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"Unmasking the Catalan independence discourse: an analysis of Josep Borrell's speech during the unity rally in Barcelona, Spain, in October 2017"

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Abstract: This paper analyses Josep Borrell's speech during the unity rally in Barcelona mainly under the light of Blommaert and Goffman. It explores Blommaert's sociolinguistic scales and the (re)evaluation of language practices and functions across social and physical mobility in a globalized context, as well as Goffman's 'interaction order' and performative view of language, to understand how this particular piece of discourse constructs social difference and produces authoritative knowledge. It considers the activities performed by the text and the registers being mobilized —understanding the text as a dialogue between Borrell and the audience —, by problematizing why it is enacted very specifically, its conditions of production, circulation, consumption and interpretation and the social reality the text produces as a result of the latter considerations.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, language practices, nationalism, independence discourse, entextualisation, Spain.

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Unmasking the Catalan independence discourse: an analysis of Josep Borrell's speech during the unity rally in Barcelona, Spain, in October 2017

1. Introduction

Catalan nationalism has attempted to persuade the citizens of Catalonia and the world that they stand as an oppressed nation embedded in an authoritarian state, Spain. This victimisation strategy at the heart of a democratic Europe has been led by both a populist and anti-constitutional discourse which has not been supported at any point by the European Union or by most of the Catalans, despite some attempts by the media to show the opposite.

As Torreblanca (2018) emphasises, despite the claims of Catalan secessionists, Spain is, like the rest of the European countries, another democracy that tries to avoid succumbing to populist politicians whose shallow discourse often encompass blaming problems to others, while promoting a clear discriminatory nationalism. As Torreblanca (2017) carefully summarises:

Catalan nationalism...is founded on a historical narrative that trumpets the achievements of a wise and noble people who are also honest and hard-working...suppressed by fire and sword...Based on this story, Catalan nationalists were on the verge of constructing the perfect nationalism...not just for sentimental reasons, but for reasons of efficiency as well: Catalonia's economic success came on top of a generous, exemplary effort to ensure the cultural and linguistic integration of all the region's numerous immigrants, who, far from diluting Catalan identity, helped to reinforce it...Catalan nationalists are gambling away their social cohesiveness and economic success in order to secure a state of their own in which to finally build a political nation. And that is where Catalan nationalism has cracked...some individuals have concluded that their ultimate goal justifies the means to get there. And armed with the deep conviction about the moral superiority of their cause, they are destroying or ready to destroy all that was good and healthy about Catalan nationalism, undermining its exemplary social integration, sowing division among "good" and "bad" Catalans who are categorized as first-rate and second-rate citizens; manipulating the institutions; turning everyone's language into a national language; subverting the plurality of public media outlets and incorporating a type of supremacist rhetoric based on ethnic stereotypes and racist ideas ("Spaniards, who are a lazy, backward and fascist bunch, are robbing and oppressing us").

Following Torreblanca (2017), Catalan nationalism has already failed in that they have placed independence over democracy to try to attain a state of their own. Justifying the use of anti-democratic and illegal methods, through a goal thought to be morally superior, highlights a

form of nationalism that will not conquer nor convince. By realising its failure, Catalan nationalism will hopefully engage with discussions on independence that are compatible with peaceful coexistence and democracy.

In this context, and after an anti-constitutional and, therefore, a not binding referendum asking for the independence of Catalonia on October 1, 2017, Josep Borrell — current Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation (since June, 2018) and former President of the European Parliament (July 2004 - January 2007) — delivered a speech during the pro-unity rally in Barcelona, on October 8, 2017, alongside the Peruvian Nobel Prize in Literature, Mario Vargas Llosa. Throughout his speech, Borrell gives not only voice to the so-called 'silent majority' at the same time that he communicates with them in public, but he also addresses history, social justice, peaceful coexistence, linguistic diversity and political pluralism through the lenses of Legality and the values that define the European Union. To do so, he presents himself as a former president of the European Parliament, switching from Catalan to Spanish, English and French while delivering his speech.

It is the purpose of this paper to analyse the latter piece of discourse under the light of Blommaert and Goffman. It will explore Blommaert's sociolinguistic scales and the (re)evaluation of language practices and functions across social and physical mobility in a globalised context, as well as Goffman's 'interaction order' and performative view of language, to understand how this piece of discourse constructs social difference and produces authoritative knowledge. This work will address processes of entextualisation and recontextualisation through Urban and Silverstein.

Besides, this paper will consider the activities performed by the text and the registers being mobilised — understanding the text as a dialogue between Borrell and the audience —, by problematising why it is enacted specifically, its effects and the social reality the text produces because of the latter considerations. Moreover, in order not to portray Borrell's discourse as a text containing all meanings, this work will contemplate and link, throughout the analysis of the speech, the conditions of production, circulation, consumption and interpretation of the former.

2. Theoretical Framework

In the light of today's worldwide increasing tensions related to national membership, social, economic change and inequality, it seems sensible to approach the latter through new paradigms that acknowledge a global perspective through which to look at social processes. In this regard, Blommaert (2003) proposes the notion of a sociolinguistics of globalisation, which he encourages to develop, to understand society through language. The last term suggests particular language practices "entering the repertoires of particular groups, creating new semiotic opportunities and commodities for members of such groups and indeed constructing them as groups" (Blommaert 5). These processes and events that take place in

globalisation occur at various scale-levels and, according to Blommaert (2007), the interactions between the different scales lie at the heart of an understanding of such processes and events. If globalisation and a sociolinguistics of globalisation are observed through these lenses, then we will embrace mobility as a key aspect in this phenomenon: "A sociolinguistics of globalization is necessarily a sociolinguistics of mobility" (Blommaert 5). Therefore, globalisation should not equal uniformity, since sociolinguistic items move around the world through structurally different spaces and are, thus, acquired in different ways: "the world system...is a necessary (but not self-explanatory) context in which language occurs and operates..." (Blommaert 6) being space "an agentive force in sociolinguistic processes" (Blommaert 3) and not a passive background.

Following this line of thought, Blommaert introduces scale as the key word in an analysis of globalisation, pointing at the idea that scale and scaling processes reveal that "social events and processes move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and the global (macro) as extremes, and with several intermediary scales (e.g., the level of the State) in between" (Blommaert 2) structured in relation to one another. Scale can be imagined in spaces suggesting, then, "spatiability ... movement across spaces filled with all kinds of attributes and features, both materially and symbolically" (Blommaert 6). However, for the author, scale is not just a spatial metaphor, but it stands as the imaging of an image, referring to phenomena that develop in TimeSpace. For Blommaert (2005), the connection between those scales is indexical because it lies in how instances of communication can be 'framed' as comprehensible communication unveiling phenomena of a higher scale-level, such as social and cultural norms, traditions, genres and expectations, which are indexed.

At this point, it applies to mention how Goffman's frame analysis (1974) highlights a relationship between social activities and physical spaces that condition the establishment of social activities, therefore, the meaning and practice of speech, and how it understands social activities because of interaction. Moreover, this interaction is key to Goffman's participation framework, for which all participants in an event, speakers or hearers, interact, being able to mime, mimic and re-enact: "thus, when we speak we can set into the current framework of participation what is structurally marked as integral to another, enacting a dozen voices to do so" (Goffman 4). Hence, for Goffman, considering co-present others in spatial arrays are central for the practice and meaning of speech (Blommaert 10).

Goffman, in his *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*, addresses the structure and organisation of experience that individuals have at any moment of their social lives. In this regard, he claims that those who are in a situation will usually assess what that situation should be for them and then act accordingly. For this purpose, he believes society needs to consider basic frameworks of understanding to make sense of situational events and to explore the particular vulnerabilities to which those frames of reference are subject, from an individual's specific perspective that could view something that momentarily appears to be occurring, when the opposite may be the actual case, "a mistake, a theatrical performance [...] attention will be directed to what it is about our sense of what is going on that makes it so

vulnerable to the need for these various re-readings" (Goffman 10). Therefore, Goffman refers to frame analysis to identify and examine the basic elements of the organisation of experience.

Furthermore, in considering interaction as performance, Goffman speaks about the interaction between performer and audience to point to the importance of frame. For him, the content of the statement of the speaker prompts a reply from another participant, being this response part of the same realm: at a performance, it is solely "fellow performers who respond to each other in this direct way as inhabitants of the same realm; the audience responds indirectly, glancing, following alongside, if it were, cheering on but not intercepting" (Goffman 127).

Goffman (1974) refers to the doer, as the doing subject who provides evidence during their spoken moments for the fairness, or unfairness, of a situation for comprehension, approval or social appraisal of their action based upon their efficiency, honesty, tactfulness, good taste, safety or economy. This continuous control, he claims, this "management of consequentiality is sustained... becoming most apparent when action is unexpectedly blocked, or deflected, and special compensatory effort is required. Motive and intent are involved" (Goffman 22). Following Goffman, the frame structure of the theatre and that of talk are similar in that the individual comes to doings as somebody of specific biographical identity regardless the specific social role he is assigned. How the role is enacted allows an expression of personal identity, their personality, characteristic of the person and not of the role. The relationship between the person and the social role is inscribed in the frame, the interactive system, "in which the role is performed, and the self of the performer is glimpsed. Self, then, is not an entity half-concealed behind events but a changeable formula for managing oneself during them" (Goffman 573).

On the other hand, the listening audience during a theatrical performance, and by similarity, during the talk, are not obliged nor allowed to take part directly in the dramatic action, as "performances can be distinguished according to ... the exclusiveness of the claims of the watchers on the activity they watch ... the performer ... supplies his own scenery and props, and no prior agenda need be present to obligate the individual to perform" (Goffman 125), hence the listener is only primarily obliged to demonstrate some audience appreciation. Meanwhile, the speaker's words are "some sort of transformation of what it is to which they refer ... it is on the face of it an invitation to sit through a narrative, to follow along empathetically as a tale unfolds" (Goffman 504).

Besides, Silverstein and Urban explore texts by focusing on the transcription of oral discourse "on the production of a visual-channel text-artifact with a certain concreteness and manipulability ... the written text-artifact potentially mapping one-to-one onto the cultural text out there" (Silverstein & Urban 3). The authors view texts as a metadiscursive construct claiming that a fragment of discourse can be re-embedded cyclically by asking how the latter relates to its cultural context. This way, following the mentioned authors, participants are thought to create continuously shared cultural practices, and the decontextualised text to have

a narrative timeline, within its physical-temporal structure. In this line, Silverstein and Urban assert that "the processes of 'entextualization' and 'co(n)textualization' are the central and ongoing practices within cultural orders" (Silverstein & Urban 1) in that they consider that to entextualize a piece of discourse entails giving it a decontextualised structure and meaning which are imaginable beyond the spatiotemporal frame in which they can say to occur: "For if a text has a despatialized and detemporalized meaning ... then that meaning can be clearly transmitted across social boundaries such as generations, without regards for the kinds of recontextualizations it might undergo" (Silverstein & Urban 1). The latter transmission is then understood as a performance of the text able to engage in processes of entextualisation, interacting in various situational contexts while suggesting different dimensions of contextualised interpretive meaning.

According to Urban (1996), entextualisation portrays asymmetrical social relations, which are reflected when assessing participants' (or social actors') power and authority, as part of the metadiscursive understanding of the discourse process of entextualisation: "Different interpreters, understanding themselves to be ... in different relations to the original source discourse, produce different texts ... the new text has been reconfigured to reflect the new co(n)text" (Urban 4). Thus, it could be stated that social actors take part in the contextual transformation of discourse, much the same as in the social conditions which make possible that entextualisation. Moreover, it is argued that this conception of participants shaping discourse and representing a projection of it suggests there may be no clear distinction between the social and the cultural: "of culture as text inserted into a social context ... the distinction between the social and the cultural ... if readable from entextualization processes, are just as much products of them" (Urban 6).

In this respect, Silverstein (2014) looks at entextualisation issues to consider circulation and recontextualisation processes of discourse. For this purpose, he addresses the concept of an interactional text, "a narratable model of by-degrees contextually appropriate and contextually effective social action [... what is 'done' with words" (Silverstein 9) At this point, it seems adequate to relate these issues of entextualisation addressing circulation and recontextualisation processes to Goffman's discursive interaction, since "a text that comes into being during such interaction ritual is a socio-spatio-temporal object that can roughly be related to what is being communicated or 'said' against a backdrop of rules of verbal structuration" (Silverstein 9).

Regarding entextualisation, it is worth noticing that a replaying is not only thought of as a reporting of an event in the past, but a reproduction of a statement from a participant at a point from which a temporal and a dramatic development proceed. In other words, "something that listeners can empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously re-experiencing what took place ... recounts a personal experience, not merely reports on an event" (Goffman 504). In this line, and integrating the mentioned parallel between theatre and talk, it can be stated that when an individual utters something, "he is recounting ... running through a strip of already determined events for the engagement of his listeners" (Goffman

508). Hence, when a subject repeats the words of another, the speaker may repeat part of “the expressive stream in which these words presumably did or will occur” (Goffman 537).

Goffman’s assertions on frames and interaction provide us with, following Blommaert (2005), thought-provoking paths to transform the apparently static concepts of space and scale into dynamic and observable processes. Thus, as an endnote, if we consider space as an analysable whole, then we will affirm interactions can be decontextualised and entextualised. Following Dafouz & Smit (2016), discourses being viewed as social, mediated, action taking place in an interactional context or “site of engagement.”

3. Analysis of the video

This analysis aims to look at Borrell’s discourse through the lenses of the above theoretical framework, to suggest and discuss both an understanding of the activities the text can perform and of the social reality produced by the text. To do the latter, and to approach the effects the discourse may have, this paper will address issues of entextualisation and circulation, consumption, interpretation and recontextualisation processes.

Josep Borrell opens his speech by addressing the citizens of Catalonia as part of the European Union and the values it encompasses, through a comparison between their flag ‘estelada’ and that of the European Union: *This is our estelada [while displaying a European Union flag] ... It carries the stars of peace, of coexistence, of civil rights... that is what defines Europe today.* This linguistic reference to a global and united Europe, far away from separatist and anti-constitutional ideas, where borders are suppressed, opens a space where to imagine Blommaert’s continuum of layered scales (2007), with the local, micro (Catalonia) and the global, macro (Europe) as extremes, and with various intermediary scales in between, as the Spanish State, all in relation to one another. For Blommaert (2005), the relation between scales, which can be imagined as vertical spaces hierarchically ranked, is indexical because it lies in how instances of communication can be framed as comprehensible communication unveiling phenomena of a higher scale-level, such as social and cultural values like political pluralism, civil rights, democracy, or coexistence, which are indexed.

As it has been mentioned, for Blommaert (2003), globalisation includes different interconnectedness between levels and scales, whose complexity and simultaneity are challenging. By speaking, Borrell lifts events, in this case, the values of the Catalan citizens, from one level to a higher one, a global one, a European level. And in so doing, the speech pro-independence becomes niched. Furthermore, by engaging and identifying himself with the audience, *My friends, comrades, citizens of this country, we are here*, Borrell emphasises the need to defend and rebuild the Catalan, Spanish and European values — as part of an active globalisation process — that seems to have been lost in Catalonia, suggesting by whom, on whom, when and how it has happened: *because we have summoned ourselves to defend peaceful coexistence, political pluralism and solidarity. And it is really needed that we do so, because coexistence has been broken in this country. It’s broken between friends, between*

family members. It's broken in the streets. We have to rebuild it. We have to defend political pluralism because it is not recognised. We have a President of the Parliament, a President of the Parliament, who dares to say that those who don't vote for some specific political parties are not Catalans. They tear apart all of our values. Moreover, Josep Borrell poses rhetorical questions to the audience: Mrs Forcadell, didn't it cross your mind that before you said these things you should have resigned as President of the Parlament de Catalunya? But how is it possible? / How is it possible that a president of a parliament... of an institution that represents all the citizens dares to say that those who vote for other political parties, in an open and democratic way, are not Catalans? Of course, they are! As much as anybody else! Embracing Goffman, it could be seen how the content of the statement of the speaker prompts a reply from another participant, the audience in this case, who shows appreciation, by cheering and clapping, while Borrell's words invite his audience to follow his narrative empathetically while it unfolds: No, don't applaud yet, I've been told I only have ten minutes.

Moreover, as it can be seen in the extract above, as well as in this utterance, *And how is it possible that we have a 'conseller del govern de la Generalitat' who says that those that don't agree with the independence referendum, it is because they are not citizens but vassals? You are not vassals!*, Borrell entextualises the words of different politicians pro-independence in the context of the demonstration pro-unity his discourse is embedded. Borrell's discourse was recorded, written about, and shown in a wide range of other different national and international contexts, consequently being "re-embedded cyclically" (Silverstein & Urban, 1996). Following the latter authors, every time that any fragment of this piece of discourse is entextualised, participants must first give it a decontextualised structure that is imaginable beyond the spatiotemporal frame in which they can say to occur. If Borrell's discourse is to be transmitted across social boundaries, like generations, the text must then be despatialised and detemporalised every time it is entextualised in a new context.

This transmission can be thought of as a performance of the text, being capable to engage within processes of entextualisation, i.e., to interact in different contexts while suggesting diverse dimensions of contextualised interpretive meaning. Hence, looking at entextualisation issues, it applies to consider circulation and recontextualisation processes of this piece of discourse, as well as interaction rituals. First, after Borrell's speech was delivered during the pro-unity rally in Barcelona held on the 8th of October 2017, there have been a few instances when Borrell's discourse has entered a process of circulation, his words being reconfigured to reflect a new context, mainly within newspaper articles: 'Massive march in Barcelona in favour of the Constitution and the unity of Spain' (El País), 'Catalonia independence: Huge Spain unity rally in Barcelona' (BBC News). Understanding this text as a process and not a product and that features of discourse cannot be based on front stage interaction. it leads us to see how different interpreters, journalists in these cases, situating themselves in diverse relations to Borrell's original discourse, produce different texts reflecting new contexts. As has been suggested, Urban (1996), journalists as social actors participate in the contextual transformation of discourse, as well as in the social conditions that make possible that entextualisation.

Regarding interaction rituals and relating them to circulation and entextualisation processes, it must be highlighted that a replay, according to Goffman (1974), involves a reproduction of a statement in a way that listeners can merge themselves into experiencing what took place. The interaction in: *'Josep, in Catalonia there are only independence supporters'. [Shouts] 'No, of course not', I reply, but of course he sees us from very far away, he only sees independence supporters and asks me 'where are the others who say they aren't?' So here you are...now you can see us!* portrays how the hearers interact and could mimic or re-enact what is structurally marked as integral to Borrell. This participation framework in social activities like the call for unity and legality Borrell performs through his speech requires others in spatial arrays, at the moment of delivery of the speech or later within processes of circulation, interpretation or entextualisation, when the text is being mobilised in conversations or embedded in other texts, for the practice and meaning of discourse to develop.

Building on the frame structure of theatre and talk, it is noticeable that Borrell's personality, as Goffman's doing subject, is inscribed in the frame, providing evidence during his speech for the unfairness and illegality of the pro-independence movement, based upon his honesty and biographical, professional identity constructed around the European Union: *But up to now we have not been seen nor heard. From now on we have to make the voice of all Catalans heard equally. And for that, a democratic control of the public mass media [applause], which right now are a democratic embarrassment, is required.* The audience, at this point, shows appraisal of his action: *[Applause and shouts] [To the public] Well, it looks like you do agree with me, don't you? It is required that people express themselves with utmost respect... We shouldn't issue passionate demands.... [Audience chanting] "Puigdemont a prisi3n" (Puigdemont to prison)* Nonetheless, Borrell's management of consequentiality and control is reinforced here, when the latter chant takes place and a compensatory effort by Borrell is required: *[To the public] No, no, don't shout like a mob at the roman circus. The only people that go to jail are those being sent there by a judge. I beg you, please, I beg you to be extremely respectful, that we rebuild the affection, that we love each other.* Along these lines, throughout his speech, Borrell addresses directly the former Vice President of Catalonia, Junqueras, directly opposes Junqueras' actions as Goffman's diffusive disorder to the European values of legality that were thought to be going on around the Catalans: *Mr Junqueras, please stop deceiving the Catalans. Stop saying things that aren't true. You believe your own lies, but if you really do what you say you'll do, let me tell you that in Catalonia, in Spain and in Europe, the price we will pay will be very high. Because what you defend is the opposite of the European ideal. The European ideal is respect for the law and solidarity. You are breaking one and don't want to fulfil the other. Do you think that with that introduction card you would be welcomed with open arms? No.* By warning Junqueras and other pro-independence Catalans that are presumably listening, or will at some point, about the cost of his deviant actions, Borrell uncovers the constitutive rules and values of everyday behaviour. He performs the "transmutation of...social activity into an illuminating publication" (Goffman 5).

The audience present at the Barcelona rally, as well as those who took part in the subsequent processes of circulation, becomes essential to understanding the meaning-making

part upon which Borrell's speech depends. As Duranti points out, performances can solely be realised "through the collaboration of others, who may act as messengers, intermediaries, supporters [...] any 'action' that involves others is also likely to take part in the production and reproduction of social obligations" (Duranti 19).

Besides, in what could be an attempt not only to reach a wider audience, thus facilitating faster processes of circulation and consumption of the text, following Blommaert (2003), but also to depict Catalonia as global and open, as opposed to uniform, Borrell introduces French, Spanish, English and Catalan by the end of his speech. In this regard, the Catalan audience seems to require a register that accounts as anonymous at the level of contrast between languages and their corresponding national publics, following Frekko (2009): *[In French] Do you believe that Catalonia is like Algeria for France? No, Catalonia is not a colony. [In Spanish] Catalonia is not a state that is military occupied, as Lithuania was by the soviet army. [In English] Catalonia is not a state like Kosovo, where there was violence and Human Rights were violated. [In Catalan] For that reason Catalonia must keep on working based on the respect for the law and those who say that international law is on their side must not be believed, because it is not true, it is not on their side! And here in Barcelona, Ban Ki Moon himself, Secretary General of the United Nations came to say so. My friends: No more borders. This flag [displaying the European flag] represents the suppression of borders.* Borrell limits the choice of perspective to one that the audience in its wider sense considers being valid. He suggests what Catalonia is and what it is experiencing by comparing it to what it is not (Algeria, Kosovo) and by, ultimately, destabilising the idea that Catalonia is being oppressed by the Spanish State.

Borrell's capacity to understand communication lies in the ability to lift momentary instances of interaction to the level of common meanings, and the two mentioned directions of indexicality. To enter those spaces, following Blommaert (2005), means to incorporate the norms and meaningful relations between one scale and another (the local, Catalonia, versus de national or the global). Moreover, this notion encompasses effects on power or the forms of behaviour that can be adopted. The scalar, layered stratification which can be jumped on, and in which orders of indexicality are observed, reveals distinct realities according to different scale-levels.

4. Conclusion

This paper has contextualised Borrell's discourse as an analysable space where interaction can be decontextualised and entextualised. This view has suggested an understanding of discourse as a space of co-construction in which the social practice of the delivery of a speech during a pro-unity rally is not only visible through Borrell's words, but it is meaningfully shaped through the interactional context with which it engages.

Borrell's discourse has also been approached as a performance of unity at a time where different pro-independence movements are spreading across the world. Performances of unity are enacted in various discursive forms, reproducing instances of political collaboration; these social practices that are shaped through discourse and merged in processes of production and redistribution of discourses can also be seen nowadays in the USA, the UK, France, or Italy, for instance. Interaction at a level of common meanings, framed within respect towards constitutional democracy, has been analysed to lead to an understanding in communication throughout different scale levels.

This constant performance relates to Pennycook's idea (2010) that language practices gain their meaning as situated social acts, being meaningful concerning the constantly changeable spatial, social and symbolic environments where they are enacted and interpreted. As O'Regan (2017) sustains, there are explicit references and many parallels that can be drawn between the anti-immigration and racism rhetoric that marked the Brexit campaign and Trump's presidential election, and so there are between pro-unity discourses. Moreover, by delivering his speech, Borrell reached the immediate audience that was attending the rally. But also, a wider one including politicians in the European Union who thereafter engaged with that pro-unity discourse, claiming that through anti-constitutional methods, Catalonia will never be part of the European Union as an independent state. This constant circulation and interpretative process making meaning out of pro-independence and pro-unity discourses in a European and global collaborative context purports the consistent idea that Catalan nationalism will only be able to succeed in discussions that are compatible with legality and democracy.

Regarding some limitations of this work, even if the analysis of the data throughout this paper has attempted to be aim, it could be possible that the interpretation given to it has been embedded within a particular belief other than that held by different readers, given the complexity of politically-related issues. Despite the assumption above, this paper provides an insight to consider critically entextualisation and circulation processes as well as meaning-making practices within other similar discourses of pro-unity or pro-independence and how those practices both guide and shape our understanding of social processes across the globe.

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Transcript of the video

Citizens of Catalonia,

Because that is what you are, citizens of this country. I see some estelades (T.N. star-bearing secessionist flag). This is our estelada [while displaying a European Union flag].

It carries the stars of peace, of coexistence, of civil rights... that is what defines Europe today. My friends, comrades, citizens of this country, we are here because we have summoned ourselves to defend peaceful coexistence, political pluralism and solidarity. And it is really needed that we do so, because coexistence has been broken in this country. It's broken between friends, between family members. It's broken in the streets. We have to rebuild it. We have to defend political pluralism because it is not recognised. We have a President of the Parliament, a President of the Parliament, who dares to say that those who don't vote for some specific political parties are not Catalans. They tear apart all of our values.

Mrs Forcadell, didn't it cross your mind that before you said these things you should have resigned as President of the Parlament de Catalunya? But how is it possible?

[To the public] No, don't applaud yet, I've been told I only have ten minutes.

How is it possible that a president of a parliament – I have been president of the European Parliament- How is it possible that a president of an institution that represents all the citizens

dares to say that those who vote for other political parties, in an open and democratic way, are not Catalans? Of course they are! As much as anybody else!

And how is it possible that we have a *conseller del govern de la Generalitat* who says that those that don't agree with the independence referendum, it is because they are not citizens but vassals?

You are not vassals!

And if you are here, if so many of you have come, it is indeed to tell the world that those who don't have the same views as the nationalists are as much citizens of Catalonia as they are!

[Applause]

My friends, I have a friend who lives in the Moon and since he sees us from afar, when he looks at us through his telescope, he tells me: "Josep, in Catalonia there are only independence supporters".

[Shouts]

"No, of course not", I reply, but of course he sees us from very far away, he only sees independence supporters and asks me "where are the others who say they aren't?"

So here you are. My friend in the Moon, now you can see us!

But up to now we have not been seen nor heard. From now on we have to make the voice of all Catalans heard equally. And for that, a democratic control of the public mass media [applause], which right now are a democratic embarrassment, is required.

[Applause and shouts]

[To the public] Well, it looks like you do agree with me, don't you?

It is required that people express themselves with utmost respect. I don't want to exaggerate, but we are living almost dramatic moments in the history of this country.

We shouldn't issue passionate demands. We must ask people to be sensible, to be respectful with us and with others. We should be very careful with what we do in the next days because if independence is declared in a unilateral way, this country will go off the cliff. Mr Puigdemont, don't throw it off the cliff, don't let it go off the cliff.

[Audience chanting "Puigdemont a prisión" (Puigdemont to prison)]

[To the public] No, no, don't shout like a mob at the roman circus. The only people that go to jail are those being sent there by a judge.

I beg you, please, I beg you to be extremely respectful, that we rebuild the affection that we love each other. Every time I argue with my pro-independence friends, and I explain how many false stories are there in their calculations, every time that I explain to them the lies that have been told to increase their disdain for others. At the end, when they realise they have no more reasons or arguments, they reply "the problem is that they don't love us". But we do, we do love you.

I'm going to ask all of you a favour, also to those of you who have come also from outside Catalonia: when you go back to your homes all over Spain, please do something: go and buy a bottle of Catalan cava. (NdT: Catalan champagne)

[Applause]

Go and buy a bottle of Catalan cava because the sales of Catalan cava have dropped by 15% and this means that there are more unemployed workers in Catalonia. I don't want to hear

about boycotts, about offences. We have to work all together to recover the sanity that has vanished.

And now I want to address the businessmen of Catalonia. Now I want to address all of those who are making the decision to leave Catalonia in a hurry: Couldn't you have spoken up earlier? All the things you said in private, why didn't you say them in public too?

Two years ago, when... while publishing my first book, I said that if independence was declared, this would happen, that businesses would flee and that banks would be the first to do so. And Mr Junqueras and Mr Mas, who were great prophets, said that not even one would leave.

Not even one, isn't it Mr Mas?

All those businesses that are now leaving should have said so before. That, if what is happening now, happened, they would do what they are doing. Because had they said so, had they said so, maybe this wouldn't be happening.

We all are to be blamed a bit for being too quiet. Now it is the moment for those who feel they belong to this land to make a plea for serenity, for good judgement, for peaceful coexistence, for solidarity, for political pluralism.

These are the emblems of the starry European flag, and for that we have to work, my friends.
[Applause]

This will not be fixed by making unilateral decisions. This is not a problem of public order, or not only. This is not a problem that can be fixed just by saying that we do it better and that Europe will welcome us with open arms.

Mr Junqueras, please stop deceiving the Catalans. Stop saying things that aren't true. You believe your own lies, but if you really do what you say you'll do, let me tell you that in Catalonia, in Spain and in Europe, the price we will pay will be very high.

Because what you defend is the opposite of the European ideal.

The European ideal is respect for the law and solidarity. You are breaking one and don't want to fulfil the other.

Do you think that with that introduction card you would be welcomed with open arms? No. They would tell you to come back another day, and in the meantime we all would suffer a lot. Because I see that there are people suffering. I see it in the streets, in trains, in restaurants. Good people that are afraid, fearful of what can happen. They don't know what will happen with their pensions. They don't know if they will have to leave this country. What they ask of us is to do something, and quick, because we are on the brink of what can end up being a civil confrontation. And we have to contribute to prevent it.

I want to finish, I have many things to say but we don't have enough time. I only want to say two more things.

First: When President Kennedy sent the National Guard to end with... to make Southern states comply with racial laws, he said that no man, no man, however powerful, and no mob, however boisterous, is entitled to defy the law. Because [switches to Spanish] the day they are not bound by the law, no judge will be able to do their job, nobody will be safe from arbitrariness of the Government and no citizen will be certain of what their neighbours could do.

[Applause]

[Switches back to Catalanian] And we want to be certain of what our neighbours can do to us. Things have happened here that shouldn't have. We have seen images that we don't like. We are hurting each other. Enough is enough, let's recover the good judgement and think about the world we are living in, in the 21st Century we are entitled to live in peace. We are entitled to peace. We should be enjoying this wonderful land, the progress in this democratic Spain we can be very proud of.

[Applause]

There are problems, of course there are. Which country doesn't have problems?

[In English] But believe me, do you think that Catalonia is like Lithuania, or Kosovo? No.

[In French] Do you believe that Catalonia is like Algeria for France? No, Catalonia is not a colony.

[In Spanish] Catalonia is not a state that is military occupied, as Lithuania was by the soviet army.

[In English] Catalonia is not a state like Kosovo, where there was violence and Human Rights were violated.

[In Catalan] For that reason, Catalonia must keep on working based on the respect for the law and those who say that international law is on their side must not be believed, because it is not true, it is not on their side!

And here in Barcelona, Ban Ki Moon himself, Secretary General of the United Nations came to say so.

My friends: No more borders. This flag [displaying the European flag] represents the suppression of borders.

What are borders? Borders are the scars that History has left on the surface of Earth.

[In Spanish] Borders are the scars that History has left engraved in the surface of Earth. Engraved with blood and fire.

We shouldn't create any more since we already had to endure too much to build them.

[In Spanish] Thank you

[Applause]

Bioprofile of the author

Irene Soriano is a PhD student in English Linguistics at Complutense University of Madrid (UCM). She holds a MA with Distinction in Applied Linguistics from University College London (UCL). She is a member of UCM's Research Group 'The Role of English in the Internationalization of Spanish Higher Education' and of SHIFT research project 'Understanding the Internationalisation of Higher Education from the Student Perspective: A Longitudinal Examination of Disciplinary Literacies in English-medium education' from which she has been awarded a FPI scholarship to follow her predoctoral research while collaborating with this project as a research assistant. She is a member of UCM's teaching innovation project '*T-Co: Seminario para la internacionalización de la docencia*' and her main academic interest focuses on (trans)linguaging practices and policies within the internationalisation of higher education.

As a former intern at the EU Commission, a qualified English teacher and a Europaeum Scholar she is devoted to education and policy implementation.

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