M activists in their early 30s discussed with me the presence of those who focused solely on Catalan independence at some of the initial 15M assemblies in public squares in Barcelona in 2011. From Pablo's excerpts, above, it is made clear that, to him, the movement for Catalan independence is a 'problem of flags' to some in the 15M, a problem that is incongruous with the horizontal movement that makes a broad appeal against neoliberal austerity. However, the following exchange describes a particular incident, adds nuance to this conflict, and serves as an example of situated language use and identity politics bumping up against each other on the ground. It also illustrates the tense indexical field in which Catalan now finds itself, as both a public language for everyone and one that simultaneously continues to index nationalism and Catalan identity.

The conversation begins when I ask if the 15M movement in Catalonia has any issues that are not present in the movement in other areas of Spain. An excerpt of the dialog is reproduced below in its entirety, first in the Castilian original and then in English translation, in order for the reader to contextualize the type of discourse in which these issues are brought up (or avoided).

A1 and A2: Activists 1 and 2

GR: interviewer

A1: A ver, sobre todo en principio había una desventaja grande que despues se tranquilizó y despues volvió a salir. Que es el tema de…que como.. el 15M mas bien es globalista (si, si, si)…de romper fronteras, uh.. la gente… que le interesaba mas el tema de independentista puro que es social(?) (noise) no fue fue un problema muy grand e, en la acampada misma fue un problema muy grande, nos acusaban de espanyolistas desde el principio, o una asemblea en concreto…o…sabe.. Estaban pidiendo que…dentro de los minimos pues hacemos la independencia de catalunya, y….

GR: si ah si y como ha surgido esto…han venido—habían venido a la

A1: Let's see…above all, in the beginning, there was a great disadvantage that later calmed down, and then later came up again. And that's the issue of… of how…the 15M is mainly 'globalista' [GR: si, si, si]…about breaking/crossing borders, uh, the people…who are most interested in the issue of pure independence, which is social, [bg noise, A2 and GR: ahh..] No, it was, it was a big problem, in the acampada itself it was a big problem, they accused us of being 'españolistas' [spanish nationalists] from the start, and in one assembly in particular, or, you know? They were asking for …in our minimum demands, well, that we include the independence of Catalonia, and…

asemblea…?

GR: yes, ah yes and how did this come about? They came…they had come to the assembly and said, "you have to vote this…?"

A2: bueno ese día se llenó la plaza…

A2: yeah well, that day the plaza was packed…

A1: hubo un día, o sea si estaban pidiendo algunos, y hubo un día que se pusieron de acuerdos en sus redes propías y…y..bueno la plaza estaba mucho mas llena pues que había venido monton de gente para votar o para asemblear esto. [A2: si]Y ya gente que no esta . [A2:…gente que vino a la plaza] que viene a propósito que no venía nunca.

A1: there was a day, or well many were asking for this, and there was a day when they had come to agreement in their own networks and…and…and well the plaza was much more crowded because a ton of people had come to vote or assembly this [A2: yes] and now people who were not.. [A2: people who came to the square just..] who came with the specific purpose of this who never came otherwise.

A2: gente que no darle plaza…hubo gente que vino a eso.

A2: people who had no place…there were people who came for that.

GR: es su bueno si. Es su unico objectivo

*A1: Si, o sea que lucha es muy correcta, es muy valida pero que el problema es que lo que hicieron era intentaban destrozar sabes el trabajo que estabamos haciendo y no entendían por ejemplo cuando cuando pegaban a gente de barcelona y Madrid decía que "si Catalunya llora **Madrid plora**" todo el mundo "oh que bien que bien" pero cuando pegaban a gente de madrid y nosotros decíamos algo decían "pero porque tienes que ser solidez con madrid?" sabes por ejemplo. eso para empezar. No? y luego cuando ese que en los min..en los recursos minimos que estabamos pidiendo, no se viste ese tema de independencia lo veían como traícion sabes no se ha solucionado bien bien todavía.*

GR: yes, it's their only…objective

*A1: yes, I mean to struggle is very admirable, very valid, but the problem is that what they did was try to destroy, you know?, the work we were doing and they didn't understand.. for example when, when they [the police] hit people in Barcelona and Madrid was saying "if Catalunya cries, Madrid **cries** [first 'cries' in Spanish, second in Catalan]" everybody was like "oh how great, great" but when they were hitting people in Madrid and we said something, they said "but why do you have to show solidarity with Madrid?" you know? For example. That's just to start, no? And then when this thing with the dema…en the minimum demands that we were asking, this issue of independence didn't show up and they saw it as betrayal you know and it hasn't been figured out very very well*

still

A2: es que claro ahí se buscó.. se buscaron formulas en plan estamos a favor de la autodeterminación de pueblos, no? Y les decían que no..que no estaban de acuerdo, no? O sea que sonó como muy flojillo.. Laughs, directamente a la independencia.

A2: it's because, really, there one looked for..they were looking for formulas like, we are for the self-determination of town, no? And they told them that they weren't..that they didn't agree, no? Or I mean it came off really tiring..[laughs] directly to independence.

GR: hay alguna…se puede decir… terreno neutral, no? entre los dos? O no que

GR: is there some…how do you say it… neutral ground, no? Between the two? or no?

A1: bueno lo que pasa es que yo no he hablado tanto catalán como desde el 15M pues [] ….quiza nos volvimos mas catalanes que los catalanistas en algunas cosas sabes o sea los comunicados se hacen mas en catalan que en castellano, [] de barrios

A1: well, what happens is that I haven't spoken this much Catalan as I have since the 15M…maybe we became more Catalan than the Catalanists in some things, you know? Or I mean the communications are made more in Catalan than in Spanish, the things in the neighborhoods.

GR: piensas que si,en asembleas y todo..

A1: si, si.

A2: si…si

……

A2: pero si, el tema del…

A1: y…entonces tambien pues, hombre, tenemos gente poente? Gente que es muy independentista pero que está dentro del 15M

GR: si si como va eso?

A1: Bueno pues porque para del tema de independentismo pues igual que yo soy muy feminista pero no estoy en el grupo de…feminismo…si trabajando esto con sus grupos y para el tema social trabajan con gente del 15M.

GR: you think so, in assemblies and everything?

A1: yes, yes

A2: yes…yes

[………

A2: but yes, the issue of…

A1: and…so also well, man, we have people in both? People who are very independentist but who are inside of the 15M

GR: yes yes and how does that go?

A1: well then because the issue of independentism well just like I am very feminist but I'm not in the working group of… feminism… if working on this with their groups and for the social issue they work with people from the

Pero…parecía que estabamos unos o sea que nos habíamos acostombrado los unos a los otros y luego a partir de la manifestación del 11m..de septiembre…uh.. Hubo decepciones del 15M y hubo gente que volvia a enfocarse en el tema este soberanista …y que una no ha soluciona esto entonces ya volvía el tema social y ademas así literalmente ví ya que esta diciendo

15M. But…it seemed that some of us or I mean we had gotten used to each other and then after the protest of 11 of ma—of september …uh.. There were disappointments about the 15M and there were people that returned to focus again on this issue of sovereignness…and that it hasn't been solved and so now it became a social issue again and what's more like this literally is how I saw what they were saying.

A2: si pero se ha desmontado bastante ese tema, no? Osea yo creo que…

A2: yes but this issue has been taken apart mostly, no? Or I mean I think that..

A1: si, bueno esto si

A1: yes, well, this, yes

A2: se hizo campaña ahí fuerte

A2: they made a very strong campaign

A1: se hizo unas campañas muy muy fuertes. No es de asembleas ni

A1: they made some very strong campaigns. It's not from assemblies

colectivos conocidos sino que al nivel individual o grupos montados solo para hacer campañas en este tema. De recordar a gente que..por ejemplo..a mi me parece muy bien o sea yo de hecho si si la independencia fuera tal como yo lo quiero ser la independencia no solo del estado español sino pero del modelo sabes lo no quiero ser una mini españa. No quiero ser una mini españa. Que a lo mejor un pais mas grande. Y lo que no estoy dispuesta es a que Artur Mas sea el padre fundador de mi patria. Lo tengo clarísimo.

nor known collectives, but instead at the individual level or groups formed just to make campaigns on this issue. To remind people that..for example.. To me it seems very good or I mean in fact if independence was just like I want independence to be not only from the spanish state but from the model, you know?, what I don't want to be is a mini-Spain. I don't want to be a mini-Spain. Even better, a bigger country. And what I am not disposed to is that Artur Mas is the founding father of my homeland. I have that very clear.

A1 depicts the incongruence of Catalan independence and the 15M as "a big problem" which has not yet been solved; according to her—and Pablo, above—the issue of independence gets in the way of what the 15M is trying to do. The 'big problem' she alludes to has roots in the very isolated and clear demand on the part of independentists, which contrasts with the more vague demands of the 15M, which are broadly aimed at dismantling neoliberalism and the austerity measures handed down from the state. Her insistence that other issues are more worthy of discussion in assemblies parallels Pablo's assertion that "People on the street have

other problems. They don't have this problem of flags." From their point of view, a focus on independence alone is a distraction.

This conversation is in part, however, a metapragmatic discourse on language use. *A1* insists that she speaks more Catalan than ever since the movement began, proposing that "maybe we have become more Catalan than the Catalanists in some ways" because of her level of Catalan use. This last statement at once reveals a feeling that Catalan is now a perfectly reasonable and often deployed public language—supporting new research such as Pujolar's and Woolard's—but simultaneously displays how the ideology of language use and Catalan identity as connected at the hip continues to have its hooks deep within the social imaginary of even this younger age group.

Much like the Sisyphean rock to which Woolard likens public discourse and debate about language in Catalonia, the above conversation about language in social movement discourse rolls out assumptions about language that, while outdated, are tenacious enough to warrant another trip up the hill. While both of these speakers are products of the new sociolinguistic milieu in Barcelona, having been educated in Catalan and being fully bilingual, the old tenet of language ideology, that one language = one identity, is rolled out above to both support their own language choices, as well as their opponents', and to describe the discomfort which the 'Catalanists' presence at 15M assemblies presented.

A model that, consciously or not, revolves around a monoglot nationalist ideology carries within it the implicit idea that any motion to advance or protect one language are not merely threats against the other language, but against the pretensions of the 'nation' itself (Woolard & Frekko 2013, 132). In Catalonia, this is a particularly sensitive idea for many due to the historical suppression of Catalan by the Spanish state and of course the violence and exile,

particularly intense in Catalonia, associated with the Spanish Civil War and the ensuing four decades of an authoritarian dictatorship, and current prohibition of the concept of 'nation.'

On the one hand, these two activists are equating the introduction of the theme of Catalan independence to 15M assemblies with the amount of Catalan spoken at the assemblies and within the movement as a whole. This is reflective not just of the traditional one language=one nation, but also of a pervasive and current ideology in Catalonia of '*linguistic cosmopolitanism*' versus '*linguistic parochialism*' (Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Ng 2008; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Woolard and Frekko 2013). Both, like cosmopolitanism and parochialism themselves, concern the space and time one occupies socially; the former reflects an orientation towards a higher and broader plane for self-definition than that of the latter, in which a localized social space-time is reflected (Woolard & Frekko 2013, 133).   Inserting language use into these two ideologies, albeit somewhat simplistically, finds accommodation, bilingualism, and diversity more characteristic of a linguistic cosmopolitanist orientation toward language and identity, as research on language use among a group of Castilian-speaking high schoolers in Barcelona suggests (Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng 2008). Frekko's recent work in Catalonia has found a linguistic cosmopolitanist ideology among Catalan-dominant middle class students who are best positioned to take advantage of the newly commodified value of Catalan (Frekko…). Others, however, consider linguistic cosmopolitanism not an elite phenomenon or explicit policy recommendation, but as an everyday solution for the 'man on the street'—rank-and-file young people of immigrant and/or working-class backgrounds. This latter group, despite its attachment to youth, seems to fit the ideology of Pablo, as well as A1 and A2, all of whom express a desire to 'wish away' the problem of language choice, and with whom a cosmopolitanist orientation fits

uncomfortably with the now-familiar Catalan nationalist rhetoric, which itself still locates

Catalan identity deep within Catalan language use.

The 15M itself is self-consciously cosmopolitan—looking toward broad supra-local

problems and their effects at the local level. A1 and A2 are caught in an ideological paradox,

therefore. They have located their own Catalan use in the movement as indicative of a 'Catalan-

ness' that is perhaps greater even than that of the Catalanists, yet have distanced themselves from

the issue of independence,[8] the linguistic parochialists' bread-and-butter issue and that which for

them is the strongest indexical link to a Catalan identity. Many speakers who are

'cosmopolitanists' envision themselves as moving within a broader social framework and in

some ways positioned above other speakers who are more tied to the authentic 'local.' Certainly

A1 and A2 do this—their insistence that 'that day' at the assembly— when the independentists

showed up with their 'only objective' —was taking away from the issues for which they had

worked so hard is evidence of this. Yet they deploy a parochialist ideology in their insistence of

their own Catalanness as being rooted in how much they speak the language. Pablo, too,

although far older than the typical linguistic cosmopolitanist, uses a cosmopolitanist ideology to

justify his own exclusive use of Castilian by insisting it's not a real problem for people in the

street.

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[8] It is important to note that most 15M activists with whom I have spoken lean strongly towards the idea of 'self-determination' or the 'right to decide' on the topic of independence. While this may be incongruous with the demands of the independence movement backed by the ruling political party, it is far from incongruous with the movement for Catalan sovereignty that has existed for centuries. As A1 puts it, "I'm all for the right to decide, but that means the right to decide everything. And one thing is clear: I don't want Artur Mas to be my founding father." Artur Mas was President of Catalonia at the time of her speaking, and the leader of the center-right Catalan nationalist political party in power and the mainstream figurehead for the fight for Catalan independence from Spain.

Yet invoking an ideology is not the same as deploying it in actual situated language use. Some recent research (Martinez i Bou 2015) has shown that Catalan is overrepresented in the formal outward communications of many of Barcelona's new and 15M-affiliated social movements compared to the informal communication among members and during meetings and assemblies, likely due to Catalan's modern-day status as a public, administrative language. My own interviews with several participants reflect similar attitudes toward language use within movements—mostly that there is no defined policy, or even sometimes, "we just never thought about it" (Martinez i Bou, 2015). Indeed, in most of my own participant observations and interviews, language choices were fairly static among individuals, as well as among groups— persons chose to speak Catalan or Castilian, and more or less consistently did so, with no particular reaction from the rest of the group—as much sociolinguistics of Catalonia has shown, its unique position as a bilingual region whose residents are also bilingual is such that this can happen, and can do so largely below the level of awareness of participants. Although it may happen that this is an unconscious effect of bilingualism in the movement, the fact remains that it is those who speak the minoritized language who wanted to make language use an overt topic of discussion at the assemblies, and those who speak mainly the dominant language, privileged both constitutionally and by numbers of speakers, who insist that it is not a problem and that everyone is welcome to speak as they wish. This means that in practice, there is still a divide between the use of Catalan and use of Castilian.

The following section, however, describes the speech of one particular activist who stands out for his enactment, perhaps creation, of a linguistic cosmopolitan use of language, rather than just a reflection of this popular ideology.

Language choice as creative and prefigurative

Santos is in his 60s, slightly younger than many of the most iconic faces of the typically-elderly *Iaioflautas*, but it is very rare not to find him in a prominent and visible position at any meeting, assembly, or event. He also, unlike many others, makes appearances as a speaker or invited guest at round table discussions—or '**xerrades**' as they are called in Catalan—at local university-sponsored events.

Although he, like so many others, immigrated to Barcelona from the south of Spain at a young age and although Castilian is his first language, Santos uses Catalan regularly for certain interactional effects, giving his speech a special 'flavor' that is somewhat unexpected, particularly for someone of his age and background.

We met to speak at an abandoned '*local*' (storefront or other commercial space) turned squatted neighborhood cultural center in the bohemian neighborhood of Gracia. Like countless other abandoned buildings in the city, neighborhood groups have taken it over and created a community center which offers language classes, film groups, meeting space, a cafe/bar, and other social events. Lacking a quiet space to chat, we positioned ourselves behind a table set up to sell t-shirts and other merchandise to raise funds for the center—thus appearing to work there, or at least to be in a position of authority. From time to time, people would poke their heads in for one reason or another, and Santos, looking as though he was in charge, was the face to which they addressed their questions. While he would usually, in my experience, initiate an interaction in Castilian, he would follow the lead of his interlocutor when he was not the initiator, or in any turn-taking that followed his initiation. In this neighborhood, once a village itself before it became swallowed up by Barcelona and traditionally replete with small, local businesses and artisan workshops, Catalan is often the default language of neighborly interaction. Although

expatriates and young gentrifiers have long since set up shop in Gracia, there remains an elderly

native Catalan-speaking population that provides an interesting juxtaposition to newer

neighborhood businesses catering to expatriates such as the 'English Hair Salon' or the 'Original

Version Cinema.'[9]

Santos' Catalan is nearly fluent, as one would imagine it would be after 60 or 70 years,

but it is clear that Castilian is the language in which he is more comfortable. It is true that, as has

been noted often in the literature (Woolard 1989), there are no (or few, and certainly none living

in Barcelona) monolingual speakers of Catalan, and thus codeswitching from Castilian to

Catalan is not something normally done for comprehension purposes. While the usual variety of

interactional effects are achieved through codeswitches, Santos' appear to constitute a sort of

stance-taking that, I suggest, aligns with the movement's horizontality and decenters the still-

present ideology of language as reflective of nationalist leaning—be it Spanish or Catalan. For

example, a neighboring shopowner poked his head in to inquire about getting some boxes moved

from his storeroom to the center, and the following interaction ensued:

S: Santos

GR: interviewer

V: visitor

P: other person present in adjoining room

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[9] Unlike much of Western Europe, it is most typical in Spain to find foreign films which are dubbed into Spanish (and now, Catalan) rather than shown in their original version with subtitles. One must seek out a cinema such as this well-known one in Gracia to find a foreign film that has not been dubbed over.

In this first clip, Santos and I are talking in a noisy lobby of the center. Someone comes in looking for someone else and addresses Santos. Because of the noisiness of the space, the placement of the microphone, and the fact that the focus of the event was not on interactions with visitors, much of the third-party speech is not easily transcribed.

Interaction #1:

S: *yo creo que hay una cosa que no se* [to visitor: *muy buenas*] *hablan y no se comenta y es como se puede entender la dificultad*	S: *I think that there's something that's not (good day [to visitor])talked about and commented on and it's how one can understand the difficulty*
S: ***hola***	S: ***hello***
[visitor: unintelligible request in Catalan]	V: **[unintelligible request in Catalan]**
S: **hi ha aquí un y a dalt hi ha un altre pero no se cual es ahh..**	S: **there is one here and upstairs there's another but i don't know which is ahh..**
[visitor: unintelligible]	V: **[unintelligible]**
S: **qui?**	S: **who?**
V: **la Seri?**	V: **Seri**
S: ***es que no se, no se***	S: ***it's that, i don't know, i don't know***
GR: ehh, **normalment crec que esta a dalt**	GR: ehh, **normally I think she's upstairs**
S: **a dalt**	S: **upstairs**
GR and S: laughter	GR and S: laughter
S: **Si no son, serán** *los de mas.*	S: **If they're not there,** *others* **will be**
(visitors go upstairs to look for Seri)	(visitors go upstairs to look for Seri)

S: (to GR) *que normalmente no se hablan es una de las cosas que no cambio, es el tema de que la guerra de España es que toda la generación de hombres y mujeres que* estaban organizando

(stops to listen as visitors descend stairs)

S to V: *los de arriba **no son**?*

S: *y este que hicieron desaparecer generaciones enteras de la de la lucha / y es claro uno de los problemas que en Espana hay diferencia de otros sitios y de que* (unintelligible).

S: *incluso que los pocos que quedaron fue...*

S: (to GR*) that normally isn't talked about is one of the things that didn't change is the topic of the war// of Spain [car noise] is that the whole generation of men and women who were organizing*

(stops to listen as visitors descend stairs)

S to V: *the people upstairs **aren't there**?*

S: (to GR) *and the fact that the made entire generations disappear from the, from the struggle/ and it's clear that one of the problems that in Spain there is a difference from other places and* (unintelligible).

S: *including that the few who were left passed*

Interaction #2:

Another person comes in and addresses Santos.

V: ***Hola***	V: ***Hello***
S: *Muy buena(s)*	S: *Good day*
V: **voste es el president de l'Ateneu…[unintelligible]**	V: **you are the president of the center…[unintelligible]**
S: ***que?***	S: ***what?***
V: ..[unintelligible] **president?**	V: ..[unintelligible] **president?**
S: **no es que no es no no// em sembla que aqui nosaltres no tenim una president / no se no tinc ni idea eh?**	S: **no it's that no no// it seems to me that here we don't have a president / I don't know, I have no idea eh?**
V: **Vinc de la festa major eh?**	V: **I'm here about the neighborhood party eh?**
S: **ah, de la** *fiesta mayor* **no ho se/ no se si si / es que saps que pasa? el xicot que porta aquests temas no** *esta* **/**	S: **oh from the** *neighborhood party* **I don't know/ I don't know if if / you know what? the guy who takes care of these things** *is not here* **/**
V: *ah no esta?*	V: *ah he's not here?*
S: *no esta.* **supuso que vindra una mica mes**	S: *he's not here.* **I suppose he'll come a little**

tard. es el Oriol. es un / xicot alt	**later. It is Oriol. It's a / tall guy**
V: **es que jo guardo dos palets y tinc que tornar …**	V: **It's that I'm storing two pallets and I need to return…**
S: ah, ah, *vale. vale*	**C:** ah, ah *ok ok*
V: **[unitelligible but about how he needs the space]**	V: **[unintelligible but about how he needs the space]**
S: **jo si/ tu que estas? aquí al costat?**	S: **I if/ you, where are you? here next door?**
V: **al mercat**	V: **at the market**
S: **al mercat. feré una cosa. si realment jo estic se *lo* dic.**	S: **at the market. I'll do something. If I'm currently here I'll tell *him*.**
V: ***bueno* avui no. [unintelligible]**	V: ***well,* today no. [unintelligible]**
S: ***pues* ja li diré**	S: ***Well*, I will tell him**
V: [unintelligible…]	V: [unintelligible…]
S: **escolta espera no, t'apunto un *teléfono* a el movil seu**	S: **listen, wait, no. I'll note for you his *phone number* to his cell phone**
V:…	V:…
S: (looks for Oriol's phone number)	S: (looks for Oriol's phone number)
S: (to other person at Ateneu): **escolta, tu tens el *telefono* del Oriol?**	S: (to other person at Ateneu): **hey, do you have the *phone number* of Oriol?**
P: **No, [unintelligible]**	P: **No, [unintelligible]**
S: **no es que el company vol parlar amb ell pero jo es que mm dintre d'un ratet mm marxaré**	S: **no it's that this guy wants to speak to him but I, it's that in a little while I'll leave**

P: **es que en Oriol no esta esta fora**

V: (unintelligible) **jo guardo 2 palets…**

[exchange with other person for 30 seconds]

S: **si si y necesitas el espai**

S: (turns back to GR) *bueno, no sé para donde voy*

GR: **ah el 15M**

S: **ah si el 15M es que** *ah..la forma concreta que un movimiento* **té per expresar-se …son/ una serie de ideas/ que te capacitat de [unintelligible] molta gent, que aquesta idea se construye** …**y que tenim molt valor con que eh eh// que [unint.]** *// si quieres decir*

GR: ___si___

S: *de conceptos, eh no son de// es trabajo. concepto: trabajo. no es la forma concreta de como se puede expresar el convenio, no se que. todas las personas necesitamos trabajo para vivir. todas las personas necesitamos dinero. si te fijas son /a todos las grandes ideas, no es la concreción de la cosa. 15M yo creo que es esto es ehh es que en la en el momento de las plazas*

P: **so Oriol is not here, he's away**

V: (unintelligible) **I'm storing 2 pallets…**

[exchange with other person for 30 seconds]

S: **yes yes and you need the space**

S: (turns back to GR) *well, I don't know where I'm headed*

GR: **ah the 15M**

S: **ah yes the 15M so ah//** *the specific ways that a movement* **has to express itself are/ a series of ideas/ that have the capacity to [unintelligble] a lot of people, that this idea is constructed //…and that we have a lot of value in that eh eh // that [unint.]** *// if you want to say*

GR: ___yes___

S: *about concept, they're not // it's work. concept: work. it's not the specific way of how you can express the agreement, I don't know. Every person needs works to live. Every person needs money. If you pay attention, it's/ all the big ideas, it's not the specificity of the thing. I think the 15M is this, it's ehh it's in the moment of the plazas, of organizing in the*

de organizar en las plazas pues esto	*plazas, well, that.*

One might think that this is highly typical of a speech event in a bilingual community, when the speaker in question is a longtime resident who likely has a high level of proficiency in Catalan. However, this is not the diglossic situation that many policy makers and laypeople would have us believe about everyday language use in Catalonia.   It is precisely the effortlessness of his unself-conscious approach to language use that gives the air that perhaps it is not, in fact, laden with semiotic meaning for Santos to pepper his Catalan with Spanish, and vice-versa. As Pujolar notes, previous sociolinguistic research in Catalonia showed that bilingual practices were very sensitive to the boundaries between the two codes and their communities of speakers (2013, 138), and Catalan was repeatedly shown to be the in-group language of those who would categorize themselves as 'Catalans.' Santos, however, does not fit this type. He is a retiree with Spanish as a clearly defined dominant and native language, a working-class activist whose long history with the '*lucha obrera'* would almost surely lead others to assume he spoke only Castilian, and likely with an Andaluz accent (the latter of which, incidentally, is true). But Santos's language switching is intra-conversational, based on his interlocutors, and often intra-sentential. His Catalan is heavily Castilian accented, but it flows with a casual and deliberate ease, at least, when he is speaking with other Catalan speakers.

It is not unknown for a population to switch in a similar way; the switching itself becomes a code, or a 'community mode' (Zentella 1997a) that constitutes an integral part of an individual or group identity. Indeed, Santos's switching at times appears to perform the function of simply showing that he switches, especially since it is most prevalent when carrying on

simultaneous conversations with both Castilian (myself) and Catalan speakers (visitors), as in the excerpts above. However, this type of switch, which appears smooth and effortless when done with (assumed) bilingual Spanish/Catalan speakers such as the visitors and the other people present at the center, should not be taken to mean that it is not achieving certain rhetorical effects or is somehow non-purposeful. Rather, it is largely because he does not fall into the demographic category of 'new speakers' described in recent work (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015; Woolard and Frekko 2013; Woolard 2016a), that his brand of 'smooth switching' stands out—while younger speakers who switch regularly do so as hallmarks of community membership, as evidence of shared knowledge of community switching norms (Zentella 1997b), or because of contextual factors (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013), this is not the norm for older speakers, for whom Catalan was not the language of their education, and who may not have used it extensively or at all until recently. Santos accomplishes various conversational strategies via code switches both in the casual speech I have observed on several occasions, and in the two excerpts of interruptions to our interview, transcribed above. Among these are various forms of realignment or footing (Goffman 1979), as well as crutch-like code mixing (Zentella 1997) and simultaneity.

As Zentella observed in her work with Puerto Rican children's codeswitching in New York, changes in footing were often signaled by switches between Spanish and English in attempts to underscore or highlight an intended realignment of the speaker's role, or to control their interlocutor's behavior, check for comprehension, or signal a topic shift. Santos does this sort of realignment frequently, as in the following exchange:

V: ***Hola***

C: *Muy buena(s)*

V: **voste es el president de l'Ateneu?**

C: *que?*

V: **president?**

C: *no es que no es no no*// **em sembla que aqui nosaltres no tenim una president / no se no tinc ni idea eh?**

During this brief exchange, Santos switched from the context of the interview with me, during which he relayed a series of narratives of personal experience and personal political opinions. Our interview was conducted in a low voice so as not to disturb the other patrons of the space, who sat alone in various parts of the room, mostly alone and working, reading, or otherwise relaxing quietly. When the visitor entered, and addressed Santos directly in Catalan, assuming he was the president of the center, or at least held a position of authority, Santos switched to Catalan to reply, mirroring the interlocutor's language choice, but also realigning his participant role from interviewee to default person of authority, given the lack of another authority figure present. It is interesting that, as a leaderless and un-organized association, the center in many ways mirrors the horizontal structure of the Iaioflautes, and the 15M itself, and Santos's comment "here we don't have a president" stresses this point, also congruent with the value of **autogestió**, and is a point that Santos was known to emphasize during meetings of the ***Iaioflautas.*** Santos's adoption of Catalan signaled not only a change of interlocutor, but also a topic shift, and level of formality. His volume increased as well, as he was now speaking for the center rather than as one individual of several sharing a quiet space. Although there is no way to tell, it is my feeling that, regardless of the language choice of the visitor, Catalan would be the

language of choice for Santos as temporary spokesperson for the center, given the neighborhood

and its status as a center for the longstanding local community.

Simultaneity

At the outset, an analysis of Santos's switching appears to be clouded by the fact

that, at times, it is difficult to determine which language he is even speaking. Traditional

codeswitching research might attempt to, at worst, overlook these ambiguous utterances,[10] and at

best, try to classify them as triggers for a codeswitch based on their similar surface structures.

However, treating this type of language use as outlier or irrelevant data at once reinforces both

the idea of linguistic codes as neatly bound and impermeable, and the overarching approach to

monolingualism as the taken-for-granted norm implicit even in much of sociolinguistics despite

decades of insistence on the opposite.

In linguistic contact zones like Catalonia, where bilingualism in two closely related

cognates is, today more than ever, the norm, a thorough approach to codeswitching must focus as

much on those aspects of the linguistic systems that overlap as on those that diverge, rather than

treating overlaps as secondary data serving only to muddy the waters of an efficient analysis.

Drawing on Bakhtin's vision of all language use as heteroglossic and his "rejection of binarism

and the dialectical either/or," Woolard (Woolard 1998a), among others, has focused in on

multiplicity, hybridity and simultaneity as themes in bilingual communities. She notes, "Catalan

and Castilian are such closely related languages, with so many lexical and structural similarities,

that it is very possible to know that a definite codeswitch has occurred even when we are unable

to say at what point it occurred (1998, 7)." Her earlier work in the early 1980s included the

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[10] For example, 'Hola', 'si' and 'no esta' are all bivalent in both Catalan and Castilian, the latter marked by the phonetically conditioned 'e' which approaches a schwa in Catalan, but is nonetheless difficult to tell apart in casual conversation.

analysis of a Barcelonese comedian's use of both Castilian and Catalan in his comedy routines, much to the delight of his audiences who, at that time of the transition to Catalan autonomy, lived with a "tense linguistic status quo" in which "bilinguals felt they *had* to know what language a person was speaking, in order to know in what language to respond (4)." However, some of Woolard's more recent work revisits this comedian's use of both languages to pay special attention to those elements of simultaneity in his speech, which may have been the key to his success, as fans lauded his comedic talent in part because "you couldn't tell which language he was speaking (1998, 7)." Rather than consider these moments as 'neutral,' I draw on Woolard's insistence that 'bivalent' represents a crucial semantic difference, since in settings like Catalonia, "where the political economy of language is the focus of ideological controversy,...the opposition between linguistic codes is almost always socially and ideologically activated in these situations, even as it is challenged (11)." Like the comedian in the early 80s, Santos's often simultaneous, bivalent use of both Catalan and Castilian challenges the prevailing ideologies—both the remnants of the language-nation-identity ideology of earlier post-Franco years, as well as the linguistic parochialist and cosmopolitanist ideologies present in modern Barcelona. The social tension between the two languages, rather than the commonalities between them, is essential to the success of both performances (12). The following example shows this type of bivalency:

Line 9, Interaction #1:

C: *es que no se, no se*

All of the elements of the above are very similar in Catalan and Castilian, varying only phonologically in vowel closure and reduction ('que' in Catalan vs Castilian: **[kə]** vs. *[ke])*. However, as has been pointed out previously, and especially in bilingual Barcelona, "vowel

reduction and phonemic distinctions between open and closed vowels are in flux in Catalan-speaking territories, so they are not clear, unambiguous flags of language affiliation to all listeners (Woolard 1998a)." It is thus impossible to determine whether the utterance passes from one code to another, and further illuminates the possibility that this is an unfruitful determination to be made at all. Rather, the polyvocality and simultaneity present in such utterances come to the center of the analysis, rather than falling out of it.

Another phenomenon of simultaneity is that of interference, a "linguistic overlap arising from language contact, in which 'two systems are simultaneously applied to a linguistic item (Weinreich 1954; Woolard 1998b).'" While the term itself has an inherent prescriptive bias, I follow Woolard's choice to use 'interference' rather than some of the more recently proposed terms, none of which applies as specifically to this phenomenon, which can be best illustrated in the example below:

Line 19, Interaction #1:

C: *Los de arriba **no son**?*

[*The people upstairs **aren't there?**]*

Rather than only bivalent, interference is a phenomenon that draws on two languages at once at any level of linguistic organization. For example, the morphological form of a word may belong to one linguistic system, while the semantic value may have shifted to reflect interference from the second. As a means of explanation of interference as a more active form of syncretism than bivalency, Woolard gives a similar example from a comedian's performance:

> An example that incorporates both bivalency and interference is an Eugenio punch line that contains the phrase "***Estabas/estaves a Igualada" 'You were in Igualada')***. All three words (one of them the name of a Catalan city) are bivalent and could appear in the standard form of either language (CS: *Estabas*; CT: **Estaves**). However, the phrase itself is not syntactically standard in either language, and this form would not often be encountered in either the Catalan or Castilian of Barcelona (CS: *Estabas en Igualada*; CT:

Eres a Igualada). The two languages differ in rules for use of the verbs ser versus estar and also for the prepositions a versus en. Although all the lexical elements could belong to either system, whichever language we assign the phrase to, we will find apparent interference from the other (15).

Although most of Santos' phrase is not bivalent ('*Los de arriba*' is only normative in Castilian), the final words of "Los de arriba no son?" draws on the very same element of divergence between Catalan and Castilian—that of 'ser' and 'estar.' Whereas in Castilian, the normative way to say "The people upstairs aren't there" would be

"Los de arriba no estan?"

The normative way in Catalan would be

"**Ells de a dalt no són?**"

Santos, however, incorporates both languages, yet since '*son*' is a closely related verb in Castilian (from '*ser*' rather than '*estar*', intending a more permanent state of 'being'), although typically not used in this semantic context, significantly muddies the waters enough so that a determination of which language is being spoken becomes impossible. The result, as in Woolard's example, is that whichever language we assign the element '*__son__*' to, we find interference from the other. In neither language would this entire phrase be considered normative, yet its meaning is easily understood. In addition to serving as a way of choosing both languages at once, Woolard argues that perhaps interference could also be viewed as a way of 'not choosing at all (15),' and thus another resource Santos deftly uses to create social and sociolinguistic meaning.

Woolard's comedian of the early 1980s, a time of major political and linguistic transition in Catalonia, was in part successfully 'funny' because he was doing something with Catalan and

Castilian that was not commonly done, yet was easily parsed by the majority of Catalonia's

residents. In doing so, he was undermining some of the ideologies at play during the time by

showing that his performance wasn't about speaking either language, but rather, neither and

both, and not necessarily situationally. In fact, the comedian could be seen as presenting and

perhaps prefiguring another ideological perspective, which Santos in turn echoes today. It is not

insignificant that Santos, given his age and history, likely heard and perhaps was a fan of the

style of comedy Woolard documents during the transition. While the comedian was successful

because he was doing the unthinkable, the decades between then and now as well as the politico-

linguistic developments have created a space in which Santos can do a similar thing with his

speech in an unscripted, everyday space. The carnivalesque stretching of boundaries the

comedian performed is, 30-something years later, no longer carnivalesque. However, the

functional aspects of simultaneity are similar across the cases—the sort of ambiguous alternation

among codes not only calls attention to the vagueness of their boundaries (a political act in

itself), but creates and invokes two voices, which invoke multiple social relationships and

desired identities at once. As Woolard (1997), Rampton (Rampton 1995), and others have

pointed out, "more than one linguistic consciousness (Woolard 1997, 17)" can be blended in an

utterance via the process Bakhtin referred to as 'unidirectional double-voicing.' Santos

accomplishes the multiple social roles of elder working-class activist, interviewee, neighborhood

authority figure, and friendly stranger via his smooth and unhesitant, if unexpected, use of

Catalan and Castilian. Rather than focus on the individual instances of switching, bivalency, or

interference, the overall patterning of this style of speaking is perhaps where the creation of

social meaning lies: "the questions of whether, when, and how codeswitching occurs in a given

community, then, are partly questions about what kinds of identities are simultaneously

inhabitable in that community (Woolard 1998, 20)." Those roles inhabitable in this community have in part become accessible and indeed, desirable during the decades between Woolard's comedians and Santos's current speech.

Gal (1987; 1989) has suggested a shift towards analysis of the relationships and situations communities possess within their specific political and economic systems. Woolard and Gal, in separate works on minority languages in Europe, both find that conversational codeswitching is rare among communities that also share a paradoxically prestigious situation within the surrounding majority (Gal 1987; Woolard 1989; 2004), and thus patterns of language choice can not be interpreted as "an automatic response to social factors" (Woolard 2004, 82) but rather as part of the group's ideology, as an "actively constructed and often oppositional response to that position" (Gal 1987, 650). Through an anthropological exploration of power using sociolinguistic methods, Gal demonstrates that language choice and variation can serve as symbolic practices and point to aspects of speakers' consciousness of their own local position within broader systems. Looking at political and economic differences in order to find structures of language choice in which codeswitching behaves in common ways can help to understand that, while codeswitching is always done in socially meaningful ways, it is done differently from one place to the next, and it is affected by the way speakers perceive their own position within a social structure. Speakers conceive of one variety as having certain power, as well as an indexical value, and they actively respond to that value via linguistic choices (Hill 1985; Gal 1987). Conversely, the use of multiple languages, varieties or forms when a specific choice is expected permits speakers to say and do, to *be* even, two or more things (Heller 1988). Santos' use of multiple forms at once confounds expectations and avoids pigeonholing himself as the type of speaker one might expect an Andaluz immigrant of his generation to be.

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New research, as mentioned above, has shown a change in the number of Catalan speakers due to schooling, social mobility, and access to the Catalan language; Pujolar shows that young Catalans are now relying on contextual factors and not attribution of group identity to determine language choice (2013). I suggest that this extends further, perhaps to certain members of social movements, in particular some, but not all, older activists who, like Santos, would not have had the access to Catalan that today's youth in Catalonia have had. More broadly, I suggest that the type of language use exhibited by Santos works to resolve some of the language attitudes exhibited by Pablo and the two younger activists, —the '*no hay problemas'* and the '*nos volvimos mas Catalan que las Catalanistas'* attitudes. While Pablo and the younger activists express ideologies about language use that presuppose the existence of linguistic politics and opposing viewpoints, Santos' use of both Castilian and Catalan works to prefigure, or indexically creates, a space in which the everyday and longstanding indexical relationships between language and identity in Catalonia either do not have the purchase they once had, or perhaps never did.

My suggestion extends further to the idea that these activists, particularly the elderly ones, are indeed calling on the historically stressed values of *autodeterminación,* **autogestió**, and working-class solidarity that have characterized Barcelonese social movements for centuries. I suggest their language use and ideologies seek to preserve these existing values, rather than create new ones. Indeed, the ***Iaioflautas***' chosen name for themselves—neither fully Catalan nor Castilian-- is itself semiotically endowed with oppisitional meaning, and an example of interference itself. Woolard writes, "bilingual practice can dismantle (but does not neutralize) binary distinctions, in this case between language varieties, in an undoing yet preserving of all opposition" that "keeps alive an unresolved contradiction (Woolard 1998)." While Santos'

language use could be seen as a performative 'undoing' of the binary distinctions between Catalan and Castilian, or as indexically creative (Silverstein 1976) of a new space of unfamiliar codeswitching norms, it is the proposition that such a space can exist, freed to an extent from outdated associations between class, nation and language, that I intend to further explore in the next section of this chapter.

Prefiguration and 'Free Spaces'

'Free spaces',[11] as Polletta summarizes in her critique of the concept in previous literature (Polletta 1998), have been collectively theorized as "small-scale settings within a community or movement that are removed from the direct control of dominant groups, are voluntarily participated in, and generate the cultural challenge that precedes or accompanies political mobilization (1)." She is quick to point out, however, the 'danger of a good metaphor' such as this: that claims for such spaces of counter-hegemonic practices could substitute for empirical investigation of them. In her words, "evocation substitutes for explanation (1)." At the risk of further stretching and exhausting a good metaphor, what follows is, rather than an empirical investigation of the 'free spaces' concept, an exploration of its potential application to 'ways of speaking (Hymes 1974),' rather than purely physical spaces.

There are some useful elements of this term and of the collective definition above. For one, as Polletta & Kretschmer (1999) also admit, it provides a place to consider agency on the part of the powerless or subjugated, as opposed to a commonsense view of them as "deludedly acquiescent to their domination (1)." Free spaces involve the deployment of counter-hegemonic ideas and actions designed to rupture dominant narratives and beliefs, as was evoked earlier in

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[11] 'Free spaces' are known alternatively as 'havens,' 'safe spaces,' 'spaces of cultural or relative autonomy,' among many other things in sociological, political science and social movement literature.

the 'tales of transgression.' Physical spaces, such as pop-up soup kitchens, for example, model

or 'prefigure' alternative institutions and alternative relations that differ from those

characterizing mainstream society (Poletta 2013, 11). An environment is created therein, and

these 'free spaces' are "settings between private lives and large-scale institutions where ordinary

citizens can act with dignity, independence and vision (Evans and Boyte 1992)."

Neighborhood organizations, soup kitchens, disaster-assistance programs and other

social institutions created and operated by social movements or citizen groups whose use is not

exclusive to movement participants also suggest an approach of building 'counter-power'

(Holloway 2002). In this conception, alternative social institutions exist alongside state-run

institutions and constitute non-capitalist spaces within the capitalist order (Juris 2008) with an

eventual aim of shifting the prevailing balance via shifts in public awareness and ideology. This

endeavor of a social movement to operate in the terrain of culture is what has been called

'prophetic (Melucci, Keane and Mier 1989):' by generating new ideas, frames and values, they

"announce the existence of a conflict and render power visible (Juris 2008, 291)." This

environment, then, turns out to be one in which movement participants are often keenly aware of

and intent on shifting cultural paradigms, to the point that this may become the main focus of the

movement. Thus, community-based institutions often serve as a site for the generation and

maintenance of counter-hegemonic ideas; the Barcelona neighborhood associations in which

many of my elderly interviewees have been active for decades have been the seat of much

counter-power and civil resistance for generations. Fantasia and Hirsch (1995) have pointed out

that union halls, student lounges, lesbian feminist communities, and tenant associations all have

these prefigurative qualities—not only do they show that "the oppressed are not without

resources to combat their oppression (Polletta 2013, 3)," but they provide a conceptual space for

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the subjugated to counter those ideological forces that work to keep people passive and subjugated, much as the streets during a labor strike might provide for those on strike.

On a larger scale, the Southern U.S. black church and the Southern U.S. civil rights movement itself are, as Polletta notes, oft-used examples of 'free spaces'—the former because its removal and insulation from white control created space for strategy-making, development of charismatic leadership, and ideological space for the ideals that would come to characterize the emergent civil rights movement. The latter, the Southern civil rights movement itself, particularly within SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee), provided a social space for women's organizing and networking, which prefigured and catalyzed the emergence of radical feminism (Evans and Boyte 1992).

The above examples, and particularly, the last one, bring us further afield from the idea of 'free spaces' as pertaining only to physical spaces, and towards ideological spaces as potential sites in which dominating forces have less control or purview. Free spaces are appealing concepts in part because they at once recognize the constraints that dominant ideology and 'commonsense' operations impose, but also recognize that counter-hegemonic frames can exist outside of an idealistic perspective on their potential for success. The concept of free spaces, whether ideological or physical, also roots counter-power and counter-action—"Counter-hegemonic frames come not from a disembodied oppositional consciousness or pipeline to an extra-systemic emancipatory truth, but from long-standing community institutions (Evans & Boyte…)." That is to say, free spaces are not created in a vacuum. They are represented at times as purely physical spaces (Evans & Boyte), but for others, 'long-standing community institutions' could extend to horizontal organizations or more shapeless spaces like social movements themselves. Semiotic evocations of history, such as those described in each chapter

herein, can also assist in the prefiguration of free spaces. Scott's Domination and the Arts of Resistance insists that 'hidden transcripts' can be enacted in secure sites that are not required to be physically separate from the dominant "so long as linguistic codes, dialects, and gestures—opaque to the masters and mistresses—were deployed (Scott 1990)."

So we are presented now with the idea that 'secure sites' can exist in plain sight, or at least narrowly hidden or unrecognized in spaces enacted through and indexically created (Silverstein 1976) by language use. If forms of resistance exist wherever there are oppressed groups, as Scott agrees, then what sort of criteria are necessary in the creation and definition of 'free spaces', or other such sites of relative autonomy? And what about these spaces makes them free, and free of what (Polletta and Kretschmer 1999)? Polletta points out rightly that Scott's hidden transcripts are presented as a collective yet homogenous subversive voice among the oppressed, leaving very little room for individual or fractured hidden transcripts. However, individual social movement participants can enact, as Santos appears to, a conversational pattern of language use that does not reflect pre-supposed indexical links to nation, class, or political affiliation, but instead creates an interactional environment in which the switching itself becomes the code, and prefigures an environment in which this could potentially be possible in other interactional contexts.

Santos, with his youthful (although he is of retirement age), charismatic, and ubiquitous presence at Iaioflautas events—including often as de facto public spokesperson, has the characteristics of an 'iconic speaker' (Mendoza-Denton 2014) of the 15M and of a Catalan society of 'new speakers (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013).' As Mendoza-Denton demonstrates in her work on Latina gang girls, iconic speakers are often those who lead the way in the construction of new indexical values and language ideologies (Mendoza-Denton 2014b). Much

as certain linguistic practices become highly associated with defiant 'core gang girls,' Santos' unexpected and nonchalant language mixing becomes a meaningful symbolic resource—an emblem— for himself, the Iaioflautas, the 15M, and a Catalan society tired of linguistic politics even though, like the gang girls, his linguistic practices are not shared by many of the others. He demonstrates what, to him, the movement is *not* through his non-standard display of language use, destabilizing in the process hegemonic linguistic norms, much as the gang girls demonstrate what good girls are *not* through alternative displays of femininity. Contrary to what many Catalan independence activists might say about a horizontal movement that uses the dominant state language nearly exclusively, Santos' language use is such that one would be hard pressed to accuse him of personally reproducing this sort of linguistic hierarchy or erasure. He is modeling, through iconic semiotic relationships, what speech might look like in a world wthout linguistic hierarchy. He is choosing not to choose.

A meta-awareness of embedded hierarchies and social distinctions on the part of movement participants extends to language choice, as shown above. Social movements like 15M that attempt to build counter-power and forgo social distinctions in their search for a broader solidarity and an escape from systemic problems are often viewed as 'prefigurative'—they are "formed in order to prefigure the society the movement is seeking to build by modeling relationships that differ from those characterizing mainstream society" (Polletta and Kretschmer 1999). While this is most often referred to with regard to alternative institutions, attempts to create an autonomous linguistic 'free space' in which indexes of social distinctions in language choices are irrelevant or absent could be understood as modeling a hypothetical environment in

which this is exactly the case.[12]   However, prefigurative movements are often hard to sustain

because of the lengthy nature of fully egalitarian decision-making because in societies

characterized by assumptions about race, class, gender, language, etc., on-the-ground embedded

social inequalities can infect deliberations, even when there are no formal exclusions (Fraser

1990). On the one hand, the 15M's efforts to model an autonomous free space in which

language choice is not linked to groups of people, socioeconomics, competing social movements,

or political leanings likely reflects a utopian argument that there *can* exist spaces empty of

ideological assumptions, thus allowing the penetration and challenging of dominant ideologies

(Polletta 2004). On the other hand, however, a more persuasive argument for linguistic 'free

spaces' might be made by viewing the spaces themselves rather as a preservation of "counter-

hegemonic normative traditions and interactional styles tolerated (or unnoticed) by the powerful

(Polletta 2004, 270)." In this view, the 'free spaces' that are deliberately created within

movements to *preserve* existing alternative ways of interacting, rather than impose new ways,

might have the potential to eventually institutionalize them. Understood this way, we might see

Pablo's insistence that "these things don't happen" and "people on the street have other

problems—they don't have this problem of flags" as an *ideological* preservation of an alternative

tradition embodied—to Pablo, at least—by the everyday 'person on the street', that is in

resistance to the hegemonic view of language choice as a divisive institution. A1 and A2's

narration of 'that day' at the assembly when the Catalanists began to insist that independence be

put on the 15M list of demands might be seen similarly. However, Santos does not so much

subscribe to this ideology; rather, his is a *performative* preservation through which these

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[12] In addition to examples of alternative food coops, credit unions, health clinics and schools, Polletta & Kretschmer give the more amorphous examples of "women's only spaces" in 1970s radical feminism and "block clubs" of tenant organizations that begin to more nearly approach the idea of a linguistic free space (Polletta & Kretschmer 2009, 11).

horizontal ideals are enacted—quite distinct, actually, from Pablo and A1 and A2, who 'talk the talk' as opposed to Santos, who 'walks the walk.' Likewise, the Catalan and Castilian vowels that are in flux might be understood as contributing to this performance of simultaneity, and that itself is an asset to a community on whom indexical links between language and identity are projected unwelcomely. Merging them completely would negate the Bakhtinian moral choice in many circumstances, and provide speakers with similar opportunities to 'not choose' as Santos creates for himself.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored, through situated language use, the potential for Bakhtin's moment in which one *must choose a language* to be one in which 'choosing not to choose' or 'choosing both' might be among the range of heteroglossic possibilities available. Contrasting Pablo's ideology of '*no hay problemas*,' which does not appear to map neatly onto his language choice of exclusively Castilian, and A1 and A2's inference that Catalan language use still does reflect one's degree of 'Catalanness,' Santos' deft performance of both codes in simultaneity iconically creates another sort of social meaning: one which indicates the potential to 'put your money where your mouth is' and enact or prefigure a space in which socio-linguistic norms are rendered at once visible and inapplicable. He is living in a Bakhtinian world, but his choice is not between the two codes, Catalan and Castilian, but rather between choosing and not.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion

As discussed previously, the 15M and the ***Iaioflautas*** are rooted in a paradigm of social

democratic ideals, are anti-capitalist and anti-austerity, and privilege notions of equality,

diversity and inclusivity. Characterized by their horizontal structure and lengthy consensus-

building 'assemblies,' the fundamental tenets of the whole movement include the notion that no

type of person is prized over any other, and that all voices have the opportunity to be heard.

Nevertheless, linguistic choice and political subjectivity are underpinned and constrained to a

certain extent by members' experiences of the Catalonian and Spanish politico-linguistic

environments.

While these tenets may be the familiar hallmarks of a social democracy, in situated

practice, they point to a fundamental paradox in social democratic theory. Contrasting the

modern idea of the normatively-prized generic person with the reality of on-the-ground social

distinctions, the impossibility of finding such a generic person becomes evident and problematic.

Movements for inclusivity inevitably become marred with the problems of enacting it

(Tocqueville 1863; Handler 2012). Actual linguistic use within Catalan 15M groups reflects this

deep contradiction, but also provides space for new theories of language use to emerge when

some of the old assumptions about language use are discarded. In addition, linguistic choice and

political subjectivity are underpinned and constrained to a certain extent by members'

experiences of the Catalonian and Spanish politico-linguistic environments.

The preceding chapter in particular explored the potential for choices to be made that do

not presuppose time-honored assumptions about indexical relationships between language and

identity. Rather, the above introduced the potential for indexically-creative choice and iconically-motivated linguistic performance that not only reflect a linguistic cosmopolitanist ideology, but also enact it. While recent literature has noted that the shifting landscape of language and identity in Catalonia is such that old ideologies may not have such purchase in the language use of young people whose educations have been in Catalan in post-Franco Catalonia, the research presented here shows that not only may it extend further to certain 'iconic speakers' of older generations (who have Castilian as a first language and were not educated in Catalonia), but also that the old ideologies are still implicit among younger activists in the horizontal 15M movement. Further, as for the elderly female protester in a previous chapter whose sign read, "After 40 years, I again demand bread, work and freedom," Santos' very presence as a lifelong, elderly, Andaluz, Castilian speaking activist enacts a sort of authority that would not be possible for a younger 'new speaker' of Catalan to claim for oneself, marking not only his language use as performative, but also his very presence. For the Iaioflautas, their linguistic choices render their age indexically meaningful; their age, and themselves, becomes noticeable and, indeed, held up for inspection.

Each of the chapters has taken a different approach to transgressive enactments carried out by activists, especially elderly activists with long histories of organizing in Barcelona and elsewhere, and each has tracked the use of a different type of semiotic representation. Transgression is performative in protest enactments like the metro occupations and labor strikes, and also in atypical language use by Santos, who transgresses sociolinguistic norms and turns the Bakhtinian moment of choice on its head by 'choosing not to choose.' It is also retold and re-performed in stories from clandestine organizing under Franco's regime, in a process that renders transgression central to the activist imaginary.

The elderly activists and their presence in the 15M, a social movement considered to be one of a generation of 'new, new social movements,' resonates with the *lucha obrera* and associated struggles that have been in progress for centuries, and for them, it is indeed the same struggle as always. Another common theme across the chapters is the emphasis on this continuity—the preservation of a long-standing social order, which involves collectivity and a value on **autogestió** rather than establishment of a brand new form of protest against facets of neoliberalism, as many of these movements are often seen to be by outsiders and participants alike.

The ***Iaioflautas*** preserve their values and memories, passing along historical memory intergenerationally, by re-announcing them in each of the modes of Peircean representation: in Chapter 2, this was done by indexically referencing history in the linguistic landscape of protest, in Chapter 3, symbolically through the retelling of stories to be interpreted in a manner that places transgression and **autogestió** at the moral center of the activist imaginary, and in Chapter 4, iconically through Santos´ modeling of a linguistic free space that might not exist, but through his performance, can be imagined.

Additionally, the opposing ideologies of linguistic authority—authenticity and anonymity—are deployed in each chapter to describe the mechanisms through which language choice is not only conceived of, but enacted. This work has also continued in the linguistic anthropological tradition of using Bakhtin's contribution to theory to explode the framework of code choice to include linguistic choice in a broader scope, and to add to it a dimension that can include morality and consciousness as elements of such choices.

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Appendix A.

figure 1.

figure 2.

Figure 3.

figure 4. credit: fotomovimiento.org

figure 5.

Fig. 6: "Qui no té passat no té identitat

Appendix B.

People's power and agency	Rights and demands
He was a bus driver and spent his whole life fighting for transportation...Today we contunue...	The pension, my right
Of/for/with the people	After 40 years, I again ask for bread, work and freedom
Niether silence nor fear...Mobilization!	Basic income, dignified life
We have fought and we will fight	Public transportation at people's prices
One who has no past, has no identity	No to privatizations, yes to historical memory
Everybody's screwed, except bankers, the rich, and politicians	I earn, you earn, they rob.
Capital and its servants, against the elderly	PP: your program...It's only abortion?