

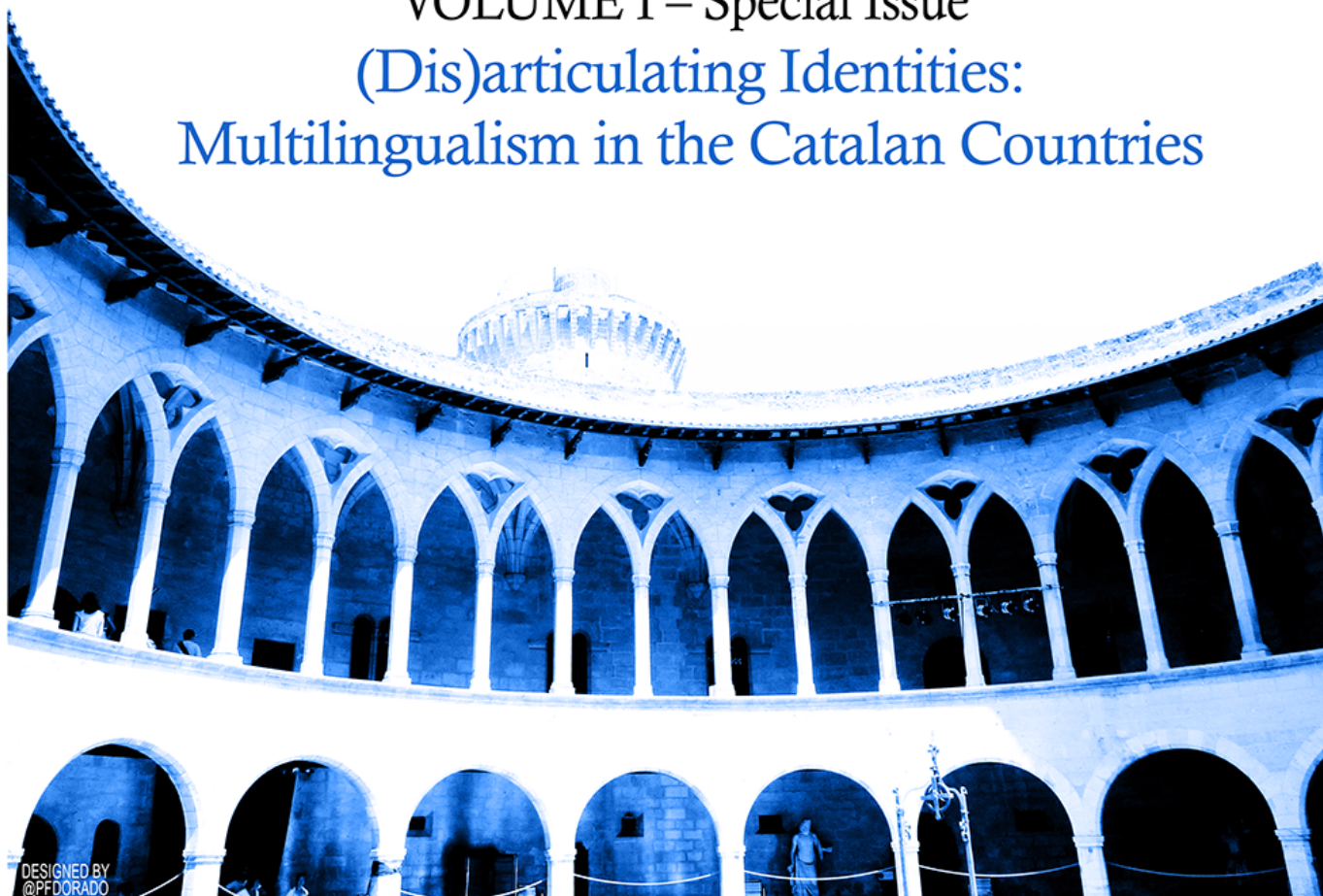


THE
ANGLO-CATALAN
SOCIETY

JOCS

JOURNAL OF
CATALAN
STUDIES | No. 23 |
2022

VOLUME I – Special Issue
(Dis)articulating Identities:
Multilingualism in the Catalan Countries



DESIGNED BY
@PFDORADO

(Dis)articulating Identities: Multilingualism in the Catalan Countries

BRAD EPPS

University of Cambridge

RHIANNON McGLADE

University of Cambridge

Quien sólo sabe su lengua – decía
Goethe –, ni aun su lengua sabe.

Miguel de Unamuno, *El porvenir de España*

L'única expressió universal serà,
doncs, aquella tan variada com la
varietat mateixa de les terres i
llurs gents.

Joan Maragall, *Elogi de la paraula*

What does it mean to be monolingual in a multilingual society? Or, indeed, multilingual in a predominantly monolingual society? How multifarious, or heterogenous, is “multilingualism”? How singular, or homogenous, is “monolingualism”? What, for that matter, constitutes a language? To what degree do sound and music, gestures, gazes and gaits, clothes and cuisine, appearance and ability figure in considerations of multilingualism? What about the deaf, the mute, the blind? Or as Monsterrat Lunati asks, what about the dead, the disappeared, the silenced and suppressed? These questions, amongst others, hovered at the humanistic and post-humanistic fringes of the AHRC-Open World Research Initiative, *Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals Transforming Societies* (MEITS), launched in 2016 and orientated, at its socio-scientific centre, to more familiar and delimited understandings of language(s). The four-year project, led by scholars at the University of Cambridge in collaboration with partners from the academic, private and public sphere, strove for a holistic investigation of multilingualism across a range of disciplines that included literary, film and cultural studies, linguistics, the history of ideas, conflict

resolution, education and health and wellbeing. Stemming from multidisciplinary research and intellectual exchanges in the MEITS strand ‘Arts of Identity,’ the contributors to this collection consider various conceptions and practices of multilingualism and its implications for Catalan culture and civil society (the other language and culture addressed in the strand was Ukrainian). The following essays, produced and gathered under the title, “(Dis)articulating Identities: Multilingualism in the Catalan Countries,” query the relationships between multilingualism, diversity and identity that are at play on and across individual, local, regional, national and global levels. In keeping with the aforementioned commitment to the multiple (and its relative singularities and specificities), the dossier spans the fields of Catalan theatre, literature, documentary cinema, performance and sociolinguistic practice in the educational sphere. It explores how the insights that are arguably gained from stepping outside and/or from moving betwixt and between any number of languages, cultures and modes of thought, are vital to understanding the implications of multilingualism for so-called minority, or minoritized, languages and their attendant – but also accidental and unexpected – cultural identities.

The continued polemics surrounding language and identity in Catalonia and the Spanish state – as evidenced by the *Tribunal Supremo*’s decision on 23 November 2021 to uphold a lower court ruling that effectively put an end to the ‘total immersion’ model – render the reflections on cultural production, diversity and the processes of identity construction here assembled particularly relevant.¹ These reflections rely, in turn, on acute understandings of sociolinguistic history and legislative and social stances on language as well as on nuanced appreciations of the importance of language in cultural, social and legal spheres, not only in Catalonia but also in exile, during the dictatorship and/or in other Catalan-speaking communities elsewhere. Moving beyond historic and geographic boundaries, of which they are nonetheless quite aware, many of the present articles seek to understand how politics animate, interpellate and/or quell language use in multilingual societies, but also how linguistic culture enables, contributes to, and even spurs, political practice. As such, the dossier examines a variety of ways in which cultural products and performances contribute to understandings – and misunderstandings – about the place and function of languages in civil society. Moreover, it asks how linguistic diversity bears on local, regional, national and international identities and communities

¹ See, for example, ‘El Tribunal Supremo tumba la inmersión lingüística en Cataluña’, *ABC*, 23 November 2021; ‘Nationalist fury at ruling against Catalan language policy in schools’, *Irish Times*, 26 November 2021.

affected by a complex colonial past and a no less complex post- and neo-colonial present, particularly in the multifaceted realm of culture.

The articles featured in this collection undertake both formal-aesthetic and symbolic-ideological analyses of texts and contexts with particular attentiveness to notions of affect and emotion in the production, reception and dissemination of cultural artifacts, acts and attitudes. As many of the essays attest, language is often deployed, indeed instrumentalized, and perhaps even fetishized, in divergent projects of national renegotiation and/or secession that have profound implications for international relations and for immigration and citizenship in a globalizing world. Far from engaging in an unequivocal celebration of the multilingual experience, the contributors probe into the “case” of Catalan to consider not only multilingualism’s capacity to act as a benefit to individuals, enhance communities, enrich cultures and foster social cohesion, but also its capacity to disadvantage individuals, divide communities and fragment societies. In so doing, the essays bring into play concerns that may be muffled in the more positive, and aspirational, moniker of “Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies,” in which transformation is implicitly articulated as “for the better.” Of course, even “transformation for the better” can vary dramatically, depending on one’s ideological position and coordinates. With this important proviso in mind, the contributors to the present volume consider linguistic practices as well as cultural texts and/or events that foreground, problematize and inform questions of linguistic unity, diversity, identity, community and power in and out of the public sphere.

Notwithstanding the capacious scope of the ideas and themes addressed by “(Dis)articulating Identities,” the articles that follow this introduction comprise a comprehensive-while-dynamic whole. The opening essays by Sharon Feldman and Helena Buffery set their sights on the Catalan multilingual stage. Feldman explores the extent to which Catalan playwrights have embraced a new cosmopolitanism understood in terms of Kwame Anthony Appiah’s “rooted” approach to cultural diversity that “transcends” the local and the particular in order to reach beyond the linguistic and cultural precarity of their more immediate geographic and political surroundings. In her detailed overview of Catalan theatrical programming over the past two decades, Feldman notes that even when a play *appears* monolingual, it may easily have been imagined and thus implicitly equipped for audiences *au fait* with multilingual performance culture. Indeed, Feldman’s survey of Catalan plays identifies many works which echo the more inviting spirit of

cosmopolitanism by accentuating the value of multilingualism and intercultural openness. Tellingly, contemporary efforts to capture multilingual experience on the Catalan stage often take a figurative approach; linguistic verisimilitude, in other words, is not the express or primary aim here. Rather, these works draw upon themes of travel, mobility, migration and nomadism, amongst others, to evince linguistic fluidity.

The nomad, in particular, Feldman argues, serves as an apt metaphor for what she sees as the often fluctuating and precarious quality of Catalan identity. In this respect, she pays particular attention to the plays of Josep Maria Miró and Carles Batlle. Miró's *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* (2018) is indicative of what Feldman presents as a widespread fixation in contemporary Catalan drama on mobility and transcendence, which at times offers "a break with monolingual paradigms." Underscoring the predominant presence of metaphoric representations of multilingualism in the plays in question, Feldman also discusses the importance of so-called 'multilingual zones' such as the hotel which she identifies as a common feature of Miró's works. With respect to Batlle, we discern a pervasive aesthetic that engages cultural hybridity in cosmopolitan contexts as "an unavoidable, ever-present, and even necessary state of being." Indeed, in the yet-to-be-staged *Nòmades (o el camell blau)* (2019), cultural hybridity extends to the languages of the theatre, thereby "fusing a contemporary European polyphonic theatrical idiom [...] [with] traditions originating in the Maghreb." Thus, from literal displays of multilingualism to more figurative manifestations grounded in artistic pretence, Feldman convincingly explores the multiple ways in which multilingualism informs the cosmopolitan "impulse" on the Catalan stage. In so doing, she brings into focus a performance culture underpinned by a worldview that embraces global equality and community.

In the following article, in which theatre again takes centre stage, Helena Buffery draws upon Michael Cronin's *Eco-translation* and Sherry Simon's *Cities in Translation*, with an eye to the works of Calitxo Bieito and Oriol Broggi, in order to explore the connections between translation, multilingualism and trauma as "inflected by place, resilience and relatedness." Beginning with audience responses to multilingual interplay in Bieito's *Forests* (2012), Buffery highlights the ways in which popular reactions often reflect and reiterate the potentially divisive issue of the "naturalization" of linguistic asymmetries. For Bieito, Buffery explains, *Forests* signals his awareness of the relationships between language, landscape and identity as "spanning the local and the global, the personal and the political, the emotional and the ecological." However, the play's

reception points to the way in which many audience members saw language itself or, rather, languages themselves as playing a central role. Turning to the work of Oriol Broggi and his collaboration with the theatre group La Perla 29, Buffery considers how questions of translation, multilingualism and trauma play out at the local level. Echoing the trends adduced by Feldman, Buffery notes that Broggi's productions are set apart by a "multilingual and cosmopolitan diversity, particularly in the city of Barcelona."

Buffery (re)visits Broggi's work on the cycle *Le sang des promesses*, by Lebanese-Canadian playwright Wajdi Mouawad, comprised of the tetralogy *Littoral*, *Incendies*, *Forêts* and *Ciels*. In her analysis of two of these plays, both of which are underpinned by a search for identity that must be constructed from shattered remains, Buffery explores what the attention to place, resilience and relatedness can teach us about the translation and reception of these works on a "minority" stage. Examining Genebat's Catalan translation of Broggi's *Incendies*, Buffery tracks the tense balancing act between omission and compensation in treating, amongst other things, the multilingual asymmetries that underly the play; the reproduction of distant origins from the perspective of the new home; and the opposition between silence and expression. In comparison with Mouawad's original, in which trauma is portrayed as universal, Broggi's version explores a multicultural dimension that highlights efforts to understand the other as a key factor of post-traumatic resilience. According to Buffery, *Boscós*, the translated adaptation of *Forêts*, is thus also a play about the translatability of trauma and, importantly, about Spanish history more specifically. With her essay, Buffery thus makes a critical contribution to the examination of theatre and translation as well as of theatre *in translation* that underscores the importance of engaging with other languages, identities and cultures. As she poignantly reminds us, such engagement "ultimately involves taking account of one's own place in the landscape" and of recognising "one's own responsibility and agency along with that of others."

Yairen Jerez Columbié also places performance and language at the heart of her historically and archivally informed examination of the *Jocs Florals* in Havana, Cuba in 1923 and 1944. Exploring the role of these poetic competitions and cultural events in the fractured consolidation of the Catalan diasporic community in Cuba's capital, Jerez Columbié draws upon theories of transculturation, surrogation and performance to suggest that the spatial, linguistic and cultural framework of the *Jocs Florals* which played a major role in the recuperation of medieval practices that fuelled the mid-nineteenth century *Renaixença* is more transnational and multilingual than is

commonly imagined. Tracing the history of orature and performance associated with the Games, Jerez Columbié effectively repositions, with solid historical evidence, modern Catalan culture as trans-Atlantic, international and shaped through the four intertwining categories of memory, imagination, invention and substitution. In her comparativist close-reading of the opening addresses of the 1923 *Jocs Florals* celebrations in Barcelona and Havana, she carefully unpacks the approaches of the organisers Josep Maria Roca and Josep Conangla. While Roca positions himself as occupying a radically peripheral stance vis-à-vis both Spanish nationalism and hegemonic forms of Catalanism within Catalonia, Conangla carries out his Catalanist cultural activism in a context of relative diasporic “normality.”

The Catalan-Cuban Games of 1944, however, could make no such claims to “normality,” for they took place within the volatile, still fluctuating context of the Second World War and the diasporic influx of Republican exiles who fled Franco’s Spain, in the wake of the Spanish Civil War, not just north, to Europe, but west, to the Americas. Within this space, contributions from a wider geographical and also ideological spread saw the more conservative institutional dimensions of the *Jocs Florals* encounter opposition from an incoming generation of contributors, profoundly marked by the experience of war. Nevertheless, the sense of international adversity and uncertainty imbued the events with new symbolic value. Jerez Columbié complements her reading of the 1944 Games with an examination of the symbolic significance of the designated “Queen” of the *Jocs*, Rosa Clavería, a woman whose versatility allowed her to perform diverse roles in the different processes of surrogation that invested her with multinational and multilingual symbolism that was at once Spanish, Catalan, Latin-American and Cuban. Clavería’s ‘coronation,’ in short, exemplifies the significance of ceremony and performance in processes of cultural transportation, surrogation, recreation and reinvention. Indeed, the author develops this crucial point to support a broader analysis of the cultural resonances of the Games as a civic platform and instrument of cultural and linguistic propaganda, or promotion, in a world characterised by dynamic process of reimagination, re-staging and rehearsal, trial and error, loss and gain in a word, transculturation of language, writing, and creative performance.

The Catalan diasporic community, this time in Mexico, also figures as part of Rhiannon McGlade’s treatment of humour and multilingual identities in two works of narrative fiction. The first of these novels, Avel·lí Artís Gener’s *Paraules d’Opoton el Vell* (1968), navigates issues of linguistic and cultural plurality in a comical

while problematic inversion and transposition of Columbus's famous expedition of 'discovery' in which Aztec explorers stumble on the coasts of pre-modern Spain. Written in the context of Mexican exile during the Franco dictatorship, Artís Gener's mock-epic saga ponders the universality of multiple languages in a transhistoric, trans-Atlantic vein that serves as a critique of the persistent monolingual, Hispanophone dominance and oppression of the author's Catalan homeland. The second text in McGlade's study, Juan Marsé's *El amante bilingüe* (1990), is likewise a "tongue-in-cheek response to the totalising approach of cultural and linguistic politics and policy," this time set in Barcelona in the 1980s. In *El amante*, however, it is Catalan essentialism which is on the receiving end of a sardonic subversion of the trope of Catalonia and its language as victims. Although divided by time and geographical space, as well as by the very languages in which they are written (one Catalan, the other Spanish), what unites these two texts, and by implication these two Catalan writers, is, as McGlade explains, their transgressive deployment of humour as a way to reflect upon the dynamic and promiscuous intersections of languages and identities in which the "imaginative limits of hegemonic monolingualism" are undermined in order to trouble and subvert the intransigent linguistic practises of their respective times.

The texts in question, McGlade contends, are not only multilingual, in the more obvious sense that they include more than one language, but also heteroglossic, in their recourse to different landscapes of diegeses, dialogic register, dialect and archaisms, as well as in their "metalinguistic ruminations on translation, signification and neology." A key point for reflection here — one that bears more specifically on the interrelation between humour and linguistic identity — is that humour is itself multifaceted and, in important ways, multilingual. Accordingly, across both novels, McGlade re-views concepts of Bakhtinian polyglossia and the carnivalesque through the lens of humour theory to consider the ways that humour traces diverse responses to the complexities of multilingual space. On the one hand, *Paraules* delivers a "light-hearted, slapstick farce with moments of bathos" to capture the discombobulating experience when multiple languages and cultures collide; on the other hand, and chiming with the questions of trauma raised by Buffery, *El amante*'s overt deployment of multilingualism as a metaphor for a split or schizophrenic sense of self effects a barbed humorous tone, wherein the experiences of multilingualism are also ironically and sardonically shown to be fraught and at times tragic.

The sense of the tragic is also traced in Montserrat Lunati's comparativist exposition of mourning in the poetry of Maria Mercè

Marçal and Christopher Whyte. Opening with a progressively positioned assessment of the ongoing, and recently renewed, assault on “minority languages” in the Spanish State, Lunati hones in on Scottish writer Christopher Whyte in Gaelic, Crisdean MacIlleBhàin as representative of an “open-minded, multilingual and tolerant approach to languages and cultures.” Noting Whyte’s interest in diversifying the canon by attending to questions of gender and sexuality, amongst others, Lunati examines one of his longer poems, “Leabhar Nach Deach a Sgrìobhadh,” written in memory of Marçal and translated into Catalan by Francesc Parcerisas and Jaume Subirana, both of whom are, like Whyte, scholar-poets or poet-scholars in their own right. Translated as “Un llibre no escrit,” Whyte’s Scottish text enters a cross-cultural communicative field whose devastating measure is partially captured and, of course, partially lost in the title, the image, the trope of an unwritten book. One of the most celebrated and studied of modern Catalan writers, Marçal, who died of cancer at the age of 45, was also, importantly, Whyte’s friend. It is thus from a loving, mournful and inevitably melancholy stance (as Lunati notes, even Freud expressed doubts about “a successful mourning without residue”) that Whyte produces what Lunati elegantly describes as a “requiem in words”, rich with ethico-poetic implications. Chief amongst these implications is the “minoritized” status of the languages that Whyte and Marçal cultivate: Scottish Gaelic and Catalan, both of which have been subject to various modes of repression and suppression, especially vis-à-vis their more hegemonic “neighbours,” French, Spanish and English. Whyte’s (or perhaps more accurately, MacIlleBhàin’s) decision not to translate his poetry into English but to leave that task to *others* occupies Lunati’s critical attention, but so too do the textuality of mourning more generally and the sexual orientation of the two writers more specifically.

Rightly remarking that Whyte, a gay poet, and Marçal, a lesbian poet, “never had any qualms about giving a political dimension to their sexual orientation,” Lunati teases out important, though by no means flatly determinative, points of contact between historically and culturally oppressed languages and historically and culturally oppressed sexualities. Drawing on a wide array of theoretical and creative works, Lunati, after tarrying with the Catalan version of Whyte’s poem and its moments of friendly, remembered affection, turns to Jacques Derrida, whose “views on friendship, death, mourning and the self” resonate with Whyte’s “requiem” to Marçal. Despite the high-sounding theoretical connotations of such a turn, Lunati, in her reading of Whyte’s and Marçal’s writing, movingly foregrounds the quotidian and the conversational, the so-called little

things in life, the personal interactions whose intimacy is shadowed, especially in the act of going public, by something extimate. Whyte's grief, indeed all grief, she contends, is multidirectional, implicating moons and streets, trees and mirrors, hands and windows, all of which figure in Whyte's and Marçal's poetry. Multidirectional, indeed multitemporal (at once "proleptic and analeptic," as Lunati puts it), grief is also multilingual, implicating a welter of languages (Whyte and Marçal both took a hand in translating, for instance, poems by famed Russian poet Marina Tsvetaeva) and expressive, communicational modes. Lunati produces a subtle, suggestive brief on behalf of an appreciation of multilingualism that does not dispense with the ill, the dead, the lost, the absent and the forgotten but that understands them, instead, as powerfully entwined in the reality, and vitality, of linguistic interactions in the forever receding, yet forever insistent, present.

As has already been noted with regard to a number of the essays in this collection, the attention to the interplay between majority and minority/minoritized languages in post-imperial states, raises questions about prescriptive standardization in the service of national cohesion and modernization. Building on this theme, language attitudes and linguistic practice frame the final section loosely defined of the collection. In their qualitative study of the role, function and reception of the Catalan language in secondary education in Catalonia, Llorenç Comajoan, F. Xavier Vila and Vanessa Bretxa address the impact of the tensely intertwined phenomena of globalisation and immigration on the day-to-day realities of educational practice. Although the conversational exchanges that are at the centre of attention in Comajoan, Vila and Bretxa's sociolinguistic study differ markedly from those that Lunati explores in the realm of poetry, the shared attention to interlocution, to conversation, is nonetheless notable. Indeed, the multi-authored status of their study, part and parcel of a collaborative ethos that is more prominent in the social sciences than the humanities (including, if not indeed especially, those marked by a "post-humanistic" approach) aptly sets the stage for the interviews with, and the variegated comments by, the teachers who grapple daily with attitudes, situations and habits that are, on the whole, less common in the more rarefied and privileged context of the university. It is therefore not surprising that their examination of the ongoing demographic and demolinguistic transformations at once momentous and miniscule in the social sphere lead the three investigators to pay close attention to both the Catalan educational system, writ large, and the discursively diverse perceptions and practices of educators, more specifically.

Structured in three interlocking parts, the study 1) revisits the “evolution” of the linguistic model operant in the public sphere of Catalan education, with an eye to different systems of multilingual education in other parts of the world; 2) summarizes, in quasi-narrative form, the data obtained through the interviewing process, and, finally, 3) offers a discursive analysis of what the writers describe as a “polyphony of voices” marked by direct and indirect, or reported, speech. Amongst the many questions examined are the “Catalanisation” of educational practice; the promises and pitfalls of linguistic immersion; the plays of plurilingualism and interculturality that are anything but self-evident or devoid of affect; the lag between, on the one hand, conceptual and terminological innovations and, on the other hand, pedagogical and social adjustments; the tensions between monoglossic and heteroglossic models; new formulations such as “translanguaging;” debates over bilingualism as a new national norm; resistance, organised and not, to the “imposition” of Catalan but also of Castilian in the classroom; the fissures, or “esquerdes”, in systemic approaches, and, perhaps most significantly, the inadequacy of a longstanding Castilian-Catalan binary in the face of widescale multilingual, economically, racially and socially diverse immigration.

Considerations of language use that push beyond the monolithic dichotomy of the Catalan-Castilian experience, course throughout Antonio Monegal’s engaging exploration of three recent documentary films: Óscar Pérez’s *El sastre* (2007), Eva Vila’s *Bajari* (2013) and Claudio Zulián’s *A través del Carmel* (2009), the last two tellingly translated into English as *Gypsy Barcelona* (as Monegal notes, “Bajari” is the Caló word for “Barcelona”) and *The Shifting City* respectively. By focusing on cinematic works that position themselves beyond the bilingual enclosure of Castilian and Catalan (which nonetheless persists as a dominant individual practice in Catalonia) to include Berber, Ukrainian, Urdu, Tagalog, French, Caló and other languages, and by attending to the “internal” multifariousness of linguistic and non-linguistic expression alike, Monegal charts various “sound maps” that highlight the importance of, for instance, accent and music and that bring into greater visibility the documentaries are, after all, audio-visual works the realities of ethno-racial diversity, working-class culture, immigrant experience, social marginalisation and the complex interplay of the everyday, the anonymous and the collective. Citing José Luis Guerín’s *En construcción* (2001) as a catalyst for a growing “trend” of “linguistic naturalism” and deploying an assortment of theoretical insights from Jacques Rancière and Raymond Williams to Homi Bhabha and Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Monegal attunes himself,

via the films he examines, to something like the hum of the street and its relation to locally and globally or, better yet, “glocally” inflected questions of artistic production and political action. He also delves into the renewed interest in the interrelations between documentary filmmaking and reality in which issues of realist representation, interventionism and activism loom large. Be it the tailor’s shop in *El sastre*, which functions as a “microcosm of the multicultural city” marked by exchange and conflict, negotiation, collaboration and exploitation (a Pakistani boss and his Indian employee); or the fraught but creative soundscape of musical forms such as rumba and flamenco in a diasporic and internally othered gypsy community in *Bajarí*; or the “puzzle or collage of voices” in the Carmel (a metaphor that Balló and Jiménez-Morales also deploy, in relation to the Raval) that is brought to the fore in *A través del Carmel*, the three films that Monegal reviews and rehears proffer fragmented choral effects, at once mellifluous and dissonant, that push at the normative delimitation of multilingualism as a play between and across words, speech and writing. In so doing, he subtly and sagaciously reminds his readers (and the films’ viewers and listeners) that language is also tonal, gestural, visual, sartorial, corporeal and so on.

Monegal thus implicitly makes a case for a non-verbal multilingualism that productively exceeds the traditional academic confines of “languages and literatures” to encompass music, dance, performance, fashion, appearance, gaze, gait and more. The “landscape of relations” that he teases out of these three extraordinary ordinary films are, as he persuasively notes, endlessly scale-sensitive and prolifically symbolic, rife with any number of displacements, disorientations, fleeting encounters, reiterated itineraries and crisscrossed differences in accent, class, race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and, of course, language. Finally, but by no means least importantly, Monegal posits viewing as an action that understands that presumptive totalities a shop, a neighbourhood, a city, a stateless nation, a nation state, a continent, a world are both scale-dependent (here “chaos theory” might be brought into play with Glissant’s notion, cited in the epigraph, of “the chaos-world”) and riven by an incalculable number of fissures (family, memory, tradition, etc.). Like Comajoan, Vila and Bretxa, though in the context of shops and streets rather than schools, Monegal adduces a “polyphony of voices” that “claim recognition as citizens.” The fact that many of those whose voices are “captured” in these films are *not* citizens, and may not even have “their papers,” only accentuates the word choice is deliberate the problematic status of the very concept of the “citizen” and, to be sure, the

challenges that face any truly multilingual, multicultural, democratic society.

Documentary film is also at the centre of Jordi Balló and Manel Jiménez-Morales' critical reflection on politically and aesthetically charged status of the Catalan language in recent Catalan filmmaking. Signalling the conflictive, if intersecting, pitfalls of the imposition of Spanish for commercial reasons and of the imposition of Catalan for cultural reasons, Balló and Jiménez-Morales revisit the perpetually vexed tension between political engagement and aesthetic autonomy. Not surprisingly, they confront the politics and policies of linguistic standardization and "normalisation," intense in the years of the so-called Transition from dictatorship to democracy but still insistent today, alongside reiterated notions of authorial liberty and narrative integrity. Far from a dogmatic, one-size-fits-all approach, they recognise, explicitly, that "attempts at employing Catalan as an unmarked language in film" and as a "common language beyond the private sphere" have taken various routes. They also recognise, if more implicitly, that such terms as "unmarked," "common" and "public" are not self-evident and continue to be objects of critical debate – critical debate with far-reaching and often quite divergent cultural, educational, political and artistic implications. Taken together, the three terms and others, like "civil society," point to film as a potentially "naturalised", shared vehicle of communicative expression in the social sphere. More specifically, if suggestively, they point to film *in Catalan* as capable of installing a state of democratic "agoraphilia" – the term is ours – that overcomes, to varying degrees, the dictatorial claustrophobia of a regime that for nearly forty years was hell-bent on silencing and erasing, or at the very least of restricting and "domesticating" the Catalan language as a tongue which, if it would be used, *should* be used behind closed doors.

Crucially, Balló and Jiménez-Morales acknowledge the impact of television and other small-screen formats as playing a consequential role in cinematic production. Adducing a "Catalan space of communication" via Josep Gifreu's work on the process of linguistic and cultural normalisation in the media, they query how and to what degree otherwise progressive, and well-intentioned, policies have glossed over the reality of linguistic heterogeneity in a society that has undergone – and is still undergoing – substantive transformations in the dual guise of immigration and tourism. Indeed, the two scholars perceptively note that true "normalisation," at least in documentary and realist fiction, necessarily entails "linguistic verisimilitude," which in turn entails a recognition that the "Catalan space of communication" is neither exclusively, nor monolingually, Catalan but, in fact, manifold, punctuated by other

languages, Castilian most obviously (and hegemonically), but also French, English, Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, Wolof and so on. Like Monegal, Balló and Jiménez-Morales pay tribute to Guerin's *En construcció* for its commitment to tracking the vagaries and varieties of linguistic expression in the densely populated, and long marginalised, district, or neighbourhood, of the Raval. But they also marshal a miscellany of multilingual features that include Carla Simón's *Estiu 1993* (2017), Albert Solé's *Bucarest, la memòria perduda* (2008), Carles Bosch's *Bicicleta, cullera, poma* (2010), Isaki Lacuesta's *Cravan versus Cravan* (2002) and Neus Ballús's *La plaga* (2013), amongst many others.

Importantly, Balló and Jiménez-Morales not only attend to cinematic products but also to the *processes* of cinematic production as well as the training, in select University programmes, of budding filmmakers. These academic programmes, they argue, have had an impressive impact on the audio-visual industry in Catalonia and beyond it. They make special mention of Joaquim Jordà, notable for his involvement in the ground-breaking Escola de Barcelona under Francoism and a masterful innovator of creative documentaries, which often trouble the supposedly neat separation of documentary, experimental and fictional modalities. With respect to Jordà's disturbingly brilliant *Mones com la Becky* (1999), directed in collaboration with Núria Villazán, the two critics contend, in what amounts to a *tour de force* of interpretative nuance, that the use of Spanish, "the language of the State," by characters whose native language had clearly been established as Catalan constitutes a performative "fabrication." The implications are profoundly structural, suggesting as they do that the cinematic apparatus, the industry and its practitioners are overdetermined by monolithic linguistic habits, practices and principles that effectively frame and funnel direct encounters with the camera into a Hispanophone circuit that at once precedes and exceeds the individuals who speak before the camera – as if before the law.

In a similar structurally attentive vein, the authors signal gender as an important, though non-essentialist, factor in social, and linguistic, representation. Noting the existence and growing vitality of such movements as *Dones visuals*, created in 2017, they point out how questions of "social justice, equality and fairness," long associated with feminist critique and practice, are intertwined with questions of linguistic diversity. In the same sweep, they imply that there is more than a passing affinity between the language of the State and the languages of masculinity, such as they are, that have traditionally been hegemonic in the State. The attention to the complex plays of gender is thus of a piece with the attention to such

crucial issues as territory and identity, trauma and memory (and by implication, amnesia and anamnesis), movement and migration, “the language of intimacy, the representation of the intangible, the weight of history (and counterhistory)” and much more. In what amounts to an intersectional approach in which plurality, diversity and difference are prominent, Balló and Jiménez-Morales not unlike all of the contributors to this volume understand that multiple locations, multiple histories, multiple genres, multiple techniques, multiple identities, and, of course, multiple “ambient languages” are all at play in what goes by the deceptively simple name of “multilingualism.”

Works Cited

- Maragall, Joan. *Elogi de la paraula i altres assaigs*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1978 ed.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. *El porvenir de España*. In Ángel Ganivet. *Idearium español/El porvenir de España*. Madrid: Austral, 1999 ed.

Toward a New Cosmopolitanism in Contemporary Catalan Drama

SHARON FELDMAN
University of Richmond

Abstract

In the contemporary Catalan theatre scene, mobility is often synonymous with prestige, and success is frequently measured as a function of international range and reputation. Moreover, for dramatists writing in Catalan, ever-conscious of the precarious condition of their language and cultural identity, their paradoxical position of both political distance and proximity in relation to Spain has, perhaps, accentuated their yearning to belong to a larger global sphere. Given Catalonia's status as a stateless nation (or, as a disputed territory), it may not come as a surprise, then, that plays emerging from this corner of the world often appear to advocate a type of cosmopolitan European identity, one that actively embraces otherness and difference, overlapping citizenships, and the broad complexity of relationships among the global, local, national, and regional. It is a brand of cosmopolitanism—reminiscent of the work of cultural theorist/philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah—that seeks to move beyond the confines of the nation-state to encourage new paradigms of solidarity and interconnectedness that accentuate cultural and linguistic pluralism. How have Catalan playwrights attempted to satisfy, both literally and figuratively, a desire to transcend the local and the particular, to reach beyond their most immediate geographic space and move beyond local borders, both spatial and political? I shall examine a sampling of recent Catalan plays in light of this “new cosmopolitanism”.

Keywords

Kwame Anthony Appiah, Carles Batlle; Catalan drama; Cosmopolitanism; Josep Maria Miró

Toward a New Cosmopolitanism in Contemporary Catalan Drama

SHARON FELDMAN

University of Richmond

On the Triple Frontier

Olvidémonos de ser turistas, a work by Catalan dramatist Josep Maria Miró, which premiered at the Sala Beckett in Barcelona in January 2018, begins in a hotel room in Brazil in the present day. There, Martí and Carme, a Barcelona couple, married for thirty years, appear—at least at first glance—to be vacationing near Iguazu Falls and the so-called Triple Frontier, where Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay converge. Yet, not long after the opening scene, Carme furtively vanishes while in pursuit of a mysterious young man whom the couple encountered during an earlier sightseeing expedition. Martí, consequently, sets off in search of Carme. No longer tourists anymore, they find themselves engaged in separate journeys, traveling by bus and traversing borders until, eventually, they reunite in the provincial capital city of San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca, in northwest Argentina. As they endeavour to resolve an enigmatic situation concerning their son who, during the economic crisis seven years prior, abandoned Catalonia for Argentina, they also seek answers to questions related to their own sense of identity—cultural and existential.

Indeed, there is a decisive moment in the play in which Martí asks: “¿Por qué tanta gente necesita irse a otro lugar?” (2018f, 468). He poses the question over sips of *mate* during an unexpectedly philosophical discussion with his Argentinian bus driver, Mauricio, who has left Buenos Aires for a more nomadic sort of existence. The question encapsulates, in a sense, the preoccupation (or even obsession) with mobility and transcendence, geographical and spatial, that surfaces throughout much of Miró’s theatre—and, I would add, a large corpus of contemporary Catalan drama. It is a preoccupation that is further accentuated in this particular instance by the epigraph with which Miró introduces his text: a poem by Basque writer Bernardo Atxaga titled “37 preguntas a mi único

contacto al otro lado de la frontera” (Miró 2018f, 448). The speaker, contemplating the same issue of mobility pondered by Martí in the play, begins with the rhetorical question: “Dime, ¿Es feliz la gente allá al otro lado de la frontera?” (Atxaga 1990, 37). Here migrations do not only occur in the physical geographic sense; they are also emotional. Indeed, sometimes, they are metaphoric and entail a break with monolingual paradigms as well.

Travel and Translation

As evident in the title of the play and the aforementioned quotes, the original text of *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* was written almost entirely in Spanish in a version of the Spanish language in which the Argentinian lilt in the characters’ voices and the smell of *yerba mate* seems to waft from the page. This might appear to be a rather unusual gesture on the part of a playwright born in Vic in 1977, whose artistic trajectory thus far has been marked by several major Catalan theatre awards and by his frequent collaborations with the public *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya*. Still, Miró’s plays have, in effect, already garnered great success in Spanish translation throughout Spain and Latin America. To cite one significant example, the Argentine production of *El principi d’Arquímedes* (2011), translated by Eva Vallinés Menéndez and directed by Corina Fiorillo, premiered at the *Teatro San Martín* in Buenos Aires in March of 2014 and remained there for nearly an entire year before touring the country. Catalan theatre has thus arrived and has been in full bloom for quite some time along the illustrious Avenida Corrientes. *Arquímedes*, furthermore, has been translated into no fewer than 15 languages.

On 24 January 2018, *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* premiered, in the original Spanish, at the *Sala Beckett* in Barcelona as part of a series of activities highlighting Miró’s work. Gabriela Izcovich, an Argentinian director/actress/playwright who had already left a sizable imprint on the Barcelona theatre scene, was tasked with staging the production, which featured an international cast from Catalonia, Spain, and Argentina (Lina Lambert, Pablo Viña, Esteban Meloni, and Eugenia Alonso). After Barcelona, the production moved on to the *Teatro Español* in Madrid and then to the *Teatro del 25 de Mayo* in Buenos Aires and the *Teatro Solís* in Montevideo, thus epitomizing what Belén Guinart once called a “montaje de ida y vuelta” or a “round-trip production” in relation to the theatrical bridges, mutual

artistic contamination, and cross-cultural exchange that has existed in recent years between Buenos Aires and Barcelona (2001, 9).¹

Travel and translation have habitually served jointly as barometers of the vitality of the Catalan theatre scene. The news of the November 2017 premiere of Sergi Belbel's 1993 work *Després de la pluja* at the *Comédie Française*, the first play from Catalonia ever to be produced at the most hallowed temple of Parisian theatrical life, was an overt reminder of the international presence of Catalan drama abroad. Soon after, Belbel's play, staged under the title *Après la pluie* by Swiss director Lilo Baur, opened the imposing door of the *Comédie* to Catalan dramatist Lluïsa Cunillé, whose *Massacre* premiered there in January 2020 under the direction of Tommy Milliot.

In Catalonia, mobility is often synonymous with prestige, and success in the theatre is frequently measured as a function of international range and reputation. Moreover, for dramatists writing in Catalan, ever conscious of the precarious condition of their language and cultural identity, their paradoxical position of both political distance and proximity in relation to Spain has, perhaps, accentuated their yearning to belong to a larger global sphere. Given Catalonia's current status as a stateless nation (or, a disputed territory), it may not come as a surprise, then, that plays emerging from this corner of the world often appear to advocate, through context, content, and form, a cosmopolitan European identity that actively embraces otherness and difference, overlapping citizenships, and the broad complexity of relationships among the global, local, national, and regional. It is a brand of cosmopolitanism reminiscent of the work of cultural theorist/philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah that seeks to move beyond the confines of the nation-state to encourage new paradigms of solidarity and interconnectedness that accentuate cultural and linguistic pluralism.² How have Catalan playwrights attempted to satisfy, both literally and figuratively, a desire to transcend the local and the particular, to reach beyond their most immediate geographic space and to move beyond local borders, both spatial and political?

As Helena Buffery has shown in her work on the various "afterlives" in Catalan that Shakespearean texts have assumed over time, translation has often helped to satisfy these cosmopolitan proclivities and has played a crucial role in the dissemination of

¹ See, also, Feldman (2010).

² See, also, Habermas (2003).

international drama within the Catalan-speaking lands (2007). Historically, since the nineteenth century, the Catalan theatre scene has eagerly embraced the presence of an international repertoire that has been translated into Catalan. In a converse sense, translation has unquestionably occupied a vital function in the circulation of Catalan drama beyond the Catalan-speaking lands. Yet the desire for transcendence has been fulfilled in other ways, in addition to translation. In the pages that follow, I shall examine a sampling of recent Catalan plays in the light of the current spirit of cosmopolitanism, which accentuates the values of multilingualism and intercultural openness and inclusiveness.

“Rooted” Cosmopolitanism

I am certainly mindful that to speak of cosmopolitanism within the context of Catalan culture is a far-from-novel idea and, perhaps, in some contexts, even a cliché. As Kathryn Woolard has mapped out in vivid detail, the Kantian idea of a “citizen of the world” has, since the nineteenth century, been appropriated and contorted in varying ways by citizens of Catalonia and Spain, occupying multiple positions along the political spectrum, that is to say, by Catalanists and Castilianists alike (or, within the current political climate, by *independentistes* as well as *unionistes* or *constitucionalistes*) (2016, 152). Such appropriations never fail to allude to the tensions between what is, on the one hand, a modern, outward-looking, broadminded view of the world (i.e. cosmopolitanism) and, on the other, an insular, backward-looking, provincial perspective, associated with the most intransigent forms of nationalism. Curiously, while a cosmopolitan perspective would ostensibly be irreconcilable with the notion of nationalism, this is not necessarily the case within the framework of Catalan politics. It is a somewhat paradoxical situation that has prompted Montserrat Guibernau to distinguish between the hermetic view of Spain once imposed by the so-called “authoritarian nationalism” of the Franco regime—a view that continues, for many, to resonate today—and that which fostered so-called “democratic nationalisms” defended by the Catalans, Basques, and Galicians, which celebrate the richness of their corresponding linguistic and cultural heritage (2013, 24). Guibernau thus perceives within this framework a certain degree of compatibility between the objectives of both democratic nationalism and cosmopolitanism, especially in their shared commitment to human rights and social justice and in

their opposition to intolerance, racism, and xenophobia (2013, 19).

Guibernau's view, which appears to merge nationalism with cosmopolitanism in a somewhat surprising or ironic way, is evocative of the image of the "rooted cosmopolitan" conjured up by Appiah in his semiautobiographical reflections: one who is "attached to a home of one's own, with its own cultural particularities, but [takes] pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people" (1997, 618). This is not, therefore, the self-indulgent bourgeois cosmopolitanism associated with what Appiah calls "liberals on safari" (Appiah 2006, 214; Woolard 2016, 152); it is, rather, a worldview of global equality and responsibility that seeks intercultural openness and inclusiveness. In a word, it is about "community". According to Appiah:

The cosmopolitan also imagines that in such a world not everyone will find it best to stay in their natal patria, so that the circulation of people among different localities will involve not only cultural tourism (which the cosmopolitan admits to enjoying) but migration, nomadism, diaspora.

(1997, 618)

Multilingualism and Mobility

An extensive list of Catalan plays written during the past two decades reflects the spirit of Appiah's rooted cosmopolitanism. Some of the works that I have in mind include *Suite* (of 2001) by Carles Batlle; *Salamandra* (2005) by Josep Maria Benet i Jornet; *Trànsits* (2006) by Batlle; *Marburg* (2010) by Guillem Clua; *Fum* (2013) by Josep Maria Miró; *Quebec-Barcelona* (2012) by Mercè Sarriàs, which was performed as a bilingual French/Catalan production; *La travessia* [The Crossing] (2015) by Miró; *Islàndia* (2017) by Lluïsa Cunillé; the aforementioned *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* by Miró; and *Nòmades (o el camell blau)* [Nomads (or the Blue Camel)] (2016-19) by Batlle. It will be clear from this list of ten plays that the work of Miró and that of Batlle is especially relevant here, and I shall be returning to both dramatists. These are plays in which the theme of a journey, travel, migration, mobility, nomadism, diaspora, or multiple sorts of wandering becomes a defining element that is somehow reflected in the spatiotemporal structure of the text. Each work conjures its own geopathological map of the world, transferring to an exterior physical space certain interior desires, anxieties, and emotions. In some cases, the voyage can be likened to an epic journey or odyssey. More often

than not, it is a quest that entails a transcendence or evasion of the space of Catalonia.

By way of example, in Benet's *Salamandra*, the characters embark on a whirlwind journey that begins in the Southern California desert and moves subsequently to Idaho, Germany, Greece, and France, with references to New York and Egypt surfacing along the way. The journey ends, finally, in Barcelona. In *Marburg*, Clua employs a Kushnerian sensibility with regard to space and time, alternating the action among four different locations situated on four separate continents at four distinct moments. All the places share the name "Marburg", and all share the effects of an illness in the form of a blood disorder, which constitutes the central axis of the plot. In Cunillé's *Islàndia*, which premiered at the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya* in 2018, the circumstances of the economic crisis compel an adolescent boy to leave his home in Iceland and embark upon a journey that entails his many wanderings throughout the City of New York in search of his mother. In Batlle's *Trànsits*, the action is set on a moving train: the protagonist is on his way to an abstract northern country, returning home to a mysterious language and unnamed land that he left behind many years earlier, when he abandoned a war-torn landscape for a more peaceful Barcelona.

The allusion in *Trànsits* to a "mysterious" language is one of many ways in which multilingualism is invoked in these plays. Language in the theatre, whether on the stage or in the realm of the audience, is, as Marvin Carlson has observed, always a deeply local affair (2006, 1 19). Hence, it is only natural that, in Catalonia, the linguistic conditions of diglossia or, even the more inclusive heteroglossia would somehow be reflected in its theatrical life. In *Speaking in Tongues* (2006), a study of multilingualism in the theatre, Carlson goes against the grain of Bakhtinian convention, which would relegate the phenomenon of heteroglossia—the coexistence of a range of languages, discourses, voices, and perspectives—to the realm of the novel. In its varying forms, heteroglossia has had an almost ubiquitous presence throughout theatre history, ranging from Greek drama to intercultural experimentation (such as that of Peter Brook or Ariane Mnouchkine) to the use of supertitles that spectators in Catalonia are no doubt accustomed to seeing and reading. For Carlson, "heteroglossic cultures in the modern world", moreover, are "more common, more complex in their linguistic mixing and more visible politically and theatrically than at any time in the past", although he does acknowledge what is often the subordination of one language to another more dominant form of discourse (2006, 15 17).

With regard to Catalonia, Buffery has proposed what one might call a kinder and gentler – that is, less hierarchical – view of linguistic politics than Carlson, as she prefers to envision Catalonia, in heteroglossic terms, as a place “where all languages might begin to be seen and heard on their own terms, rather than simply maintaining the oppositional frame of the dominant versus the subordinate, or the major versus the minor” (2013, 83).

I would like to think that Buffery’s description has begun to hold true for the heteroglossic landscape that is the space of Catalan theatre today, perhaps as a cosmopolitan reflection of the decline of the authoritative nationalist project that was Francoism, as well as the normalization – or, even Europeanization – of the Catalan stage. Recent programming for Catalan audiences, often with supertitles in Catalan or Spanish, has included performances in Dutch (*Romeinse tragedies* [Roman tragedies], an adaptation by director Ivo van Hove of William Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, performed by the Toneelgroep Amsterdam at the *Teatre Lliure Montjuïc-Sala Fabià Puigserver*, Barcelona, 2013); Polish (*Wycinka Holzfällen* [Woodcutters], an adaptation by director Krystian Lupa of Thomas Bernhard’s *Holzfällen*, performed by the Teatr Polski we Wrocławiu as part of the Festival Temporada Alta at the *Teatre El Canal de Salt*, 2014); English (William Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale*, directed by Declan Donnellan, performed by Cheek by Jowl at the *Teatre Auditori de Sant Cugat*, 2017); Italian (Luciana Maniaci and Francesco d’Amore’s *Il nostro amore schifo* [Our lousy love], directed by Roberto Tarasco, staged at *Almería Teatre*, Barcelona, 2019); French (Alexandra Badea’s *Je ne marcherai plus dans les traces de tes pas* [I shall no longer walk in your footsteps], directed by Vincent Dussart, staged at the *Sala Ovidi Montllor/Institut del Teatre*, Barcelona, 2020), and a combination of Catalan, Spanish, English, French, Chinese, and German (*Kingdom*, created by the homegrown Catalan collective Agrupació Señor Serrano, staged at the *Festival Grec/Teatre Lliure Montjuïc-Sala Fabià Puigserver*, Barcelona, 2020). One need only glance therefore at this recent programming highlighting the work of several internationally renowned directors to see that, although a play may be *monoglossic* in its presentation, its production values may also assume or account for the presence of an audience that is *heteroglossic* or, at the very least, open to the reception of a multilingual performance culture. Thus, the cultural context for the theatrical cosmopolitanism that interests me here is intrinsically multilingual.

As a corollary to the multilingual programming that I have outlined, the 2017 production of *Històries d'Istanbul, a contrapeu* – the Catalan adaptation of a play by Turkish playwright-actress-director Yeşim Özsoy Gülan – stands as an additional paradigm within this heteroglossic theatrical space. The production, which premiered at the *Teatre Lliure Montjuïc-Espai Lliure* under the direction of Joan Arqué with a cast of Catalan actors, incorporated original music and a sound space created by the Catalan musical group, Nuú. Rendered into Catalan from the original Turkish by Carles Batlle with the assistance of Yldiray Ileri, the text captures the paradoxical essence of the city of Istanbul as a bridge between East and West, a space of mutual encounter and overlap, where artistic modes and languages rooted in both past and present, in Asia and Europe, and in the religious and secular worlds all converge. Inspired by the oral storytelling tradition of the Turkish *meddah*, Özsoy's play takes poetic elements and rhythmic patterns drawn from Ottoman musical traditions and merges them with contemporary European languages of the stage. As Batlle observes, “quan parlem de Turquia, també parlem d'un “no lloc”, un espai indefinit entre allò que culturalment s'ha batejat com a “Pròxim Orient” i Europa, és a dir, un país extraeuropeu i extraoriental al mateix temps” (2020b, 193). It is in this vacillating sort of “no place” neither completely European nor completely Asian, which fuses multiple performance languages to move beyond the specificity of Catalonia, that we can find a metaphoric representation of multilingualism.

Multilingualism Through Metaphor

Generally, in the Catalan plays in question, multilingualism is not portrayed in a literal, “authentic” sense; rather, it emerges in a figurative way, as a form of artifice. Linguistic verisimilitude or authenticity is not the ultimate goal; instead, the linguistic crossings and transfers that emerge in these cosmopolitan works are evoked by way of the theme of mobility or through the figure of the traveller or the nomad, whose presence also becomes a structural element. For Zygmunt Bauman, nomadism embodies the fluidity and liquidity – the ebb and flow – that characterizes the phase in the history of modernity in which we currently find ourselves immersed. In his words, “We are witnessing the revenge of nomadism over the principle of territoriality and settlement. In the fluid stage of modernity, the settled majority is ruled by the nomadic and exterritorial elite” (2000, 12). Given such fluidity, the nomad serves as

an extremely fitting metaphor for the characteristically fluctuating or even provisional and precarious quality of Catalan identity. To illustrate this point further, I would like first to revisit the work of Miró and, more specifically, *Olvidémonos de ser turistas*. I shall then move on to discuss the work of Batlle.

Although *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* was originally performed entirely in Spanish, Miró did reveal to me, most intriguingly, that he originally wrote the first scene, a dialogue between Martí and Carme, in Catalan (2 January 2018b). The aspiration to create a multilingual text was there, but he yielded to pragmatics and decided to make the text monolingual when Izcovich and the Argentine and Spanish actors came on board for the production. Such a move, at the time, seemed more convenient and expedient. Moreover, he notes that when the Argentine actors travelled to Barcelona to rehearse and perform in the production, their sojourn in Europe was a kind of destabilizing reverie, stirring mixed sentiments that mirrored the emotional experience of the characters in the play as it compelled them to confront directly their own existence on the “frontier” (30 December 2017). Yet, when a definitive version of the text was finally published in a volume of Miró’s collected works (*Teatre reunit 2009–2018*), he took advantage of the opportunity to transform the opening dialogue back into the original Catalan, thus engaging the multilingual theatrical landscape through a process of self-translation (2018f).³

Miró is himself a frequent traveller and itinerant wanderer, and *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* is inspired by his multiple trips to Argentina. He has observed how, when traveling, if you stop and begin to perceive things through different eyes – that is, through the eyes of those who live in the place that is your destination – you may suddenly forget that you are a tourist: “se t’oblida que ets turista i t’adones que ets ciutadà d’un món complicat . . . amb responsabilitats i coresponsabilitats múltiples . . . i penses que n’ets part, amb tot allò bo i dolent” (2018b). Miró’s words echo Appiah’s cosmopolitan concern regarding solidarity and interconnectedness among the members of a community as well as the pleasure derived from the presence of those other, different places.

While *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* represents Miró’s first – and, to date, only – work in Spanish, it is not the first by him to take place in a hotel in a far-off land; rather, suitcases, hotels, and exotic places, in

³ In earlier drafts of the play, the characters of Martí and Carme were known as “Enrique” and “Carmen”, names that were less suggestive of their identity as a Catalan couple.

addition to nomads and refugees, emerge frequently in his theatre. An enticing air of mystery flows throughout many of his plays, and his characters often inhabit tenuous, indeterminate landscapes, spaces upon which they are able to project their innermost fears and desires. In one of Miró's earliest plays, *La dona que perdia tots els avions*, awarded the prestigious Born Prize in 2009, the protagonist is a self-described "professional tourist" a woman who regularly lives out of a suitcase, as she travels the world from hotel to hotel in a nomadic, transient state of being that eventually brings her to the capital city of a tropical island. In *Fum*, which premiered at the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya* in 2013, two Catalan couples meet by chance in a hotel in which they are forced to take refuge for three days, as they suddenly find themselves in the midst of an unsettling situation of political insurgency. In *La travessia*, awarded the Frederic Roda Prize in 2015, the setting is not a hotel, but the protagonist happens to be a nun working for a humanitarian organization in a dangerous but unnamed area of the world that is fraught with violence. It is also a multilingual zone, populated with nomads, a space that could easily lend itself to the creation of a multilingual *mise en scène*. These are plays that are situated in politically and socially fragile, distant, anonymous lands, and within these provisional spaces, Miró coaxes us into viewing his equally fragile characters from varying angles, thereby engaging us in a play of perspectives that, at times, acquires cinematic dimensions. Indeed, the title of *Fum* appears to allude to the elusiveness of a truth for which the spectator is compelled to search among abundant smoke and, perhaps, abundant languages as well as clouds of doubt that billow forth.

Nomads and Wanderers

Although Carles Batlle's *Nòmades (o el camell blau)*, awarded the Premi Octubre de Teatre Pere Capellà in 2019, has yet to be staged, it has special relevance here, for it foregrounds certain conditions of cultural hybridity that underpin the cosmopolitan framework that I have begun to outline. In earlier works, such as *Combat* (1995), *Les veus de Iambu* (1997), *Oasi* (2001), *Temptació* (2003), and the aforementioned *Trànsits*, Batlle engaged in the creation of allegorical spaces of cosmopolitan desire upon which he engraved an aspiration to transcend the local and the particularities of "home" here, Europe.⁴ These are works in which he considers the challenges of

⁴ See, also, Feldman (2009, 254–87).

cultural hybridity within the space of contemporary Europe, portraying hybridity as an unavoidable, ever-present, and even necessary state of being, which permeates not only the realm of national cultures but also that of artistic creation (Werbner 2015).⁵ Perhaps, then, it is in the aforementioned figure of the nomad, to which he has lent the title of his play (arguably his most ambitious work to date), that Batlle has found an apt personification of the conditions of hybridity that have interested him all along. It is the same nomad that emerges in the philosophical writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri: the displaced being that moves through a fluid space, defined according to his or her own unstable existence (1987, 474).

Nòmades is based, in part, on an episode in the life of Batlle's maternal grandfather, Agustí Jordà Biosca, the circumstances of which first surfaced in two of his earlier plays: *Bizerta 1939* (2001) and *Zoom* (2010). Taken as a trilogy, which Batlle has titled the "Trilogia de Bizerta" (2020b, 37), the three works offer distinct ways of approaching the collective trauma of the Spanish Civil War, a trauma inherited through the direct transmission of his grandfather's oral history. Towards the end of the war, Jordà, a corporal in the Spanish Republican Navy, fled to Cartagena, a port city on the Mediterranean coast. He was subsequently evacuated with his fleet to Bizerte, on the northernmost tip of Tunisia, where the French colonial government impounded his ship. As Enric Gallén elucidates, Jordà found himself interred in a concentration camp, Meheri-Zebbeus, situated in the Tunisian desert, which serves as the backdrop for some of the scenes in *Nòmades* (2020, 10-11).

With *Nòmades*, Batlle takes his brand of theatrical cosmopolitanism a step forward, through an intercultural approach to performance in which, in a manner similar to Özsoy's *Històries d'Istanbul*, he proposes a hybridization of languages of the stage, fusing a contemporary European polyphonic theatrical idiom composed of varying textures and voices with theatrical traditions originating in the Maghreb. *Nòmades*, thus, provides an uncommon example in recent Catalan drama of intercultural performance, what Patrice Pavis defines as "a more or less conscious and voluntary mixing of performance traditions traceable to distinct cultural areas" (1996, 8). Batlle offers the following initial guidance in the opening

⁵ Werbner draws upon the distinction between two concepts of linguistic hybridization proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin in *The Dialogic Imagination*: unconscious (organic) hybridity and intentional (aesthetic) hybridity. She then situates these concepts within a cultural context.

notes of his text:

Així doncs, a l'hora de muntar-la, cal pensar en els narradors de rondalles i els rapsodes de les places del Magrib: imaginar com juguen amb els materials i amb les formes expositives de què disposen per captar i mantenir l'atenció dels seus auditoris.

Es podrà, doncs, combinar el drama convencional, la narració (i la narració coral a diverses veus – decidir què es diu, què no es diu, qui ho diu i com ho diu), els joc dels titelles, els objectes, les ombres, l'expansió musical o la projecció d'imatges. I també barrejar la tonalitat tràgica i els accents més col·loquials.

L'obra es pot interpretar amb un nombre indefinit d'actors i actrius.

(2020e, 376)

The foregoing description, which envisions a *mise en scène* of both intimate and epic dimensions, recalls the “overwhelmingly exhaustive and exhausting” aesthetic practices posed by North American playwright Tony Kushner (Kushner 1995, 60-61).

Although Batlle's text is written in Catalan, the voice of a narrator (or narrators), a kind of choral persona who mediates between the “real-life” realm of the audience and the fictional realm of the stage, at times also functions as an interpreter of the multiple languages whose presence is evoked in the play. The figure of the narrator also makes *Nòmades* one of the most “rhapsodic” of Batlle's plays. In crafting the text, he drew upon the notion of a rhapsodic impulse in contemporary theatre developed by French playwright/director Jean-Pierre Sarrazac in reference to the rhapsodists, or performers, of epic poetry in classical Greece (Batlle 2020b, 37). For Sarrazac, the *théâtre rhapsodique* is a collage of hybrid conception composed of multiple discourses, an assemblage of epic, dramatic, and lyrical elements, woven together like a patchwork of multicolored snippets, “cousu de moments dramatiques et de morceaux narratifs” [sewn from dramatic moments and pieces of narrative] (1999, 36).

Nòmades has a three-part structure: “La Crida”, “El Llindar” and “El Xot”. Here we are far from the idea of “home” that was present in Batlle's earlier works. The intermingling of European and North African theatrical traditions is echoed in the spatiotemporal complexity of the play, for the action alternates among several different time periods and places that include Barcelona, El Chott el Jerid, a large endorheic salt lake near Tozeur, Tunisia, and Meheri-Zebbeus, also in Tunisia. The figure of the nomad takes on special

relevance here, its image filtered through the subjective influence of adventure novels, popular music, and films, such as David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) or George Lucas' *Star Wars* film series. The characters include a young European couple, generically named "Home" and "Ella". They exemplify the type of rooted cosmopolitanism described by Appiah, anchored to their own home but appreciating the presence of other places and peoples. The man's desire to travel through the Tunisian desert is motivated by his love of Italian pop music; hers is a result of her research as a university professor specializing in ancient myths. Two literary characters also make an appearance in the play: Kara Ben Nemsî and his loyal servant and friend with an infinitely long name Hachi Halef Omar Ben Hachi Abul Abbàs Ibn Hachi Davud al Gossarah. Battle has plucked them from the nineteenth-century novels of German writer Karl May, such as *Durch das Land der Skipertaren* [*The Evil Saint*, trans. 1979] (1892) and the *Von Bagdad nach Stambul* [*Caravan of Death*, trans. 1979] (1892), which are often situated in the Islamic world. Kara, befittingly, speaks dozens of languages fluently. Battle's text also includes, naturally, a character inspired by his grandfather, a Republican corporal, who, at the end of the Spanish Civil War has been captured and taken to a concentration camp in southern Tunisia. In the end, he will escape and wander the desert atop a legendary blue camel. All the characters in the play are, in effect, nomads, whose stories overlap and are replicated like variations on a similar musical theme, as they zigzag across space and time.

Curiously, all this travel to and fro is interspersed with allusions to two Italian pop songs of the 1980s. One reference appears in the form of an epigraph at the beginning of the text containing lyrics to the song "Nomadi" [Nomads] (1986), written by Juri Camisasca. The other, "Il treno di Tozeur" [The trains of Tozeur] (1985), was famously performed by Francesco, or "Franco", Battiato and the singer known simply as "Alice" as the Italian entry in the Eurovision Contest of 1984. As the character of the man recalls, his desire to travel to Tozeur was inspired – as outrageous as it may seem – by Battiato's song:

*Nei villaggi di frontiera guardano passare i treni
Le strade deserte di Tozeur
Da una casa lontana, tua madre mi vede
Si ricorda di me delle mie abitudini.
E per un istante ritorna la voglia
Di vivere a un'altra velocità
Passano ancora lenti i treni per Tozeur.*

[In the border villages they watch the trains go by
 The deserted streets of Tozeur
 From a distant house, your mother sees me
 She recalls my old ways.
 And for an instant the desire returns
 To live at a different pace
 The trains to Tozeur still pass slowly.]

(2020e, 405-06)

The Italian lyrics of both “Il treni di Tozeur” and “Nomadi”, songs that bring a literal dash of multilingualism to the play, invoke the figure of the traveller or wanderer, the fluid being who traverses frontiers, unwilling to obey established norms of territoriality and always in search of some form of transcendence. We can only wonder about the conditions of a future *mise en scène* of Battle’s *Nòmades*. It would no doubt mark a culminating point in terms of the current spirit of cosmopolitanism that has imbued the Catalan stage, one that shows no signs of relenting.

The foregoing sampling of plays and productions offers a glimpse into the varying ways that multilingualism informs the cosmopolitan impulse on the Catalan stage. From literal displays of multilingualism in the programming of international theatre and in plays such as *Quebec-Barcelona* or the revised version of *Olvidémonos de ser turistas* to the more figurative manifestations grounded in artistic pretence, as seen throughout *Nòmades*, all contribute to the creation of a performance culture that presumes a worldview that emphasizes the values of global equality and community. It is a cultural space that enables spectators to be transported afar and to circulate among distant lands, but also to commune within an inclusive space, perhaps inspiring in them a new sense of solidarity and even pleasure derived by the presence of others, as well as a renewed consciousness with regard to cultural pluralism.

Works Cited

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1997. “Cosmopolitan Patriots.” *Critical Inquiry* 23: 617-39.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2006. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: Allen Lane.
- Atxaga, Bernardo. 1990. “37 preguntas a mi único contacto al otro lado de la frontera.” In *Poemas & híbridos: Selección y versiones del propio autor, 1974-1989*. Madrid: Visor.

- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1993. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: Texas UP.
- Batlle, Carles. 2001. *Bizerta* 1939. *Els Marges* 69: 52.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020a. *Combat: Paisatge per a després d'una batalla*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 39–62. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020b. “La cuina de l'autor.” In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 29–38. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020c. *El drama intempestiu: Per una escriptura dramàtica contemporània*. Preface by José Sanchis Sinisterra and Davide Carnevale. Barcelona: Angle Editorial/Institut del Teatre.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020d. *Les veus de Iambu*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 63–92. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020e. *Nòmades (o el camel blau)*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 375–420. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020f. *Oasi*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 129–166. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020g. *Suite*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 93–128. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020h. *Temptació*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 171–196. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020i. *Trànsits*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 197–242. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Batlle, Carles. 2020j. *Zoom*. In *Teatre reunit: Carles Batlle (1995–2019)*, 295–336. Preface by Josep M. Miró. Tarragona: Arola.
- Battiato, Franco, Saro Cosentino and Giusto Pio. 1985. “Il treni di Tozeur.” *Mondi Lontanissimi*. Performed by Franco Battiato. EMI Italiana.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 2000. *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Belbel, Sergi. 2018. *Després de la pluja*. Vic: Eumo.
- Benet i Jornet, Josep M. 2005. *Salamandra*. Preface by Jordi Castellanos and Sharon G. Feldman. Barcelona: Proa/Teatre Nacional de Catalunya.
- Buffery, Helena. 2007. *Shakespeare in Catalan: Translating Imperialism*. Cardiff: Wales UP.
- Buffery, Helena. 2013. “Contemporary Catalan Theatre and Identity: The Haunted Mirrors of Catalan Directors' Shakespeare.” In *Theatre & Performance in Small Nations*, Steve Blandford, ed., Bristol: Intellect. Kindle edition, location 1457–1932.
- Camisasca, Juri. 1986. “Nomadi.” *Park Hotel*. Performed by Alice Visconti. EMI Music.
- Carlson, Marvin. 2006. *Speaking in Tongues*. Michigan UP.
- Clua, Guillem. 2010. *Marburg*. Barcelona: Proa.
- Cunillé, Lluïsa. 2017. *Islàndia*. Tarragona: Arola.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP.
- Feldman, Sharon G. 2009. *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Barcelona*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP.

- Feldman, Sharon G. 2010. "Puentes teatrales, montajes 'de ida y vuelta': Argentinos a la conquista de la escena catalana." *Les Cahiers ALHIM*: 113–22.
- Gallén, Enric. 2020. "Pròleg." In *Nòmades (o el camel blau)*, 9–20. Valencia: Tres i Quatre.
- Guibernau, Montserrat. 2013. "Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism: A Comparative Approach." *Journal of Catalan Intellectual History* 5: 13–34.
- Guinart, Belén. 2001. "Las salas Versus y Beckett ofrecen una mirada a la escena teatral realizada en Buenos Aires." *El País*, 26 June: 9.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2003. "Toward a Cosmopolitan Europe." *Journal of Democracy* 14: 86–100.
- Kushner, Tony. 1995. "On Pretentiousness." In *Thinking about the Longstanding Problems of Virtue and Happiness: Essays, a Play, Two Poems, and a Prayer*, 60–61. New York: Theatre Communications Group. *Lawrence of Arabia*. 1929. Directed by David Lean. Horizon Pictures.
- May, Karl. (1892) 1979. *The Caravan of Death*. New York: Continuum Book/Seabury Press.
- May, Karl. (1892) 1979. *The Evil Saint*. New York: Continuum Book/Seabury Press.
- Miró, Josep M. 2017. Email to Sharon G. Feldman. 30 December.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018a. *El principi d'Arquímedes*. In *Teatre reunit 2009–2018*, 109–46. Tarragona: Arola.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018b. Email to Sharon G. Feldman. 2 January.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018c. *Fum*. In *Teatre reunit: Josep M. Miró (2009–2018)*, 193–240. Preface by Bernat Dédeu. Tarragona: Arola.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018d. *La dona que perdía tots els avions*. In *Teatre reunit 2009–2018*, 21–52. Preface by Bernat Dédeu. Tarragona: Arola.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018e. *La travessia*. In *Teatre reunit 2009–2018*, 357–96. Preface by Bernat Dédeu. Tarragona: Arola.
- Miró, Josep M. 2018f. *Olvidémonos de ser turistas*. In *Teatre reunit 2009–2018*, 447–89. Preface by Bernat Dédeu. Tarragona: Arola.
- Özsoy Gülan, Yeşim. 2017. *Històries d'Istanbul, a contrapeu*. Translated by Carles Batlle. Unpublished manuscript.
- Pavis, Patrice. 1996. *The Intercultural Performance Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Sarriàs, Mercè. 2013. *Quebec-Barcelona*. Tarragona: Arola.
- Sarrazac, Jean Pierre. (1981) 1999. *L'avenir du drame. Écritures dramatiques contemporaines*. Paris: Circé.
- Star Wars*. 1977. Directed by George Lucas. Lucasfilm Ltd.
- Werbner, Pnina. (1997) 2015. "Introduction: The Dialectics of Hybridity." In *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. Edited by Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood. 1–28. London: Zed Books.
- Woolard, Kathryn. 2016. *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Into the Woods: Translation and the Transnational Transmission of Trauma on Minority Language Stages

HELENA BUFFERY

University College Cork

Abstract

This article approaches contemporary Catalan theatre as a translation zone, in which subjective limits are negotiated and identities (dis)articulated in the process. Focusing on works directed by Calixto Bieito and Oriol Broggi, who, despite their many differences, are known for engaging with interlingual and intercultural translation in the creative process, often beckoning overt reflection on the relationship between languages, environment and identity, the article excavates what three particular plays, *Forests* (2012), *Incendis* (2012) and *Boscós* (2017), all based on translations from more hegemonic languages, reveal about the place of minority languages on the global stage and about looking at the world from a minority-language perspective. In so doing, the article seeks to go beyond the more optimistic and celebratory readings of previous work on Catalonia-in-translation and to attend to the ways in which the asymmetries faced by minority languages in multilingual settings result in, or are experienced as loss, violence and/or trauma. Via diverse processes of translation, languages such as Catalan provide sensitive lenses for the transmission of narratives of transnational trauma, as a direct result of the daily negotiations of place, relatedness and resilience that they demand for survival. The title of the article, “Into the woods”, is intended to be read both literally and figuratively, in recognition of the increasing attention to eco-critical and environmental concerns in contemporary Catalan theatre and of the ways in which renewed attention to ecological survival often goes hand in hand with a commitment to language ecology. On a more figurative level, the article follows the cues provided by the metaphorical wordplay about woods and trees in the reception of Bieito’s *Forests* and Broggi’s *Boscós* in order to address the question of what the fact of different languages enables and prevents us from seeing – and what we can learn from making the effort to look at the world multilingually from the perspective of a minority language speaker.

Keywords

Catalan theatre; Eco-translation; Multilingualism; Trauma; Shakespeare; Wajdi Mouawad

Into the Woods: Translation and the Transnational Transmission of Trauma on Minority Language Stages

HELENA BUFFERY

University College Cork

On the evening of 31 August 2012, I found myself waiting with my then 80-year-old Barcelona-born mother outside the Old Rep theatre on Station Street in Birmingham, England, to see the premiere of *Forests*, directed by Calixto Bieito, a work that had been commissioned as part of the World Shakespeare Festival and co-produced with the Royal Shakespeare Company (and thus due to play later at London's Barbican, as well as in Madrid, Barcelona and Girona's *Temporada Alta*).¹ Some of the people around us were apprehensive, having heard that Bieito might be a difficult or controversial director; others enthused about the exciting visual quality of his other work, echoing the kinds of reviews that tend to be distilled on websites and in press packs.² When we were eventually able to enter the theatre, we found the stage already brightly lit with the artificial eco-hum characteristic of the contemporary art installation. At the centre was an enormous tree, the single avatar of the forests announced in the production's title. Here the photograph of the real tree that graced the programme cover, with a monstrous Caliban at its heart, had been transplanted to an artificial setting, just as we were being led on a paradoxical journey into forests at the heart of a post-industrial city. This was no natural world for humanity to enter and with which to interact, but a nature already and irrevocably transformed, mediated and reconstructed by culture, its artificiality, its cyber-presence, placed

¹ *Forests*, co-production BIT Produccions and Birmingham Repertory Theatre in collaboration with the Royal Shakespeare Company. Premiered 31 August 2012. Director: Calixto Bieito; dramaturgy: Marc Rosich; original music: Maika Makovski; cast: Roser Camí, Hayley Carmichael, George Costigan, Maika Makovski, Josep Maria Pou, Katy Stephens, Christopher Simpson.

² The promotional video for the show included the following from *The Wall Street Journal*, 11 November, 2011: "For the better part of the past decade, no season has been complete without a scandal involving the work of Calixto Bieito", among other sensationalising sound-bites. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F3fgb4NFM7s>, 26 July, 2012, 0:12 [accessed 4 September 2021].

centre-stage as in a museum for us to observe. Here, in the Old Rep in Birmingham, the body of the other, of monstrous alterity, was on the outside, and there, on stage, was a body for me instantly recognisable as that of emblematic Catalan actor Josep Maria Pou – a staple of Spanish and Catalan theatre, cinema and television – who had previously played Lear in Bieito’s controversial 2004 production of *El rei Lear*.³

The entrance of the audience, which included Bieito himself, was followed by that of the actors, themselves cast as visitors to an exhibit in a museum, circling the tree, making their phone calls, stepping over Pou’s prostrate body. The only narrative at this point was a quotation from Joseph Beuys: “I think the tree is an element of regeneration which in itself is a concept of time”.⁴ We were placed in a scenario where the relationship between art and reality was to be seen in ecological terms, in terms of landscape, a landscape in which all present were inserted as part of the performance, collapsing boundaries between art and reality. This was not a show for the passive spectator, but one in which we were all required to perform cultural work: whether by trying to put together some sort of narrative or to spot the quotations from the twenty or so works of Shakespeare that formed the archive on which the production was based; by trying to follow the different characters on stage as they shifted between speaking, playing, dancing, singing, swapping clothes and performance styles; or by trying to understand the frequent slippage between languages and voices – primarily Catalan and English in the production I saw – and the relationship between spoken, written and sung words, breaths and silences.

The multiple perspectives offered on a range of familiar texts and scenarios were, of course, impossible to grasp and maintain simultaneously, drawing attention as they did to the shift from play to hard work that followed the actors’ literal passing of the ball into the audience’s court. The feelings of discomfort this at times created, as was apparent in many of the reviews and blogs,⁵ was magnified by

³ *El rei Lear*, translated by Joan Sellent, was premiered on 29 June 2004 in the *Teatre Romea*, Barcelona. See Delgado 2006, 135–150, for more on this seminal production.

⁴ The quotation is taken from a conversation about Beuys’ emblematic project *7000 Eichen*, inaugurated at *Documenta 7* in Kassel, Germany, in 1982. See Demarco (1982).

⁵ See, for instance: “Anyone who is tied to dramatic structure and narrative continuity will absolutely hate this performance” (Fisher, November 2012); “This was my second Calixto Bieito production in a matter of days having seen his Shakespeare ‘mash-up’ *Forests* at the Barbican Centre two nights before. I am a great admirer of his work and *Forests*, quite frankly, was a disappointment” (Operatraveller, November 2012); “This may not be your Shakespeare or mine. It is, however, emphatically Bieito’s. And what he memorably

reactions to the nudity and violence that followed,⁶ particularly in the later stages of the performance, after the deer hunt, which inaugurated a rapid collapse in human relationships with each other and with the environment.⁷

Reactions to the show were almost predictable: ranging from the confused to the angry, to a sense of audience violation and abuse, to the enthusiastic, enlightening and effusive.⁸ Some critics found it a praiseworthy production; others were hard-pressed to give it 2 out of 5 stars. The criticism was shaped by the tree-forest imagery, to the point of cliché.⁹ This was a production in which you could not see the forest for the trees, which was all surface and no content, where nothing made sense at all. This was a production in which the individual actors were considered talented, but were let down by the lack of a coherent reading or artistic vision, where the audience was left floundering, like the actors, without any structure. And even when the artistic vision was praised, there was a question as to why Catalan was there at all. The intermingling of languages was seen as a gimmick, tolerable for a few seconds but then tedious: it was too tiring to look at subtitles; the presence of Catalan was like another tree with nothing to contribute to the whole.¹⁰ Like Pou's prostrate,

unearths is the idea of the forest as a place of both escape and terror. Above all, what he discovers in Shakespeare is a tangible apprehension of the black chaos that lurks beneath the surface of social order" (Billington, 5 September 2012).

⁶ "I loved *Forests*, but don't go if you're easily offended. There's real violence and cruelty including sex scenes and a full frontal" (Price, 5 September 2012); "In a mixed gender production, only Cami's full-scale nudity occupies significant stage time – with a crude play on the word 'bush' at one point. There is not a clear enough meaning or aesthetic attached to these choices with the result of making this female aggression and nudity feel gratuitous" (Dustagheer, 11 November 2012).

⁷ The transition from the playful paradise of the Forest of Arden was inaugurated by the stag hunt in Act II, Scene i of *As You Like It*, which segues into the chaos of *Titus Andronicus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Macbeth*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *3 Henry VI* and *King Lear*.

⁸ My mother, incidentally, was thrilled by the opportunity to hear Catalan on a British stage at a time when all the news she was getting from Spain indicated a refusal to recognise its sociolinguistic legitimacy and attempts to reduce its presence in educational programmes in the Catalan-speaking areas through implementation of the controversial Ley Wert of 2010.

⁹ Examples include: "In Catalan director Calixto Bieito's *Forests*, it can be hard to see the wood for the trees" (Cavendish, 5 September 2012); "It is a bold idea to graft Shakespeare's thoughts about forests and make something original out of them – to turn over a new narrative leaf" (Kellaway, September 2012); "an epic arboreal mash-up" (Hickling, 3 September 2012).

¹⁰ Dubbed by Quentin Letts as "state-subsidised bilingual bilge" (September 2012) and Ian Shuttleworth as a "British Catalan Shakespearean mash-up" (8 November 2012), other critics appeared more indulgent at first: "*Forests* is bilingual – the actors switching between English and Catalan. Impressive at first, the novelty soon wears off. What does Catalan add to a performance staged in London?" (Tucker, November 2012). One of the few entirely positive responses to this trans-linguaging was that of Francesca Roberts: "The Catalan, which is adopted by the bilingual cast sporadically throughout, seems to make love sing louder and

tramp-like body at the beginning of the show, like the voice of Maika Makovski, for some the Catalan language was out of place, unrecognisable, monstrous.

The same sort of ambivalence was to be found in the Spanish press, when the play travelled to the Peninsula later in the season.¹¹ Appreciation for the visual power of Bieito's work, and the charisma of the actors, was often tempered by complaints about the piece's purported lack of coherence. One review of the showing at the Teatro Valle Inclán in Madrid's *Centro Dramático Nacional*, for instance, returned to the forest/tree metaphor to claim that "Bieito se va por las ramas", which suggested both over-indulgence and confusion: "[e]l problema es que *Forests* es tan deshilvanado, tan errático e inasible en su dramaturgia, que no interesa ni atrapa: nos deja un sólido sentido estético y un puñado de llamativas acciones actorales" (Ayanz, 26 October 2012). Of the actors and the question of language, *La Razón*'s critic went on to write:

Brillan todos, claro, y eso que el experimento inglés/catalán no acaba de cuajar: el orden es tan impredecible que una frase empezada en un idioma acaba en otro mientras el espectador se esfuerza por comprender. Quedan momentos hermosos e impactantes, como en casi toda la trayectoria de Bieito. Pero en *Forests* la dramaturgia se va por las ramas y el efectismo deja paso al deseo de que el texto de Shakespeare hubiese sido menos un puzzle y más una tesis, una narración o alguna otra fórmula: un bosque, no árboles sueltos.

(Ayanz, 26 October 2012)

Meanwhile, Javier Villán, writing for *El Mundo* (5 November 2012), tempered his appreciation of the luminosity of director Bieito's and dramaturg Rosich's exploration of Shakespeare's mysterious forests with ambivalence over the mix of languages, which he simultaneously attributes to the production's international dimension (involving the Royal Shakespeare Company [RSC] and Barcelona International Theatre) and a sense of localised provincialism:

Y actores ingleses y catalanes que hablan en inglés y en catalán con sobretítulos en castellano... La dimensión internacional

pain cry out more. There is something about hearing Iago's howling cries of 'I would drown myself for love' repeated in Catalan that strikes right to the core" (Roberts, November 2012).¹¹ See, for instance, "Como veis, es bastante especial el asunto, así que desde luego no es para todos los gustos. Pero sin duda, y aunque Bieito caiga por momentos en sus propias trampas, es un espectáculo indudablemente interesante. Una selva de sensaciones en la que en ocasiones te pierdes porque las ramas no dejan ver el bosque" (Gavaldón, October 2012).

que tiene el espectáculo y la producción de la Royal Shakespeare y Barcelona Internacional Teatre, explica lo del inglés y el catalán, sin duda cara a la política lingüística de la Generalitat más que a un mercado limitado... En Madrid, en el Valle Inclán del Centro Dramático Nacional (CDN), nos arreglamos con subtítulos. Para quienes no entiendan el catalán, cosa no del todo impensable habiendo nacido en Palencia, Cáceres o Madrid, por ejemplo, Josep Maria Pou habla también inglés; quienes fuimos charnegos por los 60 en Barcelona, no es necesario pero también vale.

Parafraseando a Max Estrella en diálogo con el anarquista condenado a la Ley de Fugas “Barcelona es cara a mi corazón”. Max Estrella podía decirlo en alabanza a los anarquistas que ajusticiaban patronos catalanes en una cruenta lucha de clases. Ahora puede aplicarse a la hermosa lengua de Espriu, Carner, Foix, Gimferrer... en una cruenta lucha de idiomas [...] Los sobretítulos distraen un poco [...].

(Villán, 5 November 2012)

In drawing attention to the lack of an audience equipped to understand both languages in the play and attributing the presence of Catalan to the linguistic politics of the Generalitat, Villán portrays his own position in the landscape to be that of a former “charnego”, a subaltern Spanish-speaker of Murcian or Andalusian origin. I have quoted his review at length precisely because it reveals both the complexity of the socio- and ecolinguistic relationship between what Cronin calls “voice, place and belonging in different contexts and different situations” (2017, 16) and the difficulty of translating this relationship. Villán claims a very particular insight into the meaning behind the play’s multilingualism that is further legitimized, in writing for *El Mundo*, by harking back to Valle-Inclán’s *Luces de Bohemia* (1920). In so doing, he at one and the same time characterises the Catalan language, culture and society as bourgeois thus implying that the relationship between Catalan and Spanish is one in which the former is dominant and hegemonic and the latter dominated and subjugated whilst positioning himself as unusually capable of appreciating the beauty of a language (Catalan) unfortunately caught up in a crude linguistic conflict.¹² Villán’s self-

¹² Furthermore, I would suggest that there is deliberate ambivalence in the article as to whether the “crude conflict of languages” refers to contemporary Catalan-Spanish relations, at a time when there were beginning to be increasing calls for secession in Catalonia, or to the perceived asynchrony of the interplay between Catalan and English on stage. See Maria Josep Cuenca, “The War of the Languages” (2009), for an exceptionally insightful corpus-

positioning is, however, only superficially nuanced or complex, as ultimately it reproduces the same gulf between the aesthetic and the affective that is a feature of many of the other reviews of the production at London's Barbican, above all in their attitudes towards the Catalan language: it's fine at a distance beautiful as local colour but ultimately provincial. For example: "[i]t [the theatre] wasn't full, and I have to say people in the audience speaking in Spanish (or Catalan) appeared to enjoy it, and there were quite a few. But I guess if I lived in Barcelona, I'd be pleased to see any stage play, however bad, in English" (Viney, 9 November 2012). Here the reviewer is very clearly marking the other, Catalan attachment to language and culture as provincial; one's own attachments are, needless to say, not in question at all.

If I have recounted this anecdote here it is in order to draw attention to one of the key moments when I began to think of translation and multilingualism in terms of trauma, perhaps because the reception of *Forests* took me back somewhat recursively and repetitiously to linguistic and textual relationships that I thought I had left long behind me, in my move from questions of translation history and translatability towards a focus on cultural translation as intersubjective negotiation and performance. In part, the anecdote draws attention to how what we see, hear and comprehend ultimately depends on our relationship to landscape as well as to how this has an impact on whether we can see the wood for the trees and, indeed, on whether we have to decide to see one instead of the other. In the interview with Bieito included in the programme notes, the director very clearly signals his interest in the relationship between language, landscape and identity as spanning the local and the global, the personal and the political, the emotional and the ecological:

I grew up in a little city surrounded by forests, and I love German Romanticism, where the forest is a key theme. Forests have been very important to me ever since I was a child, and they are always with me, everywhere I go. I love to walk around the forests. But I also think that trees are like people, like human beings. We have developed our lives and our world so much in a technological way but, in emotional terms, we haven't really changed much in comparison with other periods in our history. We are suffering, crying, in pain, in love, in a very

based study of the way in which linguistic conflict was constructed and represented in Spanish and Catalan media from the end of the 1990s onwards.

similar way to our predecessors. Nature rules our lives. We are growing up, living and dying like trees.¹³

(Bieito in Peake 2012, 10)

On the other hand, the ambivalent reception of *Forests* signals the violence of translation and transplantation, as expressed in theoretical reflections by, for instance, Walter Benjamin in ‘The Task of the Translator’ (1923) or by Antoine Berman in ‘Translation and the Trials of the Foreign’ (1985), as well as by more recent historians and sociologists who study the role of translation in conflict.¹⁴ Bieito’s decision to allow Catalan and English to share the stage, his phenomenological interest in the encounter between the languages, ultimately placed language at the centre of a landscape – that of contemporary European directors’ theatre – so often associated with the visual and the performative (see Delgado 2010; Buffery 2013). According to his own account, the emphasis on language came from years of working with European theatre in different languages and from a desire to see, hear and play with the relationship between the hegemonic and the marginal, the dominant and the minoritised: “Both languages mix very fluently and well. They sound wonderful. We have a long tradition of translating Shakespeare into Catalan. And I love Shakespeare in a lot of languages. It is a real experience, very exciting” (Bieito in Peake 2012, 10). The actors themselves commented on the effects of this play, how it forced the British actors out of their comfort zone, as, of course, the Catalans spoke better English than they Catalan. The play set the encounter between the two languages as fertile grounds for intermingling, miscegenation and even anthropophagic incorporation, culminating in Pou’s denaturalising howl to “eat men”.¹⁵ Yet the question remains: was this notion visible, audible, for those who remained outside of the translation zone, for whom the language they speak does not have to be negotiated on a daily basis, but is a given?

Whether we see the wood or the trees depends, in short, on our relationship to landscape and on our relationship to language, in a manner similar to what Sherry Simon discusses in *Cities in Translation* (2012) or, more recently, Michael Cronin in *Eco-translation* (2017). But it is not as simple a matter as determining which language we speak or whether we have particular links to a particular locale.

¹³ See also the video reproduction of parts of this interview in Bagnera (31 October 2012).

¹⁴ See, especially, Inghilleri and Harding (2010), Bandia (2014), and Baker (2007).

¹⁵ This particular scene can be viewed at: <http://teatro.es/guiarte/barcelona-internacional-teatre-bit-36392/estrenos/forests-6o648/documentos-on-line/videos> [accessed 31 January 2020].

Such contingencies are inescapably interwoven with other cultural flows that affect the translatability and visibility of other, particularly less-translated, languages and cultures, on a planet in which, as Emily Apter (2006, 5) observes, “distinctions between urban and rural, center and periphery, pre- and post-industrial, pre- and post-capitalist have melted away”. In developing and defining the notion of *Eco-Translation* as “covering all forms of translation thinking and practice that knowingly engage with the challenges of human-induced environmental change”, Cronin (2017, 16) points to the need for “ecological awareness of the connection between voice, place and belonging in different contexts and different situations”. He goes on to stress that:

[W]hat an ecology of translation must seek to do is to make available or communicable the commons of language itself... Paying attention to what is in the background is re-calibrating attentiveness to produce new regimes of value that prize what we have in common if only because it is these things that ensure our common survival.

(Cronin 2017, 28)

At this point, it is useful to underline that the relationship between translation, multilingualism and trauma is inflected by place, resilience and relatedness and to recognise, with Cronin, both “how routinised, unreflective or narrowly utilitarian notions of language impoverish the Language Commons and deplete the expressive resources of future generations” (2017, 30) and how the “sense of estrangement” we glimpse in *Forests*, “the feeling that home can never be taken for granted or is increasingly difficult to define, is [...] the default condition of a minority language speaker” (2017, 140). In effect, I am invoking here again (cf. Buffery 2013) the heteroglossic nature of Catalan theatre, not so much in the sense meant by Marvin Carlson (2006), in his more literal diagnosis of the disruptive challenge of other languages on what for him was a primarily monolingual stage, as in terms of the significance of the use of Catalan (or any less-used or minoritised language) in a bi- or multilingual sociocultural context and the challenge such use presents to dominant, monolingual frames. In doing so, I am also reminding myself of the primarily social nature of theatre, the need to see it as performance, always in relationship to its environment and socio-cultural milieu, which frames the rehearsal process, the

director, actors and other creative practitioners' lives and their social and artistic interactions.

Having explored responses to the interplay between Catalan and English on an international stage, and the ways in which they often reflect a more or less ingenuous acceptance and naturalization of existing linguistic hierarchies and asymmetries, I wish to turn my attention to how these relationships play out at a local level, in the work of another Catalan theatre director, Oriol Broggi. Broggi's work with La Perla 29—the company with which he is most associated—has largely revolved around translation, whether in the guise of more or less faithful versions of theatre classics, such as *King Lear* and *Hamlet*, or in adaptations of modern European theatre and cinema (Rostand, Chekhov, Pirandello, Brecht, Stoppard, De Filippo, Fellini and Scola). Working mainly in Catalan, Broggi's and La Perla 29's repertoire has included productions in Spanish of *Luces de Bohemia* and *Bodas de sangre*, and has manifested a particular recent emphasis on contemporary Irish drama and the work of Lebanese-Canadian playwright Wajdi Mouawad, whose oeuvre has drawn widespread reflection on the effects of exile and trauma and might easily be seen as a case study in traumatic translation itself.¹⁶ Mouawad's work is taught widely in programmes about intercultural theatre in France and in Canada and has been translated into numerous languages, with productions across the globe, above all the cycle *Le sang des promesses*, comprising *Littoral*, *Incendies*, *Forêts* and *Ciels*. Beginning with *Incendies* in 2012, which was reprised in the 2014-2015 season, Broggi went on to direct *Cels* (2014), and *Boscós* (2017) and to co-direct *Un obús al cor* (2016) with Ferran Utzet; he also staged an interview with Mouawad, when the latter visited Catalonia, to present *Inflammation du verbe vivre* and *Les larmes d'Oedipe* at the Grec Festival (2017).¹⁷

It is, in part, the critical acclaim afforded to La Perla 29's versions of the Mouawad tetralogy that has drawn me to reflect on what they have to say about the relationship between translation, multilingualism, minority languages and trauma.¹⁸ However, it is also

¹⁶ Buffery (2019, 300-304) explores La Perla 29's treatment of Irish themes in terms of the intergenerational and transnational transmission of trauma.

¹⁷ The other play in Mouawad's tetralogy, *Littoral*, was directed by Raimon Molins for Atrium Produccions at the *Teatre Romea* in 2013.

¹⁸ In his review of *Boscós*, Andreu Sotorra (2017) insists that “comença a ser hora de fer balanç d'aquesta llarga operació escènica i comença a ser hora de situar en un capítol de la història teatral catalana el que l'obra de Wajdi Mouawad ha representat”. Furthermore, in the recent Catalan edition of the plays, Broggi describes the affective impact he and the company registered on experiencing audience responses to *Incendies*: “Va ser com un «misteri laïc»...

important to note that Broggi's choice of repertoire so far – largely centred on the translation and adaptation of acclaimed classics of an international theatre canon that, as Manuel Molins (2012) reminds us, revolves around the representation and negotiation of multifaceted rather than the eternal and inevitable nature of conflict – does not necessarily imply an overarching and intentional aim to focus on the transmission of trauma, let alone on how transnational cultural trauma narratives pertain to minority cultural settings. Whatever the case, I believe that analysis of Broggi's work is of relevance because it draws attention to a key feature of recent cultural production in Catalonia that distinguishes it from the all-too-familiar criticism of the period of normalization: to wit, its multilingual and cosmopolitan diversity, particularly in the city of Barcelona.¹⁹ Broggi's work thus allows me both to explore the role of translation in this landscape and to assess the ways in which place, resilience and relatedness have an impact on the perception and reception of other cultural trauma narratives.

Unlike Bieito, Broggi and La Perla 29 have maintained a much greater focus on textual theatre than on devised forms of performance, yet the collaborative and community-based practice that we associate with devised performance is very much a part of Broggi's approach to his role as director. He often co-directs, co-translates or adapts with other dramaturgs, and his experiments with opening up rehearsal processes to local audiences has also provided insights into the reflective nature of his practice. This fits in with Broggi's overall vision, transmitted across his repertoire, of a theatrical ontology rooted in the sharing of stories as a collaborative, cooperative and craft-like activity, which often becomes a key motif of his productions. It is also in keeping with his treatment of the emblematic space of many La Perla 29 productions: the *Biblioteca de Catalunya* theatre, a vaulted Gothic hall with a sand-covered floor. At times feeling like a barn and at others like a warehouse, a cave or a circus in which actors and audience are often in close proximity, it is an architectural space which gives many of the productions – indeed, perhaps, much of the repertoire – a site-specific feel. The disposition

com quan es posa a ploure. Com quan les estrelles i els planetes es paren” (in Mouawad 2017, 13). *Incendis* received five of the major Catalan Butxaca theatre prizes in the 2012–2013 and sold more than half a million seats between 2012 and 2015.

¹⁹ As far as theatrical activity is concerned, the situation diagnosed by previous critics such as Lourdes Orozco (2007) of an increasing marginalization of non-Catalan theatre is almost completely unrecognisable, with even public theatres like the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya* and the *Teatre Lliure* offering a mixed and multilingual repertoire to cater for a diversity of audiences.

of the performance space and the adjoining rooms also means that the actors are often travelling across the whole length of the room, through and round the audience, which is often placed on three sides of the stage. The need to travel that is imposed on the actors' bodies by the particular structure of the *Biblioteca* is often reflected formally and thematically within the plays themselves, in which the actors-characters are often portrayed as nomadic, evoking the travelling theatre troupes of the late medieval and early modern periods.

Furthermore, as has been increasingly the case with more recent productions, part of the budget is sometimes used for members of the company to travel in order to research the play, as was the case with some of the Mouawad productions, with the resulting photographic record of these voyages being used to frame and persuade of the loyalty of their versions and/or as evidence of genuine intercultural encounters. Rather than large ensemble casts, Broggi tends to work with smaller companies, meaning that each of the actors often has to double in numerous roles, at times producing the same sense of intergenerational transmission that Sergi Belbel used to great effect in an earlier Catalan play, *Forasters* (2004). But even though there are moments of "showiness," such as the use of a live horse in the 2017-18 production of *Bodas de sangre*, in general the focus is on the words and often the poetry of the works themselves, with the visual and the musical dimensions generally used as a frame rather than as the main focus of the spectacle.

The productions from the Mouawad tetralogy that have had the greatest impact are *Incendis* (*Incendies*), premiered in the *Teatre Romea* on Carrer Hospital in 2012,²⁰ and *Boscós* (*Forêts*), premiered in the nearby *Biblioteca de Catalunya* space in 2017.²¹ Recursive and repetitive in structure and themes, these works are characterised by a search for identity that has to be constructed from fragments, the shattered remains of extreme violence and conflict. Thus, they are, in many ways, obvious choices for the representation and discussion of the transnational transmission of trauma, both because of their focus on particular cultural trauma narratives and because of the way in which

²⁰ *Incendis*, by Wajdi Mouawad, Teatre Romea, 21 February 2012. Translated by Cristina Genebat. Directed by Oriol Broggi. Cast: Clara Segura, Julio Manrique, Xavier Boada, Màrcia Cisteró, Xavier Ricart, Xavier Ruano. Space: Oriol Broggi and Sebastià Brosa; lighting: Albert Faura; costumes: Berta Riera and Bàrbara Glaenzel; sound: Oriol Broggi and Damien Bazin; assistant director: Ferran Uxet; projections: Francesc Isern (Piscolab Films). After a highly successful run, the production was reprised in the 2014-2015 season.

²¹ *Boscós*, by Wajdi Mouawad, Teatre Biblioteca de Catalunya, 29 March 2017. Translated by Cristina Genebat. Directed by Oriol Broggi. Cast: Màrcia Cisteró, Cristina Genebat, Marissa Josa, Clara de Ramon, Xavier Ricart, Xavier Ripoll, Marc Rius, Carol Rovira, Xavier Ruano, Sergi Torrecilla, Ramon Vila; scenography: Oriol Broggi; lighting: Pep Barcons; costumes: Annita Ribera; video: Francesc Isern; sound: Damien Bazin.

they explore the role of intercultural encounter and conflict on subject formation across the generations. Here, I am particularly interested in what the focus on place, resilience and relatedness might reveal about the translation and reception of these works on a minority stage.

While Mouawad's plays are often read in terms of their portrayal of individual and collective trauma, and while the playwright does not deny their roots in his own experiences of displacement and loss as a child refugee from war-torn Lebanon in the 1970s, it is also generally acknowledged that Mouawad is more concerned with transcending specific histories in order to achieve the poetic and mythic impact of Greek tragedy.²² His most famous work is, undoubtedly *Incendies*, first published and performed in French in 2003, and translated into English as *Scorched* by prize-winning translator Linda Gaboriau in 2005. The play inspired a film version in 2010, directed by Denis Villeneuve, which was adapted to provide a more linear and realist account of the tragic story at its heart. *Incendies/Scorched* continues to be performed today and continues parallels are repeatedly drawn with the situation of war and conflict in the Middle East as well as with diverse experiences of immigration and multiculturalism. In 2016, it was performed in Spanish by the *Teatro de la Abadía* in Madrid; indeed, it was this version, directed by Mario Gas, that was playing in the *Teatro Goya* from 25 October 2017, when the clash between Spanish and Catalan visions of constitutional legitimacy was at its apogee, following the police violence at the disputed 1 October referendum on Catalan independence. As Maria Delgado's (2017) comprehensive review recognises, this version was very different from Broggi's, a fact that she attributes, in part, to the pace and power of the performances, but also to the spareness of the staging, inspired perhaps by Mouawad's own vision of the play in French, which first travelled to Madrid in 2008. Delgado's review ends by linking the play's resonance to contemporary Spanish attempts to grapple with past political violence and injustices, and by citing and cites Núria Espert's words, "No hay un texto más actual que *Incendios*", before singling out revelations about stolen babies and illegal adoptions between 1950 and 1980.²³

²² This has led to criticism of Mouawad's appropriation of the trauma of others, without acknowledgement of their agency. See, for instance, Holstun (2015).

²³ In the process, the focus is placed on the fate of Nawal's son, Nihad, who, after being taken from the fictional Kfar Rayat orphanage, later turns from victim to perpetrator, unwittingly raping his own mother and thus fathering the twin boy and girl, Jeanne and Simon.

In contrast, Oriol Broggi's account of his captivation by the play traces a far more complex multilingual and transnational process of translation and transmission, in part due to particular sociocultural and geopolitical contingencies like the location of Catalonia close to an international border with France or the presence and influence of transnational theatre practitioners in the region. Yet, as Stephen Greenblatt (2009) reminds us, these contingencies are crucial in understanding the international circulation of cultural texts and narratives. According to the account he gives in the prologue to the Catalan edition of *La sang de les promeses* (2017, 9–14), Broggi first heard of Mouawad from friends, the actors Ramon Vila and Xavier Ruano, who were trying to get him to go and see *Le sang de promesses* at Avignon in the summer of 2009. Another friend of the family, Manolo Brugarolas, brought back the French text for Broggi to read, but he admits that his French was not strong enough to understand it fully at the time. Later, he came across it again from another direction: during discussions with actors Julio Manrique and Clara Segura about the next play to work on, the former spoke of a copy of *Incendios* she had been given to read by Argentine director and playwright Javier Daulte, which had been used for a performance in Mexico City in 2011.²⁴ Actress Cristina Genebat drafted a translation into Catalan, and the group, now joined by Xavier Boada, Màrcia Cisteró and Xavier Ricart, as well as by members of the La Perla 29 production team, were drawn into a research and rehearsal process that involved documenting and reading about the Lebanese conflict and even a trip to Beirut, from where they were able to visit key sites: “Vam trepitjar la presó on va viure la Nawal, vam veure un autobús que podria ser l'autobus que apareix a *Incendis*” (Broggi in prologue to Mouawad 2017, 12).²⁵

Broggi's omission of any mention of Villeneuve's film adaptation, which was released in Spain in 2011, might be seen as a symptom of the anxiety of influence, in that it enables him to persuade of the priority of La Perla 29's excavation of Lebanese spaces of conflict by failing to reference the work done by the film. More importantly, it draws attention to the way in which the company's own journey of research, discovery and recognition became blurred with that of the characters in the play, sleading them

²⁴ Daulte was based in Barcelona for much of the first decade of the twenty-first century and has continued to be at the centre of Catalan-Argentine theatrical exchanges since then.

²⁵ See also: “d'alguna manera [...] ens sentíem com si estiguéssim fent el mateix viatge que fa la Nawal i el Simon buscant la identitat de la seva mare. El mateix viatge que va fer l'autor en reconèixer coses del seu país” (Broggi in Mouawad 2017, 12).

to understand and portray their own process in terms of the transmission of trauma:

Hores i hores. Tots junts, en grup, i jo tinc el record de viure junts, tancats a la Biblioteca i abstrets del món...

El dia de l'estrena, nerviosos, ens preguntàvem què era aquell dolor gratificant de dir, de sentir, de portar a escena i de transmetre a l'espectador. Amb el temps hem anat veient que el nostre ofici és bàsicament això [...]: saber gestionar aquest dolor.

(Broggi in prologue to Mouawad 2017, 12)

A further journey taken by the translation, from rehearsals in the company's *Biblioteca de Catalunya* space to the emblematic *Teatre Romea* on Carrer Hospital, heightened its impact as a process of intercultural communication and place-binding between languages, subjects and worlds. The space of the *Romea*'s traditional, proscenium auditorium was transformed for the production by bringing the stage down to audience level and replacing part of the seating area in the stalls with a vast expanse of sand. The architecture of the theatre meant that rather than simply translating the sense of proximity characteristic of the *Biblioteca de Catalunya* space, the removal of boundaries between stage and audience produced a spatial continuum, which, when seen from the balcony, both transmitted the sense that the people in the stalls were somehow part of the performance and spurred reflection on the theatre's relation to the urban space around it. How conscious any audience member might have been of all this depended, perhaps, on whether they entered the Carrer Hospital from the direction of the Rambla, now populated by an almost continual flow of global tourists, or from the opposite direction, past the Arab cafes, saree stores, Halal restaurants, butchers and grocery shops that have reflected the multicultural diversity of the Raval district since the end of the 1990s.

The *situatedness* of the production was also, arguably, shaped, if not governed, by other, more strictly translational choices. For instance, the subtle removal of repetition in Genebat's version transforms the sometimes heavy, grave and portentous rhetorical style of Mouawad's original, whose aim at times appears to be to have the audience hang on every single word, into a more mercurial and breathless interchange that reflects the fluidity of shifts between characters, generations and settings, all conjured up on the same continuous stage. This transformation is perhaps most problematic in the treatment of silences, most significantly the silence of the

twins' mother Nawal, in the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Nawal's silence is transmitted on stage both through the initial resentment and incomprehension of her Canadian children, who already felt abandoned by her in life, and through the undecipherable texts left to them as a legacy to give to another, unknown receptor: their father and brother, whom neither knew existed. We attempt to listen to Nawal's silence, along with her daughter, via a cassette-recording made by her nurse. The twins' excavation of Nawal's story, in fragments, slowly recovers her voice and the promise at the heart of her silence: the story of a young woman in love who is forced to abandon her first child; a woman who learns to write in order to remember and record her debt to her grandmother and who teaches her friend Sawda to read as a way out of the cycle of violence and misery; her incessant search for her lost child leads to imprisonment in a Lebanese prison, where she becomes a woman who sings to maintain hope amidst extreme torture and violence.

An extreme example of the omission of repetition in Genebat's translation can be found in the short scene in which the twins, Jeanne and Simon, discuss the silence of their mother and in which Jeanne tries to get her brother to listen to the cassette recordings:²⁶

Jeanne: Là. Écoute. On l'entend respirer. On l'entend bouger.	Janine: There. Listen. You can hear her breathing. You can hear her move.	Jeanne: Se la sent respirar.
Simon: Tu écoutes du silence!...	Simon: You're listening to silence!	Simon: Escoltes el silenci!...
Jeanne: C'est son silence à elle. Derrière ce silence, il y a des choses qui sont là mais qu'on n'entend pas.	Janine: It's her silence. There are many things behind that silence, but we can't hear them.	Jeanne: És el seu silenci. (Mouawad 2017, 173)

²⁶ Here the Catalan version has been placed alongside the original French and Gaboriau's English version.

Given that the scene is intercut here with a flashback to Nawal teaching her friend to repeat the alphabet in Arabic [Àlif, ba, tha, jim, ha, kha.../ Àlif, ba, tha, jim, ha, kha../ Dal, dhal, ra, zay, sin, xin, sad, dad...] and hence to one of the moments when we are reminded of the multilingual asymmetries underlying the play, the reduced repetition might be interpreted both as a lack of attention to the relationship between words and silence and as a silencing of language worlds. However, other choices, such as the introduction of the wordplay between “ocell” and “osell” in the very first scene (Mouawad 2017, 139-141) to indicate the lawyer Hermile Lebel’s foreignness, or Nawal’s kindness in helping him to correct his pronunciation, reintroduce a tension between silence and voice that might perhaps compensate for other omissions. Furthermore, the scene in which we encounter the unidentified father/brother Nihad transformed into an amoral sniper, who is later to become the violent perpetrator of his mother’s rape, cleverly maintains the sense that the collapse of his respect for intersubjective limits is reflected in his use of language:

You know, well, I wrote this song when it was war. War on my country. Yes, one day a woman that I loved died. Yes. Shouting by a sniper, I feel a big crash in my hart. My hart colaps. Yes. I crie. And I wrote this song.

It will be a plaer to heare your love song, Nihad.

No problem, Kurt.

[...]

Nihad: You know, Kirk, sniper job is fantastic job.

Justament, Nihad, can you talk about this?

Yeah! It is an artistic job.

Because a good sniper, don’t shoot de qualsevol manera, no, no, noooo! I have a lot of principe, Kirk!

(Mouawad 2017, 219, 223)

By maintaining “solutions” from the French original (“I *crie*”; “I have a lot of *principe*”) instead of wholly shifting Nihad’s code-switching to English and Catalan, the translation preserves traces of the transnational mobility encoded within the play’s ontology: its reproduction of distant Lebanese/Arabic origins from the perspective of the new home produced via the place-binding of migration in Quebec. The play moves between cultural landscapes, languages and generations: villages where everyone is illiterate, traditional practices, roads and camps riven by gratuitous violence and bombs. It stages the quest of a mother and her son for each other;

the quest of the twins Jeanne and Simon for their father and brother; the quest of an audience for answers to an enigma that hides and silences the enormity of a trauma not graspable in the everyday. Negotiating answers involves translations, understood as the movement between different languages as well as the openness to interpretation, and the work of actors and company as “gestors” (managers) of all this pain. If Mouawad presents the trauma as something universal, as having the quality of myth, the tenor of reviews of the Catalan version, which focus on its multicultural dimension, indicate that Broggi’s version is much more about understanding the other, a key element of which is the process of othering and then inhabiting these other worlds, transmitted in the performance of multicultural relations as crucial to resilience. Unlike the presentation and reception of *Boscós* (2017), which will be discussed in my concluding remarks, no perceptible link is made to cultural trauma narratives in Spain, even though, as we have glimpsed in relation to *Forests*, it was a time of increasing conflict, underpinned by growing public awareness about the excavation and re-emergence of the crimes of the Civil War and the Franco regime.

In the programme to La Perla 29’s 2017 production of Mouawad’s *Boscós*, Broggi writes:

M’agradaria haver escrit aquest gran poema sobre el nostre temps, i el dels nostres pares i el dels nostres avis. M’agradaria haver-lo escrit i poder dedicar-lo als meus pares. No l’hem escrit nosaltres, però tenim la sort de representar-lo avui, davant vostre, de dir-lo, de fer-lo present.²⁷

What is it about this play that produces such identifications? In part, the answer is obvious: although the play is set in the same French-Canadian space of migration and multicultural diversity as *Incendies*, the quest of the central protagonist, Loup, for answers about her heritage involves a trip to Europe and an encounter with the violent legacy of European history. The play’s process of excavation of the past takes us back to the Paris Commune of 1871 before leading us through scenes of violence and trauma set during and between the two world wars. The bone fragment lodged in Loup’s mother’s head, which is at the centre of a tumour that ultimately kills her, turns out to match a missing piece from the skull of a woman bludgeoned to death by a German soldier in Treblinka, a woman whose

²⁷ The same words are also reproduced on the company’s blogspot, *La Revistilla*, <http://larevistilladelaperla.blogspot.com/2017/03/dins-els-boscós-de-mouawad.html> [accessed 31 January 2020].

commitment to the Resistance and whose comradeship with her Jewish friend Sarah Cohen impels her to swap identities in order to give the new mother and daughter a chance of survival. Along the way, we learn that intergenerational transmission does not necessarily need to journey via blood and DNA, but can be achieved, as in *Incendies*, through friendship, language, care for others, and the ethical relationships set in motion by gifts, promises and debts.

If *Forêts* is, in many ways, more excessive than *Incendies* in the demands it makes on the audience's suspension of disbelief, perhaps this is partly because of a residual resistance to see Europe as monstrous other. *Bosc/Forêts* is a play about resilience, about healing, and about the translatability of trauma. It is also a play in which the forest at its heart – here the Forest of Ardennes, rather than the Forest of Arden – is imagined first as a utopian paradise by the young Albert Keller, who seeks to escape the industrial capitalism of a father whose factories end up fuelling two major wars. Yet the desired communion with nature soon descends into darkness and chaos as isolation from the world gives way to incest, rape and parricide. In the words of Edgar, shortly before learning his sister is pregnant by his father:

<p>La forêt. À perte de vue, la forêt et partout, partout, partout, partout, partout la forêt et au beau milieu de cette putain d'enfoirée de bordel de cul de merde de forêt, il y a nous, sans personne à aimer, sans personne à rencontrer et jamais, jamais le moindre espoir pour rêver!</p>	<p>Exactament, el bosc. Fins on arriba la vista, el bosc per tot arreu, per tot arreu, per tot arreu, per tot arreu el bosc i al bell mig d'aquesta puta merda de refotut bosc dels collons hi som nosaltres, sense ningú per estimar i sense ningú a qui trobar-nos i mai, mai la més mínima esperança de somiar!</p> <p>(Mouaward 2017, 331)</p>
---	--

By linking *Bosc* so overtly to the memories of his own parents and grandparents, Broggi encourages us to link it to cultural trauma

narratives in Catalonia and Spain.²⁸ Yet in the prologue to *La sang de les promeses*, at least, there is a suggestion that we might just as well draw on *Incendies* to encounter the same process of identification, judging by the signs of retraumatization in the following anecdote about Broggi's father's reading of this play:

[L]avors, recordo que li vaig deixar el text al meu pare un matí perquè el llegís. Vaig tornar al vespre i el vaig trobar assegut, en una butaca, amb els ulls vidriosos i amb el llibre ja tancat a les mans. Semblava que fes hores que estava en aquella posició. Se'l veia quasi enfadat: “Què és això? D'on surt aquesta força? Aquesta brutalitat?”

(Broggi prologue to Mouawad 2017, 10-11)

The journey taken by La Perla 29 in order to “excavate” *Boscós* leads them to travel to the Ardennes, where they source some of the tree images projected during the performance and take many of the photographs of their creative process that are then published in a book to accompany the show. Once again, their physical and mental journey is evoked in parallel to that of the central protagonist of the play, in a process of witnessing that is capable both of seeing the entire landscape and of recognising one's own place within it:

LOUP: Mama,
 El teu cos finalment a la terra,
 Veig un horitzó complet que desplega davant meu
 I és esfereïdor
 Esfereïdor de grandària i de profunditat
 Veig, de cop, l'espai que se'n va per allà
 Fins al nord
 Fins al sud
 Fins a l'est
 I fins a l'oest.

(Mouawad 2017, 369)

Perhaps all that I have really shown here are examples of different metaphorical, real, symbolic, desired, projected forests, where our capacity to see and understand is marred by repetition and blockage, by an inability to see our own place in the landscape, by an unwillingness to translate and, finally, by the relative unfamiliarity of

²⁸ It bears remembering that Broggi is the grandson of the eminent physician and pacifist Moisès Broggi (1908–2012), who was a field surgeon for the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War.

a minority or minoritised language. Initially, I had intended to include other multilingual forests witnessed in the same period (2012-2017) as the rise of the Catalan independence movement and to reflect on what they reveal about the changing shape of Catalan culture, society, language and environment. Instead, I have opted for something far simpler, yet, I hope, more valuable: the importance of engaging with other languages, identities and cultures, of entering the forest, of trying to see the wood and the trees simultaneously, as a witness, as a translator, as an actor, as a traveller, as a spectator, and, in so doing, to attempt to account for at least some of the gaps, silences and blockages. This ultimately involves taking account of one's own place in the landscape linguistically, socially, geopolitically and ethically and recognising one's own responsibility and agency along with those of others.

Works Cited

- Apter, Emily. 2006. *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature*. Princeton: NJ, Princeton UP.
- Apter, Emily. 2013. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. London: Verso.
- Ayanz, Miguel. 2012. "Bieito se va por las ramas." *La Razon*, 25 October. https://www.larazon.es/historico/gio-forests-bieito-se-va-por-las-ramas-NLLA_RAZON_497379/ (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Bagnera, Diego. 2012. "Forests/Calixto Bieito." Blog. <http://diegobagnera/exhibi/por-que-queremos-tanto-a-calixto-bieito/> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Baker, Mona. 2006. *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Bandia, Paul. 2014. *Translation as Reparation: Writing and Translation in Postcolonial Africa*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1992 (1923). "The Task of the Translator." In *Illuminations*, 70-82. Translated by Harry Zohn. London: Fontana.
- Berman, Antoine. 2012 (1985). "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign." Translated by Lawrence Venuti. In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 191-202. New York: Routledge.
- Billington, Michael. 2012. "Forests – review." *The Guardian*, 5 September. <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/sep/05/forests-review> (accessed 14 February 2022).
- Buffery, Helena. 2013. "Negotiating the Translation Zone: Invisible Borders and Other Landscapes on the Contemporary Heteroglossic Stage." *Translation Studies* 6: 150-165.
- Buffery, Helena. 2019. "In Process: The Catalan Independence Movement in On-stage Translation." *Journal of Catalan Studies*, 21, no. 3: 287-306.

- Carlson, Marvin. 2003. *The Haunted Stage: The Theater as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor: Michigan UP.
- Carlson, Marvin. 2006. *Speaking in Tongues: Languages at Play in the Theatre*. Ann Arbor: Michigan UP.
- Cavendish, Dominic. 2012. "Forests, Birmingham rep @ the old rep, review" *The Telegraph*, 5 September.
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/theatre-reviews/9523088/Forests-Birmingham-rep-the-old-rep-review.html>
 (accessed 4 September 2021).
- Cronin, Michael. 2017. *Eco-Translation: Translation and Ecology in the Age of the Anthropocene*. London-New York: Routledge
- Cuenca, Maria Josep. 2009. "The War of the Languages: Metaphors of Linguistic Conflict in Catalonia." Joan Guli Memorial Lecture, The Anglo-Catalan Society. <http://www.anglo-catalan.org/downloads/joan-guli-memorial-lectures/lecture11.pdf> (accessed 4 September 2021).
- Delgado, Maria. 2006. "Journeys of Cultural Transference: Calixto Bieito's Multilingual Shakespeares." *The Modern Language Review*, 101, no. 1: 106-150.
- Delgado, Maria. 2010. "Performing Barcelona: Cultural Tourism, Geography and Identity." In *Barcelona: Visual Culture, Space and Power*, edited by Helena Buffery and Carlota Caulfield, 173-192. Cardiff: Wales UP.
- Delgado, Maria. 2017. "Madrid's Theatre takes Inspiration from the Greeks." *European Stages*, 10. <https://europeanstages.org/2017/10/28/madrids-theatre-takes-inspiration-from-the-greeks/> (accessed 6 September 2021).
- Demarco, Richard. 1982. "Conversations with Artists." *Studio International* 195, no. 996: 46-51.
- Dustagheer, Sarah. 2012. "Review of *Forests*." *Exeunt Magazine*, 11 November. <http://exeuntmagazine.com/reviews/forests/> (accessed 4 September 2021).
- Feldman, Sharon. 2009. *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Catalonia*. Cranbury: NY, Associated UP.
- Fisher, Philip. 2012 "Review of *Forests*." *British Theatre Guide*, 6-10 November. <https://www.britishtheatreguide.info/reviews/forests-barbican-8226> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Gavaldón, Miguel. 2012. "Mono de teatro blog," 27 October.
<https://espectaculosenmadrid.wordpress.com/2012/10/27/forests-de-calixto-bieito-suenos-febriles-en-un-bosque-shakespeariano/> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Greenblatt, Stephen. 2009. *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Hickling, Alfred. 2012. "Calixto Bieito: 'Shakespeare's Theatre was Full of Blood and Violence.'" *The Guardian*, 3 September.
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/sep/03/calixto-bieito-shakespeare-mashup-forests> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Holstun, Jim. 2015. "Antigone Becomes Jocasta: Soha Bechara, Résistante, and Incendies." *Mediations*, 29, no. 1: 3-42.
<http://www.mediationsjournal.org/articles/antigone-becomes-jocasta>
 (accessed 4 September 2021)

- Inghilleri, Moira, and Sara Harding, editors. 2010. *Translation and Violent Conflict*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Kate Kellaway. 2012. "Forests; Branches: The Nature of Crisis - Review." *The Guardian*, 9 September.
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/sep/09/forests-branches-nature-of-crisis-review> (accessed 4 September 2021).
- Letts, Quentin. 2012. "Forests Birmingham Repertory Theatre." *Daily Mail*, 5 September.
<https://www.pressreader.com/uk/daily-mail/20120904/282162173396169> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- McLuskie, Kathleen. 2013. "Forests." In *A Year of Shakespeare: Reliving the World Shakespeare Festival*, edited by Paul Edmondson, Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan, 249-52. London: Bloomsbury.
- Molins, Manuel. 2016. *Una cruel estultícia (Teatre, guerra i veritat)*. Lleida: Punctum.
- Operatraveller. 2012. "In the Forest Anything can Happen." Blog. 11 November.,
<https://operatraveller.com/2012/11/11/in-the-forest-anything-can-happen/> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Mouawad, Wajdi. 2017. *La sang de les promeses*. Translated by Cristina Genebat and Raimon Molins. Barcelona: Edicions del Periscopi.
- Orozco, Lourdes. 2007. *Teatro y política en Barcelona*. Madrid: ADE Teatro.
- Peake, Elaine. 2012. "Interview with director, Calixto Bieito." *Forests*, official programme for The REP at The Old Rep Theatre, 10. Birmingham: Arts Council England/Birmingham City Council.
- Price, Phil. 2012. "Review of *Forests*." *Lichfield Live*, 5 September.
<https://lichfieldlive.co.uk/2012/09/06/review-forests-the-old-rep-birmingham/> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Roberts, Francesca. 2012. "Review: *Forests*." 8 November.
<http://www.ayoungentheatre.com/review-forests-calixto-bieito-barbican-theatre/> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Shuttleworth, Ian. "Forests, Barbican, London." *Financial Times*, 8 November.
<https://www.ft.com/content/513ed30e-28cd-11e2-b92c-00144feabdco> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Simon, Sherry. 2006. *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory*. New York-London: Routledge.
- Sotorra, Andreu. 2018. "Biblioteca de Catalunya." Clip de Teatre blog.
<https://www.andreusotorra.com/teatre/clipdeteatre/biblioteca.html> (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Tucker, Matthew. "Forests (Review): Calixto Bieito Condenses the Spirit of Shakespeare with Nudity and Violence." *Huffington Post*, 7 November.
https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/11/07/naked-shakespeare-forests-review_n_2087315.html (accessed 31 January 2022).
- Villán, Javier. 2012. "Luminoso misterio de los bosques." *El Mundo*, 5 November.
<http://hemeroteca.cdmae.cat/bitstream/handle/20.500.12268/32265/Article%20de%20diari.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y> (accessed 4 September 2021).

Viney, Peter. 2012. "Forests, Calixto Bieito." *Peter Viney's Blog*, 6-10 November.
<https://peterviney.wordpress.com/stage/forests/>
(accessed 31 January 2022).

Language, Performance, Memory and Transculturation in the *Jocs Florals* *Catalans* of Cuba

YAIREN JEREZ COLOMBIÉ

Trinity College Dublin

Abstract

This article studies the role of language, literature and performance in the consolidation of the Catalan community of Cuba, particularly through the literary prize *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana, celebrated in 1923 and 1944. Relying on Fernando Ortiz's (1940/1978) concept of transculturation and Joseph Roach's (1996) approach to circum-Atlantic performances, which shows how the memories of particular times and spaces are embodied and travel in and through performance, the article discusses how these events transmitted ideas of Catalan culture and exemplified the ties and tensions between nationalist narratives and the transculturation of identities in Cuba during the first half of the twentieth century. In order to illustrate the different, yet complementary meanings of the two events, the article examines the simultaneous celebration of the *Jocs Florals* in Havana and Barcelona in 1923 and the impact of the mass exile of pro-Republican communities in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War in the literary prize of 1944, twenty years after the first event.

Keywords

Language; Performance; Memory; Transculturation; Nationalism; Exile; Catalonia; Migration; Cuba; *Jocs Florals Catalans*

Language, Performance, Memory and Transculturation in the *Jocs Florals* *Catalans of Cuba*

YAIREN JEREZ COLOMBIÉ

Trinity College Dublin

Introduction

Language was a key element in the consolidation of the Catalan diasporic communities of the Americas, as is evident from the intense intellectual activity documented in the publications of both economic migrants and exiles during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ This article explores the role of Catalan language, literature and performance in the consolidation of the Catalan-Cuban community of Havana through the celebration of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana in 1923 and 1944 by looking at the literary and political contexts of Catalonia and Cuba and by drawing on theories of the social implications of writing in processes of commemoration and surrogation or substitution. Drawing on Joseph Roach's (1996) approach to circum-Atlantic performances, which explores how the memories of particular times and spaces travel and are embodied in performance, the article discusses how the *Jocs Florals* transmitted ideas of Catalan culture. The first section focuses on theoretical and methodological considerations, while the other two examine the different contexts in which the 1923 *Jocs Florals* were celebrated – Barcelona and Havana – as well as the broader context of Republican exile following the Spanish Civil War for the 1944 event, circumstances that amplify, as we shall see, the relevance of such categories as 'performance', 'surrogation' and 'memory'.

The Literary Prize as Performance

For literary historian Jordi Castellanos (1988), the study of the literary prizes known as the *Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana* requires a sociocultural perspective that takes into consideration the phenomenon's ideological dimensions.² In his preface to Margarida

¹ See especially Josep Maria Balcells (1988) and Josep Surroca (2004) for their studies of the development of the Catalan press overseas, particularly in the Americas, during this period.

² Margarida Casacuberta (2012, 406) emphasises the importance, and yet under-examination, of Castellanos' comprehensive reflections on the phenomenon of the literary prize in Catalunya, while herself offering two significant additions in *Els Jocs Florals d'Olot (1890-*

Casacuberta's monograph on the history of the literary prize in the Catalan town of Olot, Castellanos (1988, 11–13) states that studying the *Jocs Florals*, a central aspect of the widespread cultural 'revival' in nineteenth-century Catalonia known as the *Renaixença* , implies looking at the role assigned to literature by the dominant class. According to Castellanos, unlike other national literatures subject to market pressures after the rise of the bourgeoisie, Catalan literature was mainly mediated by the *Jocs Florals*, the only platform of the newly emerging literary 'marketplace' which the Catalan upper middle class recognised and in which it participated. He emphasises that it was precisely the engagement of the bourgeoisie that made possible the restoration of the literary prize, adopting and adapting the event through the integration of cultural symbols and the involvement of civil authorities.

Castellanos stresses the importance of studying the political and social mediation of the literary prize by examining the production and reception of the texts in order to understand the complex mechanics of Catalanist culture. Castellanos's socio-historical reading contests previous philological interpretations that had been more concerned with the connections between contemporary Catalan literature and the medieval past that foregrounded the Catalan language than with the mediations and contributions of literature within a wider cultural frame. This more comprehensive perspective reflects that proposed by Raymond Williams, for whom 'most writing, in any period, including our own, is a form of contribution to the effective dominant culture' (Williams 2006 [1973], 140).

In their respective essays, Magí Sunyer (2008) and Josep Miquel Sobrer (2008) agree on the cultural significance of the recovery of the medieval tradition during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, a process that would lead to the restitution of the *Jocs Florals* in 1859.³ Sobrer describes the *Jocs Florals* as 'a poetic competition modelled after medieval customs' and interprets the fact that the *Jocs* found steady financing, most notably from the Barcelona city government, as 'a sure sign of the popularity of medievalism' (2008, 98). Without disregarding the medievalist substrate of the *Jocs Florals* or, indeed of nineteenth-century literary Catalanism, a sociological understanding of the literary prize underscores the role

1921) (1988), written in collaboration with Lluís Rius, and *Els Jocs Florals de Girona (1902-1935)* (2010).

³ Magí Sunyer (2008) locates the beginning of this progressive restitution in 1839, when Joaquim Rubió i Ors published the poems 'Lo Gaiter del Llobregat' in the *Diario de Barcelona*. This moment has been described as the first poetic campaign of the *Renaixença*, and the volume that was published two years later, as its first manifesto. Sunyer states that Rubió was the first to call for the revival of the *Jocs Florals*, instituted in 1323 in Toulouse and imported to Barcelona by Joan I in 1393.

of the bourgeoisie in the institutionalisation of Catalan culture through the restoration of a presumably common cultural literary and linguistic past. In this respect, Manuel de Montoliu emphasises the ‘heroic naivety’ of the restorers of the *Jocs Florals*, who believed that bestowing on the ceremony a halo of romantic legend was a means to recover the literary value of the Catalan language itself: ‘La ingenuïtat mateixa de l’ambient feudal i trobadoresc de què voltaren l’espectacle els seus fundadors, fou la raó de la seva fecunda virtualitat’ (1962, 64). Both Sobrer and Montoliu underscore the performative character and the romantic rhetoric of the philanthropic restitution of past literary glories as critical to the success of the *Jocs Florals*. Whatever their emotional appeal, the *Jocs Florals* were imbued, in short, with Catalan bourgeois ideological, political and economic thinking. Nevertheless, as Josep M. Domingo (2013, 73) argues, the *Jocs Florals* opened up a space for high cultural endeavours in the language that nourished the contemporary Catalan literary system by vindicating the symbolic value of Catalan linguistic heritage.

It is in this light that the present article approaches the ceremonies and the texts of the *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Havana in 1923 and 1944. Focusing on their value as orature, it considers Catalonia and Cuba within their respective European and American contexts, mapped according to Roach’s notion of the circum-Atlantic world, that is to say, the economic and cultural system bound by Europe, Africa, and the Americas that ‘entailed vast movements of people and commodities to experimental destinations’ (Roach 1996, xi).⁴ In so doing, it engages Roach’s understanding of performance as a way ‘to bring forth, to make manifest, and to transmit’ and ‘though often more secretly, to reinvent’ (1996, xi) and emphasises, along with Roach, the relevance of performances as documents of circum-Atlantic intercultural exchange shaped through memory, imagination, invention and substitution, four categories that are at the core of my analysis of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana.

In the circum-Atlantic, performance is closely linked to processes of cultural transformation and transculturation. Cuban anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Fernando Ortiz (1978, 73) proposed ‘transculturation’ as a more complex and nuanced term than ‘acculturation’, which had come into popular use by the time of his influential *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (1940). While

⁴ Joseph Roach has pointed out the utility of the term ‘orature’, proposed by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1992), to look at the intersection between writing and orality through performance: ‘orature goes beyond a schematized opposition of literacy and orality as transcendent categories; rather, it acknowledges that these modes of communication have produced one another interactively over time and that their historic operations may be usefully examined under the rubric of performance’ (Roach 1996, 11–12).

‘acculturation’ described a process of cultural acquisition and its manifold social repercussions, ‘transculturation’ expressed the complex and variegated transmutations of culture. As Ortiz put it: ‘cada inmigrante [es] como un desarraigado de su tierra nativa en doble trance de desajuste y de reajuste, de *desculturación* o *exculturación* y de *aculturación* o *inculturación*, y al fin, de síntesis de *transculturación*’ (1978, 93). It is of note that as early as 1901 Ortiz drew attention to the potential of festivities, ceremonies and performances to illuminate the (trans)cultural history of human communities, arguing that ‘las fiestas reflejan siempre el fondo de la institución social que las motiva’ (Ortiz, 1998, 39).⁵

Following the end of the Spanish-American War, Cuba was subject to two military interventions by the United States, first from 1898 to 1902 and then from 1906 to 1909; an armed anti-racist revolt in 1912, and revolutionary processes against Gerardo Machado’s dictatorship, from 1925 to 1933.⁶ As a result, by the time of the Catalan literary prizes in Havana in 1923 and 1944, old colonial institutions had either been reformed or substituted, and processes of surrogation – understood here as substitution – permeated the young and still experimental Republic of Cuba. However, mindful of Roach’s (1996, 2) position that, ‘because collective memory works selectively, imaginatively, and often perversely, surrogation rarely if ever succeeds’, the present analysis approaches surrogation not only as substitution but also as re-enactment and rewriting.

Rafael Rojas (2008, 4–5) has stated that the cultural decline of the Republic to which Fernando Ortiz and Jorge Mañach had already alluded in the 1920s, stood in contrast to the nineteenth-century period of civilisation and solidarity when, still under colonial rule, Cubans conceived the nation.⁷ Despite their many differences, the first two Cuban constitutions of the twentieth century are arguably the documentary epitomes of partially failed processes of institutional surrogation. The Constitution of 1901 established the Republic, but also placed Cuban politics and the economy in a position of subordination to the United States through the Platt Amendment, while the Constitution of 1940 has been described as a

⁵ This text, originally published in 1908, reproduces the scientific communications about Menorcan popular festivities, delivered by Ortiz on 23 November and 7 December 1901, as compiled by Jesús Guanche (1998).

⁶ The armed revolt of the anti-racist party Partido Independiente de Color (1908) in 1912 and the subsequent massacre of its members by the professional troops of the Government provides clear evidence of the magnitude of the conflicts within Cuban society.

⁷ See Fernando Ortiz’s ‘La decadencia cubana’ (1924) and Jorge Mañach’s *La crisis de la alta cultura en Cuba* in (1925).

triumph of the political, economic and social institutional reformist revolutionary projects that arose in the 1930s (Fraginals et al. 2000).⁸

Despite the political instability of the 1910s and 1920s, the young Republic of Cuba provided a favourable framework for the development of cultural and political activism by such institutions as the Centre Català.⁹ According to Josep Conangla (1954, 107), the Cuban authorities maintained cordial relations with the Catalan associations of the time, a claim that appears to be corroborated by the intense activity of Catalan institutions and the direct collaboration of individuals from the Cuban public sphere, as reflected in *La Nova Catalunya* (1908–1959), a journal of the Catalanists of Havana.¹⁰

The 1923 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana

By 1922, the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia had lost prestige and become all but obsolete (Castellanos 1988).¹¹ Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, the journal *Vida Catalana* (1914–1926) convened a meeting of representatives from a number of Catalan organisations and publications on 17 October 1922 at the Centre Català of Havana.¹² The principal topics under discussion were Cuba's celebration of the *Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana* and the appointment of Dr Claudi Mimó as president of the *Consistori* that would designate the members of the *Jurat Qualificador*.¹³ Following the pattern established by the

⁸ The United States' armed intervention in 1898 and subsequent military occupation renewed those elements of the old colonial system of potential use to the new imperial regime. During these years, occupied Cuba ceded territory for the establishment of a foreign naval station, acquiesced to limitations of national sovereignty, and authorised future U.S. intervention. These were the conditions of independence forced on Cuba, appended directly into the Constitution of 1901, and negotiated later into the Permanent Treaty of 1903, loosely known as the Platt Amendment (Pérez 1986, xvi).

⁹ The Centre Català of Havana (1882–1965) was a cultural centre for the community of Catalan immigrants and exiles, which took on an increasingly Republican character during the twentieth century. In 1922, a group of members of this institution founded the Club Separatista No. 1, which would be the nucleus of the organisations supporting Francesc Macià's separatist party Estat Català from the Americas.

¹⁰ *La Nova Catalunya* is the main source of texts produced in the political activist framework of the separatist Catalanists of Havana; for a detailed history of the publication, see Jerez (2013; 2014).

¹¹ With the installation of Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–1930), the *Jocs Florals* were banned in Spain, and subsequently organised privately, until they were fully reintroduced as public events in Girona in 1930, shortly before the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic (Casacuberta 2012, 406). They were completely re-institutionalised during the Republican period, until 1936 with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

¹² *Vida Catalana* was a cultural journal edited by Carles Martí, Josep Fradera, Joan Parellada and Pere Boquet under the description 'Revista catalana americana' until 1920, 'Periòdic Catalanista' until 1923, and finally, 'Portaveu Nacionalista. Adherit a la Federació d'Entitats Nacionalistes Catalanes de Cuba' (Givanel 1937).

¹³ On 25 October 1922, Josep Conangla was appointed president; Pere Boquet, secretary; and Josep López-Franch, Marià Grau, and the catholic priest Josep M. Borotau, were chosen as members of the board.

literary prizes of Barcelona, the *Jocs Florals* of Havana adopted the traditional motto ‘*Patria, Fides, Amor*’ and awarded prizes with the no less traditional names of *Flor Natural*, the *Englantina d’Or i Argent*, and the *Viola d’Or i Argent*. The title of *Mestre en Gai Saber* would be bestowed upon a writer who obtained all three prizes.¹⁴

Through the involvement of the *Banda del Estado Mayor del Ejército de Cuba* in the ceremony of 6 May 1923 at the *Academia de Ciencias de Cuba*, representatives of the Cuban authorities took part in the organisation of the Catalan literary event, while prominent figures from the Cuban intellectual scene participated by awarding prizes.¹⁵ These high-profile Cuban contributions provided the literary prize with a framework of official recognition that enabled the Cuban *Jocs Florals* to secure the involvement of writers who were regular participants in the *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Catalonia, such as Carles Soldevila, Francesc Gay, Carles Rahola, and Apel·les Mestres.¹⁶

The prize-winning texts

The publication of the *Memorial dels Jocs Florals de Cuba* (1923), which includes a compilation of the winning works, provides further evidence of the intention to follow the tradition of the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia. Even though the geographical origin of most of the texts is not explicit in the *Memorial*, a biographical examination of the awardees of the *Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana* (Table 1) reveals that most of the prize-winners sent their texts from Catalonia. The titles of the works awarded make clear the ideological character of the literature conceived either in Catalonia or Cuba within the framework of the Havana *Jocs Florals*, but they also indicate widespread Republican sympathy, which would not have been the case in the *Jocs Florals* in Barcelona during the nineteenth century. The word ‘*Pàtria*’, present in the title of four of the 23 prize-winning

¹⁴ The awarding institutions were: the Centre Català; Beneficència Catalana; Escoles Pies de Cuba; *Vida Catalana*; *La Nova Catalunya*; Orfeó Català de L’Havana; Grup de Socis de l’Associació Protectora de l’Ensenyança Catalana; Centre Balear; Foment Català; Casal Nacionalista Català de Camagüey; Germanor Catalana de Camagüey; Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba; *Nació Catalana* (1921–1925); Block Catalonia de Guantanamo; Agrupació Artística de Teatre Català Boquet-Vilardebó; Casa Viera i Germà; and Casal Nacionalista de Montblanc.

¹⁵ Those involved in prizegiving included: Dr Carlos de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana; Antonio Iraizoz, under-secretary of public education; Dr Fernando Ortiz; Jaume Valls; Francesc Molla; Dr Ignasi Pla; Francesc Pausas; Roura Drandaberro; Francesc Garcia Escarré; Francesc Barsó; and Antoni Sanmiquel.

¹⁶ Carles Soldevila was awarded several prizes at the *Jocs Florals* of Girona between 1918 and 1922, and Carles Rahola was both founder and awardee of the literary prizes of Girona (Casacuberta 2010). In the same city, Francesc Gay won the XVI *Premi del Vicari Capítular* in 1914. Apel·les Mestres was proclaimed *Mestre en Gai Saber* in the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona of 1908 (Armangué 2007, 121).

works, underscores the aforementioned adoption of the motto ‘*Pàtria, Fides, Amor*’.

It is important to reflect on the shift of meaning of the word ‘*Pàtria*’ between 1859, the year the literary prize was restored in Catalonia, and 1923, the year the first *Jocs Florals* of Havana were celebrated. As Joan-Lluís Marfany (2017, 676) has noted, with the celebration of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* in 1859, the Catalan bourgeoisie embraced a provincializing form of regionalism. In spite of the heterogeneous composition of the movement, the common future that was nostalgically imagined recognised Catalan culture and institutions *within* the framework of the Spanish state. The restoration of the *Jocs Florals* was part, in other words, of a provincializing strategy by a Catalan bourgeoisie that, again according to Marfany, had constituted itself unambiguously as *Spanish* and had contributed directly to the construction of the Spanish nation. In contrast with this primarily romantic and nostalgic construction, the ‘*Pàtria*’ of the intellectuals who participated in the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1923 was, more clearly, Catalunya.

The poem ‘Els dos amors’ by Ignasi Iglesias, awarded the *Flor Natural* in Havana in 1923, discusses two types of love, and also two loved lands, Catalonia and the host territory here, Cuba of the poetic subject, who is either an émigré or an exile.¹⁷ For Iglesias, a pro-Republican dramatist and intellectual, the ‘*Pàtria*’ in the poem is Catalunya, the mother that provides him with both a sister and a lover:

Salve, gentil donzella catalana
 Que aconsoles el cor de l'emigrant!
 Si en tu em dóna la Pàtria una germana,
 l'Amor em donarà una esposa amant.

Salve, verge encisera que em guarires
 del mal de l'enyorança, com ningú!
 Quan abraçan-te sento que sospires,
 M'apar que Catalunya tinc en tu.

(Iglesias 1923, 43)

The text ‘Influència dels Orfeons Catalans existents fora de Catalunya, per a mantenir viu l'amor a la Pàtria’, by Francesc Gay, is another noteworthy example of the connotations of the word ‘*Pàtria*’ among the Republican Catalanist intellectuals who participated in

¹⁷ Ignasi Iglesias (Barcelona, 1871–1928) was one of the most important Catalan playwrights of the turn of the century.

the Havana *Jocs Florals* in 1923.¹⁸ Gay's literary essay, rife with religious undertones, tells the allegorical story of a personified *Pàtria*, who dies and comes back to life through the musical performance of the Orfeons Catalans:

Però, com el Cabdill del Poble de Deu, nostra Mare Pàtria que havia donat als seus la vida per a ésser poble lliure i gran, no va poder fruir de la possessió de la llibertat plena i civilitzada...Morí...! [...] i el miracle que encara en Miquel Angel espera inútilment, des de la tomba, es realitzà en la obra dels Mestres cantaires catalans. La Pàtria catalana, parlà i caminà en els orfeons de la nostra terra!

(Gay 1923, 170)

While an analysis of the aesthetic merits of Gay's text falls outside the objectives of this article, its thematic content and allegorical significance shed further light on the performative dimension of the *Jocs Florals*. The personification of the *Pàtria*, Catalonia, mobilises identification with both Moses and Jesus Christ. Like the prophet, Catalonia has guided a chosen people through a figurative desert of adverse conditions. At the same time, like Jesus Christ, the *pàtria* has been resurrected after death and lives on in the Catalan choirs and music chambers. These analogies, in which nationhood and divinity are tightly intertwined, can be traced back to major works of the Catalan canon, such as Jacint Verdaguer's *Canigó* (1885)¹⁹ as well as Joan Maragall's *Elogi de la Paraula* (1903), and are notably present in the opening address of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona of 1923, by its president, Josep Maria Roca.²⁰ In what follows, a comparative study of the discourses behind the concurrent celebrations of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana and Barcelona will elucidate the role of spirituality, language and nationhood in the respective celebrations of the literary prizes in Cuba and Catalonia.

Two simultaneous yet different celebrations of the Catalan language in Havana and in Barcelona

¹⁸ Francesc Gay (Calella, 1889 Tortosa, 1936) was a poet, playwright and catholic priest. According to Camilo Geis (1962, 64), in 1922 he organised the 1922 *Jocs Florals* of Cassà de la Selva, in the province of Girona.

¹⁹ 'Glòria al Senyor!, tenim ja pàtria amada; / que altívola és, que forta al despertar!, / al Pirineu mirau-la recolzada, / son front al cel, sos peus dintre la mar. / Branda amb son puny la llança poderosa; / lo que ella guanye ho guardarà la Creu; / sobre son pit té sa fillada hermosa / que ens fa alletar amb fe i amb amor seu' (Verdaguer 1980 [1885], 141).

²⁰ Josep Maria Roca i Heras (1863 1930) was a dermatologist who, among other positions, occupied the presidency of the Ateneu Barcelonés and the Unió Catalanista.

On 6 May 1923, the *Jocs Florals Catalans* took place in both Barcelona and Havana. The call for the event in Catalonia had circulated since October of the previous year and had attracted some 224 entries. From these entries, Josep Maria de Sagarra's poem 'La balada del caminant' was awarded the *Flor Natural* and Jaume Collell's poem 'Visions de catedrals,' the *Viola d'Or i Argent*, while the *Englantina d'Or* was declared void. A comparison of the aforementioned opening address by Josep Maria Roca, president of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona of 1923, and that of Josep Conangla, who acted as head of the judging panel in Cuba, sheds insight on the organisers's approaches to the celebrations, more specifically, and, by implication, to the literary prizes of Barcelona and Havana more generally.

Roca was one of the founders of the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana*, created in 1881 after the *Primer Congrés Catalanista*, and reactivated in 1915 in opposition to the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, which had approved Pompeu Fabra's *Normes ortogràfiques* (1913). The disagreements between the two institutions, studied by Jacint Corbella (2003), reveal the intensity of the debates around the Catalan language and its symbolic value in the first decade of the 20th century. Such diverse, if not indeed divergent, positions also mark the opening speeches of Josep Maria Roca and Josep Conangla. Although the written remnants of the performances in front of an audience cannot capture the complexity of a speech as a multidimensional form of communication, they nevertheless offer traces that inform the present essay's interpretation, reimagination and reconstruction of the cultural and ideological framework in which they were produced and performed.

The anti-normativist approach to language assumed by the *Jocs Florals Catalans* in general, and evidenced in Roca's speech in particular, does not reflect the dominant (normativist) position regarding the language in Catalan culture of the 1920s. As Josep Grau (2006, 202) notes, Fabra's orthographic norms, central to attempts to standardise the Catalan language, had already received widespread support, with only a small group of intellectuals remaining faithful to traditional, non-standardised (and hence highly fluctuating) orthography. Significantly, two institutions based in Barcelona opposed the *Normes ortogràfiques*: the *Jocs Florals* and the *Acadèmia de les Bones Lletres*. In both cases, Roca's influence was key: as already noted, Roca was president of the *Jocs Florals* and was also a founding member of the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana*, originally founded in 1729.²¹

²¹ According to Josep M. Figueres (1999, 344), despite the increasing interest within the Catalanist movement in carrying out a process of linguistic standardisation, the *Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana* was unsuccessful in establishing its own specific model due to insurmountable internal differences.

The opening of Roca's speech displays the troubadour style present throughout the text in a manner that echoes not only the tone but also the oral quality of the medieval poetic compositions: 'Una vegada a l'any, en plé somriure de primavera, ens acoblém els barcelonins y a redós de la venerable Trilogía, veyém descloure les flors ofrenadores de llurs nectaris al abellar plasmador del Verb de Catalunya' (Roca 1923, 19). Significantly, Roca establishes a line of continuity from the medieval conquests by the Crown of Aragon and its alliance with the county of Barcelona to the ascendancy of the Catalan bourgeoisie in modern times. His approach is consistent with the medievalist spirit of the celebrations, as well as with the attempts of a part of the Catalan intelligentsia to root the modern idea of Catalan national identity in a 'glorious' cultural, political and economic past. Since the nineteenth century, the construction of the Catalan nation has been associated with the Catalan language, which functions as its main symbol and as a link to an almost primordial origin by which a no less 'glorious' future would supposedly be guaranteed. As Roca so pointedly puts it: 'En fin, ella [la llengua] es lo bressol del nostre pervindre gloriós' (Roca 1923, 20).

Roca's first reference to the Castilian language in the speech, which recognises its beauty when read in its classical literature or when spoken by native speakers, segues into a defence of the Catalan language, which is faced with what he presents as the aggressive, ever-present strength of a *foreign* language unsuited to Catalan spirituality: 'la constant agressivitat per acció de presència i de potencia d'altre [sic] llengua, hermosa llegida en los séus clàssichs y sentida en boca dels séus naturals, però forastera a casa nostra per no adaptar-se a l'espiritualitat catalana' (Roca 1923, 21). Despite explicitly acknowledging the importance of diversity and the right of all peoples to exist and to be recognised, Roca – a medical doctor – appeals to essentialist ideas of linguistic purity through the use of clinical terms such as 'infecció' and 'sanejament', while repeatedly relating the Catalan language to divinity and while considering the 'ultratges' against it to be a 'peccat venial' (Roca 1923, 22). Even though the president of the *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona issues a timely wake-up call about the historically unfavourable circumstances of the Catalan language within the framework of the Spanish state, his ethno-symbolic perception of the language as a predetermined attribute of Catalan people is reductive, even simplistic, inasmuch as it ignores multiple, and shifting, cultural, social, political and economic dimensions. Nevertheless, both the radicalism and conservatism of Roca's speech can be understood as a visceral 'distress call' from the periphery of Catalanism, in Cuba.

Roca recalls a conversation with John Redmond in 1913, in which the Irish politician expressed his wish that the Irish people

would use ‘l’arma invencible del idioma’ as actively as the Catalans (Redmond in Roca 1923, 24). Roca, for his part, is critical of those Catalans who do not support the language and praises its defenders. For Roca, Catalan, like all living languages, must look to its past to remain stable, to avoid isolation and to cope effectively with external influences. Roca’s speech is peppered with clinical terms like ‘higiene’, which convey a sense of linguistic cleanliness that is especially important, it appears, for a language, like Catalan, that has not achieved its full potential and that has remained curled up, ‘arraulida’, among farmers, fishermen and small traders, to whom it nonetheless owes its conservation (Roca 1923, 28). Indeed, all Catalans, he argues, should collaborate in the ‘bergada sanitaria’ and ‘purificació’ promoted by Barcelona’s *Jocs Florals* of Barcelona (Roca 1923, 31; 33). His subsequent call to spare no effort to preserve the Catalan language is rounded by the medieval verse: ‘Deu li don gloria, pus parla en català’ (Roca 1923, 34), which places language, nation, and religious faith at the heart of the cultural project of the 1923 celebration in Barcelona.

In contrast, Josep Conangla, in a speech delivered the same day in Havana, praises diversity, in relationship with divinity, over purity: ‘La varietat de llengües, com la varietat en els fruits i en tots els ordres de la naturalesa, respon a lleis immutables de la sabiduria creadora’ (1986, 110). As a member of both Cuban institutions and an established Catalan intellectual community, Conangla articulates a viewpoint that is perhaps best understood in the light of his Catalanist activism in Cuba. While Roca implicitly lays claim to a peripheral positioning in opposition to Spanish nationalism as well as to hegemonic and increasingly normativist forms of Catalanism in Catalonia, Conangla carries out his Catalanist activism, most notably through his involvement in the organisation of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana, in a context of relative normality for diasporic cultural expressions in Cuba. In other words, in 1920s Cuba, both the exogenous character of a multiplicity of cultures that were shaping the young Republic and the relatively privileged position of white Catalan intellectuals in Cuban society provided a framework favourable to Catalan cultural expression.

Like Roca, Conangla locates the origins of language in God’s will, but unlike him, praises the importance of difference and mixture to beauty, harmony and equilibrium. Conangla, while highlighting Iberian, Gallic, and Visigothic influences in the formation of the Catalan language, contends that Catalan is more a sister of Latin and Greek than a derivative (Conangla 1986, 114). Regardless of the questionable authenticity of the classical references that Conangla adduces to support his claim, he aims, in his speech, to root the Catalan language in a distant past within the territories of the Catalan

Countries. Conangla makes clear that his struggle is not against Castilian, but against its absolutist imposition in Catalonia. Conangla points to the contradiction of federal Republican politicians who question the legality of the Catalan language within Catalonia as the main cause of the radicalisation of a significant sector of Catalanism (Conangla 1986, 120). Where Conangla most differs from Roca is in the fact that the Catalan-Cuban leader speaks from a position which, although to a certain extent institutionally peripheral, was hegemonic within the Catalanist intellectual community of Cuba, at least until mass exile from Spain in 1939 brought a wider array of Republican viewpoints to the island. Moreover, unlike its Barcelona counterpart, the 1923 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana took place within a context that embraced the cultural and political activism developed out of the *Centre Català*.

The 1944 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana

In contrast with the Catalan-Cuban literary prize and ceremony of 1923, the *Jocs Florals* of Havana of 1944 were celebrated in the context of World War II and the aforementioned diaspora of Republican exiles in the wake of the Spanish Civil War. Far from being an isolated event, the 1944 *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana were one of 37 celebrated outside Catalonia during this period (1941–1947).²² The organisation of these events in exile was linked to the activity of the *Patronats dels Jocs Florals Catalans* of Argentina and Mexico and the *Consell de la Col·lectivitat Catalana* in Argentina. As in the case of Havana's 1923 celebration, the 1944 *Jocs Florals* continued the Barcelona model naming winners for all three of the aforementioned prizes – the *Flor Natural*, the *Englantina d'Or i Argent* and the *Viola d'Or i Argent* – as well as for the title of *Mestre en Gai Saber*. The organising committee were mostly associated with either the *Centre Català* or *La Nova Catalunya*.²³ Indeed, on the front page of its August 1943 issue, *La Nova Catalunya* announced the celebration of the *Jocs* in Havana for the following year and, in the accompanying text, called for all Catalans, irrespective of their ideology, to collaborate, enthusiastically, to ensure that the event ‘tingui l'esplendor i la solemnitat que es mereix’ (*La Nova Catalunya*, 1943, August, 1).

The prize-winning texts

²² Of these literary prizes held between 1941 and 1947, 19 took place in the Americas, and 18 in Europe (Faulí, 2002).

²³ Members included: Ramir Tomàs as president; Josep Maria Labraña as secretary; Josep Conangla as the president of the *Consistori* and several *mantenedors*, among whom were Josep Murillo, Carles Gubern, and Josep Pineda.

The *Jocs Florals* of Havana of 1944 awarded three ordinary prizes, five second prizes, and 21 extraordinary prizes. For Faulí (2002), it is precisely the disproportionate increase in extraordinary awards that sets the *Jocs Florals* in exile apart and that points to the success of the Games, which had the support of groups and individuals from outside the Catalan territories. Individual and institutional support, evinced by the high number of extraordinary prizes (Table 2), made it possible to offer cash prizes to exiled intellectuals and thus to support them as they adjusted to new life circumstances and working conditions. Literary critic Maria Campillo (2005) has examined the impact of the ‘double exile’ of Catalan intellectuals on literary production during and after the Spanish Civil War. According to Campillo, one of the consequences of the situation after 1939 was that exiled writers contributed to archetypal classical and Biblical configurations of a landless, scattered people without the possibility of returning to a place and a time considered to be irretrievably lost. She insists that, under these circumstances, the *pàtria* could not remain a fixed image, but was instead ‘un “projecte en construcció” avortal’ (Campillo 2005, 18). As we shall see, the effective deterritorialization and the dislocation of Catalan culture and the accompanying need to reconfigure paradigms, bestow renewed symbolic value onto the *Jocs Florals*, even as they made them more open to diverse cultural mediations.

The most significant example of the new adaptive flexibility of this traditional literary celebration is the award, in Havana, of the extraordinary prize of the *Agrupació Patriòtica* of Chile to Josep Ferrater Mora’s *Diccionario de filosofía* de (1941), which would become the most important philosophical dictionary of the period in the Spanish language.²⁴ Disagreements between the *Consistori* and the *Agrupació Patriòtica* issued in the awarding of two additional prizes for August Pi i Sunyer’s *Los fundamentos de la biología* and Manuel Serra i Morel’s *Los fundamentos de la historia y la filosofía* (Faulí 2002, 50). The *Consistori*’s reluctance to award an extraordinary prize to the *Diccionario filosófico* does not seem to have been motivated by the lack of a *direct* connection with Catalonia, even though many of the prize-winning works were indeed related to Catalan subjects and/or written in the language. Indeed, the creation of these two extraordinary prizes that recognised works written in Castilian suggests that the *Consistori* opted to widen the linguistic framework of the literary prize after the initial disagreement regarding Ferrater Mora’s *Diccionario filosófico*. Anti-communist sentiments among the nucleus of the *Centre Català* of Havana and *La Nova Catalunya*, might

²⁴ According to Casilda Güell (2006, 98), the purpose of the Catalanist *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana* was to provide unity to the Catalan collective through the *Consell Nacional de Catalunya* in London.

also help to explain the unwillingness of the *Consistori* and the *Jurat Qualificador* to award a prize to a dictionary that included Marxist philosophers, though, in truth, there is no evidence, either way, to determine the real motivations behind this decision.²⁵ That said, Carmen Norambuena (2016, 151) highlights Ferrater Mora's collaborations with María Zambrano and the publishing house Cruz del Sur as well as his relations with Catalan, Spanish and Chilean intellectuals, many of whom were members of the *Centre Català*, the *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana* and the *Centro Republicano de Santiago*. Even though more comprehensive research remains pending, the available information, together with the fact of the publication of his influential essay *Les formes de la vida catalana* (1944) by the *Agrupación Patriótica Catalana*, make it possible to affirm that Ferrater Mora was in direct contact with the Catalans of Chile. In spite of the aforementioned disagreements, the selection of the *Diccionario de filosofía* in the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1944 illustrates the receptiveness of this traditional and generally conservative literary prize to diverse linguistic, cultural and ideological endeavours in the new context of exile.

Many of the Cuban intellectuals who had gone into exile either during the *Machadato* (1925–1933) or the years of political instability after Fulgencio Batista's *coup d'état* (1933), began to return to Cuba during the second half of the 1930s. The *Universidad de La Habana* was reopened in 1937 and the Communist Party legalised in 1938. The new progressive Constitution of 1940, along with a pervasive sense of calm and stability, was also reflected in Cuban culture; in fact, some of the most significant Cuban contributions to the narrative, poetry, theatre and essay of the Americas were written during these years.²⁶ Jorge Domingo Cuadriello (2009) offers an interesting account of the impact of the cultural production of refugees and exiles on Cuban society. Cuadriello's inventory of exilic work considers not only poetry, narrative, philosophy and testimony, but also contributions to pedagogy, science, media and translation. Given the wide scope of the inventory, the absence of the prize-winning texts of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana of 1944, with the sole exception of Ferrater Mora's *Diccionario filosófico*, suggests that the prize-winning texts had little resonance in Cuba as a whole. Nevertheless, the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of America—including those celebrated in Cuba—were culturally significant for the Catalan communities across the Americas.

²⁵ The exiled philosopher Josep Ferrater Mora fled to France and later Cuba before arriving in Chile, where he remained from 1941 to 1947.

²⁶ Major works of the time include: *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Fernando Ortiz 1940); *Cuentos negros de Cuba* (Lydia Cabrera 1940); *Enemigo rumor* (José Lezama Lima 1941); *Sóngoro Cosongo y otros poemas* (Nicolás Guillén 1942); *El reino de este mundo* (Alejo Carpentier 1944); *Influencia de la mujer en Iberoamérica* (Mirta Aguirre 1948); and *Electra Garrigó* (Virgilio Piñera 1948).

Despite the generally positive response to the *Jocs Florals* by Catalan exiles in the Americas, the more conservative institutional dimensions of the *Jocs* met with some opposition. For Lluís Ferran de Pol (1945, 6-7), the event represented ‘un Parnàs fantasmagòric de floralistes de les Amèriques una nova espècie’, on només pot entrar qui tingui una de les seves patents de valor, geni, papa, promesa, autoritat, príncep, rei, profeta, flor (natural o artificial)’. Jordi Castellanos (1988) points to a similar elevation of the institutional, ideological and symbolic character of what was formerly an almost exclusively literary event. It might be argued that Ferran de Pol and Castellanos indicate that the organisers of the *Jocs Florals* in the Americas provided the events with a strong institutional character at the expense of their erstwhile aesthetic value, though such a conclusion, risks ignoring or underestimating the quality of prize-winning texts throughout the history of the *Jocs Florals Catalans*.

The interplay of literary genres in Avel·lí Artís Gener’s *556, Brigada Mixta*, which received the *Copa Artística* prize in Havana in 1944, attests to the aesthetic, even experimental, value of a number of the works submitted to the *Jocs Florals*.²⁷ The previous sections of this article underscore the importance of approaching these texts from a sociological perspective, which, while not ignoring the relevance of their aesthetic appeal, focuses on their significance as cultural and historical documents. Whatever the case, these *Jocs Florals*, celebrated outside of Catalonia, provided Catalan exiles with a space in which to present their work and perhaps indeed to profit in a context otherwise marked by important socio-economic limitations. Moreover, Annà Murià (2004, 142) notes that, although uninspired by the medieval reminiscences that were once at the heart of the *Jocs Florals* in Catalonia, the influential poet Agustí Bartra participated in all the literary prize’s iterations during his first years in exile because; accordingly, even though the event kept its formal characteristics, it gained new meanings in the context of exile.

As Bartra’s case illustrates, adversity provided the *Jocs Florals* with new symbolic value, the context of exile effectively transforming them into a space in and from which participants could imagine a homeland community, as Benedict Anderson (1983) might have put it, as well as in the more (inter)personal dimensions of homelessness explored by Theodor Adorno in *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a*

²⁷ Better known for his pre-war satirical journalism, according to McGlade (2020, 199) Avel·lí Artís Gener (Tísner) (1912-2000) underwent a ‘literary coming-of-age’ during his 26 years in exile in Mexico, which led him to produce what Buffery and Marcer (2011, 53) consider to be ‘some of the most experimental fiction to be written in Catalan in the post-war period’.

Damaged Life (1978).²⁸ In the *Jocs Florals* of Mexico in 1942, for example, the organisers, in particular famed poet Josep Carner, did their best to ensure that those Catalan writers living in Mexico who had entered the competition were awarded a prize (Murià 2004, 23). Thus, despite its renewed symbolic value and the efforts to provide economic assistance to political refugees, the *Jocs Florals* in the Americas also aimed to guarantee the survival of Catalan culture through activism and associationism within its new context, just as the previous events had done in Catalonia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A tropical-troubadoursque ceremony

The anachronistic stylings of the *Jocs Florals*, as highlighted by Murià (2004, 142), were on display in the ceremony that accompanied them in Havana's *Teatro Auditorio* on 7 May 1944.²⁹ Many aspects of the event, from the scenography to the performances, evoke a new and interesting amalgamation that is at once neoclassical, tropical and troubadoursque, Cuban and Catalan. Indeed, in its detailed description of the events, which included a performance of the Cuban national anthem by the Banda Municipal de La Habana, the editorial team of *La Nova Catalunya* noted that, 'al centre, en artístic marc, les Quatre Barres donen aire de catalanitat a la festa' (1944 May-June, 4). As the references to the centrality of the Catalan flag and the accompanying air of *catalanitat* make clear, the ceremony was rife with symbolic exchanges between members of Cuban-Catalan cultural society. On this score, the presentation of the *Flor Natural* prize is notable. Awarded to Jaume Terrades, who resided in Mexico, and collected, on his behalf, by Josep Aixalà i Roig, the award ceremony led to an emblematic embrace between Conangla, by then an iconic figure of the *Centre Català*, and Aixalà, son of a founding father of the *Beneficència Catalana*, Josep Aixalà i Casellas, who had died that same year. The embrace represented the symbolic coming-together of a longstanding, politically charged disagreement over the question of language, in which members of *Centre Català* and the editorial team of *La Nova Catalunya* had openly criticised the *Beneficència* under the direction of Aixalà Senior in a tellingly titled document 'Vergonya,' for 'shamefully' producing its annual reports in Castilian rather than in Catalan (Murillo et al. 1916).³⁰

²⁸ According to Adorno, 'For a man who no longer has a homeland, writing becomes a place to live. In it he inevitably produces, as his family once did, refuse and lumber. But now he lacks a store-room, and it is hard in any case to part from left-overs' (1978, 87).

²⁹ In accordance with tradition, this took place on the first Sunday of the month.

³⁰ 'Qui fou, si no nosaltres que'n 1911 recordarem al aleshores president de la Beneficència, Sr. Aixalà, el deurer que tenia de fer la memòria en català?' (*La Nova Catalunya* February 1916, 22). The *Beneficència* subsequently switched the language of its reports to Catalan from 1914.

Notwithstanding the undeniable connections between the two main Catalan institutions in Havana, the relations between them had hardly been free from tensions. The *Societat de Beneficència Catalana* strove to emphasise its apolitical nature, while the *Centre Català* was eminently political. The embrace of Conangla and the young Josep Aixalà Roig under the auspices of the 1944 *Jocs Florals* can thus be read as not merely an homage to the deceased Josep Aixalà Casellas but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a means of collective catharsis for a diaspora that had been riven by political debates in which language played a key ideological role:

L'emoció és forta. Sembla com si anys i anys s'hagués estat esperant aquesta unió dels senyors Conangla i Aixalà, que ara la gran llaçada de les Quatre Barres que penja de la Flor Natural fa estreta i irrompible. Amb quant de goig aplaudeix la comunitat catalana aquesta abraçada!

(*La Nova Catalunya* 1944, May June, 5)

This significant moment was followed by another that, though traditional, was no less symbolically charged: the arrival on stage of the Queen of the Festivities, Rosa Clavería de Blanco Herrera. Clavería had been a well-known opera and *zarzuela* singer during the 1920s and the 1930s in Havana.³¹ In a chronicle of a New Years' Eve celebration in the Casino de La Habana, published by the Spanish newspaper *ABC*, Adelardo Fernández Arias described Clavería as a mermaid with an enchanting voice and emphasised her Spanish origin, repeating the adjective “español(a)” five times:

Una mujer española, con acento bien español, entona una melodía cubana, de dulzura inefable. Todos la miran; se suspende unos instantes el baile [...] Es una española; una española de alma; un tipo de mujer que parece haberse escapado de un cuadro de Romero de Torres [...] Es Rosa Clavería la mujer que en La Habana despierta más admiración entre los hombres y las mujeres.

(Fernández Arias 1932, 7)

Clavería's husband, Julio Blanco Herrera, was one of the most influential businessmen of the haute bourgeoisie of Havana. Herrera owned the brewery, *La Tropical*, in Havana, and his father, Cosme

³¹ According to the caption on a postcard housed in the Fundación Juan March, Rosita Clavería had been the main figure of almost all the representations of the zarzuela ‘La canción del olvido’ by José Serrano, Guillermo Fernández Shaw, and Federico Romero in 1916.

Blanco Herrera, had financed the construction of the *Jardines Modernistas de La Tropical* (1904) in the vicinity of the factory in 1904, a space in which many of the social activities of the Catalan community would be held, including the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of 1944 in which Rosa Clavería de Blanco Herrera was ‘crowned’:

L'ovació que promou la figura esvelta, radiant de bellesa i majestat, és frenètica, delirant, augusta i serena, missenyora la Reina de la Festa, la nostra Ben Plantada, genuïna representació de la dona catalana, marxa a passes lentes, camí del setial des d'on presidirà les Belles Lletres [...] Un gràcil moviment de la Reina convida a tothom a asseure's.

(*La Nova Catalunya*, 1944 May June, 5 6)

As the reference to Eugeni d'Ors's “Ben Plantada” (1912) implies, Rosa Clavería is not only well-rooted in Catalan culture and tradition but is also the bearer of external, energising influences both from Cuba and, as Fernández Arias insists, from Spain. The absence of any mention in the consulted texts of Rosa Clavería's birthplace suggests, however, that her genealogy – unlike that of the ‘Ben Plantada’ – was of little importance. Even though Teresa, his Ben Plantada, was born in Paraguay, she is presented as a symbol of the Catalan ‘race’. Likewise, for *La Nova Catalunya* Clavería is a “genuine representation of the Catalan woman.”

Meanwhile, on the covers of the journal *Ressorgiment*, from January to December 1944, the graphic artist Andreu Damesón portrays the Queen of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* of Havana (Figure 1).³² She appears as an ethereal figure holding a star, a recurrent symbol in the national imaginaries of the Americas and a constitutive element of the Catalan separatist flag, the *estelada*.³³ Nonetheless, the flag represented by Damesón is the *senyera*, the four bars of which are being drawn by a yoke of oxen guided by a farmer. A caravel at the bottom of the image connects the Queen to the ‘discovery’ and hence to the origin of the ‘relations’ between Spain and the Americas. Damesón depicts Clavería as a fairy-like mythic figure who unites Catalonia, the Americas, and Spain. Whereas the Catalans of the

³² Andreu Damesón i Aspa (1897–1968) was a prominent cartoonist of the Catalan cultural left who fled to Argentina in 1939, never to return to Catalonia. In exile, he became involved in the Centre Català, contributing to Catalan journals including *Ressorgiment* and *Catalunya* and took a leading role in the *Jocs Florals* of the Americas (Humoristán 2020).

³³ The *estelada*, which appeared in *La Nova Catalunya* for the first time in December 1921 and was described as ‘ensenya del Centre Català’ in December 1921, was associated to the activism of the Catalans of Santiago de Cuba as early as 1903. Joan Creixell (1984) has studied the origins of this symbol linked to the political activity of the Catalans of Cuba from the beginning of the twentieth century.

Centre Català of Havana emphasise the *catalanitat* of their Queen, following the *Noucentista* lineage drawn by Eugeni d'Ors, the Catalan intellectuals behind *Ressorgiment*, in Buenos Aires, offer a more complex image of the Catalan-Cuban-Spanish-Latin-American woman, in relation to her multiple identities, nationalities and affiliations.



Figure 1 Rosa Clavería. Illustration: A. Damesón (*Ressorgiment*, 1944, June, front page)

Although he repeatedly identifies Clavería as Spanish, Fernández Arias appropriates her as a signifier of the opulence of Havana while downplaying the inequality, repression and profound contradictions that characterised Cuban society during Machado's dictatorship and eventually led to the Cuban Revolution of 1933:

¿En Cuba crisis...? ¿Miseria...? ¡Oh...! ¡El Casino de La Habana, la noche de San Silvestre...! Los barcos en la bahía, esperando su cargamento de millonarios...! ¡Las mujeres...! ¡Las joyas...! ¡Rosita Clavería...!

(Fernández Arias, 1932, 7)

The appropriation of Rosa Clavería as a Spanish, Catalan, Latin-American and Cuban symbol by diverse groups, exemplifies the relatively fluid nature of identities and their transculturation. The significance of Clavería as symbol shifts depending on the context, the receptors and the creators of the nationally charged signs of identity. Clavería's symbolic versatility meant that she was seen as performing diverse roles in the different processes of surrogation that marked the experimental realities of the circum-Atlantic world and the cultural exchanges that shaped and continue to shape its cultures. Her popularity with diverse groups stemmed not only from her celebrated acting skills, but also from her own ability to move between cultures and social classes. From another, arguably more critical perspective, Clavería's malleability as a cultural signifier responded to the demands of a public sphere in which women were required to play different roles and to be ready to adapt in order to occupy the limited positions available to them. The ceremony described here, its major characters and its textual and graphic echoes, exemplifies the significance of performance in the processes of cultural transportation, surrogation, recreation and reinvention, as discussed by Roach, while the tropical-troubadoursque staging of the longings and achievements of the Catalan diaspora exemplifies the importance of theatrical and other representations in the transmission and exhibition of the variegated processes of transculturation.

Conclusions

The *Jocs Florals* celebrated in Cuba in 1923 and 1944 took place in a society shaped by processes of surrogation, memory and imagination that were part of wider processes in which members of the Catalan diaspora recreated or attempted to recreate an overseas Catalonia and in which the complex experience of exile spurred temporal and spatial 'substitutions' for the *Jocs Florals* of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which were, in turn, a restorative 'substitution' of the medieval literary ceremonies. As this article has indicated, the Cuban iterations of the *Jocs Florals* support Domingo's (2013, 73) claim that the games remained strong as a civic platform and instrument of propaganda.

By 1923, the *Jocs Florals* of the Catalan Countries, particularly in Barcelona, had entered a period of decline. However, the contingencies of exile helped them to regain and in some ways to transcend the symbolic value that they held during the late nineteenth century, effectively reviving the transnational and multilingual interactions in medieval times that occurred across a 'pre-national' Europe. The context of exile propitiated, indeed

demanded, that celebrations of Catalan culture and the Catalan language take place outside the institutionally monolingual framework of the Spanish state. Without neglecting diverse forms of trauma associated with dictatorship, exile and the suppression of non-hegemonic cultures during Francoism, it is important to highlight the contributions that the increasingly wide, if fraught, spatial, linguistic and cultural framework of the *Jocs Florals Catalans* during the period of the Republican exile after the Spanish Civil War has made to the Catalan cultural legacy. This forced expansion pushed them towards transnationalism and multilingualism. More specifically, the challenging circumstances of migration and exile entailed changes in the enunciatory positions and indeed the identities of those involved in the transportation, surrogation and invention of Catalan culture overseas. Language, writing, creation, and performance were at the core of this dynamic process of reimagining, re-staging and rehearsal, trial and error, loss and gain: in a word, of transculturation.

Works Cited

- Adorno, Theodor. 1978. *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Armangué, Joan. 2007. *L'obra primerenca d'Apel·les Mestres (1872–1886): Del romanticisme al naturalisme*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Balcells, Josep Maria. 1988. *Revistes dels Catalans a les Amèriques. Repertori de 230 publicacions des de 1831*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Barthes, Roland. 1986. *Elements of Semiology*. Translated by Annette Lathers and Colin Smith. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Bertran Ollé, Antoni. 1978. *Poemes d'amor, de pàtria i de rebel·lió*. Barcelona: Editorial Pòrtic.
- Buffery, Helena and Elisender Marcer. 2011. *Historical Dictionary of the Catalans*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.
- Cambouliu, François Romain. 1858. *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature catalane*. Paris: Durand.
- Campillo, Maria. 2005. "Els escriptors catalans exiliats i 'l'Amèrica furient'." In *Narrativa catalana de l'exili*, edited by J. Guillamon, 17–29. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg/ Cercle de Lectors.
- Casacuberta, Margarida and Lluís Rius. 1988. *Els Jocs Florals d'Olot (1890–1921)*. Olot. Editora de Batet.
- Casacuberta, Margarida. 2010. *Els Jocs Florals de Girona (1902–1935)*. Girona: CCG.
- Casacuberta, Margarida. 2012. "Els Certàmens floralescos en el procés de construcció de la cultura del catalanisme: Els casos de Girona, d'Olot i de l'Empordà." In *Joc literari i estratègies de representació: 150 anys dels*

- Jocs Florals de Barcelona*, edited by Josep M. Domingo, 403–435. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Castellanos, Jordi. 1988. "Pròleg." In *Els Jocs Florals d'Olot (1890–1921)*, edited by Margarida Casacuberta and Lluís Rius, 11–13. Olot: Editora de Batet.
- Conangla i Fontanilles, Josep. 1986. "L'idioma català. Davant de la ciència, de la història i de la lliure determinació dels pobles (1923)." In *La Constitució catalana de l'Havana i altres escrits*, edited by Joaquim Roy, 110–122. Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana.
- Conangla i Fontanilles, José. 1954. *Martí y Cataluña. Examen retrospectivo de unos conceptos inverisímiles [sic] atribuidos al gran Apóstol cubano*. La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento a Martí.
- Corbella, Jacint. 2003. "Alguns aspectes de l'obra històrica del doctor Josep Maria Roca i Heras (1863–1930): Les notes medicals històriques." *Gimbernat: Revista Catalana d'Història de la Medicina i de la Ciència*, 40, 141–51.
- Creixell, Joan. 1984. *Origen de la bandera independentista*. Barcelona: El Llamp.
- Domingo, Josep M. 2013. "The *Jocs Florals* in Contemporary Catalan Literature." *Catalan Historical Review*, 6: 73–83.
- Espadaler, Anton M. 2015. "Petrarca en la lírica catalana medieval." *Quaderns d'Italìa*, 20: 89–109.
- Faulí, Josep. 2002. *Els Jocs Florals de la llengua catalana a l'exili (1941–1977)*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Fernández Arias, Adelardo. 1932. "ABC a través del mundo. La noche de San Silvestre, en el casino de La Habana." *ABC*, February 2, 6–7. Retrieved January 31, 2018. <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1932/02/10/006.html>
- Ferrater Mora, Josep. 1944. *Diccionario de filosofía*. Mexico: Atlante.
- Figueres, Josep M. 1999. *El primer diari en llengua catalana: Diari Català (1879–1881)*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Gay, Francesc. 1923. "Influència dels Orfeons Catalans existents fora de Catalunya, per a mantenir viu l'amor a la Pàtria." In *Memorial dels Jocs Florals de Cuba: Celebrats en l'Acadèmia de Ciències de L'Havana el dia 6 de maig de 1923, any de la seva instauració*. Havana: Imprempta de l'Editorial Catalana de L'Havana.
- Geis, Camilo. 1962. "Lo que encontré en el camino." *Revista de Girona*, 18: 64–66.
- Givanel, Joan. 1937. *Bibliografia catalana: premsa*. Barcelona: Institució Patxot.
- Grau, Josep. 2006. *La Lliga Regionalista i la llengua catalana, 1901–1924*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Humoristan (2020). "Dameson". *Fundación Gin*. <http://humoristan.org/es/autores/dameson/> (accessed August 2021)
- Iglesias, Ignasi. 1923. "Els dos amors." In *Memorial dels Jocs Florals de Cuba: Celebrats en l'Acadèmia de Ciències de L'Havana el dia 6 de maig de 1923, any de la seva instauració*. Havana: Imprempta de l'Editorial Catalana de L'Havana.
- Manent, Albert. 1989. *La literatura catalana a l'exili*. Barcelona: Curial.
- Mañach, Jorge. 2017. *La crisis de la alta cultura en Cuba*. Barcelona: Red Ediciones.
- Maragall, Joan. 1990. *Elogi de la paraula*. (1903). Barcelona: Edicions 62.

- Marfany, Joan-Lluís. 2017. *Nacionalisme espanyol i catalanitat: Cap a una revisió de la Renaixença*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- McGlade, Rhiannon. 2020. "Laughing on the Other Side: Humour in the Exile Narrative of Avel·lí Artís Gener, *Tísner*." In *Catalan Narrative 1875-2015*, edited by Jordi Larios and Montserrat Lunati, 199-215. Cambridge: Legenda.
- Memorial dels Jocs Florals de Cuba: Celebrats en l'Acadèmia de Ciències de L'Havana el dia 6 de maig de 1923, any de la seva instauració (1923)*. Havana: Editorial Catalana de L'Havana.
- Montoliu, Manuel de. 1962. *La Renaixença i els Jocs Florals: Verdaguer*. Barcelona: Alpha.
- Moreno Fragnals, Manuel, et al. 2000. *Cien años de historia de Cuba (1898-1998)*. Madrid: Verbum.
- Murià, Anna. 2004. *Crònica de la vida d'Agustí Bartra*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Murillo, Josep, et al. 1916. "Vergonya." *La Nova Catalunya*, 177, 34-35.
- Norambuena, Carmen. 2016. "El exilio republicano español en Chile (1936-1945)." In *Emigración y relaciones bilaterales España-Chile (1810-2015)*, edited by José Manuel Azcona Pastor, 131-154. Madrid: Dykinson.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 1973. "La decadencia cubana." (1924). In *Órbita de Fernando Ortiz*, edited by J. Le Riverend, 71. Havana: UNEAC.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 1978. *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*. (1940). Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 1998. "Para la agonografía española. Estudio monográfico de las fiestas menorquinas." (1908). In *Fernando Ortiz y España, a cien años de 1898*, edited by J. Guanche, pp. 17-44. Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz.
- Pérez, Louis A. 1986. *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh UP.
- Roach, Josep. 1996. *Cities of the Dead. Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia UP.
- Roca, Josep M. 1923. "Discurs presidencial." In *Jocs Florals de Barcelona (1923)*, 19-34. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Rojas, Fernando. 2008. *Essays in Cuban Intellectual History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roy, Joaquim. 1986. *Josep Conangla i Fontanilles: La Constitució de L'Havana i altres escrits*. Barcelona: La Magrana.
- Serrano, José (Composer); Fernández-Shaw, Guillermo (Librettist) and Romero, Federico (Librettist). 1920. *La canción del olvido. Colección la novela teatral (1916)*. Madrid: Editorial Prensa popular.
- Sobrer, Josep Miquel. 2008. "Medievalist Survivals in Modern Catalan Literature." *Comparative Literature*, 60, no. 1: 96-106.
- Soldevila, Ferran. 1962. *Història de Catalunya*. Vol 3. Barcelona: Editorial Alpha.
- Sunyer, Magí. 2008. "Medieval Heritage in the Beginnings of Modern Catalan Literature, 1780-1841." *European Studies*, 26: 169-183.
- Surroca, Robert. 2004. *Prensa catalana de l'exili i l'emigració (1861-1976)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Williams, Raymond. 2006. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory." (1973) In *Media and Cultural Studies Keywords*, Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, 130-43. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Appendices

Table 1. Awardees of the Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana in 1923

Ordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
<i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Els dos amors	Ignasi Iglesias
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Aplec	Maria Domenec i Ballester
<i>Englantina d'Or i Argent</i>	poetry	Resurrecció	Antoni Ollé Bertran
Second Prize <i>Englantina</i>	poetry	Albirant la Redempció	Jaume Rusquellas Alessan
<i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Les Noces d'Or del vell abat	Antoni Balasch i Turrell
Second Prize <i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Rims de Setmana Santa	T. Catusus
Extraordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
Consistori		Matinal	Trini M. Torrebaja Casanova
Centre Català of Havana	chronicle	Glosses Empordaneses	Carles Rahola Llorens
Beneficència Catalana		Caritat i obres de misericòrdia	Trini M. Torrebaja Casanova
Foment Català	poetry	A la natura catalana	Manel Marinell-lo Samunta
Escoles Pies of Cuba	essay	Influència de la clerecia en el ressorgiment de Catalunya	Mossèn Julià Centellas, Escolapi (Sarrià)
<i>Vida Catalana</i>	poetry	Ésser voldria	Segimond Torrebaddella
<i>La Nova Catalunya</i>	essay	Estudi per a demostrar que l'interès econòmic de Catalunya no obliga a la nostra Pàtria a viure sotmesa al règim que, inaugurat per Felip V, subsisteix encara	Enric Marimon Belda
Orfeó Català of Havana	essay	Influència dels Orfeons Catalans existents fora de Catalunya per a mantenir viu l'amor a la Pàtria	Mossèn Francesc Gay (Cassà de la Selva)
Associació Protectora de l'Ensenyança	essay	Influència de l'ensenyança	Mossèn Joan Perello, Escolapi (Cárdenas)

Catalana of Havana		catalana a l'avenir de la Pàtria	
Centre Balear	chronicle	El Campanar de la Seu de Palma	Mossèn Salvador Galmés i Sancho
Carles de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana	poetry	L'estel	Lluís Via
Carles de la Torre, president of the Universidad de La Habana	poetry	La cançó del mariner	Jaume Martí Marull
Casal Nacionalista of Camagüey	poetry	Cant als germans llunyans	Ambrosi Carrion
Germanor Catalana de Camagüey	short story	Fàbrica de nines de pasta	Carles Soldevila
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba	poetry	Himne Català	Apel·les Mestres
<i>Nació Catalana</i> de Santiago de Cuba	poetry	A la Pàtria	Fermí Palau Casellas
Blok Catalònia de Guantànamo	poetry	Al·legories	Trini M. Torrebaja

Table 2. Awardees of the Jocs Florals Catalans of Havana in 1944

Ordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
<i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	<i>El llibre d'Empòrion</i>	Jaume Terrades
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Cançó de l'amor que passa	Josep M. Poblet
Second Prize <i>Flor Natural</i>	poetry	Càntic fidel	Agustí Bartra
<i>Englantina d'Or i Argent</i>	poetry	Enòs	Josep Carner
Second Prize <i>Englantina</i>	poetry	Romanç de Festa Major	Domènec Perramon
<i>Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Bondat eterna del Nadal	Domènec Perramon
<i>Second Prize Viola d'Or</i>	poetry	Isòvol	Jaume Terrades
Extraordinary Prizes			
Prize	Genre	Title	Author
Copa Artística	Novel/autobiography/chronicle	<i>556, Brigada Mixta</i>	Avel·lí Artís Gener (Tísner)
Concepció Rabell	essay	Geografia espiritual de Catalunya	Artur Bladé

Beneficència Catalana de L'Havana	unknown	Tots per un, un per tots	Josep M. Labraña
Branca de Llorer	essay	Trajectòria de l'obra benèfica dels catalans a Cuba	Montserrat Vallvey
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba			Trinitat M. Torrebaja
Grup Nacionalista Radical Catalunya de Santiago de Cuba			Laura Claramunt
Josep Gelabert de Nova York			Emili Sánchez Martí
Josep Gelabert de Nova York			Pere Matalonga
Josep Fontanals			J. Carner Ribalta
Penya dels catalans del cafè El Dorado			J. Roure-Torrent
Agrupació Patriòtica de Xile	dictionary	<i>Diccionario de filosofía</i>	Josep Ferrater i Mora
Centre Català			J. Carner Ribalta
<i>La Nova Catalunya</i>			Joan Carreras i Palet
Maria Llorc de Graells			Domènec Guansé
Extraordinaris del Consistori	essay essay	<i>Los fundamentos de la biología</i> <i>Los fundamentos de la historia y de la filosofía</i>	Pere Mas i Perera Josep Ribas i Mulet Vincenç Bernades Alberto Martín Josep. M. Labraña August Pi i Sunyer Manuel Serra i Moret

Multilingual Mirth on the Iberian Page

RHIANNON MCGLADE

University of Cambridge

Abstract

With a focus on two works by writers from Catalonia, the present article considers the intersections of humour, language and identity in fictional narrative as a response to the deeply embedded cultural politics of Spain's multilingual context. Written in Mexican exile during the Franco dictatorship, Avel·lí Artís Gener's *Paraules d'Opton el Vell* (1968) explores linguistic and cultural plurality in a comical while problematic transposition of Columbus's famous expedition of 'discovery.' Juan Marsé's *El amante bilingüe* (1990), on the other hand, takes Barcelona as its setting in order to offer a sardonic response to essentialist approaches to cultural and linguistic politics and policy. Although divided by their respective chronological and geographical setting, and even the language in which they were written, what unites these texts, and their humorous engagement with multilingualism is a tendency towards the transgressive. The humour in these fictional novels interrogates, and in many respects undermines, linguistic and identitarian limits by scrutinising, while elucidating, their very existence. In addition to their inclusion of Catalan and Castilian and several other languages, as this essay argues, these texts are also multilingual on account of their heteroglossic landscapes of diegeses, dialogic register, dialect and archaisms, as well as metalinguistic ruminations on translation, signification and neology. As such, the present article applies the concepts of Bakhtinian polyglossia and the carnivalesque to a humour theory lens in order to consider the presence of multilingualism in these two texts as a rhetorical device with which to effect humour and as a subject of humour itself. In so doing, the essay underscores the important role of humour in tracing diverse responses to the multilingual space.

Keywords

Humour; Exile; Multilingualism; Avel·lí Artís Gener; Juan Marsé; Bakhtin

Multilingual Mirth on the Iberian Page¹

RHIANNON MCGLADE

University of Cambridge

Humour does not pretend, like carnival, to lead us beyond our own limits. It gives us the feeling, or better, the picture of the structure of our own limits. It is never off limits, it undermines limits from inside.

Umberto Eco (1984, 8)

Introduction

Modern narratives within a plurilingual Spanish setting – such as *Obabakoak* (Atxaga 1988), *O lapis do carpinteiro* (Rivas 1998) and the Pepe Carvalho series by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán – face what Meir Sternberg has termed literary art’s “formidable mimetic challenge” (1981, 222): how to represent multilingual reality in an artistic landscape of hegemonic monolingualism. While the Babelian tower is reified by some as a utopia of linguistic freedom, for others it is the hellish site where meaningful exchange is drowned out by a cacophony of tongues. As such, attempts to bring a wrought plurilingual experience to life on page, stage and screen have often drawn upon lexical fields of distrust and metaphors of multiple personality disorders. Others, meanwhile, harness the hybridity of multilingual contexts as a source for irony and/or comic relief.

Far from a simple diversion, humour and language choice act as meaningful artistic interventions in questions of cultural and linguistic identity. With a focus on two works by writers from Catalonia, the present article considers the use of humour to negotiate and respond to questions of identity and cultural politics deeply embedded in Spain’s multilingual context. Avel·lí Artís Gener’s *Paraules d’Opton el Vell* (1968) navigates issues of language and identity via a comical foray into the pre-modern world of conquest and ‘discovery,’ while Juan Marsé’s *El amante bilingüe* (1990)

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the support of the AHRC in the preparation of this article, which was funded as part of the research project, ‘Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies’, under the Open World Research Initiative.

offers a tongue-in-cheek response to the totalising approach of cultural and linguistic politics and policy. What connects a discussion of humour, multilingualism and their intersection within literary texts is an inherent tendency towards the transgressive. Undermining the limits from within, as the epigraph by Eco asserts, humour and multilingualism disparage the conventional monoliths of solemnity and monolingualism respectively.

Humour is a core constituent of human social interaction; and yet, misconceptions concerning its simplicity see it cast aside in favour of the putatively more sophisticated irony, parody and satire. Linda Hutcheon (1995, 26) has made moves to bridge this gap, noting that irony's "affective dimension [...] (its link to fear, unease, superiority, put-down, control) and its formal dimensions (juxtaposition, incompatibility) is indeed apparent in many theories of humor." Nevertheless, acknowledgments of overlap do not attend to divergent taxonomies concerning make-up and function. In other words: what is humour? And what is it for? To that end, contemporary theorists have proposed the overarching categories of superiority, relief-release and incongruity.² At the heart of superiority humour is Thomas Hobbes' (1968 [1651]) contention that laughter is produced by the immediate sense of joy at finding ourselves in an advantageous position compared to those around us.³ Building on these foundations, psychologists have demonstrated humour's effect on group identity via the study of the laughter of inclusion and exclusion.⁴

Humour as a relief or release valve was originally described by Freud ([1905] 2001), for whom jokes are both a means of assuaging the aggression that results from social control as well as being a tool of aggression themselves.⁵ This model is particularly productive for an examination of humour's role of subversion and/or resistance under authoritarian rule. Finally, incongruity theory describes Cicero's discussion of laughter based on the unexpected or absurd.⁶ Expanding upon this notion in *Le rire*, Henri Bergson ([1908] 2008,

² Superiority theory has also been referred to as "aggression," "disparagement" and "degradation" theory (Banas, et al. 2011, 138).

³ According to Hobbes (1968 [1651], 5) laughter is the result of "a sudden glory arising from some conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly."

⁴ See for example, Zillmann and Cantor (1972; 2007) and La Fave, et al. (2007).

⁵ For Freud, 'a joke will allow us to exploit something ridiculous in our enemy [...and] represents a rebellion against that authority, a liberation from its pressure' (2001 [1905], 103-5).

⁶ Cicero observed that when 'we expect one thing and another is said [...] our own disappointed expectation makes us laugh' (in Morreal 2009, 11). Aristotle has also been linked with early recognition of the relationship between incongruity and humour in his *Rhetoric* (Mihalcea 2007, 412).

48) argues that “a situation is invariably comic when it belongs simultaneously to two altogether independent series of events and is capable of being interpreted in two entirely different meanings at the same time.” Incongruity has thus become an integral component of the linguistic deconstruction of jokes.⁷ The theories of superiority, release-relief and incongruity, then, can account for much of the humour embedded within irony, satire and parody and inform the present essay’s two-pronged treatment of both texts, which consider on the one hand, self-contained linguistic jokes and on the other, overarching playful tones. Reading these approaches together, I argue, offers a more holistic examination of humour’s interaction with multilingualism and politically charged questions of identity.

In her analysis of comedy and contemporary Catalan culture, Kathryn Woolard (1995; 1998) conducted a series of landmark sociolinguistic examinations that underscore the link between language choice and performative humour. Drawing upon Silverstein (1979), in these case studies, Woolard considered the codeswitching of her subjects to be deliberately deployed as a caricatured “metapragmatic commentary on contemporary linguistic practices and policies” (1995, 225). These findings are instructive for reading multilingual humour in cultural productions within the historical and linguistic context of Catalonia. Chiming with Woolard’s focus on the performed aspect of multilingual comedy, in *El plurilingüisme en la literatura catalana* (2014), Albert Rossich and Jordi Cornellà assert that the most common type of multilingual usage – and in particular its humorous variety – is in theatre and television.⁸ The concentration of multilingual output in these more performative arenas of culture can be easily explained by the prevalence of speech acts. Indeed, cultural works that deploy multilingualism as a tool for humour typically do so through translinguistic and/or codeswitching wordplay. Although Ana Zentella (1997, 99) has argued that “pinpointing the purpose of each code switch is a task as fraught with difficulty as imputing the reasons for a monolingual’s choice of one synonym over another,” it is often possible to determine whether the language shift denotes a deliberate

⁷ By far the most influential in this domain is Attardo and Raskin’s General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH), which classifies incongruity as a “script opposition” and considers it to be the most important aspect of linguistic humour.

⁸ The authors offer a near-exhaustive account of occurrences of the three types of plurilingualism in Catalan cultural production, which they identify as: *alternança*, most typically found in novels and plays where a succession of languages is used to create the effect of verisimilitude; *amfilingüisme*, when there is a challenge in identifying the language of the text due to shared syntactical, lexical and/or morphological commonalities and *mixtilingüisme*, where languages are blended at the level of the word and therefore arguably pertain to neither one nor the other.

injection of humour or whether it instead represents an artistic expression of what Sternberg (1981, 222) has termed “heterolingual mimesis.”⁹

In literary texts the appearance of more than one language on the page inescapably draws attention to itself and tends to interrupt the narrative flow. Regarding narrative in particular, multilingual moments typically require additional explication: a footnote, a parsing, a summary follow-on statement, and so on. Notwithstanding the potential disruption of such additional insertions, novels have long been recognised as a prime site for plurilingual dialogue influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin’s *Discourse on the Novel*, in which he famously argued that “literary language becomes a dialogue of languages that know about and understand each other” (1981 [1935], 400). In this way, narratives that seek to explicitly engage questions of language and identity can draw upon the multivocality of novelistic discourse in order to elicit awareness of language itself. Such awareness is often at the heart of humour and its aforementioned connections with identity. Artís Gener’s and Marsé’s novels can be productively read in terms of what Isabel Álvarez Sancho (2017) has called an “Iberian Third Space,” which unlocks “critiques of hegemony from both a regional and pluriversal locus of enunciation that touches on interior and exterior borders”. Much like the relationship between language and identity itself, these borders are porous. In what follows, this article explores interstitial spaces adduced in Artís Gener’s and Marsé’s novels as they deploy humour to undermine the imaginative limits of hegemonic monolingualism.

Paraules d’Opton el Vell: Iberian Pluralism and the Language(s) of ‘Discovery’

In his lifetime, Avel·lí Artís Gener’s renown in Catalan cultural circles was more closely tied to the journalistic world of satirical cartooning, under his portmanteau moniker ‘Tísner’. Nevertheless, the publication of *Paraules d’Opton el Vell* (1968) conceived and written in Mexico as the author’s homage to the country that had been his home-away-from-home during almost three decades in exile is perhaps his best-known novel and in many ways marks the apex of his literary maturation. Full of wit, while also permeated by a tone of serious commentary, Artís Gener’s expansive novel challenges the established Eurocentric model of ‘discovery’. It offers

⁹ In works which he describes as representing a “polylinguistic reality of discourse”, Sternberg (1981, 222) uses the term “heterolingual” to denote the presence of a foreign language or dialect other than that of the reporting speech-event.

an artificially and somewhat problematically constructed Aztec worldview that uses humour to engage in cultural relativism while exploring themes of universalism and particularism. Deploying the established model of the ‘found text’, the introductory “Isagoge” a possible nod to Boethius and his challenge to the idea of universality takes the shape of a scholarly translator’s note while also adding a transhistoric layer.¹⁰ It introduces the fictional author as he describes the discovery of a sixteenth-century Nahua manuscript, of which the rest of the novel is the purported Catalan translation. Across the subsequent chapters, in a transposition of Columbus’ historic expedition, we follow the recollections of the now-aged “*terrissaire*” Opoton, as he narrates the journey of Aztec explorers who having been sent out in search of the deity Quetzalcóatl stumble upon the Galician coast of Spain. Throughout this parody of the conquest epic, Artís Gener elicits deeper reflections on power and identity through an overarching engagement with the global importance of language and linguistic pluralism. A series of encounters with the local ‘other(s)’ are humorously depicted via episodes of cultural and linguistic confusion as the visitors traverse the country’s northern shores. By repeatedly pushing at fixed diegetic and linguistic boundaries, the text is a multilingual narration of hybrid identities, albeit within a Eurocentric frame.

Paraules produces a polyphony of voices across a multi-layered narrative structure. Typically told in the style of a series of stream-of-consciousness narrations, each episode is peppered with interventions from the fictional translator by way of detailed footnotes. In this respect, the text is multilingual not simply due to the presence of, and transitions between, languages of the Iberian Peninsula and Mexico, but also in its use of diegetic shifts; dialogic negotiations of register, dialect and archaisms, in keeping with Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia;¹¹ and in metalinguistic ruminations on translation, signification and neology. So cast, the novel suggests that boundaries pertaining to identity are dynamic and malleable, porous and unstable. Humour is at the heart of the setting and unsettling of the novel’s multiple borders. Artís Gener emphasises the multilingual context in the Isagogic introduction as well as in the recourse to an intradiegetic narrator, who persistently refers to a

¹⁰ In his Latin translation, Boethius’s commentary of Porphyry’s introduction (“Εἰσαγωγή”) to Aristotle’s “Categories” became the main source of later questioning of the status of universals (Grossmann 1992, 18).

¹¹ According to Bakhtin ([1935] 1981, 263), “the novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types and by the differing voices that flourish under such conditions”.

multiplicity of languages and speakers. Opoton describes the territories of the Iberian Peninsula or, more precisely, “As Espanhas do Máis Alá,” as being divided into various linguistic domains:

Fala Castela, i la Fala Portuguesa, dita parenta de la Galega, i la Fala Arab, i la Fala Catalana, i la Fala Basca i la Fala Jueva, car aquests són els noms de les diverses tribus que poblen la terra i encara n’hi ha moltes més.

(225)

Holmes and Marra (2002, 393) have argued that “humour can contribute to the on-going construction and reinforcement of inter-group boundaries by providing an acceptable means of objectifying or distancing the ‘other’ group.” It is of note that the group distinctions are drawn, as indicated, along linguistic lines, conditioned by the notion of ‘fala’. The novel lays bare linguistic as well as sociocultural hierarchies and draws attention to a multiplicity of otherness through language play, which reinforces a sense of in-group identity between the extradiegetic translator, the reader and the local tribes. In so doing, the novel constructs a pluriversal front against a shared authoritarian enemy. Artís Gener thus embraces the opportunities that a deterritorialised multilingual context presents through the incremental, if measured, use of word play and situational jokes, that is to say, through a sustained sense of humour throughout the novel.

According to Silvia Mas (2008, 164), by choosing Nahuatl as the source text language of Opoton’s saga, Artís Gener draws direct – if at times problematic – comparisons with the officially repressed status of Catalan at the time of writing.¹² The novel’s narrator is eager to underscore the shared plight of the Nahua and his ‘own’ Catalan people, under Castilian dominance: “almenys, em semblaven dos idiomes germans pel que feia a llur capacitat de resistir els malfats” (15). Indeed, as the fictional translator repeatedly emphasises the “fraternitat lingüística” between the Catalan and Nahua tongues, it becomes clear from the outset that the question of language *qua* identity is a core theme. Moreover, the explicit framing of Catalan and Nahuatl as synonymous at the extradiegetic level is key to understanding the way in which much of the situational humour is

¹² In the third volume of his memoirs, *Viure i veure* (1991, 262), Artís Gener explains that his attraction to learning Nahuatl – something to which he dedicated many years – was sparked by a fleeting perception of shared morphological and linguistic characteristics with Catalan. Other Catalan writers in exile who have demonstrated an affinity for themes of indigenous cultures and languages of Latin America include Ferran de Pol (writing for the Mexican newspaper, *El Nacional*); Agustí Bartra (*Quetzalcoatl* [1960]) and Josep Carner (*Misterio de Quanaxhuata* [1944]) among others (García i Raffi 2005, 33).

deployed in the embedded narrative to articulate identitarian boundaries. It is here that the novel's status as a satire written in exile accords with Charles Knight's (2004, 109) more general comment that the "shifting identity of the homeland corresponds to the multiple perspectives of the satiric exile, whose task becomes the discovery of cultural and political forces that control or transcend historical change." In this respect, *Paraules* explores the imbrications of humour and linguistic identity in both stand-alone joke encounters based on cultural clash and as part of a cultivated tone that engages language and group identity construction.

Within *Paraules*' polyphonic verbal matrix, an intertextual voice injects what Triezenberg (2008: 537-8) has termed "humour enhancers" to overarching parodic and satirical tones.¹³ Opoton's narrative includes repeated apologies for artistic and linguistic lapses as well as remarks about his own narratorial inexperience and shortcomings: "la veritat sigui dita i respectada, jo no sóc escriptor [...]. I si m'he embolicat a escriure tot això és perquè la nostra nissaga asteca s'està perdent i vull que quedi memòria de quan la nostra puixança era tan gran" (61). Here and elsewhere in the text, there are discernible echoes of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (1568).¹⁴ Artís Gener has in fact acknowledged the influence of Díaz del Castillo, whom he described as "un home molt senzill [...] que, com l'Opoton, no era escriptor i que es veu obligat a relatar els fets de la conquesta" (in Serra 1992, n.p.).¹⁵ While the allusion through style, acts as an effective parody of the conquest chronicle, the resulting humour does not solely rely on the readers' ability to detect the pastiche of Díaz del Castillo's most famous work. Rather, the exaggeration and repetition of the fictional author's self-deprecation as a writer contrast incongruously with his arrogant declarations of his people's and his language's superiority: "Aistli imitava els estrangers dits galecs naturals, n'estrafeia la veu i deia *ca cousa, ca cousa* que era llur manera de manifestar admiració per nosaltres els asteques" (106). A paratextual interjection in the form of a footnote following this statement highlights Opoton's misunderstanding of that which he ridicules. As

¹³ For Triezenberg (2008, 537-8), "a humor enhancer is a narrative technique that is not necessarily funny in and of itself, but that helps an audience to understand that the text is supposed to be funny, that warms them up to the author and to the text so that they will be more receptive to humor, and that magnifies their experience of humor in the text."

¹⁴ In describing the inside of a temple, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1568, 297) states: "Y si no lo dijere tan natural como era, no se maravillen, porque en aquel tiempo tenía otro pensamiento de entender en lo que traíamos entre manos, que era en lo militar y lo que mi capitán Cortés me mandaba, y no en hacer relaciones."

¹⁵ Although he cites a wide range of influences, Artís Gener described *Historia verdadera* as 'l'espinna dorsal' during the writing process (Guzmán Moncada 2004, 96).

the fictional translator notes, the Galician phrase is in fact understood as “*Quina cosa?, en el sentit de ‘què és això?’*” (106). The intervention from another narratological voice, undermines Opoton’s adopted superior position and offers additional light relief for the reader.

Another intertextual voice in Artís Gener’s novel is Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*, which inflects the narratorial intervention: “sempre he cregut que aquest passatge era fantasia d’Opoton” (178).¹⁶ Through this subtle nod, Artís Gener not only parodies the contemporary invention of chroniclers to authenticate fictional texts, but also offers – by way of measured breaks through the paratextual voice – the rhetorical device of humour through relief. Moreover, Opoton’s narrative is shot through with specialised Nahuatl vocabulary as well as with archaisms and colloquialisms which, as the narrator repeatedly explains, he must preserve in his own translation if he is to achieve a true reproduction of the original text. Thus, intertexts, paratexts and the inclusion of the bibliography at the end confer on the text a sense of (pseudo)-authenticity, while offering relief from the long passages delivered by Opoton’s unfettered stream(s) of consciousness.

From the constructed façade of accuracy and authenticity, Artís Gener indulges his love of language and wordplay in the form of self-contained jokes which function as ‘jab lines’, while also contributing to the overarching humorous tone.¹⁷ Beyond their jocular role, these jabs are often imbued with a subversive function as they covertly and derisively reference the Francoist regime. By way of example, the tribes of “As Espanhas do Máis Alá” are said to be “dominades per un Gran Senyor dit Tantomontamontatanto el qual amb la seva Senyora, els tenia tots ben dominats” (185). The playful designation of Tantomontamontatanto mimics – and risks ridiculing – Nahuatl nomenclature but is in fact a compound form of the infamous maxim ‘tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando’. The reference to the Catholic Monarchs is not incidental. Not only were Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castille active supporters of colonial expansion, but their historical example also inspired the Franco regime’s commitment to mononational unification seen in the suppression of linguistic, cultural and identitarian pluralism. Here

¹⁶ In Cervantes’ chivalresque epic, the fictional author Cide Hamete Benengeli is attributed the paratextual note, “no me puedo dar a entender, ni me puedo persuadir, que al valeroso don Quijote le pasase puntualmente todo lo que en el antecedente capítulo queda escrito” (*Quijote II*, XXIV, 734).

¹⁷ Jab-lines “differ from punch-lines in that they can be found anywhere in a text but the end (the position occupied exclusively by the punch-line). The two also differ in function: a punch-line serves to disrupt the narrative flow, while jab-lines are fully integrated in it” (McGlade 2016, 67).

then, Artís Gener's text underscores not only the presence of multiple languages within the contemporaneous setting, but also conducts a transhistoric dialogue between past and multiple presents. Thus, the Castilian trace in the name Tantomontamontatanto is a far from innocent nod to historical accuracy and authenticity. Within the context of Artís Gener's exile, the repeated reference to the "diverses tribus" can be read as a more extensive derision of the monocultural, monolingual myth of "España, una, grande y libre" that underpinned Francoist ideology. As such, Artís Gener uses humour to reinforce diasporic in-group identity, while implicitly deriding its modern-day oppressor.

Stand-alone jokes in the form of episodes also play with language and amplify the humorous tone of the novel. An example can be found in the slapstick situation used to account for the naming of the 'Sususes'. As the Aztec explorers traverse Galicia, they encounter a group of local women washing clothes by the river. Before the visitors have a chance to make contact, one of the Aztecs sneezes, which Opoton explains was a result of the cold weather and the fact that he and the other men were "vestits a l'asteca, ço és, despullats, i solament dúiem el maxtlatl, el plomall i el tilmatlí" (95). The women respond 'Susús' ['bless you'], still unaware of their foreign company. Upon seeing the men an amusing scene ensues as the women flee shrieking. We are then told that, "els vam dir Sususes puix, si no criden o xisclen, solen dir susús, oi més quan algú esternuda" (95-6). On the one hand it is possible to read this passage as a neo-colonising, primitivizing strain in Artís Gener's writing, as the boundary between historical accuracy emphasised by the explanatory paratext regarding the correct way to wear the clothing in question and the ridiculing mimicry is emphasised by the recourse to humour. On the other hand, the humour in this episode, seems to reside more on the literary technique of dramatic irony whereby the implications of a character's words or actions are clear to the reader but unknown to the character rather than entirely dependent on the derision of the 'uncultured savage.'

The pervasive reflections on etymological codification throughout the text also serve to punctuate the narrative with identitarian boundaries. Opoton is quick to underscore the arbitrary nature of the place names used by the local tribes in their language, often erroneously dismissing them as lacking meaning due to his own misunderstanding: "poble dit Sanvicentedelabarquera que ningú no va poder saber que volia dir, si certament volia dir alguna cosa" (242). The name Opoton itself, when read backwards, playfully gives 'no topo', which in the sense of "no donar" figuratively not understanding is all the more apt in this tale of cultural confusion.

The mix-ups created by unfamiliar customs “i les menges tampoc no les posen damunt una estora, ans en fustes altes dites taules” (118) and languages “ell cop de dir-nos moltes coses amb la seva llengua estrangera i nosaltres els contestàvem amb el nostre nàhoa i, sigui dit amb perdó, ni els uns ni els altres no ens assabentàvem de res” (100) rely on the admittedly slippery and troubling concept of superiority for their humour. However, these moments are temporary, and typically benign in their outcomes, and as a result redress the balance, by way of contrast, with more aggressive *sensu* Freud moments of humour.¹⁸ The disruption also acts as a counterpoint, a key aspect of Artís Gener’s literary humour.¹⁹

Paraules is, in short, multilingual in multiple ways. Though written almost entirely in Catalan, the novel not only incorporates lexical items from Asturian, Basque, Castilian, Galician, and Nahuatl, but also includes a range of dialogic registers that are voiced across and/or through these languages. At every stage, codeswitches are marked; either by Opoton’s direct acknowledgement of their presence, or in the extensive paratext provided by the fictional translator, who is keen to preserve indigenous nomenclature in the spirit of ‘authenticity’. Together, the pseudo-translation and the polyphony of voices offer meta-critical considerations of the movement between languages and on the importance of languages *per se*. In so doing, the novel deploys incisive reflections on plurality both linguistic and cultural so as to condemn the repressive forces behind the author’s real-life experience of exile in Mexico. The localised experience of Mexico, however, disappears in favour of the Iberian setting and as such, the text runs the risk of instrumentalising both Latin American and indigenous culture in order to platform the Catalan plight. Notwithstanding its focus on linguistic rather than ontological notions of alterity, *Paraules* masterfully and playfully conveys the confusion that obtains when colonizers impose their necessarily foreign words and visions of the world on others.

Not surprisingly, the connections with postcolonial criticism are all but unavoidable; since ventriloquised through his fictional translator, Artís Gener can be seen to actively conflate Spain’s colonial past in the Americas with its contemporary context of Catalan repression. The author is not alone in his deployment of the semantic field of colonisation to describe Castile’s approach to

¹⁸ For an explanation of the emphasis on the temporary role-reversal outlined in superior versus subordinate group humour theory see Zillmann and Cantor (1972).

¹⁹ As the author explains, “La presència de la ironia, d’aquest sarcasme, és un mecanisme defensiu [...] la ironia no es per provocar, ni per fer més digestiu un passatge sinó que té una finalitat molt concreta, de contrapunt, de balança” (in Poch and Jaén 1993).

Catalonia. Maria-Aurèlia Capmany, for example, speaks of a “colonització que hem sofert intensament aquests darrers 37 anys, àmpliament des del 1714,” while Joan Brossa describes Catalonia as Spain’s last colony (cited in King 2006, 255). Others, such as King (2006) however, have underscored the problems of such direct parallels, especially given Catalonia’s protracted collusion in Spanish imperialism and the myriad ways that it has benefitted both directly and indirectly from Spain’s colonial endeavours. A further point of contention, as Álvarez Sancho (2017, 65) argues, is that through Opaton, Artís Gener uncritically impersonates the Aztec other and “equates epistemologies.” Indeed, although *Paraules* is a defence of the pluriversity of languages, it engages in a form of what Marlon James (quoted in Cain 2015) has called “cultural ventriloquism”²⁰ and highlights the issues raised by Linda Alcoff’s (1991) ‘The Problem of Speaking for Others’. Thus, an additional effect of the polyphony of voices in this novel of exile is that it reflects the potential instability of linguistic identity in ways that feed into the subject of our second text, Juan Marsé’s *El amante bilingüe* (1990). Despite the shift from the context of trans-Atlantic exile to that of post-dictatorial Barcelona, the linguistic landscape proves to be no less complex, no less marked by shifting identities and the vagaries of alterity. Instead, as we shall see, *El amante bilingüe* also grapples with questions of linguistic multiplicity and plurality. Narrative structure, codeswitching, and the presence of external and internal variation all come into play once more, this time in order to chart, as it were, the porous boundaries between the long-standing Catalan-Castilian dichotomy, as linguistic hierarchies are derisively subverted, while also more complexly, reinforced.

El amante ‘multilingüe’? Juan Marsé and the heteroglossic cityscape

Over twenty years after *Paraules* had gone to print, when the dictatorship and the transition to democracy had become memories of the recent past, the fourth of Juan Marsé’s novelistic works, *El amante bilingüe* (1990), was published in what had by then become an officially bilingual Barcelona. Language and class take centre stage in this no-holds-barred sardonic treatment of essentialist and reductive approaches to Catalan identity by pointing to the intersectional reality of what it means to ‘be Catalan.’ We follow the anti-hero, Joan Marés – a non-too-subtle anagram of the author’s own name – in his

²⁰ For James, this term referred specifically to ‘white authors [who] write in a “palatable” way about countries and cultures of which they have no experience’.

‘schizophrenic’ drift between the languages and neighbourhoods of the Catalan capital.²¹ The story charts Marés’s life following a November afternoon in 1975 when his wife, the conspicuously-named Norma, a sociolinguist who works for the Direcció General de Política Lingüística, leaves him. In the wake of Norma’s departure, Marés begins to pose as one of his childhood friends of Andalusian descent, Juan Faneca. Originally, the disguise functions as a ruse to re-establish a sexual connection with Norma, whose proclivity for “charnegos de todas clases” (II) is attested by her infidelity in the opening scenes. However, as the novel progresses, Marés becomes increasingly detached from his previous self. As he cedes to the ever-encroaching character of Faneca, the text eventually culminates in a quasi-Babelic ramble to signify the ultimate elision of the protagonist’s personalities. Like *Paraules*, humour, language and group identity are imbricated, entangled even, in shifting and politically charged terrains; as *El amante* foregrounds linguistic plurality and humorous play in ways that challenge polarised, all-too-serious understandings of identity.

El amante cultivates an overarching playful tone by peppering the text with stand-alone jokes which act as a counterpoint to more fraught moments associated with the protagonist’s decline in particular and, more generally, the complexities of migration and identity in the region, as explored in Francesc Candel’s study, *Els altres catalans* (1964).²² Like in *Paraules*, such “peppering” takes the form of linguistic play via measured injections of codeswitching and heteroglossia; the choice of names; and neologisms within the text itself. However, whereas in *Paraules* humour takes the form of light-hearted, slapstick farce with moments of bathos, *El amante*’s delivery is bittersweet, often barbed in its tone and typically couched in the exaggerated and the grotesque. In its response to Vallverdú’s absolutist assertions, *El amante* openly ridicules linguistic essentialism and is as a result widely identified as an exercise in ironic satire. Stewart King (1999, 75), for example, notes: “Marsé nos presenta una sátira grotesca que de ninguna manera es un reflejo ‘real’ ni intenta ser fiel a la situació lingüística en Catalunya.” In that respect, Marsé’s novel might well be considered to be following in the *esperpento* tradition as established in Ramón María del Valle-

²¹ As Laura Connor (2012, 12) notes, Marsé’s use of the term “esquizofrénica” as a way to adduce multiple identities and/or personalities within the same body, reflects the typical and erroneous conflation in popular culture of this condition with ‘dissociative identity disorder’.

²² Candel continued to engage many of the issues of identity and migration in Catalonia in the subsequent “updates” of his initial study in *Encara més sobre els altres catalans* (1973), *Els altres catalans vint anys després* (1985) and *Els altres catalans del segle XXI* (2001).

Inclán's *Luces de bohemia* (1920).²³ Joan Ramon Resina (2000), on the other hand, offers a strong indictment of those who do not look “beyond the fictional argument failing to analyze the sociolinguistic premises in a way that includes the writing conditions and the author’s historico-political and professional conditioning.” Disentangling the varieties of humour, their implications and how they take shape in Marsé’s novel and how they shape the novel itself requires a close reading which attends to the multifariousness of humour and to nuanced understandings of the charged question of “language ideologies” at the time of writing and, of course, at the variegated times of reading.²⁴

In its unabashed use of multiple-personality disorder as a figuration for the split sense of self reported by many bilinguals, Marsé’s work effects a shrewd satire of purist and essentialising approaches to linguistic expression, as well as the uncritical positioning of language as the single most important and determinative sign of identity. To that end, *El amante* deploys humour to drive home its pervasive critique of those promoting the normalised use of Catalan over Castilian, a polarising linguistic polemic which was still in full swing in the wake of Norma’s metafictional namesake; the 1983 *Llei de Normalització Lingüística*.²⁵ Indeed, the author stated that the novel was a way to “divertirme poniendo en solfa la cuestión de la normalización lingüística en Cataluña” (in Gutiérrez 1995, 36). Unsurprisingly, given the title of the novel, Marsé’s multiplicity is overtly tethered to the question of language. However, in truth, his rejection of Catalan, adopting instead Faneca’s Andalusian dialect, is so as to align himself, linguistically *and* socioeconomically with those pejoratively designated as ‘xarnegos’ (or “charnegos”). Although *murciano* is the geographical designation used interchangeably with charnego in the novel, Faneca’s accent is always *andaluz*, since Marsé’s childhood friend originated from Granada. In addition to linguistic markers, destabilising the borders between where Marsé ends and Faneca begins is likewise expressed through the physical, the sartorial and,

²³ According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE), the term *esperpento* refers to a “concepción literaria [...] en la que se deforma la realidad acentuando sus rasgos grotescos.”

²⁴ In contrast to language attitudes, language ideologies focus on “how speakers’ beliefs and feelings about language are constructed from their experience as social actors in a political economic system, and how speakers’ often-partial awareness of the form and function of their semiotic resources is critically important” (Kroskrity 2016).

²⁵ The connection between the linguistic law and Marsé’s wife is clear. The legislation, which sought to reengage relationships with the language, supported by an initiative with texts written by Artís Gener, was popularly known as ‘La Norma’ after Lluís Juste de Nin’s cartoon girl of the same name who was the face of the campaign.

as we shall see later, the topographical. For Laura Connor (2012, 10), Marés's burned face and hands – resulting from an altercation with “exaltados nacionalistas catalanes” (21) – is a clear metaphor of identitarian erasure; since “the face is a major locus of identity” and “finger prints [are] another index of personal uniqueness.” While wiping out these particular marks of identity could trigger a sense of loss, in Marés's case, it equally frees the way for a smoother transition between his personae. As such, with traces of the Bakhtinian *carnivalesque*, the inclusion of costumes and masks also becomes a pervasive indicator of multiple, performed, identities within the novel.²⁶

Metaphors of personality disorder are far from new as artistic ways to convey the complexity of the multilingual writers' experiences. Tzvetan Todorov (1985), for one, challenged the acritical celebration of Bakhtinian heterogeneity, highlighting his own “linguistic schizophrenia” between his autochthonous Bulgarian and his adopted French selves. Although he felt he “should have been living in the euphoria of disharmony,” Todorov (1994, 209) found himself instead experiencing “malaise and psychological oppression.” Todorov's text sparked increasing academic interest in how the “drama of duality” is represented in literary culture, where, as Pavlenko (2006, 5) has observed:

the dominant metaphors and tropes of [...] border crossing, borrowing, bigamy, betrayal, bifurcation, fragmentation, multiplicity, split, gap, alienation, dislocation, and double vision reinscribe the feeling of duality and invoke the discourse of schizophrenia.

Notwithstanding the novel's basis on a genuine medical case of identity disorder shared with the author by a psychiatric specialist (Pérez Manrique 2009, 125), the text is more than an innocent narration of a living bilingual curiosity. In fact, *El amante* is a mordant reply to the criticism that Marsé's previous novel, *Un día volveré* (1982), had received from the sociolinguist Francesc Vallverdú. Accusing the author of showing insufficient mastery in rendering Barcelona's linguistic and cultural plurality, Vallverdú (1982) went on to call into question the feasibility of expressing Catalan specificity in Castilian. Marsé is one of a group of self-identified Catalans who

²⁶ Bakhtin outlined his initial concept of carnival in *The Problems with Dostoyevsky's Poetics* ([1929] 1984) and later in *Rabelais and his World* ([1940] 1968). According to these works, the carnivalesque is characterised by, among other features: a breaking of social taboos; incongruous combinations of the lofty and the low or the sacred and the profane; coarse language and parodies of modern times.

have ‘chosen’ to write in Castilian.²⁷ For these authors, many of whom would go on to form the *Foro Babel* in the 1990s,²⁸ an education during the Franco dictatorship meant that it was in Castilian and not Catalan, that they had honed their craft.²⁹ Nevertheless, Vallverdú has repeatedly rejected works written in Castilian – regardless of the provenance of their author – as pertaining to a bilingual or Catalan literary field.³⁰ For Juan Goytisolo (1985, 35), whom Vallverdú also excludes from his bilingual register, the upshot is operating in a doubly marginal space:

En el período actual de «normalización lingüística», mi situación [...] es periférica y marginal por partida doble. [...] catalanes en Madrid y castellanos en Barcelona, nuestra ubicación es ambigua y contradictoria, amenazada de ostracismo por ambos lados y enriquecida no obstante, por el mutuo rechazo, con los dones preciosos del desarraigo y movilidad.³¹

In Marsé’s case, the sense of double marginalisation was a fruitful locus for the creative contestation of absolute, fixed forms of identity politics. Indeed, Marsé’s self-positioning in the ‘in-between’ “yo soy fronterizo, para mí ése es el puesto del escritor” , inspired critic Ana Pérez Manrique to coin the term ‘autores fronterizos’, which she defines as:

Aquellos escritores [de Barcelona] que se ubican en los intersticios [...] quienes no adoptan ninguna de las dos posiciones nacionales/nacionalistas absolutas a uno u otro lado de la frontera, sino que juegan con ambas identidades, los que ofrecen más ricas posibilidades textuales o interpretativas.

(2006, 3 4)

²⁷ Such writers in this category include, among others, Maruja Torres, Carme Riera, Eduardo Mendoza and Juan Goytisolo.

²⁸ *Foro Babel* was established in 1996 with a view to protect and support the use of Castilian in Catalan culture.

²⁹ According to Goytisolo (1985, 35), “la inclinación a una u otra lengua por parte del escritor potencialmente bífido no es producto exclusivo de una libre elección personal sino resultado más bien de una serie de coyunturas familiares y sociales posteriormente asumidas.”

³⁰ According to Vallverdú (1996, x), Marsé was not a bilingual writer, but “un català (bilingüe) que com a llengua literària només cultiva el castellà (llevat d’uns esporàdics collages en català en algunes de les seves novel·les).”

³¹ This quote from Goytisolo is also engaged in treatments of the novel by Berkenbusch and Heinemann (1995, 49) and King (2005, 49).

Speaking what sociolinguists have termed “castellano barcelonés,”³² as another self-identifying *autor fronterizo*, Vázquez Montalbán, explains: “[en Barcelona] nos hemos tenido que inventar [...] un castellano distinto, condicionado por el bilingüismo. Ese castellano es a la vez más pobre (en vocabulario, en sintaxis) y más rico, en la medida en que hemos tenido que recurrir a la imagen y a la metáfora” (in Basualdo 1989).

The structure of Marsé’s novel reflects the linguistic reality of the moment. Oscillating chapters between the principal personae can be read in terms of a constructed Catalan and Castilian identitarian opposition and mapped to the author’s anthropomorphisation of a divided Barcelona: “una ciudad esquizofrénica, de duplicidades diversas” (84). In fact, the addition of three intervening memoir-style *cuadernos*, adduces the presence of more voices, and destabilises the sense of a fixed chronology. The recourse to nostalgia, so-often associated with programmes of linguistic and cultural revival, is all the more telling in the flashback “El pez de oro.” In this interpolated reflection, the young Marés is paid to perform Josep Maria de Segarra’s “Sant Jordi, gloriós” to a clandestine group of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Thus, returning to Bakhtin’s polyphonic verbal matrix, we find that in *El amante* multiple voices are in fact in play.

The presence of Castilian is marked not simply in its direct apposition and implicit opposition to the calculated smatterings of Catalan, but is itself dialectically divided. The decision to employ a phonetically rendered affected Andalusian variety of Castilian to voice Faneca, is shot through with socio-political significance and is in itself offensive. There is unmistakable humorous play in the scattered phonetic spellings such as the repeated “miraúzte” in a text that is in many ways *about* the unification, standardisation and normalisation of language. Performance and stereotyped phonetic play are also signalled in the childhood flashback to the magician, Fu-Ching stage name of Rafael Amat whose performance is accompanied by a Castilian inflected by stereotyped Chinese vowel sounds: “Señolas, y señoles, glacias. Glacias” (42). Inaccurate sartorial mixing of the “kimono” and the “gorro chino” underscores the magician’s identitarian illusion. The deployment of the coded language of the “charnego” and the Mago Fu-Ching in *El amante* is an example of Milton Azavedos’s (2002) notion of “literary dialect,” confronting us as it does “with speech forms that are excluded from the standard variety.” For Azavedo (2002, 510), literary dialect

³² See for example; Vann (1995); Wesch (1997); Sinner (2004) as cited in Pérez Manrique (2006).

foregrounds specific features of speech, “mimetically generating heteroglossic discourse to evoke orality, thus actualizing a bakhtinean view of the fiction text as a medium for bringing together a plurality of socio-ideological voices.” Azavedo goes on to say:

[A]s it uses socially stigmatized speech and subverts not only grammatical norm but also proper usage, literary dialect implicitly questions the purism that lies at the foundation of linguistic normativism, and in so doing it provides a voice for socially marginal characters, while creating the kind of parodic effect Bakhtin labelled “carnavalesque.”

(2002, 510)

Since both Fu-Ching and Faneca are shown to be acting their marginalised roles, the humour, at their expense albeit perpetuating negative stereotypes is achieved through its exaggeration and recourse to dramatic irony. While signalling the narrative transitions of Marés into Faneca, the *miraúzte* linguistic marker serves to incite humour and deterritorialises language by upending the reductive language binary through Castilian dialects from Barcelona, Andalusia and beyond.

In *El amante*, repeated references to Catalan-identified concepts (“seny”); folkloric traditions (the “sardana”); notable figures, such as the musician Pau Casals himself a symbol of Catalan hybridity, being of Catalan and Puerto-Rican heritage and products (“anís del Mono”) are humorously marked by their overstressed inclusion. Indeed, the decision to portray Marés’s previously-mentioned facial disfigurement as the result of a “Molotov-Tío Pepe” cocktail (21) launched by Catalan separatists, is imbued with playful promiscuity in the intermixing of the famous brand of Andalusian Sherry and a well-established weapon of popular, revolutionary, dissent. As Marés drifts through the neighbourhoods of Barcelona, references to recognisable locations effectively spatialises the linguistic question, while triggering in-group identification, a key contributor to the humour of the text as whole. Examples such as, “limpiabotas ramblero” (84) and Norma’s “nariz montserratina” (55), respectively allude to La Rambla in Barcelona and the mountain of Montserrat, long associated with anti-Francoist and anti-*españolista* resistance. Moreover, the symbolic significance of housing Marés and Norma in the Walden 7 apartment building and the decision to situate Marés’s closing scenes at the Sagrada Família, are artistic choices laden with irony. Marés’s allusion to falling tiles from the married couple’s home – a genuine problem reported after the completion of Bofill’s co-operative building suggests not only their crumbling

relationship but also the conflation of this flawed expression of utopian pretension with plans for linguistic normalisation embodied by Norma. Additionally, Gaudí's unfinished masterpiece which, as Resina (2001, 100) reminds us, had become an "emblem of urban division," also evokes the *trencadís* (mosaic) so often associated with *Modernisme's* most celebrated architect as a motif for the protagonist's multiple and fractured selves.

The intermixing of diacritical markers is yet another nod to the hybridity underpinning this novel in examples such as, "hosti, tú [...] i ara qué?" (12), where the Castilian "qué" slips between the Catalan "ara" and single interrogative marker. In these cases, traces of non-normative and/or mixed modes of written speech underscore the novel's heteroglossia. For Joan Ramon Resina (2001, 93), the "hosti, tú" example is the "only testimony of the character's bilingualism up to the closing monologue" [my emphasis]. On the contrary: indicators of Catalan speech can also be found in Marés's use of 'llepaculs i filiprim [...] torracollons' (32), pejorative terms or insults that he mumbles under his breath. Later in the text, Marés, playing the stereotypical part of the "charnego" itself an insult lets his guard down by slipping *sota voce* into Catalan ("de bonito, res, maca,") for which he immediately chides himself "¡Cuidado, imbécil!" (178) in a voice which he is no longer able to determine or distinguish as one or other of his selves. In its ironic subversion of Catalan and Castilian linguistic identity as something static and/or fixed, Marés's text troubles the notion of Barcelona as either a bi- or monolingual whole.

'Faithful' representation of common linguistic practice is also signalled by the combination of particular characters. Norma's group of friends are identified as hailing from the Sant Gervasi area of the city, a geographic detail, which is used to denote their high socioeconomic status and linguistic allegiance to Catalan. However, to account for the group's communication in Castilian not Catalan throughout the text which might otherwise appear incongruous, particularly given Norma's profession the character Totón Fotán is identified as a Castilian speaker and as such the linguistic behaviour is given a, perhaps convenient, explanation. Nevertheless, the group's speech is still marked by hybridity through a discernibly Catalan accent, which Marés also assigns a socioeconomic charge, describing it as: "esa pronunciación gangosa y enfática tan característica de las familias rancias del Eixample" (99). The geographic designation, here of the Eixample, functions not only to signal heterolingual mimesis, but also underscores the intersectional nature of Catalan linguistic identity and is one example of the text's persistent comingling of class and language use in its sardonic troubling of a fixed identitarian binary. Thus, and in direct

contradiction to Vallverdú's position, for King (2002, 300), the manifestation of Marsé's Catalan literary accent ironically "[challenges] the very assumptions which underline the myth of Spanish unity in the very language which is the basis of that myth."

Linguistic play in *El amante*, is further deployed through verbal distortion, subversion and/or manipulation, as Marsé inscribes Marés with a hybrid language repertoire to complement his identitarian vacillations. During one of Marés's early forays into his Andalusian *persona(e)* pre-Faneca where he adopts the role of a shopkeeper asking for language advice in order to hear Norma's voice over the phone, he explains, "ya zabusté cómo gastan esos malparidos de Terra Lliure" (26). The derisive quip in the allusion to the Catalan separatist group is coupled with the Andalusian lexical marker "zabusté" in the role of humour enhancer and brings into play the multiple intersections of language, culture and class. Beyond the surface of the crass stereotype, the novel exaggerates with humorous effect the heterolinguistic mimesis and the linguistic repertoires of migrants to the Catalan capital from Southern Spain. In the role of the Andalusian caller, Marés manipulates Norma into reciting items of clothing, which become increasingly intimate as he "bebía la voz adorada en una especie de extásis" (27) before the two characters arrive at the "bragas"/"bragues," by which time Norma's tone is "suave" (28). The overall scene is thus permeated by a sense of dramatic irony as well as an exaggerated sexual charge. The sense is that Norma should somehow be able to recognise her husband's voice, and in her failure to do so, the reader is "in on the joke" and able to enjoy the deception. There, is however, an ambiguity as to whether she remains completely unaware of the culminating sexual undertones of the call. Indeed, Norma's transgression of class and linguistic boundaries for sexual gratification is frequently adduced in the text. Marsé resorts to lewd humour among the Sant Gervasi crowd as one of the group, Tassis, remarks: "Norma se ocupa de las encuestas públicas y experimenta con...la lengua. Estudia los contactos conflictivos de las dos lenguas [...] Ese punto en que las dos lenguas se friccionan. / O sea intervino Ribas las dos lenguas en contacto vivo y caliente con el individuo" (109). The exaggerated crudeness in unpacking the duality of 'lengua' by conflating sexualised tongues and language choice is yet another way in which the novel satirises essentialist approaches to identity as *exclusively* tied to a Catalan-Castilian binary.

Marsé saves his most overt thumb-nosing for the names he assigns his characters. In the case of the protagonist(s), Joan Marés, as previously noted, is a non-too-subtle anagram of the author's name, while Juan Faneca was his original birth name prior to his

adoption by the Marsé family during his childhood (Ayen 2020). Such biographical information, then, does more than simply ‘identify’ the author; it also extends the identitarian *questions* of the text beyond the purely linguistic by bringing into play questions of genealogy and familial affiliation – including the normative binary of “birth parents” and “adoptive parents” – to underline the multifaceted complexity of identity. Added to such scathingly overt derision is the introduction of “el afamado sociolingüista Jordi Valls Verdú, peligroso activista cultural” (29) and “catalanufo monolingüe” (213). Transforming Francesc Vallverdú’s name to Jordi Valls Verdú allows the Christian name to effect a possible double reference to Catalonia’s patron saint and at the same time its erstwhile President at the time of the novel’s publication, Jordi Pujol. The accompanying epithet, “peligroso”, is both incongruous in its use for the rather innocuous occupation of a sociolinguist, while also a possible swipe at the pitfalls of linguistic essentialism, represented by Valls Verdú. Throughout the text, Valls Verdú is persistently positioned, to use Resina’s (2001, 95) words, as the “*bête noir* of the piece.” The reader is thus conditioned to enjoy the ridicule levied explicitly against Valls Verdú and implicitly against Vallverdú as well as, perhaps, the entire sociolinguistic endeavour of normalisation.

Engagement with figures from Catalan letters comes in the character of Norma’s father, Senyor Valentí – a plausible nod to Valentí Almirall – who engages the boy Marés to give a poetry performance of Josep M. de Segarra’s poem “Sant Jordi, gloriós” as part of a clandestine celebration of autochthonous culture attended by members of the Catalan haute bourgeoisie.³³ With all its connotations of Catalan national pride, Valentí’s choice of text for the young Marés, acts as another recognisable cultural reference. The injection of “high literature” not only expands the heteroglossic space but also conjures up connections with the *Jocs Florals* and the literary debates of the past regarding Catalonia, language and the novel. The performance is rife with humour and for Dutra Carijo (2016, 74), the comic inversion of the revered image of Sant Jordi, patron saint of Catalonia, can also be read in terms of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque, creating as it does a “world inside out”. The episode functions within the text as an explicit declaration of cultural identity: “Él [Valentí] era catalán. Yo también, pero todos mis amigos de la calle [...] eran charnegos [...] y con ellos yo siempre me entendía en su lengua” (128). Thus, Marés categorises Castilian, or at least its

³³ In *Lo catalanisme* (1886) Almirall famously declared the need to recognise, “las personalidades de las diferentes regiones en que la historia, la geografía y el carácter de los habitantes han dividido la península.”

particular “charnego” variety, as a language which does not belong to him. At the same time, however, he acknowledges being in contact with and, by implication, capable of operating across the boundaries of several different identities, each to a certain extent constructed. When Valentí addresses him in Catalan asking whether he speaks the language, the boy responds: “Una mica pero malament” (129). The absent diacritical marker in “pero” is another signal of the abovementioned linguistic hybridity in speech. Despite being a self-identified Catalan-speaker, in order to earn the promised ‘duro’, Marés plays the part of the exoticised “charnego” waif, projected onto him by Valentí. The moment prefigures Marés’s subsequent relationship with the patron’s daughter, where drawing upon these early lessons, his performed adult “charnego” persona is again fetishized, this time by Norma, *qua* the next generation. Indeed, this particular episode from Marés’s childhood reflects the notion that minoritized languages and cultures live a Janus-faced, hybrid existence as they deploy the past to ensure preservation in the future

As with Artís Gener, Marsé marshals the overarching humorous tone by injecting his prose with contrast and counterpoint in moments of playful, light relief. In the parts of the novel where Marés has taken to busking outside the Sagrada Família – a pertinent site given its own multiple and contrasting facades – his split identity is signalled by two-sided *ròtulos*. These signs, which become increasingly outlandish in their claims, function as both jabs and punchlines in themselves. There is dramatic irony since the reader knows these are adopted stories and personae, while also a shared sense of enjoyment in the incredulity of fictional passers-by. The sign that reads “pedigüeno charnego sin trabajo ofreciendo en Catalunya un triste espectáculo tercermundista” is turned over after an hour and half and only 400 pesetas to show for Marés’s trouble, to instead read: “fill natural de Pau Casals busca una oportunitat” (22) as he begins to play Casals’s iconic *Cant dels ocells*. In the first instance, the flipped sign acts as a fairly overt metaphor for Marés’s dual and reversible identity. Moreover, the textual intermixing of Catalan and Spanish, draws comment from a member of the public:

Escolti, perdoni – dijo con una sonrisa de conejo –. Aquest rètol està mal escrit.

¿Cómo dice, buen hombre?

¡Oh! – exclamó muy sorprendido el transeúnte de lustrosos zapatos –. Ésta sí que es buena: ¿hijo de Pau Casals y no habla catalán? ¡Vaya, vaya!

(23)

The passing pedant, who appears to take pleasure in correcting the beggar's orthography, ridicules Marés the moment he perceives that this so-called son of Casals *qua* embodiment of Catalan identity does not speak the language. The ridicule, of course, is symptomatic of an essentialist conflation of language and culture, which the author, looping the loop, extends to the would-be guardian of sociolinguistic probity, Valls Verdú. The man remains incredulous, even when Marés offers a perfectly plausible reason for his *feigned* inability to speak Catalan – that he grew up in Algiers to a mother who had served as Casals's maid. This reference to a colonial past with implications of hybrid heredity is itself yet another disavowal of an exclusively Catalan-Castilian binary.

Throughout *El amante bilingüe*, Marsé returns to the question of identity as constructed, ascribed, adopted and/or performed via barbed reflections on the artificiality of linguistic essentialism and the arbitrariness of cultural capital. The Sant Gervasi crowd are conservative, rooted in a fetishized past and thus uncomfortable in the surroundings of 'real-life' Barcelona, which is embodied by the mobile, changing, vibrant and plural figure of Marés/Faneca as he navigates the heteroglossic cityscape. Class boundaries intersect with other lines (linguistic, sexual, ethno-racial, national among others) in a way that injects humour via a 'send-up' of group identification. The trope of Catalan *qua* victim is challenged in an ironic portrayal of linguistic elitism. The notion of purity, conformity and a top-down restrictive approach to language – with all its echoes of *Noucentisme* – is allotted to Catalan. Meanwhile Castilian is portrayed through Faneca as the impoverished, imprecise uncultured language and through Marés as a hybrid of codes and languages representing a third, in-between, linguistic reality. For Meriwynn Grothe (1998, 158), Norma becomes the embodiment of hypocrisy: publicly committed to eradicating "charneguismos" while privately engaging her sexual predilections for "charnegos", all of which renders her her "vida privada", as Segarra might put it – unable to remain within an exclusively Catalan sphere. So positioned, Norma functions as a character for whom the reader does not root – perhaps because she is all too "rooted", and disingenuously so. In this sense, while Norma can hardly be said to have failed, she is 'stuck'. Conversely, Marés's acceptance that he will not win back his wife, also signals the anti-hero's triumph in being able to move past her and his former self: "a Joan Marés le dieron por desaparecido" (219). Thus, Faneca's self-discovery and decision to remain in his adopted, newly "naturalised" persona (that of the fills natural de Pau Casals) act as metaphors for a sense of identity *beyond* restrictive criteria conditioned by language alone.

Conclusions

The two literary texts discussed here, one written primarily in Catalan and the other primarily in Castilian, engage linguistic plurality as both thematic subject and rhetorical device, using humour's multivalence to contend with the fraught question of Catalan and Spanish language and identity. The dialogic shifts in both works are interspersed ironically across the diegetic levels to create and to reflect a complex and discombobulating identitarian linguistic experience. In *Paraules de Opaton el Vell*, such interventions typically culminate in incongruous farce, whereas in *El amante bilingüe* they are tethered to a darker sense of sardonic pathos, echoing Todorov's rejection of heterogeneity as something singularly positive. In so doing, the novels underscore the hybridity and intersection of the theories of humour outlined in the introduction through their multiple and diverse applications in both episodic examples and as part of an overarching humorous tone. Putting these two texts into dialogue, differing as they do in their humorous, linguistic, geographical and historical composition, further elucidates the complexity of the "linguistic problem" by underscoring that there is no singular multilingual experience and perhaps, in some profound way, no exclusively monolingual experience either.

Universalised metaphors of Babelian multiplicity often overlook the privileging of certain voices over others, which can be especially true in those multilingual contexts where polemics surrounding linguistic hegemony reign supreme as seen in the context of heated debates in Catalonia and Spain. In this respect, *El amante's* criticism and ridiculing of Catalan victimhood arguably falls short since the languages in play can hardly be said to stand on an equal footing. Indeed, such "contact zones," to borrow Mary Louise Pratt's (1991) term, represent sites where "cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt 1991, 34). The inclusion of a work from the diasporic periphery (*Paraules*) and the presence in it of languages *other* than Catalan and Castilian invites broader explorations of language and identity, offering a refracted lens to a longstanding polarity in Spain, which, for all the demographic and political changes, continues to this day. As we have seen with respect to Marsé, this intransigent dichotomy has implications for the reading and classification of the texts and authors themselves. Many of the humorous episodes in the two works rely on historical, geographical, and/or culturally specific allusions. Nevertheless, in both novels, while language hierarchies

certainly continue to obtain, their presence acts as a highly ironic exercise in scrutinising wider implications: for Artís Gener, in terms of linguistic repression and/or suppression and for Marsé, in terms of linguistic essentialism. Indeed, what links *Paraules* and *El amante* is their nuanced and attentive destabilisation of the traditionally polarised Catalan-Castilian binary as the *single* most important aspect of language and identity politics.

Studies of the texts in question, then, underscore that approaches to the multilingual subject and/or agent must be attentive to the porous and kaleidoscopic nature of the numerous and intersecting boundaries in play. What multilingual literature, the Catalan question and humour share here is their position at and/or engagement with the margins and interstitial sites of their respective borders. Useful to consider in this respect is Homi Bhabha's (1994, 1) notion of borders as places where conventional divisions are blurred and as "in-between spaces [that] provide the terrain of elaborating strategies of selfhood singular or communal that initiate new signs of identity". In *Paraules* and *El amante*, such marginality is redeployed as a platform for a multiplicity of voices that variously challenge monolingual monoliths. In *Paraules*, multiplicity serves to underscore Iberian linguistic heterogeneity in direct opposition to Castilian homogenisation through the various 'falas' of 'As Espanhas do Máis Alá'. In *El amante*, the typical surface-level linguistic bipolarity is deployed sardonically to scrutinise complex debates surrounding the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* from 1983, which for some represented a legitimate attempt to turn the tide of a language marshalled steadily into decline and for others underscored a need to resist an imposed form of linguistic purism in a different guise. For all their undeniable differences, both texts are examples of multilingual literature as a form of resistance to national monolingualism.³⁴

Structurally, *Paraules* and *El amante* adduce hybridity through their multidirectional shifts across a number of diegetic levels. In *Paraules*, this is achieved through intertext and paratext pushing at fixed notions of authenticity, a question which is intrinsically linked to notions of identity. *El amante*, likewise, represents what might be considered a mimetic linguistic landscape, rife with diglossic parody, resonant with Bakhtinian notions of the carnivalesque. Within and without the contexts of these interpolated shifts, time and space also play primary roles in playfully subverting the notion of boundaries as fixed. Artís Gener's deployment of the 'found text' allows for a series of asynchronous voices to come into dialogue, transcending

³⁴ See Hiddlestone and Ouyang (2021, 9).

historical barriers. Marsé's text, on the other hand, brings the recent past into play with exaggerated nostalgic overtones and stereotypes, so as to ironically underscore the tensions and overlaps between tradition and modernity at the heart of debates surrounding linguistic and cultural institutionalisation. While both texts 'spatialise' the question of linguistic identity, it is in *El amante* where this is particularly discernible in ways that bring microspaces – neighbourhoods, streets, even buildings – into play to give rise to the metaphors of duplicity and "schizophrenia" which challenge national and regional categories.

Both texts deploy a multiplicity of humorous techniques to underscore the intrinsic value, as well as the challenges, of engaging identity and language's own pluralities. Conceived within the context of exile, Artís Gener's critique of linguistic imperialism is necessarily indirect in its acerbic treatment of the contemporaneous context of the Francoist repression. Nevertheless, the angle of the 'outsider looking in,' shaped by the diasporic experience, allows for a poignant-while-comic reflection of the multiplicity of language and identity across a polyphony of voices. Marsé's novel not only offers a direct derisive, tongue-in-cheek response to the indictments of cultural and linguistic 'treason' levied against him, but also serves as a strident, albeit exaggerated, contribution to debates about national literature and translingual writing in the Catalan multilingual context. *El amante* is a work that nuances cultural and linguistic alterity, while nonetheless remaining forthright in its undeniably polemical and exaggerated representation of the Catalan government and its linguistic politics in the role of aggressor. In a narrative portrayal of identity conflicts through the variegated uses of and switches between language(s), the novel deploys humour to expose extant tensions between those bent on re-establishing Catalan as the primary, if not indeed sole, language of the public sphere through top-down normalisation and legislation that has echoes of a *noucentista* past. Marsé's mockery of Vallverdú pulls no punches and sardonically holds a mirror to the inherent flaws, more broadly, of essentialising and polarising Barcelona's linguistic identity. In so doing, the text pushes beyond age-old, tired binaries of Castilian-Catalan cognates to acknowledge that the languages of the region are multiple and so too, therefore, the languages of the Catalan people. However, the fact that two decades later Carles Casajuana would again take up the questions at the heart of *El amante* in his novels

L'últim home que parlava català (2009) and its sequel *El melic del món* (2013), attest the perseverance of this politicised dichotomy.³⁵

Avel·lí Artís Gener and Juan Marsé engage, in short, the variegated and multifaceted opportunities offered by humour, permeating the narrative levels of their respective texts as they seek to challenge imposed boundaries of linguistic expression. In this respect the texts are multilingual not only by virtue of including more than one language, but also through their interspersed and engagement with the heteroglossic landscape of diegeses; dialogic register, dialect and archaisms, metalinguistic ruminations on translation, signification and neology. Moreover, in their deployment of humour in relation to the theme of linguistic plurality and multiple, or intersectional, identities, the two authors do not miss the opportunity for bilingual wordplay itself, deploying it in a heterogenous fashion that contributes to a polyphonic unfolding which challenges more intractable and still deeply rooted and naturalised binaries. To return to Eco's words in the epigraph, the humour in *Paraules d'Opton el Vell* and *El amante bilingüe* interrogates and in many respects undermines linguistic and identitarian limits by scrutinising, while elucidating, their very existence. This is particularly evident in the Janus-faced existence of those minoritized languages, which look back on a past glory to enshrine their legitimacy while also looking to the future to ensure their continued preservation.

Works Cited

- Alcoff, Linda. 1991. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." *Cultural Critique* 20, (Winter): 5–32.
- Almirall, Valentí. (1886) 1979. *Lo catalanisme*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- Álvarez Sancho, Isabel. 2017. "The Iberian Third Space in a Novel by a Catalan Exiled in Mexico: Language(s) in *Paraules d'Opton el Vell* by Avel·lí Artís Gener." *Catalan Review* 31: 59–78.
- Artís Gener, Avel·lí. 1968. *Paraules d'Opton el Vell*. Barcelona: Cadi.
- Artís Gener, Avel·lí. 1991. *Viure i veure*. 4 vols, III. Barcelona: Pòrtic.
- Attardo, Salvatore, and Victor Raskin. 1991. "Script Theory Revis(it)ed: Joke Similarity and Joke Representation Model." *Humor* 4: 293–347.
- Atxaga, Bernardo. 1988. *Obabakoak*. San Sebastian: Erein.
- Ayen, Xavi. 2020. "Juan Marsé se va al otro barrio." *La Vanguardia*, 20 July, 2020. <https://www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20200720/482417204536/juan-marse-se-va-al-otro-barrio.html> (accessed 10 November 2021).

³⁵ Casajuana, here takes up Marsé's baton in order to reflect the divisive and futile polemic surrounding linguistic identity of culture via an irony-laced rehearsal of the discursive stalemate.

- Azavedo, Milton. 2002. "Considerations on Literary Dialect in Spanish and Portuguese." *Hispania* 85 (3): 505–514.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1935) 1981. "Discourse on the Novel." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: Texas UP.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1935) 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: Texas UP.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1940) 1968. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helen Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana UP.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1929) 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Translated by Caryl Emmerson. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP.
- Banas, John A., Dunbar, Norah, Rodriguez, Dariela and Liu, Shr-Jie. 2011. "A Review of Humor in Educational Settings: Four Decades of Research." *Communication Education* 60, (1): 115–144.
- Basualdo, Ana. 1989. "El "derby" literario." *El País*, Cultura, https://elpais.com/diario/1989/01/03/cultura/599785202_850215.html (accessed 26 November 2021).
- Bergson, Henri. (1900) 2008. *Le rire. Essai sur la signification du comique*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Berkenbusch, Gabriele and Heinemann, Ute. 1995. "El amante bilingüe: Interkulturelle Konfliktivität, Verfahren ihrer Versprachlichung im zeitgenössischen spanischen Roman und Das Problem einer angemessenen Übersetzung," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 97: 48-72. [*El amante bilingüe: Strategies of Representing Cultural Conflict in Contemporary Spanish Novels and the Problem of Adequate Translation*].
- Bhabha, Homi. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Cain, Sian. 2015. "Marlon James: Writers of Colour Pander to the White Woman." *The Guardian*, 30 November, 2015.
- Candel, Francesc. 1964. *Els altres Catalans*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- Candel, Francesc. 1973. *Encara més sobre els altres catalans*. Barcelona: Curial.
- Candel, Francesc. 1985. *Els altres catalans vint anys després*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- Candel, Francesc. 2001. *Els altres catalans del segle XXI*. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Casajuana, Carles. 2009. *L'últim home que parlava català*. Barcelona: Butxaca.
- Casajuana, Carles. 2013. *El melic del món*. Barcelona: Columna.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. (1605) 2012. *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, ed. Francisco Rico, Punto de Lectura, Madrid, 2012.
- Connor, Laura. 2012. "Bilingualism, Desdoblamiento, and Dissociative Identity in Juan Marsé's *El amante bilingüe*." *The Proceedings of the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese Graduate Conference*: 3–14.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. 1568. *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. https://www.rae.es/sites/default/files/Aparato_de_variantes_Historia_verdadera_a_de_la_conquista_de_la_Nueva_Espana.pdf (accessed November 25 2021).
- Dutra Carrijo, Carolina. 2016. "O amante bilingue: Tradução anotada e comentada." Unpublished thesis, Universidade de São Paulo.
- Eco, Umberto. 1984. "The Frames of Comic Freedom." *Approaches to Semiotics* 64 [Special Issue "Carnival!"]: 1–9.

- Freud, Sigmund. (1905) 2001. *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, vol. VIII of the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, 24 vols. London: Vintage.
- Garcia i Raffi, Josep-Vicent. 2005. "La mirada mexicana de Lluís Ferran de Pol." *Estudios Jaliscienses* 61: 32-41.
- Goytisolo, Juan. 1985. *Coto vedado*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
- Grossmann, Reinhardt. 1992. *The Existence of the World: An Introduction to Ontology*. London: Routledge.
- Grothe, Meriwynn. 1998. "Cultural Schizophrenia in El amante bilingüe." *Hispanic Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring): 157-68.
- Gutiérrez Pérez, Agustín. 1995. "Juan Marsé: 'Siempre he querido ser un francotirador.'" *Ajoblanco*, Extra 2 Especial literature: 32-37.
- Guzmán Moncada, Carlos. 2004. *En el mirall de l'altre. Paraules d'Opòton el Vell, l'escriptura dialògica d'Avel·lí Artís-Gener*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Hiddlestone, Jane and When-chin Ouyang. 2021. *Multilingual Literature as World Literature*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hobbes, Thomas. (1651) 1968. *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Holmes, Janet and Meredith Marra. 2002. "Humour as a discursive boundary marker in social interaction." In *Us and Others: Social Identities Across Languages, Discourses and Cultures*. Edited by Anna Duszak. 377-400. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hutcheon, Linda. 1995. *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony*. London: Routledge.
- King, Stewart. 1999. "Desempeñar papeles y la desmitificación cultural en *El amante bilingüe* de Juan Marsé." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 5 (1): 73-85.
- King, Stewart. 2002. "¿Un acento propio? Cultural Difference in Castilian-Language Literature from Catalonia." *Letras Peninsulares* 15 (2): 287-301.
- King, Stewart. 2005. *Escribir la catalanidad: lengua e identidades culturales en la narrativa contemporánea de Cataluña*. Woodbridge: Tamesis.
- King, Stewart. 2006. "Catalan Literature(s) in Postcolonial Context." *Romance Studies* 24 (3): 253-264.
- Knight, Charles. 2004. *The Literature of Satire*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 2016. "Language Ideologies and Language Attitudes." *Oxford Bibliographies in Linguistics*.
<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0122.xml> (accessed November 2021).
- La Fave, Lawrence, Jay Haddad and William A. Maesen. 2007. "Superiority, Enhanced Self-Esteem, and Perceived Incongruity Humour Theory." In *Humour and Laughter: Theory, Research and Applications*. Edited by Anthony Chapman and Hugh Foot, 63-92. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Marsé, Juan. 1982. *Un día volveré*. Barcelona: Plaza Janes.
- Marsé, Juan. (1990) 1997. *El amante bilingüe*. Barcelona: Booket.
- Mas Sañé, Silvia. 2008. *Les novel·les d'exili d'Avel·lí Artís-Gener*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat.
- McGlade, Rhiannon. 2016. *Catalan Cartoons: A Cultural and Political History*. Cardiff: Wales UP.
- Mihalcea, Rada. 2007. "The Multidisciplinary Facets of Research on Humour." In *Applications of Fuzzy Sets Theory: 7th International Workshop on*

- Fuzzy Logic and Applications*. Edited by Francesco Masulli, Sushimita Mitra, and Gabriella Pasi, 412-421. Berlin: Springer.
- Morreal, John. 2009. *Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humor*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. 2006. "Bilingual Selves." In *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*. Edited by Aneta Pavlenko, 1-33. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pérez Manrique, Ana. 2006. "Barcelona como frontera lingüística, sexual, espacial y cultural: La novela española a las puertas del siglo XXI." [doctoral dissertation Florida State University] available at: <https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu:180274/datastream/PDF/view>
- Pérez Manrique, Ana. 2009. "Entrevista a Juan Marsé: En torno a *El amante bilingüe*." *Confluencia* 25, no. 1 (Fall): 124-130.
- Poch, Cesc and Marta Jaén. 1993. "Entrevista a en Tísner." *La Llançadora* 2: n.p.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession, Association of Department of English Bulletin* 91: 33-40.
- Resina, Joan Ramon. 2000. "Juan Marsé's *El amante bilingüe* and Sociolinguistic Fiction." *Journal of Catalan Studies* 3: 1-15.
- Resina Joan, Ramon. 2001. "The Double Coding of Desire: Language Conflict, Nation Building, and Identity Crashing in Juan Marsé's *El amante bilingüe*." *The Modern Language Review* 96 (1): 92-102.
- Rivas, Manuel. 1998. *O lapis do carpinteiro*. Vigo: Xerais de Galicia.
- Rossich, Albert and Jordi Cornella. 2014. *El plurilingüisme en la literatura catalana*. Bellcaire: Vitel·la.
- Serra, Màrius. 1992. "La ena de Tísner." *Cultura* 37: 12-19. <https://www.nuvol.com/llobres/la-ena-de-tisner-959> (accessed 29 October 2021).
- Sinner, Carsten. 2004. *El castellano de Cataluña. Estudio empírico de aspectos léxicos, morfosintácticos, pragmáticos y metalingüísticos*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Sternberg, Meir. 1981. "Polylingualism as Reality and Translation as Mimesis." *Poetics Today* 2 (4): 221-239.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1979. "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology." In *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*. Edited by R. Clyne, W. Hanks, C. Hofbauer, 193-247. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. 1985. "Bilinguisme, dialogisme et schizophrénie." In J. Bennani et al. *Du bilinguisme*. 11-26. Paris: Editions Denoël.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. 1994. *Dialogism and schizophrenia*. Translated by M. Smith. In *An Other Tongue: Nation and Ethnicity in the Linguistic Borderlands*, edited by A. Arteaga, 205-214. Durham, NC: Duke UP.
- Triezenberg, Katrina, E. 2008. "Humor in Literature." In *Primer of Humor Research*. Edited by Victor Raskin, 523-542. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, New York.
- Vallverdú, Francesc. 1982. "Testimoniatge o mistificació en *Un dia volveré*." *El Món*, 6 August, 1982: 17.
- Vallverdú, Francesc. 1996. "Pròleg." In Ute Heinemann *Novel·la entre dues llengües. El dilema català o castellà*. ix-xiii. Kassel: Reichenberger.

- Vann, Robert E. 1995. "Constructing Catalanism: Motion Verbs, Demonstratives, and Locatives in the Spanish of Barcelona." *Catalan Review* 9 (2): 253-273.
- Wesch, Andreas. 1997. "El castellano hablado de Barcelona y el influjo del catalán: Esbozo de un programa de investigación." *Verba: Anuario Galego de Filoloxía* 24: 287-312.
- Woolard, Kathryn. 1995. "Changing Forms of Codeswitching in Catalan Comedy." *Catalan Review* 9 (2): 223-252.
- Woolard, Kathryn. 1998. "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (June): 3-29.
- Zentella, Ana Celia. 1997. *Growing Up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Zillmann, Dolf and Joanne R. Cantor. 1972. "Directionality of Transitory Dominance as a Communication Variable Affecting Humor Appreciation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 24: 191-198.
- Zillmann, Dolf and Joanne R. Cantor. 2007. "A Disposition Theory of Humour and Mirth." In *Humour and Laughter: Theory, Research and Applications*. Edited by Anthony Chapman and Hugh Foot, 93-116. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Writing His Way through Grief in Scottish Gaelic: Christopher Whyte's Elegy to Maria-Mercè Marçal Drama

MONTSERRAT LUNATI

University of St Andrews

Abstract

In 1998, Catalan poet Maria-Mercè Marçal died of cancer, aged 45. Scottish writer Christopher Whyte had lived in Barcelona for the best part of two years and they had become close friends. After her death, he wrote a long mourning poem in Scottish Gaelic, the language he favours for his poetry. This essay, which is indebted to Jacques Derrida's views on death, mourning and friendship, will focus on Whyte's elegiac poem, entitled *Leabhar Nach Deach A Sgrìobhadh: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998/Un llibre no escrit: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal*, in order to analyze it in the context of the multilingual dialogue that Christopher Whyte, or Crisdean MacIlleBhàin, as he signs his poetry in Scottish Gaelic, establishes with her dead poet friend.

Keywords

Maria-Mercè Marçal; Christopher Whyte; Mourning; Friendship; Jacques Derrida; Illness; Body

Writing His Way through Grief in Scottish Gaelic: Christopher Whyte's Elegy to Maria-Mercè Marçal Drama

MONTSERRAT LUNATI

University of St Andrews

Introduction

In these disorderly, out-of-joint times, when far-right political parties encourage the suppression of all languages other than Spanish in the campaign leading up to the first and second 2019 Spanish general elections; when advanced models of schooling are maliciously questioned regarding the use of so-called minority languages; the media in Catalan are threatened on all fronts amid an atmosphere of unforgiving repression by the Spanish State against those who dare to imagine Catalonia as an independent Republic; Christopher Whyte exemplifies how an open-minded, multilingual, tolerant approach to languages and cultures is not only extremely productive, but also, I would dare to say, the most ethical of positions. A poet, novelist, translator and scholar (at La Sapienza, in Rome, first, and then at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow), Whyte was one of the first academics to argue that issues of gender and sexuality, often knotted with perceptions of nationhood, had to be taken into account when entering the traditionally male-dominated territory of Scottish literature. He also claimed that it was necessary “to reroute, or at least diversify” (Whyte 1995, xvii) the approach to writings by canonical Scottish figures such as Walter Scott, Robert Burns, the eighteenth-century poet author of the popular *Auld Lang Syne*, and others.

Conversant in several languages, including Catalan, as he spent the better part of two years living in Barcelona, Glasgow-born Whyte writes his novels in English and his poetry in Scottish Gaelic (under the name of Crisdean MacIlleBhàin); his translations as well as his critical and scholarly work, however, are not limited to these two languages. He has translated Pasolini, Rilke and Marina Tsvetaeva into English. In 1997, for an issue of *Champan* magazine (no. 88) devoted to Catalan literature (*Window on Catalonia*), he translated

into English short stories by Quim Monzó and Sergi Pàmies, as well as poems by Narcís Comadira, Gabriel Ferrater, and, Maria-Mercè Marçal, specifically *La germana, l'estrangera*. Whyte's way into writing poetry in Scottish Gaelic was via translation (Whyte 2002, 67): in the 1980s he produced versions in Gaelic of Konstantinos Cavafis, Yannis Ritsos, Tin Ujević, Eduard Mörike, Marina Tsvetaeva and Anna Akhmatova. In 1985, he translated into Italian from the original Gaelic the Scottish poet Sorley MacLean. It was only after this intensive training in multilingual translation, that he began to write his own poems in Scottish Gaelic and, in 1987, publishing them in *Gairn*, a Gaelic-only magazine (Whyte 2002, 67, 69). Six collections of poems have followed. The first, *Uirsgeul* [Myth], appeared in 1991 with facing-page English translations, but the next one, from 2002, was exclusively in Gaelic: *An Tràth Duilich* [The Difficult Time], which is a collection focused mostly on Whyte's adolescence. *Dealbh Athar* [Father's Image], from 2009, comprises a painful memory of the sexual abuse he suffered at the hands of his father and has been translated into Irish by Gréagóir Ó Dúill. In Whyte's fourth poetic collection, *Bho Leabhar-Latha Maria Malibran* [From the Diary of Maria Malibran], published with translations into English by various hands, also from 2009, the poetic subject is a 19th-century opera singer who recalls her life and her experiences of sexual abuse. In the epilogue, the author advocates writing in Gaelic on subjects that are not strictly related to what may be perceived as "Gaelic issues". *An Daolag Shìonach* [A Chinese Beetle], from 2014, is in Gaelic only. Whyte's latest collection, *Ceum air cheum* [Step by Step] (2018), includes twelve long poems, most of them translated into English by the Gaelic poet Niall O'Gallagher, who also has translated into Scots a poem about Whyte's mother, and four other poems translated into English by Whyte himself. Now based in Budapest and Venice, Whyte continues to translate Rilke and Tsvetaeva into English and has published Gaelic poems in several anthologies of Scottish authors with translations into English and Scots by O'Gallagher. Whyte is also the author of four novels in English: *Euphemia MacFarrigle* and the *Laughing Virgin* (1995), *The Warlock of Strathearn* (1997), *The Gay Decameron* (1998) and *The Cloud Machinery* (2000).¹

The text that I shall explore in what follows is a long poem, a requiem in words, divided into six sections and entitled *Leabhar Nach Deach A Sgrìobhadh: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998*, or, in the version translated into Catalan by Francesc Parcerisas and Jaume Subirana: *Un llibre no escrit: In memoriam Maria-*

¹ For more details of Whyte's publications and translations, see his comprehensive website <http://www.christopherwhyte.com>

Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998 (Whyte 2005, 352-359).² Whyte wrote the poem in Scottish Gaelic shortly after Marçal's death from cancer at the age of 45. In my reading, I will move along three distinctive axes which make the poem unique, addressing the particularities of each axis although I am well aware that all three function as threads that criss-cross the poem and establish rhizomatic alliances with each another.

First, I will consider the reasons behind Whyte's decision *not* to translate his own poetry from Scottish Gaelic into English. In doing so, I will take into account the poet's views on self-translation (Whyte 2002, 64-71). Secondly, I will read *Un llibre no escrit* as a text of mourning. I regard mourning as one of the main narratives of our times, a discursive approach to the perception of what we call reality that illuminates crucial aspects of it, blurs the boundaries between the private and the social; relating death to life, history and memory, intimately and unavoidably. Catalan philosopher Joan-Carles Mèlich believes the human condition to be elegiac (Mèlich 2017), and Whyte's poem reminds us precisely of that, not only through its focus on the death of a loved one but also through its refusal to engage in metaphysics.

In order to read this long poem as a text of mourning, I cannot ignore Freud's 1917 definition of mourning and melancholia (Freud 1991, 251-268) as private processes of introjection: mourning being a dynamic way of getting over a painful loss and melancholia, a pathological attachment to loss. However, I am more interested in the wider ethical dimensions to mourning and melancholia highlighted by some post-Freudian scholars who take on board Freud's references to mourning and the self in such later writings as *The Ego and the Id*, in which he expresses "doubts regarding the possibility of a successful mourning without residue" (Ricciardi 2003, 33). Sarah Ahmed, for instance, in *The Politics of Emotion*, understands 'the complexity of grief as a psycho-social process of coming to terms with loss' (Ahmed 2004, 159). Discourses of mourning, even if they appear to be intensely private, are knotted with social, political, historical and, ultimately, ethical implications.

A powerful example of the multidirectional charge of grief and of how the textuality of loss (in any form or medium) makes public, hence socially relevant, the privacy of affect and desolation is the visual poem "Elegia al Che", written by Catalan avant-garde poet Joan Brossa shortly after Ernesto Che Guevara's death in October

² Both Parcerisas and Subirana contributed to the translation with Whyte's input. There is also a translation into English by Sally Evans (Whyte 2009, 99-109). The poem was first published in the Irish journal *Comhar* 63:3, 10-11. The Catalan translation was published as a *plaque* by Café Central in 2005. In the same year, it was included in Sam Abrams, ed., *La mirada estrangera*, Barcelona, Proa, 352-359.

1967. The alphabet without the C, the H and the E speaks volumes about the devastation Che's loss represented for Brossa and for others: how can one carry on writing, thinking, living without them, without him? Brossa's silencing of these three letters is simultaneously deafening because it signals the burning presence of absence and the ensuing understanding and sharing of textual loss. In *Precarious Life* (2004), Judith Butler suggests that mourning implies a social "we" rather than a solitary or solipsistic "I":

What grief displays [...] is the thrall in which our relations with others hold us in ways that we cannot always recount or explain, in ways that often interrupt the self-conscious account of ourselves we might try to provide, in ways that challenge the very notion of ourselves as autonomous and in control.

(2004, 23)

Mavis Gallant once wrote: "Memory [...] is inseparable from language" (2004). Indeed, memory is a meaningful and complex ingredient in Christopher Whyte's poem as mourning is felt both before unavoidable death and afterwards, as a poignant part of remembrance. Moreover, the ill body and its fluctuating qualities inscribe their presence with words that do not elude but rather chronicle the intractable aspects of Marçal's illness. In *Losing the Dead: A Family Memoir*, Lisa Appignanesi (2000, 6) asserts that "[m]emory is an emotional climate, a thick set of sights and smells and sounds and imprinted attitudes which can pollute as well as clarify". Likewise, the visual elements in Christopher Whyte's poem suggest a very sensorial, almost tactile, attentiveness to the texture of flesh, to the materiality and embodiment of the subject that recalls the haptic cinematic quality that Laura U. Marks (2000) has identified in what she calls "the skin of film". The poem places the addressee, the female poet, close to death, in a Deleuzian in-between position, the in-betweenness of being mortal, heightened by the implacability of a lethal illness. What the poem has in common with other European narratives of grieving published in the last few years will also be part of my reflections, and I consider Derrida's ideas of friendship, the self, and the dead other in conjunction with mourning.

I would also like to emphasize the significance of the fact that the poem was written by a gay poet and addressed to a lesbian poet, two writers who stand for their times, well-known not only because they have no qualms about acknowledging the political dimension of their sexual orientation, but also, as already indicated, because of the languages they use: Scottish Gaelic and Catalan, one Celtic and the

other Romance, but both politically repressed and socially marginalized during specific periods of their histories, languages to which these two “double outsiders” have made an outstanding poetic contribution.

Against Self-Translation

Christopher Whyte (2002, 67) claims that when he has been asked to translate his poems into English, he has done so “under duress. It has never been done with either pleasure or satisfaction”, and he has always tried “to let as long an interval as possible elapse between writing a text and translating it”:

Self-translation for me has been an activity without content, voided of all rich echoes and interchanges I have so far attributed to the practice of translation. It is almost a question of voiding the poem of its content, which may, indeed, be the language in which it was written.

(Whyte 2002, 68)

He emphasizes that:

[i]f translation is about crossing barriers, contaminating one language with the experience and the rhythms of another, self-translation occurs in situations of exile or of crude subjugation, where one language is attempting to take the place of another.

(Whyte 2002, 69)

Whyte questions “the hurry to get whatever is written in Gaelic published in English as soon as possible” and his explanation for such hurriedness is clear: “what matters is to dispense with the Gaelic text, to render it superfluous” (Whyte 2002, 69). As Wilson McLeod (cited by Whyte 2002, 69 70) says, the facing-page translations have “serious consequences”, inasmuch as the “the two texts can be seen as two distinct and different compositions, two ‘originals’ of essentially identical legitimacy and importance”, when, in fact, one is dependent on the other. Whyte sees Gaelic Sorley MacLean’s English translations of his own Gaelic poems as “grimly haunting doubles from which his Gaelic poems no longer have any hope of being prised free”, and which may even distort the reception of his work as a whole (Whyte 2002, 70); this sense of haunting doubleness stems from the fact that self-translations are interpretations that may limit the “many resonances of the text, effectively telling us what it means, with an authority which we are

powerless to controvert, because their source is the author". When commenting on the translations into English in a book of essays about MacLean (Ross-Hendry 1986), he complains about the editors' failure to indicate which contributors had access to the Gaelic originals and which did not. Outspoken against "the intellectual class in Scotland" who refuse to "acquire basic literacy in Gaelic", Whyte writes:

I cannot conceive how it is possible to write with real authority and understanding of Scottish history and culture in total ignorance of Gaelic, or, at the very least, without pointing to that space as a crucial one to which the person writing has no access. To claim anything else is a lie, which relies for its perpetuation on collusive silence. It is a silence I, at any rate, will not agree to observe.

(Whyte 2002, 70-71)

In his book of essays on translation, Francesc Parcerisas recalls a conversation in Aberswith with the English poet R. S. Thomas, a great advocate for the Welsh language, about a promising Welsh poet who, after producing a good book, was in a hurry to translate it into English and to publish it in both languages almost simultaneously. He should have let the Welsh original collection run its course, argued Thomas, allowing it to take its place within previous and current Welsh literature. Once translated into English, Thomas insisted, those who will read the work in English, even the Welsh who will read it in English, will never appreciate its contribution to Welsh poetry (Parcerisas 2013, 98), a reflection that, no doubt, Christopher Whyte would easily understand.

Narrative of Life, Narrative of Loss

It is of note that several narratives of loss deal not just with the death of a loved one and its effects, such as the bewilderment at the realization that life goes on regardless of one's feelings of loneliness, the painful void that ensues or the raw grief that can easily last years, but also with other issues that at first do not appear to have much to do with mourning, issues that nevertheless help structure and inscribe a discourse which otherwise might prove impossible to articulate. It is as though these narratives of mourning needed a fulcrum to unfold and to shift the readers' attention away from the sadness, if only momentarily. In *H is for Hawk*, a book by Helen McDonald published in 2014, a narrator struck by grief after her father's death, resorts to falconry while trying to come to terms with

her father's absence: the time-consuming process of taming Mabel, a goshawk from a Scottish quayside she takes to Cambridge, where she lives, parallels the long process of mourning. In Julian Barnes's *Levels of Life* (2013), it is the history and curiosity of aerostatic balloons which eases the reader into the heart-breaking chronicle of Barnes's wife Pat Kavannah's illness and subsequent death. In Max Porter's *Grief is the Thing with Feathers* (2015), a male narrator, a recently widowed father of two boys who is writing a book on Ted Hughes, uses the motif of the crow, a recurrent image in Hughes's work, to provide the mourning narrative with a focus around which pain can be put into words. And when Rosa Montero wrote about the grief she experienced over her husband's death, she relied heavily on the diary Marie Curie wrote after the sudden death of Pierre Curie, a text which becomes so intertwined with Montero's that even its title, *La ridícula idea de no volver a verte* (2013), comes from Marie Curie's diary (Montero 2013, 25). The poem that Christopher Whyte wrote in Scottish Gaelic in the aftermath of Maria-Mercè Marçal's death follows a similar pattern: here, in the form of conversations the poetic subject remembers having had in Barcelona with his friend on two separate occasions. On the first one, she is already very ill but still hopeful that she will be spared an imminent death. Chatting over lunch, Maria-Mercè tells Whyte about a novel she wants to write, one in which the characters find themselves bereft of the woman who had brought them together, a woman who has died in a fire at a camping site. Marçal never had the time to write her novel about a loving dead woman and the void she leaves behind, which is the subject of the conversation between the two writers, and which nonetheless crops up in a number of his verses. The ghostly, never-written book plays a role similar to that of McDonald's goshawk, Porter's crow, Barnes's aerostatic balloons and Curie's diary in Montero's book. However, in Whyte's long poem, the fact that the poetic subject and his addressee, the poet who will die soon, are both writers makes the motif of the unwritten book, its play of absence and silence, particularly poignant:

Vas dir-me que estaves preparant una altra
 novel·la però que encara no en volies
 parlar. I, això no obstant, tan aviat com ens van
 haver posat les estovalles vas començar:
 'Potser recordes, de l'estiu passat,
 un accident als Pirineus...
 [...]
 La meva novel·la començarà amb una dona
 que mor allà, al càmping, i tractarà dels que ella
 deixa enrere. [...]

(Whyte 2005, 354-55)

And she takes over the narration: “La meva novel·la començarà amb una dona ...” (Whyte 2005, 355). She clings to the project as if trying to preserve not just a good life, now so precarious, but also a future life for her impossible book. The mourning subject reflects:

[...] Tot i que els llibres no es fan amb la vida
que vivim, sinó amb totes les vides que haurien
pogut ser la nostra i no ho han estat.
Una història enllestida és un objecte
que se'ns escapa de les mans i cau al fons
d'un estany: visible sota l'aigua ondulada,
brillant, inabastable, nostre i així i tot
ja no és nostre, diferent, i alhora el mateix.
[...]
Estaves tan a prop de la mort, vaig pensar,
que havies trobat la manera de posar la teva
pròpia mort al bessó de la nou de la història!

(Whyte 2005, 355)

As in Jordi Puntí's short story “Vertical” (2017, 13-31), in which a man mourns his dead partner by incessantly walking along the streets and through the places they had shared when she was still alive, in Whyte's poem, Barcelona's urban spaces frame the mournful disposition of the poetic subject and help locate the memories of the two meetings which heighten the unsentimental yet strongly felt grief. The first section of the poem, which sets the scene, runs as follows:

No podies portar amb tu el gosset,
pobra criatura que et feia feliç
de bon matí quan es despertava
al cabàs amb aquella mena de dansa
d'agraïment al món, com si no cregués
que la seva vida anterior hagués acabat,
que havia trobat una llar, recer i menjar. Mentre
caminàvem, mentre intentaves explicar-me
la teva situació, buscant els mots per expressar
allò contra el que t'enfrontaves i que anaves
superant, la corretja del gos tota l'estona
se t'enredava als peus i, encara que avançaves
inestable (no podia veure si el cabell
t'havia tornat a créixer, sota el mocador,
però tenies la cara com una pàgina
que massa mans han passat, o com un

text esborrat que ja no es pot llegir),
 pacientment desenredaves cada nus
 que ell provocava. Només et vaig veure inquieta
 quan la corretja es va afliixar i no sabies
 cap a on s'havia escapolit el gosset.

(Whyte 2005, 353)

A line from a love poem by Jorge Manrique, “Que la muerte anda revuelta/ con mi vida”, comes to mind. Life and death, like the puppy’s leash, get entangled in the ill body of the poetic subject’s friend. It also brings to mind a poem from Marçal’s posthumous collection *Raó del cos* (2008) that deals with breast cancer, “Covava l’ou de la mort blanca”, where the body of the poetic subject writhes on a trapeze, unable to find any stable ground under her feet:

en el trapezi
 on em contorsiono
 amb els meus peus vacil·lants
 [...] agafada a la mà de l’esglai de l’ombra.

(Marçal 2000, 86)

In Whyte’s requiem, the devastation of the body, with its “intimations of mortality”, reads like a text: the face, indeed the entire body, is a book that too many hands have handled, a tired palimpsest whose words have started to be obliterated, an eroded text. And yet, the woman who does not let death take over her uncertain existence shows no signs of annoyance: “pacientment desenredaves cada nus / que ell provocava”. Only the concern for another being, a little dog, is on her mind: “Només et vaig veure inquieta / quan la corretja es va afliixar i no sabies / cap a on s’havia escapolit el gosset” (Whyte 2005, 353).

Illness is here presented as leaving profound traces in the ailing body of the poet who will soon die, “(no podia veure si el cabell / t’havia tornat a créixer, sota el mocador, / però tenies la cara com una pàgina / que massa mans han passat, o com un / text esborrat que ja no es pot llegir)” (Whyte 2005, 353). These bodily signs are noted, registered, as the signs of a cancer which has not yet been identified as such in the first section of the poem. But cancer will be mentioned in the second section, which provides more precise details of the two meetings and which constitutes an account tinged by nostalgia, almost an epiphany, in which the life of the two poet-friends together contrasts painfully with the frailty that accompanies her illness “the sweetness of life being so perishable”, as Dick Bogarde says in

Bertrand Tavernier's film *These Foolish Things* [or *Daddy Nostalgie*], with Jane Birkin (1990).

When two friends meet for a second time, Whyte's poetic voice accepts only reluctantly that they will never return *together* to those streets and places in the city that they had made their own:

Fa només tres mesos d'aquella passejada,
va ser a la primavera. El sol encara era feble,
i era diumenge. Havien fet un parc al voltant
d'un edifici que havia estat una estació,
hi havia pares que jugaven amb les criatures,
que corrien, que s'hi divertien, i jo vaig pensar
en un dia ben diferent, el maig anterior.
Feia més sol, aquell maig, vam trobar-nos
a tocar del carrer de la Princesa i jo
vaig dur-te a un restaurant que es deia
La lluna plena.

(Whyte 2005, 354)

The restaurant, "La lluna plena", represents a poignant choice for the encounter, the moon being a profusely meaningful symbol in Marçal's poetry, a feminine word rich in intertextual connotations, the sun's subsidiary to which Marçal's poetry grants autonomy. Marçal had commented on her use of the trope of the moon in her first collection *Cau de llunes*:

La lluna serà en aquest llibre i en els immediatament posteriors imatge privilegiada, recurrent i obsessiva, punt de referència lluminós alhora utòpic i atàvic, amb la subversió en pantalla del seu significat tradicionalment subordinat: 'Hi havia una vegada quan la lluna tenia llum pròpia...' podria ser el començament d'un conte.

(Marçal 2004, 185-186)

In one of her poems from *Bruixa de dol* (1979), "La lluna de porcellana", Marçal humanizes the moon, and brings it closer to earth through the pathetic fallacy, and; the sky and the mundane objects, or things, as Remo Bodei (2015, 9) would have it, become equals in the symbolic language:

Perquè avui feia el seu ple
La lluna se'ns posa a taula.
Quin pany de cel de quadrets
de cuina les estovalles!

(Marçal 1989, 90)

Images of everyday things, mostly related to the home, make their presence felt in a way that has been neglected by more lofty poetic traditions because of their apparent insignificance. These images are symbolic because language is inescapably metaphorical, “material things transmit immaterial symbols [such as emotional meanings],” says Remo Bodei (2015, 72), but in some of her poems, Marçal draws attention to their physical substance and to how they stand out as references to a different, material order.³

In Marçal’s “Cançó del bes sense port”, from *Sal oberta* (1982), we again find a humanized moon, one now exposed to intemperate weather, as the poet herself would later be: a dark, menacing moon:

[...] la tristesa dins la mar,
la mar dins la lluna cega.
I la lluna al grat del vent
com una trena negra.

(Marçal 1989, 228)

The moon, a traditionally feminine image, is often associated to the poetic subject herself. There are many beautiful examples where, as Marçal herself writes, “vida i poesia fan la trena, indestriables” (2004, 185). In a poem from *Sal oberta*, the “I” of the poem, here experiencing a crescent phase, identifies with the moon and claims that they will sail freely together when the laws of empire, a patriarchal empire, no longer impose their presence:

Sents? La lluna davalla i et diu Mercè-creixent,
i se t’esmuny per sota el davantal
i, a vol, et pren el novenari d’heura
que lliga sal i sant, a cel obert...

Cenyides per la serp de la tenebra
la lluna i tu sou u: arbre i mirall.
Fareu el ple quan el jorn llevi l’àncora
i naveguin banderes sense imperi.

(Marçal 1989, 243)

³ We will later see how Whyte also uses images of domestic utensils to illustrate his relationship with the Gaelic language. A celebration of women’s traditional chores that pays homage to the mundane tools of the domestic space as a site of struggle may also be found in an early poem by Marçal, *Cau de llunes* (1989, 47).

From early on, the moon, for Marçal, is also a powerful companion in women's struggle. In the poem "Vuit de març", Marçal writes:

Amb totes dues mans
alçades a la lluna,
obrim una finestra
en aquest cel tancat.

(1989, 169)

Once Whyte's poetic voice has acknowledged his friend's illness, it then waxes urgent, loquacious, vociferous even, about it. Once again, the body, a "libidinal surface, a site of multiple coding [...] a living text", in the words of Rosi Braidotti (1994, 59), tells a story:

[...] Ja feia un cert temps que
haves entomat el primer assalt del càncer
i els cabells, em va semblar, t'havien crescut
més espessos que abans.

(Whyte 2005, 354)

Good humour comes to the rescue, but the determination to talk openly about the ugly aspects of the illness and the effects of the cancer treatment, is overwhelming:

[...] Et vaig preguntar
si t'havies fet fotos quan eres més calba
que jo. Vam riure'ns-en com si la malaltia
fos una cosa que pertangués al passat.

(Whyte 2005, 354)

Even though when they first meet, death seems to have been cheated, the text is full of the mournful sorrow that comes with the certainty of death. Death is thus proleptic and analeptic at the same time, an anachronistic, anticipated presence that forcefully wants to be part of the conversation. On this score, it is remarkable how Jacques Derrida's views on friendship, death, mourning and the self aptly characterize Christopher Whyte's poem to Maria-Mercè Marçal. For Derrida, mourning lurks in every friendship from the beginning; it is there, that is, long before death takes away one's friends. Derrida describes the emotional involvement with a friend in terms of mourning: "Je ne pourrais pas aimer d'amitié sans m'engager, sans me sentir d'avance engagé à aimer l'autre par-delà la mort" (Derrida

1994a, 29) [“I could not love a friend without engaging myself, without feeling myself in advance engaged to love the other beyond death” (Derrida 2005, 12)]. In an interview with Maurizio Ferraris, Derrida defines himself in terms of mourning through a challenging post-Cartesian statement: “Je suis endeuillé, donc je suis” (Derrida 1992, 331) [I mourn, therefore I am (Derrida 1995, 321)]. Indeed, the feeling of sorrowful anticipation permeates every line of Whyte’s long poem. For Derrida, “living is nothing other than living on, surviving in or as the experience of mourning the other” (Wortham 2010, 228). Derrida is clearly not indifferent to the death of others. In *Chaque fois unique, la fin du monde* (2003) [*The Work of Mourning* (2003)], the book that collects his writings after the death of friends, it is clear that for him

[...] there is no friendship without the chance of one friend dying before the other. Friendship is thus forged amid this structurally irreducible possibility, in which survival and mourning enter into the relationship right from the start, long before death. Mourning therefore begins with the friend rather than at friendship’s end in death.

(Wortham 2010, 227)

In Whyte’s long poem, the friend who is dying accentuates this ominous, undeniable feeling, as if replicating Derrida’s thoughts through an experience filtered through poetic language.

Two Double Outsiders

The fourth section of the poem focusses on the elements that constitute the identities of the poetic subject and his addressee, his friend, those elements that bring them closer together, both somehow foreigners in their own land. Issues of language, sexuality, poetry and translation are accordingly highlighted. The poetic subject thus *affirms* his linguistic choice, in a way similar to her linguistic choice, one that was not free from conflict, Whyte being from an Irish-Catholic background, a community subject to significant discrimination in Scotland:

Per això vaig triar aquesta llengua negligida
amb paraules com plats que un dia foren regis,
resplendents, però que després algú va desar
en un bufet polsós. I com un vailet poruc
que s’està convidat a casa d’algú altre
com si no tingués dret a ser-hi, jo vaig
trobar la clau que obria el bufet i a poc

a poc vaig anar enduent-me'n els plats,
 aplegant-los en un amagatall, netejant-los
 fins que els antics colors tornaven a aparèixer
 coma bans, al meu regne secret, però sempre
 atemorit que algú no se n'adonés
 d'aquells buits al bufet.

(Whyte 2005, 356)

Just as we have seen in Marçal's poetry, images of everyday things that are rarely given poetic status are also carefully selected by Whyte. Theirs is not a metaphysical language that operates with concepts; instead, it is a language that is eminently literary, at once metaphorical and close to the materiality of bodies and things. Whyte mentions other connections between the two poets, such as their translations of Marina Tsvetaeva (Marçal had done hers with Monica Zgustová in the early 1990s) and, also, their sexuality as an alternative, unconventional, freer way of understanding relationships of love:

[...] Comptaves versos
 de la poetessa russa meravellant-hi
 com jo, talment grans d'un rosari d'un valor
 incalculable que vas traduir a la teva llengua.
 Comptat i debatut, per què
 no he de lloar també aquell amor particular,
 que ens empenyia a nous reptes i noves proeses
 i a la fundació de famílies noves?

(Whyte 2005, 356)

One of the most interesting aspects of Derrida's approach to mourning is his consideration of how we interiorize the dead, these others who become memory the moment they die, who "now [live] nowhere but in me" (Worham 2010, 229). In *Mémoires: pour Paul de Man* (1988, 29), Derrida talks about "*le deuil impossible*" [impossible mourning], whereby the other is unconditionally accepted but retained as a discrete foreign body, incorporated as a distinct subject, its differences acknowledged and respected because what matters is singularity, not one's absorption of the other. As William Watkin notes in *On Mourning* (2004, 199), other thinkers such as Levinas, Nancy or Lyotard, share with Derrida the same insistence "on the responsibility of mourning the lost other, turning attention away from those who grieve and towards those who have been lost [...]. [An] ethical consideration of otherness rather than subjective coherence". Derrida talks about this "*deuil impossible* qui, laissant à l'autre son altérité, en respecte l'éloignement infini, refuse ou se

trouve incapable de le prendre en soi [...]” (Derrida 1988, 29) [impossible mourning, which, leaving the other his alterity, respecting thus his infinite remove, either refuses to take or is incapable of taking the other victim oneself] (Derrida 1989, 6), that is, respecting to the extreme the irreplaceable singularity of the dead other, accepting his or her infinite alterity, his or her singularity. The concepts of introjection and incorporation, which are not clearly differentiated in Freud, are more distinctively discerned in Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok’s *The Wolf Man’s Magic Word: A Cryptonomie* (1986), for which Derrida wrote the Foreword “*Fors: The English Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok*” (xi xlviii). For them, introjection is linked to a form of successful mourning, and incorporation to a form of pathological grieving, as summarized by Alessia Ricciardi (2003, 214), while they add nuances to the Freudian concepts of mourning and melancholia. In *Fors*, Derrida revisits the “interchangeability” (Ricciardi 2003, 37) of Freud’s concepts and asserts that:

The incorporation is never finished. It should even be said: It never finishes anything *off*. First, for the following general reason: It is worked through by introjection. An inaccessible introjection, perhaps, but for which the process of incorporation always carries within it, inscribed in its very possibility, the “nostalgic vocation.” Next, because it always remains contradictory in its structure: By resisting introjection, it prevents the loving, appropriating assimilation of the other, and thus seems to preserve the other *as* other (foreign), but also it does the opposite.

(Derrida 1986, xxi xxii)

In Whyte’s poem, we find this Derridean aspect of mourning as the respect for the dead friend that entails an intense fidelity to the “otherness of the other” (Derrida 1986, xxii), in the sense that we perceive the challenge posed by the dead’s otherness in us, the dead’s difference which can never be completely embraced. In the last section, the poetic voice recounts the moment when he learnt about the death of his poet friend, Maria-Mercè Marçal:

¿Està mal fet lamentar no sols la teva pèrdua
sinó també la de totes les obres que haurien
pogut sortir de la teva mà si haguessis
continuat viva? Si en fos capaç, escriuria
jo la teva novel·la: cada mot i paràgraf
i capítol, però això és impossible.

(Whyte 2005, 359)

It is indeed impossible: in terms of mourning, the poetic subject's interiorization of his friend *par-delà la mort* is closer to the process of incorporation, as the respect for the difference, the singularity, of that particular other, causes the poetic subject to stop short of any appropriation: he cannot write *her* novel; he cannot even finish it *for* her.

The conversation between the two poets is truncated by death: "La mort, le fouet" [Death, the whip], says Canadian poet Denise Desautels (2001, 40). The last two lines, after referring to the unwritten book, mark the inevitability of death with a touch of a post-Freudian melancholia which, rather than being an indication of a pathological attachment to loss, reminds us of Alison Landsberg's statement that "memories are never finished business" (2004, 45). As such, they practically ooze Derridean ethics with an everlasting affection for the now "spectral" friend - a significant ending to an inevitably aporetic text of mourning, both "unavoidable and impossible" (Gaston 2006, back cover):

I ens queden solament fragments i pistes
i el nostre dolor, trist, intransferible.

Melancholia here is affection, and we can say, with Sarah Ahmed (2004, 159), that the memory of the friend will persist, "taken within the subject, as a kind of ghostly death", a fragmented ghost who will always need "a hospitable accommodation", as Derrida himself put it (1994b, 175).

Works Cited

- Ahmed, Sarah. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge.
- Appignanesi, Lisa. 2000. *Losing the Dead: A Family Memoir*. London: Vintage.
- Barnes, Julian. 2013. *Levels of Life*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Bodei, Remo. 2015 [2009]. *The Live of Things, The Love of Things*. Translated by Murtha Baca. Fordham: Fordham UP.
- Braidotti, Rosi. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia UP.
- Brossa, Joan. 1995. "Elegia al Che." In *Poesia i prosa, amb estudi introductori, selecció de textos i propostes de treball*, edited by Glòria Bordons. València: Editorial 3 i 4, 176. [Also available at the permanent site: <http://www.fundaciojoanbrossa.cat/obraDest.php?idmenu=3&menu2=7&submenu=9&id=61>]
- Butler, Judith. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

- Derrida, Jacques. 1986. "Foreword: *Fors*. The English Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok." Translated by Barbara Johnson. In Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok. *The Wolf Man's Magic Word: A Cryptonymy*, translated by Nicolas Rand, xi–xlviii. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1988. *Mémoires: pour Paul de Man*. Paris: Galilée.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1989. *Memories for Paul de Man*. New York: Columbia UP.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1992. *Points de suspension: Entretiens*. Paris: Galilée.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1994a. *Politiques de l'amitié suivi de L'Oreille de Heidegger*. Paris: Galilée.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1994b. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. New York and London: Routledge.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1995. *Points... Interviews, 1974-1994*, edited by Elizabeth Weber. Translated by Peggy Kamuf et al. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- Derrida, Jacques. 2003. *Chaque fois unique, la fin du monde*, edited by Anne-Pascale Brault and Michael Naas. Paris: Galilée.
- Derrida, Jacques. 2003. *The Work of Mourning*, edited by Anne-Pascale Brault and Michael Naas. Chicago: Chicago UP.
- Derrida, Jacques. 2005. *The Politics of Friendship*. Translated by George Collins. London and New York: Verso.
- Desautels, Denise. 2000. *Tombeau de Lou*. Montreal: Éditions du Noroît. Translated into Catalan by Antoni Clapés. 2001. *Tomba de Lou*. Vic: Cafè Central/ Eumo.
- Freud, Sigmund., 1991. "Mourning and Melancholia." Translated by James Strachey. In *On Metapsychology: The Theory of Psychoanalysis*, The Penguin Freud Library, Vol. II, 251–268. London: Penguin.
- Gallant, Mavis. 2004. "Foreign Lands." *The Guardian*, 21 February. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/feb/21/featuresreviews.guardianreview12> [permanent URL]
- Gaston, Sean. 2006. *The Impossible Mourning of Jacques Derrida*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia UP.
- Manrique, Jorge. 1511. "Ved qué congoxa la mía." In *Cancionero General*, edited by Hernando del Castillo. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/obra-completa--o/html/ff6c9480-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_4.html [permanent URL]
- Marçal, Maria-Mercè. 1989. *Llengua abolida, 1973–1988*. València: Editorial 3 i 4.
- Marçal, Maria-Mercè. 2000. *Raó del cos*. Barcelona: Proa & Edicions 62.
- Marçal, Maria-Mercè. 2004. *Sota el signe del drac: Proses 1985–1997*. Barcelona, Proa.
- Marçal, Maria-Mercè. 2014. *The Body's Reason, Poems in Catalan*. Translated by Montserrat Abelló and Noèlia Díaz-Vicedo. London: Francis Boutle Publishers.
- Marks, Laura. U. 2000. *The Skin of Film: Intercultural Cinema Embodiment and the Senses*. Durham and London: Duke UP.
- McDonald, Helen. 2014. *H is for Hawk*. London: Vintage.
- Mèlich, Joan-Carles. 2017. *L'experiència de la pèrdua: Assaig de filosofia literària*. Barcelona: Arcàdia.

- Montero, Rosa. 2013. *La ridícula idea de no volver a verte*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
- Parcerisas, Francesc. 2013. *Sense mans: Metàfores i papers sobre la traducció*. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg/Círculo de Lectores.
- Porter, Max. 2015. *Grief is the Thing with Feathers*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Punllí, Jordi. 2017. "Vertical." In *Això no és Amèrica*, 13-31. Barcelona: Grup 62/Empúries.
- Ricciardi, Alessia. 2003. *The Ends of Mourning: Psychoanalysis, Literature, Film*. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- Ross, Raymond and Joy Hendry, editors. 1986. *Sorley MacLean: Critical Essays*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Watkin, William. 2004. *On Mourning: Theories of Loss in Modern Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP.
- Whyte, Christopher. 1995. "Introduction." In *Gendering the Nation: Studies in Modern Scottish Literature*, edited by Christopher Whyte, ix-xx. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP.
- Whyte, Christopher. 2002. "Against Self-Translation." *Translation and Literature*, 11, no. 1: 64-71.
- Whyte, Christopher. 2005. "Leabhar Nach Deach A Sgrìobhadh: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998." / "Un llibre no escrit: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998." In *La mirada estrangera*, edited by Sam Abrams, 352-359. Translated by Francesc Parcerisas and Jaume Subirana. Barcelona: Proa.
- Whyte, Christopher. 2009. "An Unwritten Book: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998." / "Leabhar Nach Deach A Sgrìobhadh: In memoriam Maria-Mercè Marçal, 11.XI.1952-5.VII.1998." In *Bho Leabhar-Latha Maria Malibran / From the Diary of Maria Malibran*, 99-109. Edinburgh: Acair.
- Wortham, Simon Morgan. 2010. *The Derrida Dictionary*. London: Continuum.

Multilingüisme a l'educació secundària de Catalunya: veus i esquerdes

LLORENÇ COMAJOAN-COLOMÉ

Universitat de Vic; Universitat Central De Catalunya, CUSC-UB

F. XAVIER VILA

Universitat de Barcelona, CUSC-UB

VANESSA BRETXA

Secretaria de Política Lingüística

Resum

Aquest article presenta els resultats d'un estudi qualitatiu de les percepcions que tenen els docents i equips directius de 13 escoles i instituts de Manlleu, Mataró, Sant Joan Despí i Sant Just Desvern al voltant de la gestió de la diversitat lingüística en general i, més en concret, als seus centres educatius de secundària (Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila, 2017). L'article es divideix en tres parts. A la primera, es presenta l'evolució del model lingüístic educatiu de Catalunya fent èmfasi en el desenvolupament de diferents sistemes d'educació multilingüe arreu del món i en l'evolució que ha fet el català en els darrers anys. A la segona, es presenta un resum de les dades obtingudes a partir de les entrevistes de l'estudi. Els resultats mostren que el català és la llengua predominant dels centres de secundària, però també hi ha evidències clares de la presència del castellà dins i fora de les aules. A la tercera part es fa una anàlisi discursiva de la polifonia dins de les entrevistes dels docents tot analitzant les veus que apareixen en el discurs directe i indirecte de les entrevistes. Els resultats d'aquesta anàlisi mostren que els docents sovint incorporen altres veus dins de les seves respostes per tal de subjectivar la pròpia perspectiva docent i donar força argumentativa a les seves intervencions.

Mots clau

Sociolingüística educativa; Ensenyament secundari; Actituds lingüístiques; Polifonia

Multilingüisme a l'educació secundària de Catalunya: veus i esquerdes

LLORENÇ COMAJOAN-COLOMÉ

Universitat de Vic; Universitat Central De Catalunya, CUSC-UB

F. XAVIER VILA

Universitat de Barcelona, CUSC-UB

VANESSA BRETXA

Secretaria de Política Lingüística

Introducció

La societat catalana en el traspàs del segle XX al XXI va experimentar canvis demolingüístics importants, en particular els marcats per la globalització i els conseqüents moviments migratoris. Els moviments demogràfics dins la població escolar van generar una sèrie de canvis d'organització a les escoles d'educació infantil i primària i als instituts de secundària de Catalunya, ja d'entrada institucions prou complexes. Aquest article examina les maneres com els canvis van impactar en el dia a dia dels centres de secundària de Catalunya a partir dels resultats d'un estudi qualitatiu centrat en el sistema educatiu a Catalunya, en la realitat quotidiana sociolingüística dels centres de secundària i en l'ensenyament-aprenentatge de llengües (Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila, 2017). En concret, en aquest article ens centrem en dos temes específics que van formar part de l'estudi:

1. El sistema educatiu vigent a Catalunya i la manera com el perceben els docents
2. Algunes problemàtiques del sistema en relació amb la diversitat lingüística i la manera com la conceben els docents

Els resultats de l'estudi permeten acostar-se a les percepcions dels docents sobre aquests dos temes escoltant les seves veus al llarg de les entrevistes realitzades. En aquest article, presentem una discussió del que ens diuen aquestes veus tant des d'un punt de vista de l'anàlisi dels continguts de les entrevistes com d'un punt de vista discursiu. L'article es divideix en tres parts principals. A la primera, es presenta breument l'evolució del model lingüístic educatiu de Catalunya fent èmfasi en el desenvolupament de diferents sistemes d'educació multilingüe arreu del món i en l'evolució que ha fet el

català en els darrers anys. A la segona, es presenta un resum de les dades obtingudes a partir de les entrevistes de l'estudi, centrant-nos en els continguts de les entrevistes. A la tercera, es fa una anàlisi discursiva de la polifonia dins de les entrevistes dels docents tot analitzant les veus que apareixen en el discurs directe i indirecte de les entrevistes.

El model lingüístic del sistema educatiu de Catalunya

Models d'educació multilingüe

El model lingüístic escolar vigent a Catalunya és el resultat de la transformació de l'escola heretada en acabar el franquisme a partir de les propostes d'Escola Catalana, la renovació pedagògica dels anys 70-80 i el sistema d'immersió lingüística, en el marc dels acords polítics que van permetre la catalanització de l'escola (Arenas i Sabater, 1982; Arenas i Muset, 2008; Argelaguet, 1999; Artigal, 1991; Vila, Lasagabaster i Ramallo, 2016). Al llarg dels darrers anys, i a mesura que es popularitzava la noció de *tombant plurilingüe* en el món lingüístic i educatiu (May, 2014), el model ha anat rebent noves adjectivacions com ara la de *multilingüe*, *plurilingüe*, *intercultural* i, recentment, *transllenguadora* (Departament d'Educació, 2018). El canvi és en part conceptual i en part terminològic. És conceptual perquè en els darrers anys hi ha hagut canvis propiciats pel desenvolupament de polítiques públiques que persegueixen l'aprenentatge cada vegada més aprofundit de l'anglès i que afavoreixen la diversitat des de la inclusió i la interculturalitat, contraposades a la segregació i la integració. Aquesta evolució ha fet que s'anés més enllà de la divisió clara entre dues o més llengües en ús a la societat i l'escola i que se centrés en aspectes de multi i plurilingüisme. També és cert, d'altra banda, que en alguns casos les noves denominacions són superficials ja que a grans trets hi ha hagut pocs canvis tant pedagògics com socials.

Les noves caracteritzacions del bilingüisme com a quelcom inestable i fluid estan relacionades amb el que s'ha anomenat el *tombant sociolingüístic* (*sociolinguistic turn*) i el seu èmfasi en l'heteroglòssia, és a dir, en els usos lingüístics per part d'agents més que no pas en la cosificació de les llengües en si mateixes. Pennycook (2017, 129), seguint Canagarajah (2013), en referència al terme "translingual", destaca dos aspectes que marcarien un canvi de paradigma: la comunicació va més enllà de les llengües individuals i la comunicació va més enllà dels mots i implica els diversos recursos semiòtics i les potencialitats ecològiques. Pennycook (2017, 131) analitza els diferents *tombants* i explica que el que tenen en comú és

que “all express a desire to move away from the language of bi- or multilingualism, castigating earlier work for operating with the idea that multilingualism is the sum of several, separate languages.”

El canvi conceptual i terminològic ha tingut un paral·lel en la descripció dels sistemes educatius en què conviuen més d'una llengua. García (2009) en fa una classificació i posa especial èmfasi en la distinció entre els models monoglòssic i heteroglòssic d'educació bilingüe i classifica el català dins del model heteroglòssic anomenat de desenvolupament (*developmental bilingual education*). Per entendre la diferència és il·lustratiu de comparar el model català amb el quebequès, tots dos definits sovint com a models d'immersió. El model quebequès és definit per García com a monoglòssic perquè es basa en la premissa que cal separar estrictament tant les llengües que s'aprenen, que mai s'han d'emprar simultàniament, com els aprenents segons la seva llengua inicial i el seu nivell de L2, de manera que l'addició de llengües i el manteniment de llengües per a minories es facin com si fossin compartiments independents. A diferència del model monoglòssic, el model heteroglòssic de desenvolupament parteix de la noció de repertori plurilingüe i rebutja la compartimentació de llengües i parlants, ans al contrari, entén que permetre l'ús de tots els recursos lingüístics simultàniament facilita l'aprenentatge lingüístic. Tal com admet García (2009, 114), la noció de “model” en si mateixa és reduccionista i per això és problemàtica. Amb tot, l'oposició entre el model monoglòssic i l'heteroglòssic pot ser útil per entendre les diferents maneres com s'ha organitzat l'educació multilingüe arreu del món. En aquest sentit, sembla prudent concloure que, seguint els quatre marcs teòrics que descriu García (2009), en el cas català si bé als anys 70-80 hi havia sectors que podien imaginar l'Escola Catalana en termes d'un model senzillament additiu i monoglòssic, ben aviat va evolucionar, primer en la pràctica i més endavant fins i tot programàticament, cap a un model heteroglòssic de desenvolupament. En termes de García (2009), el model català hauria evolucionat cap a un model que ella anomena d'educació bilingüe dinàmica (*dynamic bilingual education*), en què els alumnes no parlen la llengua A o la llengua B sinó que en parlen de diverses perquè pertanyen a diferents grups i cadascun té diverses llengües o bé són alumnes d'un mateix grup i aprenen continguts en diferents llengües (per exemple, mitjançant la metodologia de l'Aprenentatge Integral de Continguts i Llengües Estrangeres, AICLE). En aquest model l'objectiu no és ni l'addició de llengües ni la revitalització lingüística, sinó el plurilingüisme i no se centra en un grup específic d'alumnes sinó en tots. D'alguna manera, es poden veure brins d'aquest model

en el nou model propugnat pel Departament d'Educació (2018), que es comenta a la secció 2.2 d'aquest article.

Fins a quin punt les noves denominacions fan referència a un canvi observat? La resposta a aquesta pregunta va de bracet amb la concepció teòrica i epistemològica que tenen diversos estudiosos del tema. D'una banda, García (2009) i els seus seguidors defensen que els sistemes educatius poden ser transformadors i que els canvis recents poden contribuir a millorar les condicions dels alumnes d'una manera trencadora amb el passat i defensen que el *transllenguatge* (en anglès, *translanguaging*) constitueix de fet un nou paradigma que transforma la comprensió de la realitat lingüística (Wei, 2018). D'altra banda, hi ha estudiosos que han criticat severament la nova terminologia i el que representa perquè, en definitiva, o bé són nous termes que ja quedaven coberts en altres o bé posen massa èmfasi en el poder transformador dels canvis en el sistema educatiu. Per exemple, Pennycook (2017, 131) es pregunta: “How new is all this?” i respon que en realitat no és gens nou i que de fet el terme heteroglòssia ja recollia molts dels conceptes que per a alguns han marcat el “nou” paradigma del transllenguatge.

El sistema educatiu català i l'ensenyament de llengües

L'avaluació d'un sistema educatiu es pot fer a nivell macro, sovint amb una metodologia quantitativa (per exemple, Bretxa et al., 2016), o a nivell micro seguint una metodologia qualitativa. Si bé hi ha una tradició en la sociolingüística catalana i en la política educativa del govern d'estudiar la institució escolar des d'un punt de vista macro i quantitatiu, són més escassos els treballs que estudien qualitativament la manera com els docents perceben els canvis en el sistema educatiu i la seva relació amb els canvis sociolingüístics i pedagògics. Aquest article, que parteix de la disciplina de la sociolingüística educativa, pretén fer una anàlisi que s'acosta al nivell micro per tal de conèixer millor la manera com els docents dels centres de secundària viuen les realitats sociolingüístiques complexes dels seus centres. Es parteix de la disciplina de la *sociolingüística educativa*, que s'ocupa “dels agents individuals i institucionals que interactuen en les institucions dedicades a la transmissió del coneixement i dels processos sociolingüístics que s'hi desenvolupen” (Vila, 2011, 206). No és merament una lingüística educativa perquè, d'acord amb una posició interdisciplinària, la sociolingüística educativa va més enllà de l'estudi dels usos lingüístics en els entorns escolars i se centra també en les ideologies i les dinàmiques socials dels entorns escolars. La mirada de la sociolingüística educativa sovint va relacionada amb l'objectiu de

resoldre problemes. En el cas que ens ocupa el problema a resoldre és la gestió de les llengües a les aules de secundària en un entorn sociolingüístic canviant com el català.

A grans trets, pel que fa al sistema educatiu català, els resultats d'aprenentatge de llengües (català, aranès, castellà i anglès) en les avaluacions recents han estat positius. Tal com afirmen Vila i Arnau (2013), el sistema educatiu català és un dels pocs arreu del món que no bilingüïtza grups concrets poblacionals, sinó la totalitat de la població escolar. Arran dels canvis socials dels darrers anys i l'evolució de la recerca en sociolingüística educativa, el Departament d'Educació del govern català va publicar l'any 2018 el document "El model lingüístic del sistema educatiu de Catalunya: L'aprenentatge i l'ús de les llengües en un context educatiu multilingüe i multicultural" (Departament d'Educació, 2018), que dibuixa un nou sistema en què es presenta, tal com indica el títol, un context educatiu plural i que pretén implementar un model educatiu plurilingüe i intercultural amb els següents objectius concrets (p. 13):

- "Proporcionar a l'alumnat una competència plurilingüe i intercultural que garanteixi, en acabar l'educació obligatòria, un bon domini de les llengües oficials, català, castellà i occità a l'Aran, i de la llengua de signes catalana, si s'escau, i un grau de competència suficient en una o dues llengües addicionals, i la capacitat de conviure en una societat multilingüe i multicultural.
- Reforçar el paper de la llengua catalana com a llengua de referència del sistema educatiu i potenciar-ne l'ús per part de l'alumnat.
- Capacitar els alumnes per utilitzar totes les llengües del seu repertori individual per al gaudi i la creació estètica, per a l'anàlisi crítica i l'acció social a través del llenguatge, i per actuar de manera ètica i responsable en qüestions d'importància local o global.
- Desenvolupar en l'alumnat la capacitat d'utilitzar la seva competència plurilingüe per processar informació vehiculada en diferents llengües amb l'objectiu de construir coneixement nou.
- Fer presents en els centres les llengües i cultures dels alumnes d'origen estranger, afavorir-ne el reconeixement, destacar-ne el valor cultural i econòmic, i promoure'n la integració educativa.
- Despertar en els alumnes la curiositat per altres llengües i cultures, proporcionar-los coneixements sobre com són i com funcionen i afavorir la seva autonomia per aprendre-les al llarg de tota la vida".

Dels objectius se'n desprèn que el document recull moltes de les característiques del tombant sociolingüístic que hem descrit abans, com ara l'èmfasi en la competència plurilingüe, en els graus diferents de competència (cf. la noció de repertori individual), en la visibilitat de les llengües i cultures dels alumnes d'origen estranger i en l'afavoriment de les actituds positives vers totes les llengües.

Les percepcions de la realitat sociolingüística dels centres de secundària a Catalunya

Les dades d'aquest article provenen del projecte *Diversitat sociocultural i adquisició de l'autoconfiança lingüística en català i castellà* (RecerCaixa 2012), que tenia com a objectius principals estudiar les percepcions dels docents de secundària sobre la diversitat lingüística a les aules i la manera com la gestionaven. Les dades provenen d'un total de 40 entrevistes semidirigides a docents i equips directius de 13 escoles i instituts de Manlleu, Mataró, Sant Joan Despí i Sant Just Desvern (vegeu Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila, 2017). El treball de camp es va dur a terme entre novembre de 2013 i maig de 2014. Es van enregistrar les entrevistes en àudio i es van analitzar amb el programari d'anàlisi qualitativa Atlas.ti. Per a l'anàlisi de les entrevistes, primer, es va seguir la metodologia de l'anàlisi de continguts (Flick, 2014; Krippendorff, 2013). A continuació es presenten els resultats de les percepcions dels docents de secundària al voltant de les llengües al sistema educatiu català i les problemàtiques que hi perduren. Arran de la primera anàlisi, es va observar que un gran nombre de docents incorporaven a les entrevistes veus d'altres agents educatius i, per això, es va dur a terme una anàlisi de les veus que apareixien en el discurs reportat directe i indirecte dels entrevistats. Es van identificar tots els casos de discurs reportat dins de les cites de Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila (2017) i es van analitzar per estudiar quins efectes creava la polifonia de veus.

El sistema educatiu català: les percepcions dels docents

Els docents i gestors de centres de secundària de Catalunya han experimentat en els darrers anys una sèrie de canvis importants en la seva vida professional. En concret, a partir de les dades de les 40 entrevistes de l'estudi van emergir quatre grans canvis. A nivell social, van destacar l'impacte de la immigració amb l'arribada d'alumnat divers a les aules de secundària i la crisi econòmica del 2008, que va provocar que emergís la pobresa a les llars i la desigualtat social de molts alumnes. A nivell escolar, els docents van esmentar sobretot l'impacte de les noves tecnologies, que a més de permetre

implementar noves metodologies van sobretot causar més dispersió en l'alumnat i van propiciar que els alumnes s'esforcessin menys en les tasques escolars. Els docents també van destacar canvis en el model educatiu, però no es van centrar en temes relacionats amb les llengües i la diversitat, sinó més aviat amb canvis legislatius que es van originar als anys 90, quan arran de l'aprovació de la Llei Orgànica d'Ordenació General del Sistema Educatiu (LOGSE), es va escurçar la primària i es van afegir dos nivells inicials de secundària, amb les conseqüències que els docents de secundària passaven a tenir alumnes de 12-14 anys en lloc de començar amb alumnes de 14 anys. Finalment, el quart canvi va ser el de les famílies, que van passar a ser més diverses i a involucrar-se a les escoles, encara que no sempre amb un resultat beneficiós, ja que en alguns casos el resultat va ser la sobreprotecció dels alumnes, aspecte valorat negativament per part d'alguns docents entrevistats.

A partir dels resultats de les entrevistes de l'estudi al voltant de les realitats quotidianes sociolingüístiques dels centres, van emergir tres grans temes. En primer lloc, el català és la llengua principal de la institució escolar. La Llei d'Educació de Catalunya (2009) estipula que el català ha de ser la llengua normal de funcionament de les institucions educatives i la llengua vehicular per impartir docència. Els docents entrevistats van donar evidències que aquests mandats, a grans trets, es compleixen. És a dir, els centres educatius de secundària funcionen en català i conviuen amb altres llengües, principalment les que són també vehiculars, com ara el castellà i l'anglès:

- (1) *Tots els alumnes es dirigeixen als professors en català, o com a mínim amb mi, que soc de llengua catalana, perquè em veuen com el referent de llengua catalana. Però la meua companya és la professora encarregada de la llengua castellana, i a l'aula amb ella parlen castellà, però al passadís en català. El català és la llengua vehicular de l'escola.*

(Sant Just Desvern, professora de llengua)

En segon lloc, fora de l'aula, els centres són realitats sociolingüístiques complexes. Així, si bé a les aules s'empra principalment el català, a fora hi ha més diversitat. Per exemple, quan es demana als docents quines llengües es parlen al patí, responen el següent:

- (2) *Sento més entre alumnes el castellà, possiblement, en l'àmbit de pati. A dins l'aula això es transforma. En l'espai docent és el català en un 80%.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

De nou, tenint en compte la composició multilingüe de moltes aules, és d'esperar que els usos lingüístics al pati siguin més diversos que a l'aula:

- (3) *A nivell d'alumnes depèn de la procedència. Si són alumnes marroquins parlen entre ells molt català, però també parlen molt amazic, perquè són de la zona de Nador. Hi ha una gran quantitat d'alumnes que parlen en castellà perquè són castellanoparlants familiars, jo a quart ho noto molt.*

(Manlleu, tutor 4t d'ESO)

La discussió al voltant de les llengües que s'usen als patis de les escoles i instituts de Catalunya, en contraposició amb les que s'empren a les aules o a la societat en general, ha estat un tema de debat en la sociolingüística educativa (per exemple, ja a Vila, 2004). Si bé a primera vista podria semblar que hi ha una divisió de llengües segons l'espai (pati, aula), cal tenir en compte que un factor tant o més important és l'interlocutor dels alumnes. Tal com van mostrar les dades de l'*Enquesta sociodemogràfica i lingüística 2013* (Consell Superior d'Avaluació del Sistema Educatiu, 2014), les diferències en l'ús de llengües en l'alumnat de quart d'educació secundària va de bracet amb l'interlocutor que tenen els alumnes, independentment del lloc on es troben. És a dir, usen més el català amb els docents que no pas amb els altres alumnes, sigui a dins o a fora de l'aula. Dit això, cal tenir en compte que el pes demolingüístic d'algunes zones de Catalunya està fortament desequilibrat a favor de la presència d'alumnat de primera llengua castellana, amb la qual cosa la freqüència amb què s'emprarà el castellà (a dins de l'aula, i encara més a fora) serà molt alta. D'aquí també les diferències que s'observen a l'*Estudi sociolingüístic als patis d'escoles i instituts de zones urbanes de Catalunya* (Plataforma per la Llengua, 2019).

En resum, podem descriure el model català com un que es troba a mig camí entre la monoglòssia i l'heteroglòssia, en el sentit que, seguint García (2009), el sistema d'immersió originàriament manté les dues llengües principals del sistema escolar i també les addicionals separades i les veu com dos constructes independents, mentre que en l'actualitat i en moltes escoles i instituts les pràctiques són heteroglòssiques.

En tercer lloc, el català és la llengua vehicular normal als centres de secundària, però no l'exclusiva. Si ens centrem en el cas de la

llengua vehicular emprada a les aules de secundària, els docents van expressar que les llengües s'usen tal com està estipulat a la legislació vigent i segons les característiques de cada matèria, és a dir, en castellà en les matèries de llengua i literatura castellana, anglès a llengua estrangera, i català a la resta:

- (4) *És a dir, la llengua a l'hora del pati, als passadissos, a les classes, la llengua predominant és el català i normalment sempre es parla en català. Ara, per exemple, a les classes de castellà han de parlar tota l'estona en castellà i es fa la classe en castellà, com a l'hora d'anglès en anglès.*

(Manlleu, professora de llengua)

Ara bé, això no vol pas dir que totes les interaccions siguin en català, sinó que hi ha una sèrie d'esquerdes que fan que les altres llengües presents en l'entorn escolar també siguin presents tant a fora com a dins de l'aula (vegeu secció 3.2. d'aquest article). Això vol dir que els entorns escolars són heterogenis i, per tant, heteroglòssics:

- (5) *Entre professorat encara hi ha gent que parla castellà entre ells, perquè hi ha molt professorat castellanoparlant. Davant de l'alumne no, però si entres a la sala de professors i si un professor es dirigeix en castellà a algú, l'altre li contestarà en castellà.*

(Sant Just Desvern, professora de llengua)

- (6) *A vegades, amb entrevistes, quan veus que hi ha alguna família que li pot costar seguir-te en català, a vegades busques l'empatia, i a vegades canvies d'idioma. I te'n vas anant de l'un a l'altre.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

Tenint en compte el que s'ha dit sobre el tombant lingüístic i la diversitat lingüística a Catalunya i a les aules de secundària, ens podem preguntar, tal com fa la professora de la següent cita, què vol dir, avui en dia, “fer una classe en català”:

- (7) *Perquè clar, els professors declaren que fan les classes en català, però què és fer una classe en català? Entrar en català i sortir en català. I no que un alumne se't dirigeixi en castellà i tu li responguis en castellà. Jo ho entenc, que ho fan d'una forma inconscient, però clar, és un projecte educatiu, és un projecte lingüístic.*

(Mataró, professora de llengua)

Efectivament, saber exactament què és fer una classe en català en l'actualitat pot ser difícil ja que si bé fa anys regnava a l'ensenyament secundari la classe magistral, en què la veu del docent era quasi l'única, avui dia els usos lingüístics a les aules poden ser molt variables, per exemple quan es fan activitats en grup, en parelles, mitjançant presentacions orals de projectes i debats a l'aula. Així, un docent pot emprar sempre la llengua catalana com a vehicular, però és probable que la més present a l'aula sigui una combinació d'altres llengües o, depenent del pes demolingüístic del castellà, que ho sigui pràcticament només el castellà. Davant d'aquesta complexitat, en els darrers anys s'ha defensat que els alumnes puguin posar en pràctica tots els recursos lingüístics del seu repertori multilingüe per tal de preservar la seva identitat i facilitar la construcció de coneixement en les diverses llengües de l'alumnat. Arran d'aquestes pràctiques s'ha defensat el transllenguatge com a possible pedagogia multilingüe. Ara bé, en el context català, l'adopció desbocada de les pràctiques transllenguadores pot provocar que el català com a llengua vehicular perdi terreny a les aules, amb la conseqüència que els nivells de coneixement d'aquesta llengua també minvin i, així, es provoquin desigualtats difícils de compensar. Per això, si s'opta per un model transllenguador cal assegurar-se que sigui sostenible per al cas de les llengües minoritzades presents en l'entorn sociolingüístic (Cenoz i Gorter, 2017; Comajoan, 2020).

Les esquerdes sociolingüístiques dins del model lingüístic a secundària

La realitat sociolingüística als centres de secundària investigats no és ni plàcida ni conflictiva sinó, tal com hem dit, complexa i en general heterogènia i amb objectius molt ambiciosos: domini de dues llengües oficials més una altra d'estrangera per part de tota la població escolar, interculturalitat, etc. Durant les entrevistes amb els participants de l'estudi es va demanar amb quines problemàtiques s'havien trobat i de les seves respostes es desprèn una sèrie de qüestions que anomenem "esquerdes" en el sentit que no són problemes irresolubles que fan que el sistema es col·lapsi però sí que es detecten temes que els participants van definir com a problemàtics tenint en compte els canvis recents. A partir de les respostes dels docents, es van detectar tres esquerdes principals.

En primer lloc, els docents van expressar que hi havia evitació i rebuig del català per part d'alguns membres de la comunitat educativa (alumnes, famílies, docents, classe política, etc.). Aquesta actitud negativa es concreta de dues maneres: els alumnes que eviten parlar el català fins i tot durant l'assignatura de català, i la percepció

que el català només és una assignatura escolar i que, més enllà de l'entorn escolar, no té utilitat. Per exemple, a la cita (8) es pot observar com tant alguns alumnes com famílies tenen una actitud negativa clara cap al català. I a la cita (9) es percep com per a alguns alumnes el català està reservat per a la classe de català i que no ha de tenir més espai.

- (8) *[Hi ha] situacions en què un nano no vol llegir en veu alta o que no vol parlar en català perquè diu que no li agrada el català. O un nano que deia que si suspenia l'assignatura de català el seu pare estaria molt content. Cada cop en trobes menys, però el fet de rebutjar el català perquè el senten com una imposició, alguna vegada sí.*

(Sant Joan Despí, professora de llengua)

- (9) *A tutoria em diuen que això no és classe de català, i volen parlar en castellà. Jo al final ja no tinc cap tipus d'estratègia.*

(Mataró, professora de llengua)

Les raons de les actituds negatives cap al català poden ser diverses, però els mateixos docents n'apunten una, que fa referència a la baixa competència lingüística en català d'alguns alumnes:

- (10) *Jo no recordo d'aquests quatre anys que ningú m'hagi qüestionat el fet de per què jo parlo català. No m'han dit que s'hauria de parlar castellà; jo no he tingut cap conflicte. Fins i tot a vegades els dic "feu-ho en català, sisplau." Són reacis però més perquè com que no el parlen, els costa, i si a sobre ja els costen les mates i a sobre el català... Suposo que són reacis per això. Jo no m'he trobat cap enfrontament ni cap problema perquè m'hagin dit "aquí jo parlo en català" i ells no volen.*

(Mataró, tutor 4t d'ESO)

La segona esquerda té a veure amb l'ús del castellà com a llengua vehicular per part d'alguns docents de l'ensenyament públic obligatori, tal com mostra la cita (11):

- (11) *Per rumors que tinc sentits, encara hi ha algun professor que dona la seva matèria en castellà. Per preferència docent. Quan he estat tutor algun pare m'ha fet algun comentari: "com és que aquest professor fa la classe en castellà si la llengua vehicular del centre és el català?" Jo sempre he dit que és una qüestió que jo no m'hi puc ficar.*

(Mataró, professor de llengua/tutor 4t d'ESO)

Finalment, la tercera esquerda fa referència a l'impacte que té o pot tenir l'escola en processos de revitalització o manteniment de llengües. En general, s'ha comprovat que en el cas català l'adopció del català com a llengua vehicular no ha transformat radicalment les normes de tria lingüística de les noves generacions per diverses raons, una de les quals va aparèixer clarament a les entrevistes: la convergència lingüística cap a la llengua del grup més nombrós (Vila i Galindo, 2009; 2012). I com que en alguns entorns el grup més nombrós o més present és el de llengua castellana, això fa que la presència d'aquesta llengua sigui més alta que la de la llengua catalana:

(12) *A les escoles, el tòpic aquell de “si un parla castellà, tots parlen castellà” és i és així. En una taula de quatre si un parla castellà, pensa que tots parlaran castellà. Ara, però, això es va invertir. Si un parla castellà i els altres parlen català, parlen català tots.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

La problemàtica de la convergència (cap al castellà) està relacionada amb la poca consciència sociolingüística de molts docents, que adopten a l'aula comportaments sociolingüístics que adoptarien fora de l'aula, com ara convergir al castellà quan un alumne s'adreça al docent amb aquesta llengua.

En resum, els resultats de l'estudi pel que fa a la descripció del sistema educatiu català a secundària i de les seves esquerdes mostren que és un sistema sota pressió (política, parental, social, etc.) però que, a grans trets, permet que una llengua minoritzada com el català mantingui i recuperi els espais per funcionar de ple en una societat plurilingüe globalitzada com l'actual. Això no significa que s'hagi de caure en el cofoisme, perquè els reptes són grans, entre els quals destaquen el grau de competència assolit de l'alumnat en les diferents llengües del sistema educatiu, la implementació dels canvis metodològics didàctics a secundària, la millora de la formació del professorat novell, la disminució de l'abandonament escolar i els esforços per arribar a l'equitat en el sistema educatiu.

La polifonia en les veus del professorat de secundària

A més d'investigar el contingut de les entrevistes dels docents també és revelador estudiar de quina manera van vehicular i construir els

continguts des d'un vessant discursiu. En una segona anàlisi de les cites de Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila (2017), centrada en aspectes discursius, es va observar que un fenomen recurrent durant les entrevistes era el discurs reportat, és a dir el discurs que incorpora veus d'altres persones dins del propi discurs. Per exemple, al fragment (8) de més amunt, aquí reproduït de nou com a (13), s'observa com el docent es refereix al discurs d'un "nano que deia que..." per integrar la veu d'aquest alumne dins del propi discurs de la professora de llengua (subratllat a totes les cites amb discurs reportat):

(13) *[Hi ha] situacions en què un nano no vol llegir en veu alta o que no vol parlar en català perquè diu que no li agrada el català. Q un nano que deia que si suspenia l'assignatura de català el seu pare estaria molt content. Cada cop en trobes menys, però el fet de rebutjar el català perquè el senten com una imposició, alguna vegada sí.*

(Sant Joan Despí, professora de llengua)

A més del discurs indirecte, en què normalment s'introdueix la veu mitjançant un verb *dicendi* i la conjunció *que*, també es pot introduir la veu mitjançant el discurs directe, amb un verb *dicendi*, sense conjunció i fent una suposada reproducció de les paraules de l'interlocutor:

(14) *A mi em parlen tots [els alumnes] en català i si veig que algun nano em parla en castellà, li dic "va home va, intenta-ho, que aquí vens a aprendre." Amb l'excusa aquesta, però no els pots collar perquè després et venen els pares. S'ha donat algun cas. El professor parla sempre en català i li diu a l'alumne: "va, parla'm en català", i llavors ve el pare i tal.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

En el cas del discurs directe és molt freqüent també no fer servir el verb *dicendi* i introduir la cita directament, sovint amb una marca d'entonació o de veu (recurs anomenat *zero quotative*, Palacios Martínez, 2013, semblant al discurs indirecte lliure):

(15) *Quan jo estava a [l'institut 1], on tots els alumnes són de primera llengua castellana, jo ho tenia molt interioritzat que no podia canviar al castellà perquè era una lluita, era intentar fer-los veure que el català és positiu: "feu l'esforç que com a mínim amb mi parleva en català." Fins i tot parava la classe per parlar d'aquest tema.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

El concepte de veu en la recerca sociolingüística es remunta a les obres de Mikhail Bakhtin i de Dell Hymes i a les reformulacions que se n'han fet (Dong, 2016). En concret, de l'obra bakhtiniana se n'han recuperat les nocions de veu, polifonia, i heteroglòssia i en particular se n'han fet ressò l'anàlisi (crítica) del discurs i el focus en la veu com a recurs semiòtic constructor d'ideologia (vegeu Dong i Dong, 2013).

Bakhtin va usar el concepte de “veu” en el sentit que les veus expressen i indexen els atributs socials dels parlants (Agha, 2005). Així, si ens fixem en les veus que apareixen dins de les intervencions dels entrevistats del projecte, s'observa que hi intervenen veus de diferents agents (docents, alumnes, pares i mares, polítics, etc.), però que les dels docents mateixos són les més freqüents, cosa que indica que les veus dins les veus aporten un nivell addicional de reflexivitat. En aquest sentit, la polifonia afegeix significat al que diuen els docents, perquè “part of the power of reported speech lies in the fact that the act of reporting speech transforms the current interaction, whether or not the report is accurate ... As they engage in transactions about educational and professional aspiration, their voices are filled with voices of others performed, evaluated, refuted, respected, admired, contested” (Blackledge et al., 2014, 500-501).

Per investigar l'efecte que tenia la incorporació d'altres veus dins les veus del professorat en les entrevistes, es van analitzar totes les cites de Bretxa, Comajoan i Vila (2017) i es van identificar totes les veus que apareixien dins de les cites de manera explícita, és a dir, mitjançant el discurs directe o indirecte. D'un total de 216 cites, es van identificar veus dins de veus en 62 (29%). I dins d'aquestes 62 cites van aparèixer 100 casos amb discurs reportat (directe o indirecte). Cadascuna de les 100 veus que es van identificar a les cites es va codificar i analitzar a partir de les variables següents: a) agent de qui s'incorpora la veu mitjançant la intervenció dels entrevistats (el mateix docent, alumnes, famílies, etc.), b) contingut informatiu que aporta la veu, c) tipus de discurs reportat (directe, indirecte) i d) efecte discursiu de les veus incorporades. Un repàs a les diferents funcions del discurs reportat mostra que, a grans trets, les funcions més freqüents d'aquest recurs (en l'oralitat) són: l'argumentació mitjançant l'aportació de proves (subjectives), l'allunyament del contingut que es reporta, la dramatització dels esdeveniments i mots reportats, la creació d'històries divertides o de queixa, i la creació de seqüències col·laboratives entre els interlocutors. En canvi, la funció de reportar informació de manera objectiva és poc freqüent en les interaccions orals (Gallucci, 2012; 2016; Holt, 1996; 2000; Palacios

Martínez 2013). En general, totes aquestes funcions contribueixen a crear una autoimatge de la persona que emet el discurs reportat de manera que li permet situar-se en la interacció i adoptar diferents papers discursius.

Els resultats mostren que les veus més freqüents que incorporen els docents són les del mateix docent que està parlant (31%), la dels docents en general (16%) i tot seguit les dels alumnes en general (12%) o un alumne en concret (8%) i les famílies (6%). Pel que fa a la forma de discurs reportat, la majoria de veus són de discurs directe (77%) (discurs indirecte: 21%). Els resultats pel que fa als efectes discursius de les veus dins les veus van mostrar que la funció més freqüent era la d'argumentació, seguida del dramatisme i la construcció de la veu docent. A continuació es comenten alguns exemples d'aquestes tres funcions.

Pel que fa a l'argumentació, és comprensible que els docents fessin servir sovint el mode argumentatiu oral durant les seves converses amb l'interlocutor (l'investigador del projecte) perquè sovint es demanaven justificacions de les respostes. En aquest sentit, la funció del discurs reportat no és la de transferir informació objectiva, sinó que es tracta d'un recurs per afegir evidències a l'argument que construeix l'interlocutor. Així, a l'exemple (16) el membre de l'equip directiu d'un institut explica el cas d'una família que va demanar que la seva filla es pogués escolaritzar en català i en el seu discurs incorpora el discurs reportat en tres ocasions (subratllat als exemples).

(16) [...] *Una nena que ara està a segon d'ESO, la família ens ho va demanar quan aquesta nena estava a infantil. Es va arribar a aplicar una atenció individualitzada que la mateixa nena va rebutjar. Li va dir als seus pares "jo no vull ser la rara, jo no vull sortir de classe, jo no vull tenir una persona allà." És una nena brillantíssima. És una cosa que va morir per si sola. I a partir d'aquí ja no vam tenir res més. Estem una mica alerta, perquè estant al barri que estem és possible que això ens passi. Parlàvem ara fa uns dies amb els responsables de l'associació escolar i ens deien "estan tots ensinistrats per determinats partits polítics, tots presenten els mateixos escrits en quant a forma i contingut, l'únic que canvien són els noms dels alumnes." Et trobes que tot això està orquestrat. Claríssimament, hi ha uns motius polítics. La majoria de famílies se'n van a veure la direcció i els diuen "estem molt contents amb l'escola, de com treballeu, de com ho feu, però vull que el meu fill tingui el castellà com a llengua vehicular."*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

A través de les veus reportades es pot observar com el docent construeix un discurs que argumenta que els alumnes i famílies no són els que van exigir la docència en castellà sinó que va ser quelcom “orquestrat” per motius polítics. La inclusió de les veus mitjançant el discurs directe amb el verb *dir* i sense conjunció fa que quedin incorporades directament les veus de l’alumna en qüestió, la dels responsables de l’associació escolar i la de les famílies, tot mitjançant la veu del docent. Es tracta d’un exemple en què el docent no pretén reproduir les paraules exactes que van dir els altres agents, sinó que té un clar estil discursiu, en aquest cas argumentatiu, i de certa manera també dramàtic.

La segona funció discursiva més freqüent va ser precisament la de donar un cert dramatisme al que s’estava dient mitjançant l’ús de recursos relacionats, com ara l’humor i la ironia. Per exemple, al fragment (17), un professor de llengua explica que se sent “ferit” quan té la sensació que alguns alumnes no respecten l’ús del català.

(17) *[De vegades trobes] algun nen que es nega a parlar català, nens que et retreuen que fas política, sí. De nens catalans que si intenten mantenir el català els posen noms despectius també, poc, però alguna vegada passa. O els imiten les eles. Alguna història d’aquestes hi ha. I llavors és quan jo perdo els papers. No arribo a insultar perquè seria poc ètic, però llavors sí que m’hi poso jo personalment i els meus sentiments. I els hi dic: “m’esteu ferint els sentiments, nens. Si jo fes això amb el teu castellà, tu què faries? Home, una mica de respecte! Ja em sembla prou greu que no l’utilitzis, però que a sobre no el respectis...”* Aquí hi ha un altre problema que es diu educació.

(Mataró, professor de llengua)

El mateix docent admet que “perd els papers” i usa els discurs reportat lliure per donar evidències del que diu als alumnes. Relacionat amb la funció anterior, en aquest cas també es pot observar com el docent fa servir el discurs reportat per argumentar la seva pròpia posició, tant en el cas de l’aula com en la situació d’entrevista amb l’entrevistat. En aquest sentit, la incorporació de veus és efectiva perquè té aquesta doble funció.

A l’exemple (18), la professora de llengua fa servir un recurs irònic quan incorpora el discurs reportat expressant la veu col·lectiva del professorat davant la idea d’incorporar la metodologia AICLE per a l’ensenyament de llengües, la “solució” per a l’ensenyament de l’anglès.

(18) [...] pensaven que havien descobert la sopa d'all: “ja està, ja tenim la solució al problema que no sàpiguen anglès! Els hi fem fer tot en anglès.” I no, no. Et parlo des del punt de vista lingüístic i anglès, que no funciona així. No funciona així perquè no és tan fàcil ensenyar una altra assignatura en anglès, i a part d'això els nanos també ho viuen diferent.

(Manlleu, professora de llengua)

A l'exemple (19) la docent incorpora la pròpia veu amb un recurs humorístic per argumentar que cal que els alumnes es fixin en l'expressió escrita.

(19) Sempre el que costa és l'expressió escrita, perquè sempre, és a dir ells tenen molt bona comprensió lectora en general, és a dir les proves externes ens ho diuen, estem molt alts en resultats, però l'expressió escrita, com si no tinguessin pudor. Jo dic: “sortiríeu amb calces al carrer o calçotets? No. Doncs perquè no us fa vergonya, no?” I això és el que estem lluitant, doncs fa dos anys o tres que estem anant per aquí, que és el que té el resultat més baix. Tot i ser alt, és el resultat més baix. Però jo penso que surten preparats.

(Mataró, professora de llengua)

Finalment, un nombre considerable de veus reportades serveixen per construir la veu reflexiva del docent que està parlant, és a dir és una manera de construir la figura del docent com algú que es preocupa per l'educació dels alumnes i per la disciplina que ensenya (llengua i literatura catalana, castellana o anglesa). A l'exemple (20), la professora de llengua incorpora la seva pròpia veu per mostrar la manera com tracta el tema de la diversitat lingüística a l'aula. De nou, és dubtós que ella hagi fet servir les paraules exactes de la cita, però la incorporació de la pròpia veu contribueix a crear una imatge de la docent que es preocupa per la diversitat i el respecte.

(20) [Entrevistador: com ho vas gestionar?] Mirant de posar-hi una miqueta d'afecte, traient-hi importància, mai sancionant, sobretot intentant treure-hi ferro, mirant d'animar, posant exemples: “no veus que tu mereixes tot el respecte del món? Doncs totes les persones mereixen el mateix respecte.” I que les llengües no són només per parlar sinó també per expressar sentiments i emocions. Les llengües, hem de mirar d'estimar-les; les llengües són les persones. [Entrevistador: funciona?] Sí, mirant de riure una mica.

(Sant Joan Despí, professora de llengua)

A l'exemple (21), el membre de l'equip directiu incorpora la seva pròpia veu, aquest cop en castellà, per construir la imatge que ell "quan cal" parla català i "quan cal" no té cap dificultat a emprar el castellà. Utilitza aquest recurs per crear la imatge del docent competent en llengües i per remarcar la idea que no hi ha conflicte lingüístic al centre. De nou, els efectes del discurs reportat es combinen, ja que en aquest passatge també es pot considerar que el docent fa servir l'argumentació i fins i tot l'humor en la seva referència al "pardillo."

(21) *A vegades és allò de la seguretat amb què tu ho dius. Com que la meua llengua materna és el castellà, jo els dic: "si a mí lo que menos me cuesta es hablar en castellano, però quan cal parlo en català i el que heu de fer és saber més coses." I si haig de fer una expressió en castellà ho faig, no ha de ser una cosa tancada. Suposo que me'ls porto al meu terreny i els dic: "què m'has dit?", però no recordo cap conflicte. Un cop em va passar que a un li vaig dir: "mira que ets passerell" i es va pensar ves a saber què li havia dit! Li vaig dir: "passerell vol dir pardillo i pardillo és un ocell que es caça molt fàcilment." Es va ofendre perquè no entenia què li havia dit.*

(Mataró, equip directiu)

Com a conclusió de l'anàlisi discursiva de la polifonia del discurs dels docents, s'ha observat que la incorporació de veus en el discurs dels docents és molt freqüent i que sovint incorporen les veus pròpies i de manera directa, la qual cosa provoca un efecte de reflexivitat alta. S'ha observat que l'efecte principal de la incorporació de veus és el de subjectivar la pròpia perspectiva docent i donar arguments. A més, tal argumentació sovint va acompanyada d'efectes dramàtics. Per aprofundir-hi, caldria que investigacions futures fessin una anàlisi més detallada del discurs dels docents per esbrinar fins a quin punt l'ús de les veus per argumentar supleix altres tipus d'argumentació, com ara l'argumentació sociolingüística basada en evidències, que pràcticament cap docent va emprar durant les entrevistes.

Conclusions

Els canvis socials que han tingut lloc en els darrers anys (globalització, canvi demogràfic, crisi econòmica i canvis metodològics en educació, entre d'altres) han tingut un impacte alt en la vida diària dels centres d'educació secundària. Per adaptar-se als nous temps, hi ha hagut actualitzacions en els sistemes educatius en entorns multilingües,

com és el cas català. Enmig de les actualitzacions del sistema, es fa necessari saber quines percepcions tenen els docents dels canvis que hi ha hagut i de les problemàtiques amb què conviuen. Els resultats de l'estudi que s'ha presentat en aquest article han mostrat que, tot i que la llengua catalana ocupa un espai preponderant als centres de secundària, hi ha una sèrie d'esquerdes que fan que es tracti d'un sistema fràgil, en què el pes demogràfic de l'alumnat i el professorat té molta incidència, cosa que, sovint, fa decantar els usos lingüístics en favor de la llengua castellana quan la presència demogràfica del català minva. En aquest context, tal com apunten Flors i Vila (2019), la presència del castellà al sistema educatiu català no és anecdòtica sinó substancial. En investigacions futures caldria investigar de ple les esquerdes que s'han documentat en aquest estudi i aprofundir tant en les estratègies didàctiques dels docents de centres de secundària com en les discursives per tal que el professorat novell pugui desenvolupar de manera òptima l'ensenyament de llengües en un món canviant. Per exemple, investigacions futures podrien aprofundir en les maneres com els docents poden integrar millor les veus de les famílies més distants amb la llengua catalana, en l'impacte de les metodologies participatives en l'ús de les llengües, o en la creació de xarxes de docents de llengües per tal de compartir experiències didàctiques i discursives que afavoreixin el plurilingüisme.

Obres citades

- Agha, Asif. 2005. "Voice, Footing, Enregisterment." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15: 38-59.
- Arenas, Joaquim, i Margarida Muset. 2008. *La immersió lingüística*. Vic: Eumo.
- Arenas, Joaquim, i Ernest Sabater. 1982. *Del català a l'escola a l'escola catalana*. Barcelona: La Magrana.
- Argelaguet, Jordi. 1999. *Anàlisi de la política lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya en l'ensenyament obligatori (1980-1995)*. Barcelona: Mediterrània.
- Artigal, Josep M. 1991. *The Catalan Immersion Program: A European Point of View*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Blackledge, Adrian, Angela Creese, i Jaspreet Takhi. 2014. "Voice, Register and Social Position." *Multilingua* 33: 485-504.
- Bretxa, Vanessa, Llorenç Comajoan, Josep Ubalde, i F. Xavier Vila. 2016. "Changes in the Linguistic Confidence of Primary and Secondary Students in Catalonia: A Longitudinal Study." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 29: 56-72.
- Bretxa, Vanessa, Llorenç Comajoan, i F. Xavier Vila. 2017. *Les veus del professorat. L'ensenyament i la gestió de les llengües a secundària*. Barcelona: Horsori.

- Cenoz, Jasone, i Durk Gorter. 2017. "Minority Languages and Sustainable Translanguaging: Threat or Opportunity?" *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38: 901-912.
- Comajoan, Llorenç. 2020. *Tra, tra, translanguaging*. Vilaweb. <https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/tra-tra-translanguaging-opinio-gela/> (accessed 14 February 2022).
- Consell Superior d'Avaluació del Sistema Educatiu. 2014. *Estudi sociodemogràfic i lingüístic de l'alumnat de 4t d'ESO de Catalunya*. 2013. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Departament d'Educació. 2018. *El model lingüístic del sistema educatiu de Catalunya. L'aprenentatge i l'ús de les llengües en un context educatiu multilingüe i multicultural*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació.
- Dong, Jie. 2016. *The Sociolinguistics of Voice in Globalising China*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Dong, Jie, i Yan Dong. 2013. "Voicing as an Essential Problem of Communication: Language and Education of Chinese Immigrant Children in Globalization." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 44: 161-176.
- Flick, Uwe. 2014. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Flors, Avel·lí, i F. Xavier Vila. 2019. "¿Ahogados en una confusión?" *Politikon*. <https://politikon.es/2019/04/04/ahogados-en-una-confusion/> (accessed 15 February 2022).
- Gallucci, María José. 2016. "El discurso referido en los manuales sobre análisis del discurso y pragmática lingüística." *Lengua y Habla* 20: 200-224. <http://erevistas.saber.ula.ve/index.php/lenguyhabla/article/view/8104> (accessed 15 February 2022).
- Gallucci, María José. 2012. "Estilo directo e indirecto en interacciones orales: Estado de la cuestión en el ámbito hispánico." *Boletín de Filología* 47: 205-233.
- García, Ofelia. 2009. *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A global Perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Holt, Elizabeth. 1996. "Reporting on Talk: The Use of Direct Reported Speech in Conversation." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 29: 219-245.
- Holt, Elizabeth. 2000. "Reporting and Reacting: Concurrent Responses to Reported Speech." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 33: 425-454.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. 2013. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. London: Sage.
- May, Stephen, ed. 2014. *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education*. New York: Routledge.
- Palacios Martínez, Ignacio. 2013. "Zero Quoting in the Speech of British and Spanish Teenagers: A Contrastive Corpus-based Study." *Discourse Studies* 15: 439-462.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2017. "Language Policy and Local Practices." Dins *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society*, editat per Ofelia García, Nelson Flores, Massimiliano Spotti, 125-140. Oxford: Oxford UP.

- Plataforma per la Llengua. 2019. *Estudi sociolingüístic als patis d'escoles i instituts de zones urbanes de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Plataforma per la Llengua.
- Vila, F. Xavier. 2004. "Hem guanyat l'escola però hem perdut el pati?" Els usos lingüístics a les escoles catalanes." *Llengua, Societat i Comunicació* 1: 8-15.
- Vila, F. Xavier. 2011. "La recerca sociolingüística educativa escolar als països de llengua catalana: elements per a un balanç." *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana* 21: 205-219.
- Vila, F. Xavier, i Joaquim Arnau. 2013. "Language-in-Education Policies in the Catalan Language Area." Dins *Reviving Catalan at School: Challenges and Instructional approaches*, editat per Joaquim Arnau i F. Xavier Vila, 1-28. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Vila, F. Xavier, i Mireia Galindo. 2009. "El sistema de conjunció en català en l'educació primària a Catalunya: Impacte sobre els usos." *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana* 20: 21-69.
- Vila, F. Xavier, i Mireia Galindo. 2012. "Sobre la història i l'extensió de la norma de convergència lingüística a Catalunya." Dins *Posar-hi la base. Usos i aprenentatges lingüístics en el domini català*, editat per F. Xavier Vila, 31-45. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Vila, F. Xavier, David Lasagabaster, i Fernando Ramallo. 2016. "Bilingual Education in the Autonomous Regions of Spain, in Bilingual and Multilingual Education." Dins *Encyclopedia of Language and Education (3rd ed.)*, editat per Ofelia García, Angel Lin i Stephen May, 1-13. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Wei, Li. 2018. "Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language." *Applied Linguistics* 39: 9-30.

Filming the Margins: Citizenship and Visuality in Catalonia

ANTONIO MONEGAL
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Abstract

Documentary films produced in Catalonia that represent multicultural and multilingual environments can function as tools of critical intervention, raising awareness, rescuing from oblivion and empowering communities by making visible the everyday circumstances, interactions and conflicts of anonymous citizens. The three examples selected for discussion, Óscar Perez's *El sastre* (2007), Eva Vila's *Bajari* (2013) and Claudio Zulian's *A través del Carmel* (2009), illustrate different forms of marginality in the social makeup of Barcelona by focusing on a Pakistani tailor who runs a little shop in the downtown district of the Raval, which has a large immigrant population, on the transmission of the musical legacy of the gypsy community as a form of preserving identity, and on the cultural heterogeneity of the working-class neighbourhood of Carmel criss-crossed by the camera in a single continuous take. The documentaries address the complexity of the cultural makeup of contemporary societies by portraying the inflections of difference along axes such as language, ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, and musical idioms. The films reveal the heterogeneity often hidden under generalizing notions and hegemonic identities. The typical debate about Catalan versus Spanish is replaced by a more nuanced landscape in which the other languages of Catalonia are represented.

Keywords

Documentary film; Multilingualism; Cultural difference; Marginality; Political relevance of the arts; Social impact; Barcelona

Filming the Margins: Citizenship and Visuality in Catalonia

ANTONIO MONEGAL

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

I write in the presence of all the world's languages [...] But to write in the presence of all the world's languages does not mean to know all the world's languages. It means that in the present context of multiple literatures and of the relation of poetics with the chaos world, I can no longer write in a monolingual manner.

Eduard Glissant (1999, 119)

I would like to start by invoking, at a time of necessary and growing dialogue between different cultures and increasing awareness of the importance of conceiving identity as multiple and fluid, these words of Edouard Glissant, who showed us that our common condition is multilingualism. This essay discusses films that document the negotiation between cultural and linguistic identities in Catalonia. When people talk about languages in Catalonia, they tend to concentrate on the issue of bilingualism, the relation or tension between Catalan and Spanish, but we need to acknowledge that the linguistic map nowadays is far more complex. There are several films produced in recent years that address this cultural and linguistic diversity by becoming multilingual products themselves and thematising the negotiation of cultural difference. These topics and concerns (immigration, marginalization, ethnic identities, etc.) may sound anything but new when discussed in other European contexts. However, we should take into account that twenty years ago Catalonia, and Spain, were not as diverse as they are now and many of these issues have only recently started to be addressed.

I will focus this analysis on three films: Óscar Pérez's *El sastre* (2007), Eva Vila's *Bajarí* (2013) and Claudio Zulian's *A través del Carmel* (2009), but there are several other examples that display this linguistic diversity, helping to normalize the changes in the society's make-up. There are some interesting cases that straddle the border between documentary and fiction, several of them produced by the Master's programme in Creative Documentary directed by Jordi

Balló at Universitat Pompeu Fabra. These films thematise the negotiation of cultural difference by becoming multilingual products themselves. Another pertinent example could be *La plaga* (2013), directed by Neus Ballús, where the characters speak Catalan, Spanish, Rumanian and Ilocano. In *Pau i el seu germà* (2001), directed by Marc Recha, the characters move between Catalan and French. There are two films from 2016 about foster families, a fictionalized account about a Saharawi young man living in Catalonia who needs a kidney transplant, *La millor opció* by the same director of *El sastre*, Óscar Pérez, and the other one about a Ukrainian boy from a poor and conflictive background who spends the summers with a well-to-do Catalan family, *Sasha*, directed by Félix Colomer. The contrasts between the biological families and the foster ones are also linguistic, between Berber or Ukrainian versus Catalan and Spanish. There is also a film, *Gitanos catalans!* (2011), directed by Xavier Gaja and Sicus Carbonell, that deals with some of the topics in *Bajarí* from a more conventional perspective, focusing on the integration of gypsies throughout Catalonia. This trend of what we might call linguistic naturalism probably started with Guerin's *En construcció* (2001), a topic addressed in this collection by Jordi Balló.

The background question of the discussion in this essay is to what extent culture – and in particular film – can be a tool of political intervention, what function it serves and what impact it can have. In a sense, it is a way of asking how culture, and the arts, can be made socially relevant. I do not intend to reach absolute conclusions, nor assess the political effectiveness of artistic practices in sociological terms. Rather, my goal is to examine the critical drive inscribed in particular projects and how political discourse is determined by the requirements and program applied in the development of the work, that is, how politics is governed by poetics.

The choice of film as the analytical focus of this research is threefold: first, documentary film is a powerful instrument of social analysis, as anthropologists have known since Robert Flaherty's work in the 1920s; second, audio-visual representation requires calculated choices about how and in what languages people speak, which are determined by varying commitments to realism; and third, film provides a “window to the world” that has the potential to influence social perceptions and rally audiences.

Jacques Rancière reopened the discussion on political action in the artistic field and provides the theoretical background against which to verify the political claims of artistic practices, observing that:

The proliferation of voices denouncing the crisis of art or its fatal capture by discourse, the pervasiveness of the spectacle or

the death of the image, suffice to indicate that a battle fought yesterday over the promises of emancipation and the illusions and disillusion of history continues today on aesthetic terrain.

(2006, 3)

Rancière's position resonates with Marina Garcés's influential work, *Un mundo común*, in which she argues:

Que las obras artísticas traten de temas políticos no implica que ese arte trate honestamente con lo real. La honestidad con lo real es la virtud que define la fuerza material de un arte implicado en su tiempo. La honestidad con lo real no se define por sus temas, por sus procesos ni por sus lugares, sino por la fuerza de su implicación y por sus anhelos.

(2013, 68)

Topics concerned with reality, collective processes and the use of public space are elements Garcés identifies as signalling art's repolitization of life. However, she sets an ethical requirement that is much more difficult to judge, and to fulfil, that of honesty toward the real. This virtue is not predicated on the traditional notion of commitment, as in the committed artist or intellectual, but on involvement and desire: not on the allegiance to an ideology but on an actual being in the world, sharing a common experience. Garcés points to documentalism and activism as the two dynamics that define the present context and the projects selected in this essay can certainly be seen to share both traits – albeit to differing degrees. The focus on techniques of mechanical reproduction, that is, on photography and film, is directly linked to this attention to the real, to the collective and to the public. Indeed, as Rancière notes, the representation of the collective subject is intimately connected with photography and film achieving artistic status:

In order for the mechanical arts to be able to confer visibility on the masses, or rather on anonymous individuals, they first need to be recognized as arts. That is to say that they first need to be, put into practice and recognized as something other than techniques of reproduction or transmission. It is thus the same principle that confers visibility on absolutely anyone and allows for photography and film to become arts.

(2006, 32)

The examples discussed allow us to discern this shared destiny between the representation of the anonymous collective subject and

the arts of mechanical reproduction, and how the alliance can work for critical purposes.

Out of the many possible examples for a discussion of multilingualism in film, if we consider that the conflict between Catalan and Spanish identities is at the centre of current debates, the three films that I have selected illustrate different ways of being at the margins of contemporary Catalan society, and different approaches to what we can understand as ‘languages’ in the context of this research, extending the notion to musical idioms (which of course I expect to be open to debate). The first case is *El sastre*, a 30-minute documentary directed and produced by Óscar Pérez in 2007, about a Pakistani tailor who runs a very small mending and alterations shop in the Raval neighbourhood of Barcelona. The second one is *Bajarí*, a feature-length documentary directed by Eva Vila in 2013. *Bajarí* is the name of Barcelona in *Caló*, the language of the Spanish gypsies, and the film explores the culture of flamenco and its transmission among Catalan gypsies. It focusses on a 5-year-old boy, Juanito Manzano, who wants to become a dancer and Karime Amaya, an already-accomplished professional dancer, who travels from Mexico to perform in Barcelona and encounters her roots as the grand-niece of Carmen Amaya, one of the greatest flamenco dancers of the 20th century. *El sastre* deals with exchanges between immigrants and locals, while in *Bajarí* the dialogue is between two distinct gypsy musical idioms, *flamenco* and *rumba*. The third margin I am exploring physically overlooks the other two, as it has Barcelona at its feet: the documentary *A través del Carmel*, directed by Claudio Zulian, tours a steep neighbourhood on the side of a mountain. I have chosen this film for its innovative formal interaction between image and voice, the use of linguistic code switching to signal social difference, the visual mapping of social space, and its political objectives and activism, satisfying the conditions for art’s re-politization of life set by Garcés.

El sastre

The Raval, on the west side of the Ramblas, is the most multicultural district in Barcelona, with large North-African, Pakistani and Filipino communities, in addition to many other immigrant groups.¹ For example, there are more than 25 languages spoken by the children in a public school in the area.² There was an attempt at

¹ According to a 2019 report by the NGO Linguapax, *Diversitat lingüística i cultural: un patrimoni comú de valor inestimable*, there are people of more than 174 different nationalities residing in Barcelona, and more than 300 languages are spoken in the city (<http://www.linguapax.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Informe-2019.pdf>, p. 13).

² According to Plataforma per la Llengua (<https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/que-fem/articles-opinio/1725/el-raval-tambe-parla-tagalog>).

gentrification which started after the Barcelona Olympics and which was reflected in José Luis Guerin's landmark documentary *En construcció*. However, the process was partially derailed by two unforeseen developments: non-European immigration and mass tourism, two parallel waves that had a substantial impact on this downtown area, characterized as it is by picturesque, narrow streets and low-income run-down housing as well as a traditional association with prostitution and crime. The change in demographics interrupted the flow of middle-class residents and the cramped quarters of the Raval have thus become a laboratory of urban multicultural coexistence. So, in a sense, the Raval positions the margin in the centre of the city.

Óscar Pérez reflects this circumstance by literally focusing his camera on a small detail, on a minor anecdote of the neighbourhood's life. Mohamed's tailoring business is tiny, 8 square meters packed with clothes and piles of plastic bags containing the finished orders, without any organized system to keep track of them. He shares the space with his Indian assistant, Singh, whom he pays very little because the latter has no legal papers. The filmmaker has placed his camera at the entrance facing the store, right next to where the clients interact with Mohamed, and most of the film consists of this single static shot.

We watch as Mohamed argues with local clients in his limited Spanish about poorly done work, misplaced orders and other misunderstandings. He is assertive, stubborn, intransigent, and despotic with his assistant. Moreover, at the end of each of these exchanges Mohamed addresses the man behind the camera to have the last word, in a gesture of self-justification. This constant awareness of the presence of the camera, and the rapport and complicity Mohamed tries to establish is a defining trait of the film. Pérez never appears or speaks on camera, but he is repeatedly referred to. Mohamed speaks with Singh in Urdu and, knowing Pérez does not understand them, they make ironical comments about the "man with the camera" and the possible success of the film. Of course, Pérez had these conversations translated and subtitled and the audience can listen in.

The film follows this unstable criss-crossing of languages, with Spanish as the fragile *lingua franca* that is native to only a fraction of the characters. An example of this is the conversation with a Moroccan client who is trying to communicate in Spanish with Singh, who does not understand the language. The constant threat of miscommunication is not just an issue of language but of power. The Pakistani boss and the Indian employee air their disagreement, which ends with the latter being fired. The immigrant exploits the immigrant and, despite his marginal status and the precariousness of

his business, Mohamed asserts his self-importance and authority by wielding his capacity to hire and to offer promises of legal contracts.

The enclosed space of the tailor's shop becomes a microcosm of the multicultural city, a junction of exchange and conflict. The circulation of languages represents less a tool of communication than a symptom of the negotiation of social roles and power relations. Mohamed argues with his local clients, who repeatedly threaten with not bringing him any more business and ruining his reputation. But he unwaveringly insists they are all wrong. He is reluctant to pay Singh's low wages and fires him when the latter claims he is too sick to work. However, the main reason behind Mohamed's disgruntlement is that Singh has asked the cameraman to take him to hospital, despite the fact that Mohamed wanted to be driven elsewhere, and as the boss, he claims that his own needs are of higher importance.

This less-than-flattering portrayal of the immigrant, devoid of any tone of political correctness, is the result of trying to grasp the complexity of relations within the neighbourhood from the inside, and of Mohamed's position within it, in his double role as both subaltern newcomer and business owner and employer. We witness his struggle to defend his dignity and self-perceived professionalism against the claims of incompetence. At the same time, for him, the unsatisfied clients or employees are crazy, thieves or liars. The shop is thus the centre of a grid of tensions that expands beyond the enclosed space.

The camera's mediation underscores the connection between what we see and what we do not see, the beyond, the outside. The filmmaker is the outsider, despite being the native. He does not belong in the neighbourhood. His mediation extends beyond the actual filming. As the dialogues reveal, he runs errands for the characters. The native mediator is Mohamed's invisible assistant. He is in a somewhat uncomfortable position, forced to witness the conflicts that play out in the shop and asked to take sides. For Mohamed, the camera is an instrument to tell his side of the story, a source of empowerment in an alien context where he feels misunderstood and isolated. Within the diminutive space we perceive people separated by huge cultural distances, struggling, sometimes violently, to find, among a repertoire of languages, a precarious channel of communication.

Bajari

Bajari tells a different story about the internal margins of society. For centuries, racism in Spain was aimed mostly at gypsies, *gitanos*, as the main ethnic minority in the Peninsula. They were the ancestral

Other, the object of myth, stereotypes and prejudice. At the same time, the most recognizable form of expression of their culture, *flamenco*, has usually been associated with Spanish identity, as a central element of Andalusian folklore. In Catalonia, the issue is more complex. There have always been well-established gypsy communities in certain neighbourhoods, such as Carrer de la Cera in the Raval, La Mina in Sant Adrià and Sant Roc in Badalona. There are two main groups: the gypsies with roots in the Gràcia neighbourhood and the town of Mataró, who often speak Catalan, and those in Sant Adrià and Badalona, who speak Spanish.

There are also two musical idioms represented in the *gitano* community in Catalonia: *flamenco*, with definite Andalusian origins, and Catalan *rumba*, a fusion form created by a small group of gypsy musicians in Barcelona in the 1950s, with a background in *rumba flamenca* and strong influences from Caribbean music. Both idioms have long-lasting roots among the local gypsy community. Paradoxically, since the late 1970s, the drive to strengthen cultural signs associated with Catalan identity relegated *flamenco* to a nearly invisible position, hidden away as an inferior and alien tourist attraction, while *rumba* was respected and flourished because of its Catalan credentials. The film's goal is to reclaim *flamenco* as a local cultural expression, representative of a community whose presence in the city predates the current debates surrounding multiculturalism.

Sant Roc in Badalona is where Franco's government relocated the gypsy colony from the Somorrostro shanty town, now the site of the Olympic Harbour and Barcelona's most fashionable beaches. Somorrostro was the location for Francisco Rovira Beleta's 1963 film, *Los Tarantos*, an adaptation of the Romeo and Juliet story transformed into the rivalry between two gypsy families and starring the great dancer, Carmen Amaya. *Bajari* opens precisely with a screening of *Los Tarantos*, with Carmen Amaya dancing, in front of Juanito Manzano and his family.

One of the main points *Bajari* raises is that music is an essential component of cultural identity, and that gypsies do not learn *flamenco* at conservatoires or dance schools, rather that it is transmitted within the family, from generation to generation. Thus, Juanito's story echoes Karime's, who comes from a long dynasty of *bailaoras*. She was born and raised in Mexico because the Amayas left Spain during the Civil War and her grandparents, who had toured the Americas with Carmen, decided to settle there. In the film, Karime is invited by a group of local *rumba* musicians to perform with them during the city festivities. The documentary was shot during the rehearsals for that show and it highlights the dialogue and collaboration between gypsy musicians of distinct backgrounds, the *rumberos* and the

flamencos, with the latter insisting on their improvisational style and lack of formal training, which the film links to the transmission of cultural identity along family lineages.

The premiere of *Bajarí* at the Film Archive was an exceptional event because the audience included a significant representation of gypsy families from different neighbourhoods in Barcelona. A few months later, Karime Amaya was invited to dance at the institutional celebration of the National Day of Catalonia, on 11 September. She was not the first *flamenco* artist to participate, though some of these previous artistes had been jeered by the audience as intruders in the Catalan ceremonial show, despite their having been born in Catalonia. Karime, on the other hand, represented an expatriate saga of Catalan origin. Her identification is cultural, albeit one with a historically marginal expression; that of the autochthonous gypsy culture. *Bajarí*, together with *Los Tarantos*, the photographs of Jacques Leonard, a Frenchman who married Rosario, a cousin of Carmen Amaya, the paintings of Isidre Nonell and the literature of Juli Vallmitjana, attest to the Catalan roots of these gypsy communities. However, what distinguishes them is an identity, a culture and a language of their own. Nevertheless, it is not enough to read the presence of Karime at a celebration of Catalan identity as a symptom of the inclusiveness of Catalan culture or as a recognition of her belonging to a shared heritage. A culture is a complex mixture, with aspects that belong to it since its origin and others added throughout centuries. This applies to both communities in question, particularly in this time of cultural homogenization through consumption. The example of *Bajarí* may thus be an invitation to think about what cultural identity is, how it is constructed and transmitted.

If identity does not exist unless it is articulated as difference – I need an ‘other’ in order to know who I am – perhaps Karime was at that celebration of Catalan identity not simply because she belongs there, but because, at the same time, she is that ‘other’. For centuries, gypsies have been the quintessential other, the object of prejudice and discrimination, a role that has been obscured by the arrival of the likes of Mohamed, the tailor. The issue of what Catalans call the *nouvinguts*, the ‘newly-arrived’, has replaced that of the ‘previously-arrived’. However, this otherness is also a virtue, it is founded on a people’s capacity to remain faithful to itself, to transmit its identity as a legacy from parents to children, to resist assimilation in the face of adversity and marginalization. Proving that one can be Catalan without ceasing to be *gitano*. *Bajarí* speaks about this process, and not just about *flamenco* – about how a culture is cemented in the preservation of collective memory, of a repertoire of customs, of practices, of values.

Without attempting to idealize any people, in the story of what moves a community there is a lesson about what it means to have a culture of one's own. Pasolini insisted that we must look at the margins a society to search for its ancestral traits and truths forgotten amid contemporary noise (2009, 31). We should consider ourselves in relation to the other to know who we are because this other also mirrors us and is part of our identity. Perhaps in this way we will learn to acknowledge the centrality of margins (particularly when gypsies, immigrants and Catalans are all peripheral).

Whereas, *El sastre* deals with exchanges between immigrants and locals, switching between Spanish and Urdu, in *Bajarí* the dialogue is between two distinct musical idioms, *flamenco* and *rumba*. Flamenco is shared with gypsies in Andalusia, so its language is Spanish, while *rumba* is a product of Catalan-speaking gypsy communities. The linguistic complexity is underscored by the fact that most *payos* (non-gypsies) do not even know that *Bajarí* is the name of Barcelona in *Caló*. Catalan gypsies, a traditionally discriminated minority, represent an internal unrecognized margin, while the recent waves of immigrants inhabiting the Raval neighbourhood place the margin in the centre of the city. The circulation of languages becomes part of the negotiation of difference within a multicultural space, and film both records this negotiation and activates the spectator's involvement therein.

A través del Carmel

For those who are not familiar with the topography of Barcelona, a brief introduction is in order. El Carmel is a working-class neighbourhood on the side of one of the hills that sticks out of the northern area of the city. It is known for its steep streets and its cluttered urban grid. It is one of the ever-present locations in Juan Marsé's novels and it is one of the neighbourhoods that best reflects the history of post-Civil War immigration from rural Spain into Barcelona. Much of the area developed out of a shantytown on the mountain, where in the 1950s and 1960s newly-arrived families built at night, so as to escape police intervention, and the resulting precarious lodgings often remained their home for years. Shacks and other forms of self-construction were the norm on land that was then mostly rural and grew sporadically into a populous urban neighbourhood. Now, it houses other newly-arrived immigrant communities, but it still maintains its traditional social configuration and the proud memory of its humble origins. In El Carmel the sense of belonging and neighbourhood cohesion were so strong that when the shacks were demolished people were unwilling to be transferred elsewhere and had to be re-accommodated in the area. The

neighbourhood can be read as the site of a history of immigration. As one of the neighbours says, we are all immigrants, and then came the other immigrants.

All of these elements simply provide context for our discussion. The point is that the successive migratory waves are represented in the film visually and orally, in a polyphony of languages and accents. The film is a challenging formal experiment. It is filmed in a single continuous sequence shot. The camera traces a tortuous path through the neighbourhood, starting after 4 pm at the bottom of the hill and progressively ascending to reach the top before sunset. This uninterrupted take goes in and out of apartments, stores, the library, the church, the civic centre, the local clinic, a mental health centre, one for treating addictions, the market, the neighbours' association, the market, a parking garage, visiting or accompanying a long list of residents. We hear them speak about their lives, experiences and memories, but the image does not show them speaking. The noises of the street are recorded live, but all the speeches are heard as voiceover, as image and sound are dissociated. We cross a person's path, follow them for a while or enter their residence or place of work and we hear comments that are not being uttered at that moment, so sometimes we are not even sure who is speaking. The visual sequence is continuous, but the soundtrack is meticulously edited. The effect is a puzzle or collage of voices that accompanies the image and comments on it, but at the same time functions as an independent register, via the flowing caption of the moving image. The voices can be cut in mid-sentence, fade, overlap, for a fragmented choral impression. Zulian explains that he wanted each participant to share responsibility for how the film was made and to decide how and where they wanted to be represented. The variety of approaches led to a very fragmented film, in that sense, the sequence shot was a strategy to unify its discourse and connect the lives of these people who, although part the same neighbourhood, do not necessarily have much else in common. The visual result is spectacular, but I want to highlight the contribution of the soundtrack as a tool for social analysis. The film is a concert of movement, space, noises and voices flowing like a collective stream of conscience, displayed in a temporal succession marked by the fading daylight. The voices tell their stories, but they also speak different languages that tell a different story. Most of the participants speak Spanish or Catalan, with one instance of a Pakistani man speaking nearly unintelligible English. The number of languages in the film is limited, because people are speaking for the film, not among themselves, but their origins are plenty: Andalucía, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Bulgaria, Pakistan and so on. Therefore, the majority of the residents speak Spanish, but different kinds of Spanish: their accents

distinguish them and speak volumes about their place in the community.

In this respect, the film works as a sociolinguistic laboratory and shows the spaces and languages that stratify the community. Languages are much more than a tool of communication, they are the material of world views, and an expression of cultural difference. In *A través del Carmel*, languages are indicators of origin, cultural background, social class, age and education. The first marker is of course who speaks Catalan and who speaks Spanish. The first native speaker of Catalan we see is the doctor who runs the addiction-recovery clinic. Catalan is spoken by other doctors, mental health professionals, social workers, a librarian and two coordinators of the cultural centre, among others. The implication is that many of these professionals and service providers may not live in the neighbourhood, only work there. It is an indication of status and education, and not just place of birth.

A few of the activists in the neighbourhood association and a college student who lives with his family speak Catalan, while elderly and long-time residents speak mostly Spanish or a popular form of non-native Catalan with Spanish inflexions, betraying their immigrant background even if some may have been born there. Among a group of teenagers who compare life in Barcelona with their native Latin American countries and talk about their plans for the future, the one who explains that she must study hard to become a physiotherapist does so in Catalan. On the other hand, when the camera passes to the public school, we hear younger school-age children speaking fluent Catalan, despite the fact that their families come from Cuba or Bulgaria (one of them explains she learnt Catalan in two months), demonstrating the success of the immersion educational system as a tool of social integration.

The second marker of distinction is the way in which people speak Spanish. The different modalities and accents tell part of the story that defines the individual. Because of the film's construction, each personal narrative is fragmentary, incomplete, but the verbal delivery of their testimony provides clues that are often missing in the explicit wording and that would be missed in a written transcription. If everybody spoke the same way, a narrative would be needed to position them, but their way of speaking nuances their individual stories. The variations of accent in the group of young Latin American immigrants helps to place them, but also distinguishes them from a young woman who misses her village in Ciudad Real and from the young man born in El Carmel who talks about learning to control his violent impulses, settling down with his new girlfriend and starting his new job as a garbage collector. The testimony of an old woman who arrived as a child and grew up in a

shack and the one by a communist militant active in neighbourhood struggles who later held a political position in the district are both delivered in Spanish, but their enunciation is moulded by their background and biography.

The map of the languages present in Barcelona is not exhaustively engaged, because the goal is to address the audience and tell a story, not just to represent what or how people speak. Interestingly, we are told the Chinese have taken over much of the commerce in the neighbourhood, but we do not hear from them. Nonetheless, we are provided with enough information to read this map of criss-crossing identities. Concepts of diversity or hybridity are often deployed to describe patterns of cultural exchanges that result in composite identities or environments. However, more than finding the right label, the challenge is how to describe and understand complexity, how people actually perform their identities and interact with others. *A través del Carmel* provides us with a useful map of cultural complexity. The physical configuration of the neighbourhood, with its labyrinth of convoluted streets and extreme ups and downs, stands for the complex social composition and interactions. The physical metaphor counts for its effectiveness and meaningfulness on the added layer of the linguistic code-switching of the soundtrack.

The displacements of the camera across the urban landscape are confusing and the spectator gets easily disoriented. Even though the general direction is up the mountain, it is not always clear because occasionally the path is diverted by having to exit buildings or change street. The voiceover is also not easily married to the image. Such a disconnect between audio and video allows for the two parallel mappings to overlap only partially, in a Brechtian sort of distancing, keeping the spectator engaged in the interpretive challenge.

A sound map is a more delicate and sophisticated tool than a spatial one. Many years ago, as part of another initiative led by Bradley Epps (Monegal, 2005), I found in Bruce Chatwin's *The Songlines* (1987) a fitting metaphor to describe the complex landscape of relations in which Catalans, and Spaniards, are inscribed, using the temporal and discursive parameters of song as a way of defining cultural space. I was fascinated by the Aboriginal belief in the land being both sung into existence and mapped by songs. While, I have no idea how accurate Chatwin's depiction of Aboriginal wisdom is, it nevertheless offers us a different approach to the concept of mapping and the translation between space and sound. Boaventura de Sousa Santos provides another thought-provoking analogy in the article "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of

Law,” where he discusses the interpretive effects of scale and symbolization in maps:

A given phenomenon can only be represented on a given scale. To change the scale implies change of the phenomenon. Each scale reveals a phenomenon and distorts or hides others. As in nuclear physics, the scale creates the phenomenon.

(1987, 346)

Indeed, since the mechanisms are interdependent, the change in scale also affects the kinds of signs to be used in symbolization.

The film takes us down to close-up scale, to the street level, in order to focus on the individual citizens, the institutions, the locations and the activities that constitute the neighbourhood. At that scale, notions of nationhood, statehood or even language are not nuanced enough to determine identity. The historical packaging together of nation and language (and literature) traditionally used in models of identity construction comes into question in our complex contemporary societies. It is still operational, but not sufficiently explanatory. We need a scale that provides more detail.

Of course, the one alternative to the category of nation is culture. We are all aware that the concept is very difficult to define. As Raymond Williams pointed out, “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (1988, 87). But it is nonetheless a necessary concept, maybe because of its very elusiveness. The cultural adscription of the people portrayed in the film manifests itself in a variety of factors, far more fluid and difficult to pinpoint than the strict categories of nationality, citizenship, legal residential status, id card, place of birth or native language. It is, among other things, a matter of differential traits, unstable because they change according to environmental interactions and very specific because of the individual variations. As in the double articulation of the linguistic code, it is difference that makes meaning and that difference is to a large extent performed as self-image, self-representation, self-expression.

In terms of the politics of the film, Zulian’s premise was that, in a city rich in iconic representations, popular neighbourhoods lack an image. According to the director, there is no image of El Carmel, and the film’s goal was to offer one. The paradox is that the unnoticed Carmel sits right next to Gaudi’s Parc Güell, one of the most visited tourist attractions in the city. As a consequence of their invisibility, the residents of these neighbourhoods also lack a voice. Though El Carmel has a strong legacy of activism, its historical struggles to achieve recognition became even more imperative when in 2005 a subway tunnel under construction collapsed, forcing the temporary

relocation of more than 1,000 residents and the demolition of several affected buildings. The story was in the news momentarily, once again underscoring the frailty and precariousness of this material environment.

The film was made one year later and the decision to give local residents co-responsibility in composing their self-representation becomes part of a strategy of empowerment. The neighbours thus attain an image and a voice in a single process by making the film. When the film was completed, Zulian's production company distributed copies, reproduction equipment and TV monitors to individuals, businesses and institutions that had collaborated so that they could screen it when and where they wanted: in bars, stores, associations, or from the windows of their homes. This way, the film became a site-specific video installation before being publicly released through TV and festivals and being awarded the City of Barcelona Audiovisual Prize.

What we have observed is an urban phenomenon, but to the extent that nowadays Catalonia is an aggregate of urban arrangements, many of the dynamics that the film identifies in this particular neighbourhood in Barcelona can be extrapolated to other communities in Catalonia. In that sense, documentary film proves itself to be an effective instrument of social analysis, underscoring Balló's notion that "[e]l cinema ha demostrat una capacitat extraordinària per fixar els imaginaris de les ciutats. [...] El cinema ens crea la satisfacció de conèixer més enllà de les aparences, proporciona el plaer d'informar-nos del pols ocult que batega en la ciutat" (1995, 94).

In *El sastre*, the camera barely changes position. In *A través del Carmel*, it does not stay still, it moves constantly in all directions. This movement does not only effect continuity, revealing what people have in common. It also elicits successive, unstoppable discontinuities, articulating differences and balancing them against the national community. As Homi Bhabha has stated (1994, 34), the organizing principle of cultural identity is not diversity, but difference. Indeed, the film focuses on some subtle factors of difference and, without commenting on them or giving an explicitly political message, invites the audience to reach its own conclusions.

Mapping the cultural landscape

Rancière offers a useful perspective from which to consider the political capacity of the visual arts:

Emancipation begins when we challenge the opposition between viewing and acting; when we understand that the self-

evident facts that structure the relationship between saying, seeing and doing themselves belong to the structure of domination and subjection. It begins when we understand that viewing is also an action that confirms or transforms this distribution of positions. The spectator also acts, like the pupil or the scholar. She observes, selects, compares, interprets. She links what she sees to a host of other things that she has seen on other stages, in other kinds of places. She composes her own poem with the element of the poem before her.

(2011, 13)

Accordingly, a film's social impact depends on its capacity to engage both the represented subjects and the spectators in a project of collective responsibility and awareness. The documentaries I have discussed address the complexity of the cultural makeup of contemporary societies by portraying the inflections of difference along axes such as language, ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, and even traditions such as musical idioms. These factors rule interactions within the community and account for both bonds and frictions. By zooming-in to street level and that of everyday experience, the films reveal the heterogeneity that a wider focus hides under generalizing notions and hegemonic identities. The typical debate about the Catalan and Spanish dichotomy is replaced by a more nuanced landscape in which the other languages of Catalonia are represented.

The three films examined here undertake a social role as critical interventions to the extent that they elicit an active exchange with the audience to trigger the kind of action Rancière describes: existing as a process of observation, selection, comparison and interpretation that calls for the modification of views and perceptions. Raising awareness becomes a way of empowering the communities depicted by establishing the status of their members as citizens. The film provides a platform for the enunciation of difference through image, language, and music. As such, making visible the loci of marginality functions as a tool to give voice to those inhabiting these spaces.

The strategies and topics of the three films differ. The activist intent is clearer in *A través del Carmel*, with the ambitious goal of encompassing the neighbourhood as a whole, with its grievances, demands and achievements. *El sastre* shows the cultural diversity of a different neighbourhood by focusing on the micro scale, the minimal location where friction and miscommunication occur. *Bajari* can be read as a vindication and a celebration of the culture of a marginalized group by stressing the role of family, memory and musical tradition in the construction of collective identity. All three cases summon up spaces of cultural interaction that are usually

ignored in large-scale mapping and account for the complexity of the landscape. As a result, they acknowledge the polyphony of voices and languages from a variety of backgrounds underscoring the right of their speakers to be recognised as citizens.

Works Cited

- Balló, Jordi. 1995. "La ciutat del cinema." In *Retrat de Barcelona*, edited by Albert García Espuche and Teresa Navas, Vol. 2, 94-104. Barcelona: CCCB.
- Bhabha, Homi. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Chatwin, Bruce. 1987. *The Songlines*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Garcés, Marina. 2013. *Un mundo común*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra.
- Glissant, Edouard. 1999. *Introduction to a Poetics of the Diverse*. Translated by Pierre Joris. *boundary 2* 26, no. 1: 119-21.
- Monegal, Antonio. 2005. "A Landscape of Relations: Peninsular Multiculturalism and the Avatars of Comparative Literature." In *Spain Beyond Spain*, edited by Bradley Epps and Luis Fernández-Cifuentes, 231-249. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP.
- Pasolini, Pier Paolo. 2009. *Escritos corsarios*. Translated by Juan Vivanco Gefaell. Madrid: Ediciones del Oriente y del Mediterráneo.
- Rancière, Jacques. 2006. *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*. Translated by Gabriel Rockhill. London & New York: Continuum.
- Rancière, Jacques. 2011. *The Emancipated Spectator*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London & New York: Verso.
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 1987. "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law." *Journal of Law and Society*, 14, no. 3: 341-364.
- Williams, Raymond. 1988. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana Press.

The Real and the Spoken: How the Use of Languages in Catalan Documentary Films Contributed to the Construction of a Sense of Reality

JORDI BALLÓ

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

MANEL JIMÉNEZ-MORALES

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Abstract

The consolidation of Catalan documentary cinema in the 21st century international sphere owes much to an existing context of creative freedom, less dependent on market laws or short-term policies. This freedom, often emerging out of university initiatives, has attracted young filmmakers wishing to explore the borders between documentary and fiction. The present article examines a number of their works, focusing on the use of multilingualism as a way to underscore the commitment of these documentaries to the reality they seek to represent. We argue that multilingualism as a phenomenon does not imply an obstacle to the presence of Catalan, as is evidenced by the partly autobiographical fictions produced by directors who use Catalan as a vehicular language to represent intimate experiences. Rather, multilingualism is becoming a style in itself and a way of ensuring that the Castilian language is not simply imposed for commercial reasons, a factor which has seriously affected the world of conventional fiction.

Keywords

Catalan cinema; Film schools; Documentary movies; Female directors; Multilingualism; Realism

The Real and the Spoken: How the Use of Languages in Catalan Documentary Films Contributed to the Construction of a Sense of Reality

JORDI BALLÓ

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

MANEL JIMÉNEZ-MORALES

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Standardising A Not So-Standard Reality

One of the longest and most fundamental sequences of the documentary *En construcció* (2001), by José Luis Guerin, reveals something of its distinctive and ground-breaking significance. In the scene, the workers who are constructing new buildings in Barcelona's multicultural Raval neighbourhood uncover a burial site, scattered with human bones, that has archaeological value. The sequence brings together neighbours and passers-by in a sort of spontaneous assembly. In this non-stop sequence, the comments from all these witnesses combine to form a continuous dialogue as they speculate about the remains. The collage of intertwined impressions shows how different languages emerge naturally and coherently in a flawless mixture of Catalan, Spanish, Moroccan Arabic, Panjabi and Catalan Sign Language. The result is a plethora of voices and reactions, an ode to multiculturalism that expresses how Barcelona reveals itself as a pluralistic city, a metonymy for an entire world. At the same time, as Joan Ramon Resina (2008) noted in one of the first academic texts about the film, the sequence underscores the prevalence of the Spanish language as a means of communication between the new immigrants and the native population. The linguistic diversity of the sequence not only epitomises the relevance of language for Catalan documentaries, but also for the documentary genre itself.

Successful attempts at employing Catalan as an unmarked language in film have taken several paths. The process of linguistic standardisation of the Catalan language resumed in the early 1980s, following the so-called Transition to democracy in Spain. It was a period of significant sociolinguistic shifts: after nearly forty years of suppression and of different legal obstacles that prohibited or

severely limited the public use of the languages, Catalan speakers were in a position to readopt their own common language beyond the private sphere. Among the different policies enacted, the creation of the *Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals* including the public Catalan television, TV3 in 1983 played a key role as a catalyst for the common use of Catalan in civil society (Gifreu 2011, 76). The *Corporació* challenged Spanish monolingualism in the mass media in Spain's Catalan-speaking areas and residually in the French part of Catalonia and helped to normalise the use of Catalan across different levels in society. Although regional languages had been officially recognised by the 1978 Constitution, until 1983 the mass media were totally dominated by Spanish, with the exception of a few programmes in Catalan on *TVE Catalunya* (Various Authors 2009). Audio-visual productions in Catalan or those dubbed into the language set the standard for new linguistic practices and played a dual role in the representation of reality. On the one hand, they tried to reconstruct extant forms of Catalan usage in the private domain, while forcibly imposing its presence in the public sphere in an attempt to reflect the linguistic diversity of the moment. On the other hand, these productions put in place a programme that aimed to "improve" Catalan speech and its usage in all areas of social life. Taken together, these approaches contributed to the creation of the so-called "espai català de comunicació" (Gifreu 2011, 78), to describe the group of media that used Catalan at the start of the Transition.

The impact of the Catalan language on the small screen is clear. Its use on television, particularly on the channel TV3, helped viewers to identify a standard variety of the language and a more accurate rendering of certain vernacular expressions. Moreover, the sustained presence of Catalan progressively gave voice to a variety of accents and registers not to mention interferences from Castilian across a range of programmes, from current affairs to fiction. The support provided to production in Catalan in all its diversity as a practice of multilingualism itself was undeniable. In recent decades, the agreement between the public Catalan television and the association of producers to promote the creation of new TV films between 2002 and 2005 was particularly significant (Poch, Jiménez-Morales 2005).

In the case of cinema, the presence of the Catalan language was still far from being *normalised* and from fulfilling the expectations of certain audiences. Despite several institutional policies which supported a number of films being dubbed into Catalan, Castilian remained the dominant language. In documentary, and consequently in films that seek to create a sense of reality, the creative freedom and the recognition of this freedom by various public funding bodies, has enabled the expression of an authentic plurilingual landscape, especially because these films are not subject to market pressures. In

this context, several films assume a critical role in demonstrating the way in which (multi)linguistic verisimilitude is realised. From the aforementioned *En construcció* to Carla Simón's Oscar-nominated *Estiu 1993* (2017) -completely spoken in Catalan-, it is clear that different methodologies connected with documentary cinema and realist fiction lead to a representation of the spoken language as something normal, if not indeed normalised. In both cases, language is deployed in a natural way, as the only possible form of communication, without any distortion or unconventional adaptation, that relies on the spontaneity of speakers.

An Academic Boost and the Blossoming of Documentary Cinema

If *En construcció* is emblematic amongst Catalan creative documentaries, one that has been strongly influential because – and not in spite – of its personal style, then *Estiu 1993*, produced 15 years later, represents the zenith of autobiographical fiction in an emergent movement of films directed by young female filmmakers. These films, which focus on reflections of reality, have been highly valued by critics and film festivals alike. In a survey conducted by the film magazine *Caimán: Cuadernos de Cine* for its centenary issue (Heredero, 2016), 350 specialists were asked about the most relevant Spanish films ever made. The specialists included critics, academics, journalists, film industry managers and festival directors. The result was a list of 10 films per decade. The decade of 2000–2010 coincides with the re-emergence of documentary cinema in Catalonia, which dissolves the conventional borders between documentary and fiction and has been regarded internationally as an innovative contribution to the cinematic portrayal of reality. In fact, all the Catalan films selected since 2000 in some way belong to this mixed genre, namely: Guerin's *En construcció* (2001), *Honor de cavalleria* (Serra 2006), *Demens* (Jordà 2003), *En la ciudad de Sylvia* (Guerin 2007), *El cielo gira* (Álvarez 2005) and *La leyenda del tiempo* (Lacuesta 2006). Since 2010, the presence of Catalan documentary and fiction films has been highly valued by reviewers, with films such as *Aita* (de Orbe 2010), *Història de la meva mort* (Serra 2013) and *La academia de las musas* (Guerin 2015) standing out. Following the 2016 survey, other critical evaluations considered *Estiu 1993* to be amongst the three best Spanish films of the 2010–2020 decade.

The new-found recognition, by critics and academicians alike, of Catalan realist cinema can be linked to the boost in training in the field of documentary cinema provided by a number of public universities. In 1993, a university programme in Audio-visual Communication that offers instruction in film and media studies was launched in Catalonia. The programme has had an important impact

on the audio-visual industry in the country and has played a key role in enriching representations of not just of Catalan reality but also of what might be called the Catalan imaginary. The Escola Superior de Cinema i Audiovisuals (ESCAC), the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) and the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF) have all launched specialised programmes. In effect, everything changed after 1999, as the UAB and UPF entered the industry by creating Master's programmes designed to foment the production of documentary film in Catalonia (Viveros, Català, 2010; Balló, 2010). In the framework of the Master's degree in Creative Documentary at UPF-Barcelona School of Management famed filmmaker Joaquim Jordà played a particularly important role (Castanon-Akrami 2011; Comella 2014; Fibla-Gutiérrez 2019). Jordà initiated several creative strategies in his own films as well as in the productions created as part of the Creative Documentary course (Quintana 2014, 14). It is worth remembering that Jordà is one of the most notable members of the *Escola de Barcelona* – a movement inspired, at least in part, by the *Nouvelle Vague* (Epps 2012) – which implies a particular vision of film production and its relationship with culture, politics and territory.

By way of example, *Mones com la Becky* (1999), by Jordà in collaboration with Núria Villazán, tells the story of a community of psychiatric patients preparing a theatrical performance on the subject of therapy. The film focuses on the biography of António Egas Moniz, the Portuguese psychiatrist who developed and advocated lobotomy as a way to treat schizophrenia. Egas played an important role in the later acceptance of mental health issues and their treatment. Four languages are spoken in *Mones com la Becky*: Portuguese, Catalan, Spanish and English. Although the film was to be located in Portugal, the production was primarily shot in Catalonia. The location, along with the fact that most of the participants were Catalan, might suggest that the default language used in the film would be Catalan. However, two important sequences subvert this expectation. In the first, the main characters are invited to describe on camera invented incidents that they might have experienced themselves. Instead of the requested fictional events, they begin to recount genuine experiences from their own lives. It is of note that their narration is in Spanish, despite the fact that the film has otherwise established that their native language is Catalan. The fictional element, then, is not the story itself, but rather the language used to tell it, with the result that the use of Spanish, the language of the State, confers a certain sense of fabrication on what is being said. In contrast, at the end of the film, the participants use Catalan extensively in a public assembly held in the psychiatric facility. Jordà himself explains that the difference stems from the fact

that the characters, who are members of a generation for which cinema had *always* been in Spanish, feel and understand the general experience of being recorded as if it were a fiction. When they forget the presence of cameras, the linguistic “over-acting” disappears. Jordà employs these tensions masterfully in his films to varying critical, theatrical, cinematic and educational effects (Guerra 2014). The behaviour performed, observed and recorded in *Mones com la Becky* exemplifies how the experience of language has itself been codified.

Jordà’s influence is also visible in Guerin’s decision to shoot *En construcció*, unlike his previous ventures, in Catalonia – a decision that has helped to make *En construcció*, which received multiple awards and enjoyed relative commercial success, a virtually inescapable reference for other productions that explore the relationship between documentary and fiction. As already intimated, Guerin’s most famous work radically poses the question of territory and identity as is suggested by the title, both are “*under construction*” and, in the process, the Catalan imaginary acquires new expressive possibilities. To cite only one example, Isaki Lacuesta, a pupil of both Jordà and Guerin, directed his first film, *Cravan versus Cravan* (2002), which begins in Paris, with French as a dominant language. However, halfway through the film, the poet and boxer Arthur Cravan moves to Catalonia, a move that elicits a powerful scene in which several Catalan poets exchange their opinions about Cravan’s Dadaist legacy. The Catalan language here emerges, diegetically, as the language of the protagonist’s new social reality.

These works encouraged documentary filmmakers to shoot in various locations without being conditioned by linguistic policies and politics but, instead, by simply using language as a natural aspect of their stories. Examples of this more “natural” approach include Lacuesta’s subsequent work, *La leyenda del tiempo* (2006), Mercedes Álvarez’s *El cielo gira* (2005), Carles Bosch’s *Balseros* (2002), Ricardo Íscar’s *Tierra negra* (2005), Pablo García’s *Fuente Álamo, la caricia del tiempo* (2001) and Andrés Duque’s *Oleg y las raras artes* (2016), to name but a few. These directors offered broader perspectives that differed significantly from those that had come before. None of these works is considered to have evolved *outside* of Catalan cinema; rather, they are all seen as an integrated new form of production and storytelling *within* Catalonia.

The idea of filming in any number of ambient languages with a critical point of view in one’s own territory can be seen in the work of young filmmakers who continue to be influenced by Guerin and Jordà (Moreno-Caballud, 2014; Cobo-Duran, Liberia Vayá, 2021). In particular, a number of these filmmakers have been inspired to create

visual narratives in marginal contexts, a generation that includes: Ariadna Pujol with *Aguaviva* (2006), Marc Recha with *Dies d'agost* (2006), Carla Subirana with *Nedar* (2008), Adán Aliaga with *La casa de mi abuela* (2005), Lupe Pérez with *Diario Argentino* (2006), José González Morandi and Paco Toledo with *Can Tunis* (2006), Eva Vila with *B-side* (2008), and more radically, Xavier Artigas and Xapo Ortega with *Ciutat morta* (2014).

Memory as a film location

In the aforementioned *Nedar*, Carla Subirana plunges beneath the waters of remembrance as she tries to understand the mechanisms associated with memory loss as a consequence of certain illnesses, but also as a result of the conscious or unconscious desire to forget. In this intimate work, in which Subirana has a conversation with Jordà several months before the latter's death, the director explores the story behind her grandfather's execution by Francoist troops. She also sounds out the silence surrounding the event amongst her relatives, an effort that is dramatically exacerbated by the rapid advance of her grandmother's Alzheimers and the onset of the disease in her mother. Recovering memories becomes a crucial theme (Feenstra and Sánchez-Biosca 2014), especially when the Catalan language appears on screen, since the stories here in question are related to personal, profound feelings and the characters express themselves in their own language, presumably without any coding, pre-conception or constraining plot condition. At the same time, productions that revolve around the recovery of historical memory often include Catalan as a controversial issue because of its virtual prohibition under Franco. In the previously cited sequence from *Nedar*, Subirana asks Jordà about robberies under Franco in order to understand her grandfather's actions as an alleged member of an anarchist organisation. Jordà explains that the people who participated in such organisations acted for political and social reasons and implicitly accepted the risk of execution. The conversation between the two flows perfectly in Catalan until the sequence is suddenly interrupted to give way to another sequence: an enacted, cinematic scene in which Subirana imagines a *film noir*-like identity parade. In the *mise-en-scène*, a voice-over reads the police statement narrating the events related to one of her grandfather's alleged robberies. The sequence is in Spanish and, as such, contrasts with Jordà and Subirana's conversation. The use of the voice-over language reproduces the text used in the press at the time, but Subirana deliberately stresses the implications in this particular mixture of genres: the stylish crime drama, to account for a time

when Spanish was *the* language of a repressive State apparatus, and the documentary domain of thought and evocation.

Bucarest, la memòria perduda (2008), is another work that delves into the subject of memory loss through the exploration of the author's past experiences as well as those of his ancestors. Its director, Albert Solé, is the son of one of the so-called "Seven Fathers" of the Spanish Constitution, Jordi Solé Tura. The filmmaker was born in Romania, where his family was sent into exile following the installation of the dictatorship. In the documentary, Solé, the director, embarks on a sort of introspective second exile, a memory exile, which leads him to recall the particularities of an anomalous biography abroad. In his singular journey into the recollection of personal episodes, some crucial experiences emerge, most of them related to circumstantial events conditioned by political and historical context: the Spanish dictatorship observed from a distance, the effects of the Cold War on communist countries and the transition to democracy in Spain. As with *Nedar*, the recovery of historical memory, which has become a central subject in Spanish cinema (Feenstra and Sánchez-Biosca 2014), is strongly conditioned by the real-life damage to personal memories due to ageing and illness. Jordi Solé Tura was also affected by Alzheimer's. The imperative to recall memories compels the director to explore the past, his own past, before there are no remaining witnesses to tell the story. In the film's first sequence, Albert Solé recounts how he grew up thinking that he was French, then Hungarian and finally Romanian, in spite of his strong Catalan background. His indeterminate nationality and continuous search for an identity overlap with the use of the language in the documentary. Along with his personal account, several sources complement the director's point of view, most notably archive images from the media as well as witness statements and readings of official documents, mostly in Spanish, although Catalan, French and English also appear, primarily spoken by friends or close acquaintances. The presence of different languages signals the multilingual experience of exile but also throws into relief, by contrast, the intimate language of communication between Solé and his father. In a sequence in which the director explains how as a child he went every Thursday afternoon to visit his father in jail, Solé reads a news item referring to his father's imprisonment. Solé Tura's surprised reaction has dramatic implications, since he is unable to remember such a poignant detail. The paradox, so to speak, is that Solé Tura appears to have used Spanish and Catalan in equal measure to communicate with his son, Albert, in particular situations. The bilingual cast of their communication marks, indeed, the reading of a letter addressed

by Solé Tura, from jail, to his son in Spanish, in keeping with the political repression of the Catalan language at that time.

In similar terms, *Bicicleta, cullera, poma* (2010) expresses the confluence of the personal and the universal with the loss of the memory of a person who serves as a perfect embodiment of a country's political history. The film, directed by Carles Bosch, follows the life of Pasqual Maragall after he announced publicly that he had been diagnosed with Alzheimer's. Maragall, who was the Mayor of Barcelona from 1982 to 1997, a period that included the 1992 Olympic Games, and the President of the Catalan Government from 2003 to 2006, agreed to be recorded while living with the disease. Catalan is the dominant language in the film, but the documentary acquires an international dimension when it takes on three other parallel stories from Hyderabad (India), Rotterdam (Netherlands) and Rochester (United States), with the implication that no matter how relevant or influential one might have been in history, anyone can be affected by Alzheimer's. The point is consistent with Maragall's desire to study the disease on a large scale through his own Alzheimer's research foundation. The evolution of the illness and its treatment across the four storylines provides a broad, common, global dimension to the issue. Obviously, Maragall's situation as a statesman confers additional value on the film and pushes at the limits between the private and the public in matters of health. The documentary also explores how the media, as well as Maragall's friends and acquaintances, have reacted to his illness. The film, nevertheless, goes beyond what is explored in *Nedar* or in *Bucarest, la memòria perduda*. The longstanding assumption that, in Catalonia, the language of intimacy was Catalan while the language of social, political and historical events and their representation was Spanish is disrupted in a sequence in *Bicicleta, cullera, poma*. In it, Maragall is shown writing his memoirs in his summer house, an act that entails gathering together personal memories and historical facts and that also functions as a reflection on how the brain works. The somewhat surprising factor here is that Maragall writes in English. The viewing audience may wonder why he is writing in a language which is neither his mother tongue nor the language of the Spanish State in which, as a Catalan politician, he lived and worked. In the end, Maragall justifies the use of English by saying that he began to write something for a foreign doctor and that he simply continued in that language. The scene shows how the rational process of thinking about memory leads, in this case, to the use of another language to stress difference and how English has become an overdetermined language as a *lingua franca*.

The films discussed in this section underscore that when reality engages and explores the dimension of the imaginary, the

unconscious or the past, it takes unpredictable paths that give voice to various notions about the language of intimacy, the representation of the intangible, the weight of history (and counterhistory), the dialogue with personalities and/or institutions and the challenges involved in conveying a certain non-identification with one's own discourse.

A polyphonic reality

The case of *La plaga* (2013) by Neus Ballús – fostered by the UPF's Master's in Creative Documentary – adds yet another layer to the subject under discussion and helps to explain how the representation of reality can draw on language in more spontaneous ways. *La plaga* allows its characters to express themselves with mutual intelligibility in a multicultural and multilingual context. The film is constructed under the concept of universality through the depiction of a meeting place of different migrations (Quintana 2014, 21). These intersecting migrations take place in a rural space on the outskirts of Barcelona, where several languages are spoken together: Catalan, Spanish with different varieties and dialects such as Argentinian, Russian, Moldovan and Ilocano. *La plaga* had a significant impact and was shortlisted for a Gaudí award for Best Catalan Fiction Film. At the same ceremony, it won the awards for best screenplay, best direction and best editing. One of its particularities is that the film mobilises a choral story in which the main characters are not actors but perform their parts after a long working process with the filmmaker. What Ballús manages to extract from such an approach is a sense of authenticity that is never lost in the devised plots in which the characters appear to find a natural way of expressing themselves. The story flows in a multilingual arena that provides a space for Catalan, which is spoken by the family who owns the farm that is affected by the plague and, above all, by Maria, an elderly and humble woman who also speaks in Catalan to the Philippin carer of the health residence. In its deliberate use of multilingualism, the film has similarities with *La substància* (2016), by Lluís Galter, which was also produced in the context of the UPF programme and which also grapples with notions of reality and representation, original and copy, authenticity and stereotypes. *La substància* centres on the construction of a small town resembling Cadaquès, on the Costa Brava, in a small spot on the Southern coast of China, in Xiamen. The film generates a mirror image not only between Cadaquès and the Chinese village called Kadakaisi, but also between the Catalan and the Chinese languages.

Along with *La plaga* and *La substància*, the film *Lo que tú dices que soy* (2007) – directed by Virginia García del Pino and produced as

part of the Master's degree course in Creative Documentary at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona also provides a fluent polyphony of language through a range of perspectives. Here, different accents are present and the combination between Catalan and Spanish becomes a natural option. The three films *La plaga*, *La substància* and *Lo que tú dices que soy* can thus be understood as exercises in relatively successful multilingual productions that are not the result of some laboratory-like experiment in cultural politics, but that are instead solely inspired by the commitment to a sense of reality.

In the aforementioned *Ciutat morta*, Xavier Artigas and Xapo Ortega take as their starting point the suicide of a student called Patricia Heras in order to elucidate “case 4F”, an incident related to police corruption and the fabrication of evidence in Barcelona. The film narrates the story of a group of squatters who allegedly caused a policeman to become tetraplegic on the night of 4 February 2006, during a party in an occupied old building belonging to the Barcelona City Council. It is designed as a “documentary within a documentary,” and begins by presenting a scene in which the police change the evidence in order to frame the young squatters for a crime that they did not commit. The voices of the witnesses and the young people are combined with images from media sources that covered the events. Most of the witnesses – some of whom are from a range of Latin American countries – express themselves indiscriminately in Catalan or Spanish. The images relating to the extracts of the court hearings are, however, always in Spanish, a fact that underscores, once again, that the language of the legal domain, and by extension the Administration, is still Spanish. The same linguistic imbalance is at play in Jordà's *De nens* (2003), a documentary about the well-known “Raval Case,” which centred on an alleged paedophile network constructed to cover up a supposed real-estate scam in the Raval district of Barcelona – the same in which Guerin's *En construcción* is set. As in *Ciutat morta*, in *De nens*, the main language of the Courts is Spanish, although the judges, prosecutors, the main accused and some of the witnesses have marked Catalan accents.

Unstigmatized Languages in Art House Cinema

The case of Albert Serra epitomises the importance of working with non-professional actors, as is the cases with many of the aforementioned directors. For Serra, the language of filmmaking belongs entirely to Catalan, the language of the company of actors and the technical crew who carry with themselves – and thus bring to their movies – their own aesthetic and linguistic territory, beyond or beside geographical parameters or literary origins. The main

criterion for Serra appears to be the desire to obtain the most organic form of expression from the characters, no matter how “unbelievable” it may be for the story. Serra’s films *Honor de cavalleria*, *El cant dels ocells* (2008), *El Senyor ha fet en mi meravelles* (2011) and *Historia de la meva mort*, amongst others, demonstrate that this unlikely approach radiates a sense of reality not because of its coherence with the plot, but because of its consistency with the acting and, by extension, with human nature. Accordingly, in *Honor de cavalleria*, Don Quixote is played by a Catalan actor and speaks Catalan, despite the fact that strict fidelity to the *literary* reference would have the film set in La Mancha and spoken in Spanish. Serra adopts a multilingual approach in *Liberté* (2019), with the presence of French, German and Italian to tell a story of licentiousness in Europe. This film went on to win the Special Jury Prize of the section “Un Certain Regard,” at the Cannes Film Festival.

In a round table at the University of Princeton that included Antonio Monegal, Ricardo Piglia, Andrea di Tella and Sergio Wolf, the vitality of documentary films and of realistic fictions in Catalonia was taken to be self-evident (Monegal 2007). The participants did not hesitate to link Serra’s cinema to the creative documentary movement. Nevertheless, they discerned a marked distance between certain films of this “tradition” and Serra’s strategies and ambitions. Olivier Père, who discovered Albert Serra when he was in charge of the Festival de Cannes’ Director’s Fortnight, described him as part of a new generation of directors who still makes possible the passion for contemporary cinema and the film modernity (Père 2011). With respect to Serra, the director’s apparent indifference to the audience is a critical part of his discourse as an artist and a key element in his emblematic filming style.

The Blossoming of the Female Perspective

Most of the examples considered in this article refer to the different genres of documentary and fiction filmmaking that use non-professional actors in realistic situations. The influence of the documentary as an expression and representation of reality has, as already noted, a significant presence in purely fictional productions. The transposition of documentary mechanisms to fiction is clearly represented by several female directors.

Indeed, a number of films directed by women leave an arguably deeper personal footprint as a sign of authorship and the search for a self-assertive voice of their own, a tendency that has important implications for the previously discussed expression of authenticity. One of the first films that illustrates this tendency is *Tres dies amb la família* (2009), directed by Mar Coll, a former student of ESCAC who

narrates a semi-autobiographical story about a girl who travels back home for the funeral of a relative and experiences all the complex and hypocritical behaviours within a bourgeois family. Coll's recourse to Catalan functions as an expressive means for intensifying the portrait of a family, a move that is also on display, but in Spanish, in *Lo mejor de mí* (2007), by Roser Aguilar, a film of simple feelings and few, if any, embellishments. To a certain extent these two films can be understood as providing the foundations for a number of subsequent works directed by young female filmmakers and fostered by academic institutions. The most notable films in this direction are *Les amigues de l'Àgata* (2016), a co-direction between Laia Alabart, Alba Cros, Laura Rius and Marta Verheyen, with Catalan as the only language and the Málaga Festival award-winner *Júlia ist* (2017), by Elena Marín. In the latter film located in Barcelona and Berlin, the spontaneous style of filming and acting leads to a natural use of Catalan combined with German, as the common form of communication for a generation that was born and educated in Catalan. As such, the language accords with the requirements of the plot even as it remains, inevitably, also an aesthetic choice.

Likewise shot in Berlin, *Les distàncies* (2018), by Elena Trapé, explores the human relationships within a group of old friends who, once outside Catalonia, discover that everything is not as it used to be. *Les distàncies*, which was produced by the ESCAC and named Best Film at the Gaudí Awards in 2019, was conceived from the start as a totally multilingual (Catalan-Spanish-German-English) production. According to its director, the goal was to show how bilingualism and, in particular moving between Catalan and Spanish, is a natural part of her daily context. For this reason, she explains, the conversations have not been translated, although the film was also dubbed into Spanish. This dubbed copy was to allow for the film to be shown in those towns where no original-language screenings typically take place. Trapé described the experience of dubbing as "painful and terrible" (Especial Festival de Málaga 2018). *Les distàncies* is a rarely explicit example of the way in which autobiographical fiction, authorial intent, and the vindication of multilingualism come face-to-face with the imposition – although partial in this context of market pressures in favour of the Spanish language. In this particular case, such imposition has the potential to influence the overall impact of a film and be detrimental to its critical reception.

The recent generation of female-driven cinema, which has gained visibility in several countries, often showcases stories of social justice, equality and fairness but also often brings to the fore questions of linguistic diversity. As Agnès Varda noted some years ago, when women eventually had the opportunity to be directors, the rules of the game had already been established from a male point of

view (Lucarne ovale, 1978). Consequently, the representation of, and by, women was particularly fraught. These films directed by women can thus be understood as comprising new opportunities for a cinema that reinvents previous plots and modes of expression and that reassesses and rethinks established patterns of representation, especially of bodies (Merino 2019). A pertinent example of such reassessment and reinvention is the movement *Dones visuals*, created in 2017, which aims to redress the historic gender imbalance in the film industry. The activities promoted by this group (production, training, funding, incubation, etc), encourage films that deal with experiential reality. Importantly, in all of these films, language plays a critical part in the representation, and construction of the gender, sexuality and the body.

Of all the films that engage questions of gender, the previously noted *Estiu 1993*, by Carla Simón, is especially notable as it draws on the autobiographical experience of the author, whose parents died of AIDS when she was a little girl. Shot entirely in Catalan, *Estiu 1993* presents its characters and its locations in an organic way that appreciates the values of authenticity and truth. A work of autobiographical fiction, *Estiu 1993* was awarded a Gaudí for best film, a Goya for best direction and was selected by the *Academia de las Artes y las Ciencias Cinematográficas de España* as its candidate for the Oscars in 2018. The film's recognition by critics and audiences alike, thus acts as an indirect sign of support for the use of Catalan in contemporary cinema. That these and other films directed by women have tended to take the form of confessions and personal stories, in which expressions of intimacy and honesty loom large and in which language assumes more natural form of expression, also merits critical consideration.

In sum, Catalan documentary cinema has evolved differently according to such diverse factors as historical context, academic training and influence, the thematic particularities of politics and culture, the vagaries of personal voice, the interplay of age, race, gender, sexuality and so on, and the degree of professional and non-professional acting involved. At the very least, the documentary films produced over the last twenty years suggest that the concern for depicting reality has fostered more natural deployments of the multilingual landscape of Catalonia. Different strategies, deliberate and/or unexpected, have compensated, in part, for previous shortcomings in the representation of linguistic plurality. Above all, the desire to represent a spontaneous reality, free from the dictates of funding or audience ratings, has facilitated the growth of the industry and encouraged a more natural perception of the multilingual phenomenon. In so doing, these and other filmmakers succeed in making the Catalan language into a proper and unique

form of cinematic creativity (Camps 2018, 30). The current situation clearly owes some of its good results to university training initiatives. However, in the future, cinema may look for new ways to capture an increasingly complex multicultural and multilingual reality. Whatever the case, the current situation indicates that the movements related to the documentary genre, *cinéma du réel*, and/or autobiographical fiction are deeply engaged in an ongoing search for authenticity in ways that open a space for the Catalan language and that allow it to be present in a number of films, part and parcel of a tacit agreement between the filmmakers and the world, or worlds, they wish to portray.

Filmography

- Aguaviva*. 2006. Ariadna Pujol. Catalan, Spanish.
- Aita* [Father]. 2010. José María de Orbe. Basque, Spanish.
- B-side*. 2008. Eva Vila. Catalan, English, Spanish.
- Balseros*. 2002. Carles Bosch and Josep Maria Domènech. English, Spanish.
- Bicicleta, cullera, poma*. 2010. Carles Bosch. Catalan, English, Dutch, Kannada, Spanish, Telugu.
- Bucarest, la memòria perduda*. 2008. Albert Solé. Catalan, English, French, Spanish.
- Can Tunis*. 2006. José González Morandi and Paco Toledo. Spanish.
- Ciutat morta*. 2014. Xavier Artigas and Xapo Ortega. Catalan, Spanish.
- Cravan versus Cravan*. 2002. Isaki Lacuesta. Catalan, English, French, Spanish.
- De nens*. 2003. Joaquim Jordà. Catalan, Spanish.
- Diario Argentino*. 2006. Lupe Pérez. Spanish.
- Dies d'agost*. 2006. Marc Recha. Catalan.
- En construcció*. 2001. José Luis Guerin. Catalan, Catalan Sign Language, Moroccan Arabic, Panjabi, Spanish.
- El cant dels ocells*. Albert Serra. Catalan, Hebrew.
- El cielo gira*. 2005. Mercedes Álvarez. Moroccan Arabic, Spanish.
- El Senyor ha fet en mi meravelles*. 2011. Albert Serra. Catalan.
- En la ciudad de Sylvia*. 2007. José Luis Guerin. French, Spanish.
- Estiu 1993*. 2017. Carla Simón. Catalan.
- Fuente Álamo: la caricia del tiempo*. 2001. Pablo García. Spanish.
- Història de la meva mort*. 2013. Albert Serra. Catalan.
- Honor de cavalleria*. 2006. Albert Serra. Catalan.
- Júlia ist*. 2017. Elena Martín. Catalan, English, German, Spanish.
- La academia de las musas*. 2015. José Luis Guerin. Catalan, Italian, Spanish.
- La casa de mi abuela*. 2005. Adán Aliaga. Catalan, Spanish.
- La leyenda del tiempo*. 2006. Isaki Lacuesta. Japanese, Spanish.
- La plaga*. 2013. Neus Ballús. Catalan, Ilocano, Moldavian, Russian, Spanish.
- La substància*. 2016. Lluís Galter. Catalan, Chinese, Spanish.
- Les amigues de l'Àgata*. 2016. Laia Alabart, Alba Cros, Laura Rius and Marta Verheyen. Catalan.
- Les distàncies*. 2018. Elena Trapé. Catalan, English, German, Spanish.
- Liberté*. 2019. Albert Serra. French, German, Italian.

- Lo mejor de mí.* 2007. Roser Aguilar. Spanish.
Lo que tú dices que soy. 2007. Virginia García del Pino. Catalan, Spanish.
Mones com la Becky. 1999. Joaquim Jordà and Núria Villazán. Catalan, English, Portuguese, Spanish.
Nedar. 2008. Carla Subirana. Catalan, Spanish.
Oleg y las raras artes. 2016. Andrés Duque. Russian.
Tierra negra. 2005. Ricardo Íscar. Spanish.

Works Cited

- Balló, Jordi. 2010. "Cronología de una transmisión (El Máster de Documental de la UPF)." In *Realidad y creación en el cine de no-ficción*. Edited by Mirito Torreiro, 105–122. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Camps, Magí. 2018. "El cinema català més enllà de la subvenció." *La Vanguardia* 23 May, 30.
- Castanon-Akrami, Brice. 2011. "Renouveau du documentaire et nouveau réalisme catalan: le Master en documentaire de création de l'Université Pompeu Fabra (Barcelone)." Doctoral thesis: www.theses.fr/2011REIML004
- Cobo-Duran, Sergio and Irene Liberia Vayá. 2021. "Narrativas y estéticas hereditarias en la no ficción española: reminiscencias cinematográficas de la obra de Joaquim Jordà y José Luis Guerin". In *Cine español entre milenios (1990-2010)*. Edited by Virginia Guarinos and Jean Paul Aubert, *Fotocinema* 23 (2021), 47–73.
- Comella, Beatriz. 2014. *Filmar a pie de aula. Quince años de una experiencia docente en la universidad*. Tarragona: Universitat Rovira Virgili.
- Especial Festival de Málaga, television programme, 2018. Interview with Elena Trapé broadcast by El rincón TV.
- Epps, Brad. 2012. "Echoes and Traces: Catalan cinema, or Cinema in Catalonia." In *A Companion to Spanish Cinema*. Edited by Jo Labanyi and Tatiana Pavlovic, 50–80. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Feenstra, Pietsie and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, editors. 2014. *Le cinéma espagnol. Histoire et culture*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Fibla-Gutiérrez, Enrique. 2019. "Cinema of Crisis and the Documentary Impulse: The UPF Masters in Creative Documentary". *Hispanic Research Journal* 20 (1), 26–41.
- Gifreu, Josep. 2011. "El procés de normalització del català en els mitjans de comunicació: Notes sobre l'evolució de la recerca, 1980-2010." *Treballs de sociolingüística catalana* 21: 73–82.
- Guerra, Carles. 2014. "La militància biopolítica de Joaquim Jordà." *Comparat/ive Cinema* 5: 50–55.
- Heredero, Carlos. 2016. *Caimán: Cuadernos de Cine*. 100 Cuadernos. Especial cine español 46: 12–15.
- Lucarne ovale, television programme. 1978. Interview with Agnès Varda broadcast by Radio Télévision Suisse (RTS), 3 March.
- Merino, Imma. 2007. "Volver al origen." In *Al otro lado de la ficción. Trece documentalistas españoles contemporáneos*. Edited by Josetxo Cerdán and Casimiro Torreiro. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Merino, Imma. 2019. *Agnès Varda. Espigadora de realidades y ensueños*. San Sebastián: Colección Nosferatu/Filmoteca Vasca.

- Monegal, Antonio. 2007. "Conversa a Princeton: Andrés di Tella, Antonio Monegal, Ricardo Piglia i Sergio Wolf". In *Revista Transversal* 30, 67-79.
- Moreno-Caballud, Luis. 2014. "Looking amid the rubble. New Spanish Documentary film and the residues of urban transformation (Joaquim Jordà and José Luis Guerin)". *Studies in Spanish & Latin American Cinemas* 11: 61-74.
- Père, Olivier. 2011. "LA/AS, pensamiento salvaje y minimalismo grandioso." In *Todas las cartas. Correspondencias filmicas*, 121-157. Edited by Jordi Balló. Barcelona: Intermedio.
- Poch, Paco and Manel Jiménez-Morales (2005). *La producció de telefilms a Catalunya: balanç provisional*. Quaderns del CAC, 22.
- Quintana, Àngel. 2014. "Un cinema en trànsit per a un temps d'incertesa." *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 27: 11-26.
- Resina, Joan Ramon. 2008. 'The Construction of the Cinematic Image. En construcción (José Luis Guerin, 2000)'. In *Burning Darkness. A Half Century of Spanish Cinema*. Edited by Joan Ramon Resina with the assistance of Andrés Lema-Hincapié, 255-276. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Various Authors. 2009. *50 anys de TVE Catalunya: 50 anys d'una gran companyia*. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Viveros, Carmen and Josep Maria Català (2010). "La nueva ecología del documental. (El Máster de Documental Creativo de la UAB)". In *Realidad y creación en el cine de no-ficción*. Edited by Mirito Torreiro, 123-142. Madrid: Cátedra.