



11TH JOAN GILI MEMORIAL LECTURE

Maria Josep Cuenca

The War of the Languages:
Metaphors of linguistic conflict in Catalonia

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This is the eleventh in the regular series of lectures convened by The Anglo-Catalan Society, to be delivered at its annual conference, in commemoration of the figure of Joan Lluís Gili i Serra (1907—1998), founder member of the Society and Honorary Life President from 1979. The object of the publication is to ensure wider diffusion, in English, for an address to the Society given by a distinguished figure in Catalan Studies whose specialism coincides with an aspect of the multiple interests and achievements of Joan Gili, as scholar, bibliophile and translator. This lecture was given by Maria Josep Cuenca, on 15th November 2008 at the University of Kent at Canterbury, and has been translated by Jennifer Arnold and Helena Buffery. Grateful acknowledgement is made of the sponsorship of The Annual Joan Gili Memorial Lectures provided by the Institut Ramon Llull.

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The War of the Languages: Metaphors of linguistic conflict in Catalonia

1. INTRODUCTION

Language conflict is highly visible throughout the Catalan-speaking areas, and is represented in the press in a variety of ways. Alongside neutral and objective news articles, there are stories, editorials, letters to the editor and other types of text which present the situation of contact between Catalan and Spanish in ways that are more subjective, or even partial and manipulative, with the clear intention of creating or shaping distinct ideologies. This essay applies the methodological frame of Cognitive Linguistics, and especially the theories on conceptual metaphor and frames developed by George Lakoff, to the analysis of newspaper articles published in Catalonia between 2006 and 2007. The articles in the corpus deal with the use of Catalan in the socio-economic domain, with particular focus on commerce and the restaurant and catering industry. A complete study of the corpus shows that the predominant metaphor is A SITUATION OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IS A WAR. The metaphorical expressions used in the texts present a conflictive linguistic situation and two almost irreconcilable visions of the use of Catalan and Spanish that respond to two opposing conceptual frames.

1.1 The use of Catalan in the socio-economic domain

Before proceeding to analyse the articles, it will be useful to provide a brief description of the socio-linguistic situation of the Catalan language in the socio-economic domain, drawing on a recent study by Joan Solé Camardons (2009). Solé Camardons attributes three different roles to language within economic activity: a symbolic role, a functional role and a service role. From a symbolic point of view, language contributes to the identity of a company or an establishment; from a functional point of view, it is used by employees and consumers as a way of understanding each other; from the service point of view it can be used to create unity or to increase quality of service, for example by choosing to adapt to the language of the customer.

In regard to the articles in my corpus, it is necessary to highlight the results from Solé Camardons' study relating to both the language use and attitudes of consumers as well as to the oral linguistic competence of the professionals. The different studies and statistics examined by Solé Camardons show that the use of Catalan in Catalonia reflects the percentage of habitual Catalan speakers (around 50% of the population) and is most prevalent in financial organizations (57.8%), while lower scores were obtained in big companies (45.9%), especially in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, where it dropped to 36%. As far as attitudes to the language are concerned, there are studies from 1995 which indicate that the majority of the population (81%) displayed a neutral (32%), favourable (35%) or very favourable (19%) attitude towards the use of Catalan in a socio-economic context, with only 19% having an unfavourable (14%) or very unfavourable (4%) attitude; indeed, according to Joan Solé, "Catalan acted more frequently as an incentive to the consumer rather than a repellent."

Although it is possible that recent increases in population flow and campaigns against the use of Catalan may have contributed to alter these percentages, a qualitative study in 2006 reveals that general attitudes to Catalan are favourable. However, the majority of workers in the customer service industry are inclined to give priority to the language of the customer, for the most part rejecting the exclusive use of Catalan in labelling in favour of bilingual equality. A 2004 study indicates that 42.9% of restaurants did not comply with the *Llei de Política Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Policy)¹ which holds that the use of Catalan should be observed in all signage and menus. Additionally, in some areas the percentage of people who declare reading proficiency in Catalan is almost double the percentage of restaurants whose signage is in this language (e.g. 61.2% as against 31.45% in Hospitalet de Llobregat).

Furthermore, the linguistic proficiency of workers varies considerably according to their professional group. It is worth pointing out, for instance, that the professional group whose expected use of Catalan is primarily oral, working mainly in customer service, exhibits a low or average linguistic competence. This trend is probably on the increase and is higher still in Barcelona where many immigrants work as waiters or in other roles that involve direct contact with clients.

Solé Camardons concludes that in the socio-economic domain Catalan “does not have a clear majority public presence; rather it seems to be hidden or to be barely visible. In consumer products advertising, business activity (such as conferences, journals and in-house publications), labelling or customer service, the use of Catalan is much lower than the linguistic capacity of both professionals and consumers.” Furthermore, in the restaurant and catering industry, personal and customer service, which have been characterised in recent years by the increasing presence of workers from other countries, there is found to be (i) insufficient knowledge to be able to provide adequate service in Catalan, (ii) negligible consumer pressure through explicit insistence on linguistic rights, and (iii) a general lack of effective mechanisms to resolve certain types of linguistic conflict.

1.2 The corpus for analysis

The articles on which the present study is based were drawn from the Knosys database, created and maintained by the Centre de Documentació de la Secretaria de Política Lingüística de Generalitat de Catalunya [the Documentation Centre of the Department of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya] (<http://www6.gencat.net/llengcat/cds/bdpremsa.htm>).² This database held over 45,000 entries in 2009, and it includes newspaper articles about any subject relating to language (above all Catalan), published since the year 2000. Figure 1 shows one of the screens from the database.

¹ This law was approved on the 7th of January 1998, under the *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) government, but was implemented for the first time on the 30th of January 2003 under the *Tripartit* government.

² This essay is part of a wider data-analysis project developed for the Secretaria de Política Lingüística. It is an extended version of the work presented in Cuenca (2009). We thank the Generalitat for the support they have given to this research, in particular Joan Solé Camardons and Elena Heidepriem, from the Centre de Documentació.

Base de dades de premsa

> Presentació > Pàgina inicial de consulta

Resultats de la cerca ?

Nova cerca Afineu la cerca

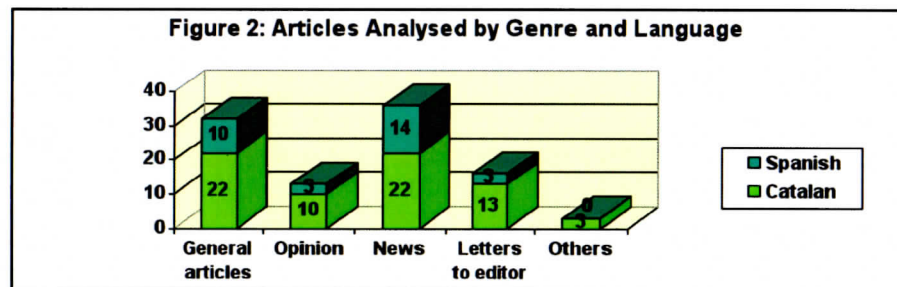
Paràmetres de cerca: "llengües minoritàries"
 Nombre de registres: 579
 Pàgina: 1 / 58

Cliqueu sobre el títol de la notícia per veure'n les dades completes

Data	Diari	Títol
2000-01-05	Avui	Les llengües minoritàries demanen pas al tercer mil·lenni
2000-01-14	Regió 7	Regió7 porta a Manresa l'organisme que aplega la premsa d'Europa en llengües minoritàries
2000-01-15	Diari d'Andorra	Marcel Baiche impartirà un curs per redescobrir el llegat cultural occità
2000-01-17	Periòdic, El	Un ens reunirà diaris en llengües minoritàries
2000-02-28	Mañana, La	Denuncian el estado de marginación que sufre la lengua de Oc
2000-03-26	Independent	BBC Wales "purges" English accents
2000-04-26	Avui	Itàlia assumeix les llengües minoritàries
2000-04-29	Economist, The	How multilingual is France?
2000-06-13	Independent	One woman's mission to save Gaelic language
2000-09-21	Punt, El	Occità i català: llengües bessones

Figure 1. The Knosys Database

A survey of all articles published between 2006 and 2007 led to the identification of 497 which could be classified as falling thematically within the socio-economic domain; 100 were selected for in-depth analysis. The articles were carefully chosen in order to reflect the different types of events and opinions published in the daily newspapers in Catalonia and represent proportionally the different journalistic genres in the corpus (Figure 2).³

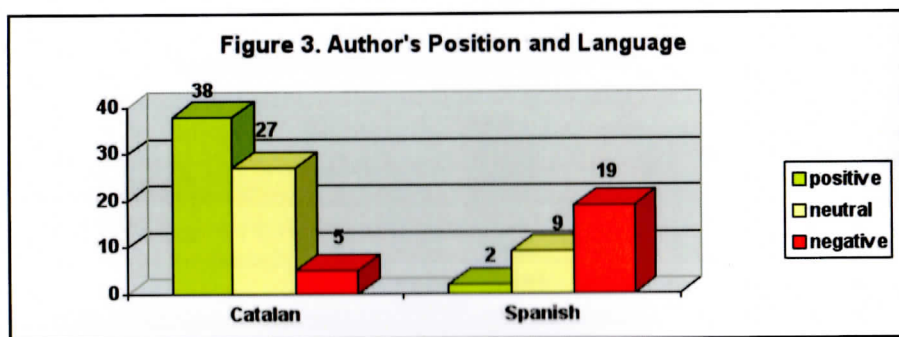


³ The distribution of the 100 articles largely reflects the proportion of different genres in the corpus of 497, as well as responding to other variables such as the attitudes of the author and the language used (Figure 3). This is why there are more articles in Catalan than in Spanish.

The articles were drawn from a variety of daily newspapers in Catalan (*Avui, El Punt, Segre, el Vallenc, Regió 7, Diari de Terrassa, Diari de Sabadell, Diari de Tarragona, Diari de Girona, Diari d'Igualada, Diari de Vilanova, La Fura, el 3 de Vuit, L'Enllaç, Presència, El Pati*) and in Spanish (*La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, ABC, El Mundo, La Razón, El País, Época Economista, Expansión, 20 Minutos Metro, La Mañana*). All 497 articles were analysed and a database was compiled with the most relevant features of the 100 articles selected. The detailed study of these articles covered aspects of both content (topic, facts, data, arguments) and form (headline, subhead, image). However, the main focus here will be on the rhetorical strategies encountered: primarily the use of metaphor, but also simile and paradox.

The most frequent topics of the articles were: a) linguistic rights and bilingualism; b) customer service, signage, customer information and labelling, both from the point of view of the customer and that of the retailer or worker; and c) the actions of the Catalan administration, both in a positive sense (such as campaigns, technological tools, conferences, prizes) and in a negative sense (inspections and sanctions against traders who do not comply with the Law of Linguistic Policy). In general, the articles deal with aspects of linguistic use related to commerce (superstores or hypermarkets, small and large businesses, manufacturers) and to the restaurant and catering industry. As far as the Catalan-language press is concerned, whilst there is coverage of a wide variety of domains, the articles dealing with the restaurant and catering industry stand out for the number of references made to the problem with customer service by poorly prepared waiters, who are generally immigrants and who at times have little stimulus to speak or even understand Catalan. The Spanish-language press usually concentrates on aspects related to business and commerce, especially the so-called "linguistic fines", alongside reflection of a more general nature about bilingualism.

Along with the genre, subject matter and domain of the articles, it is also important to consider the position adopted by the author, and how this relates to the language employed (Figure 3).



More than half of the articles written in Spanish adopt a negative position (19 out of 30), the only neutral ones being from the Spanish-language press in Catalonia (*Diari de Tarragona, La*

Mañana). In contrast, the Catalan-language articles are positive (38) or neutral (27) in the majority of cases. The scarcity of articles written in Spanish that take a favourable attitude towards the normal use of Catalan (2 out of 30 in Spanish, that is, only 6.6%, as against the 54.3% of those written in Catalan) shows that in Spanish the subject of language in the socio-economic domain is used above all as an element of criticism and attack, a position that is most prevalent in the *ABC, La Razón* and *El Mundo* newspapers.

2. METAPHOR AND IDEOLOGY

2.1 Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics

For Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is a pervasive linguistic phenomenon belonging to language in general, not just literary language (Cuenca & Hilferty 1999; Cuenca & Ribera 2009). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) began this line of research in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) by formulating the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (see also Lakoff 1987; 1983; 1996; Johnson 1987, and Lakoff & Turner 1989, amongst others). Their formulation is an alternative approach to that which Deignan (2005) defines as a "decorative" vision of metaphor, which restricts it to literary language and poetic language in particular. From a cognitive perspective, a metaphor is not an isolated, anomalous act with a purely rhetorical function, but a strategy that pervades language and thought, and occurs in all languages and all types of communication, since its central function lies in conceptualisation. This is the idea that underpins the present study, for which metaphor can be defined as "the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one" (Barcelona, 2000: 3).

The internal structure of a conceptual metaphor involves three components, namely, a source domain, a target domain, and a mapping process.

- The source domain is the conceptual frame of reference that provides the concepts.
- The target domain is the conceptual frame of reference over which the source domain superimposes the concepts.
- Mapping is the process that activates the correspondences linking the source domain with the target domain; these correspondences are partial, since they do not map all the knowledge or the components of one domain onto another, but only certain aspects.

According to Deignan (2005, chap. 1), the main characteristics of metaphors are that they structure thought and knowledge and are crucial for abstract thinking, they are based on physical experience and are ideological. Building on these characteristics, a metaphor can be characterized as follows:

- a) Metaphors structure thought and knowledge and they are systematic, that is to say, they can be grouped together, and present an identifiable behaviour. Thus, a conceptual metaphor usually has correspondences with more than one metaphorical expression or linguistic metaphor and, similarly, if there is more than one metaphor for a single concept, there will be coherence between them.
- b) Metaphorical thinking is the basis for abstract thinking; in fact, as Deignan (2005: 18) points out, some abstract concepts cannot be expressed other than metaphorically. The source domain is always more concrete than the target domain, since metaphors are based on physical experience. Emotions, for instance, are usually understood and expressed in terms of physical processes (such as verticality or temperature). Thus, as an expression of directional metaphor HAPPINESS IS UPWARD – SADNESS IS DOWNWARD, one can say “jump for joy” (but not “sink for joy”) or “drown one’s sorrows” (but not “raise one’s sorrows”). This correspondence can be related to the fact that expressions of happiness are usually related to energy, upright position and movements linked to verticality (e.g., raising the arms, smiling), whilst those of sadness tend to move downward (e.g., lowering a gaze, the way a mouth turns down to show sadness).
- c) A metaphor involves a mapping between two domains. The mapping is always partial and highlights relevant and compatible aspects between the source and target domain, as the “invariability hypothesis” predicts.
- d) Metaphors exhibit varying degrees of conventionality; some are very innovative, such as poetic metaphors, others (traditionally known as dead metaphors) are fixed and speakers are often unaware of their use. The latter, generally ignored by studies of rhetoric, are of most interest to linguistics.
- e) Metaphorical processes are sometimes imbued with cultural values. For example, a conceptual metaphor such as A POLITICAL ELECTION IS A HORSE RACE (see Deignan, 2005: 27-29) belongs to an Anglo-Saxon cultural context, while A POLITICAL ELECTION IS A BULL-FIGHT is probably exclusive to Spanish culture.
- f) Metaphors transmit ideology and filter discourse. As Deignan puts it, “metaphors do not directly reflect reality but filter it so that the metaphorical choices made by a *speaker* or writer present a biased viewpoint” (2005: 125).

The latter feature proves the most interesting to explore following the approaches proposed by R. Tolmach Lakoff (2000) and G. Lakoff (1992, 1996, 2004). Metaphors incorporate the point of view of the addressor and, in this sense, they can be powerful mechanisms of ideological manipulation. This is what George Lakoff (1992) shows in his article “Metaphors can kill”, an analysis of the metaphor system used to justify the Gulf War in terms of fairy tales (see also Lakoff 2004: chap. 5). The justification began with the basic metaphorical process of personification by which a nation is portrayed as a person, turning the invasion of a country into a kidnapping and the rescuers, in this case the USA, into the

heroes who wish to save the victim. By using this re-framing mechanism, as shown schematically in Figure 4, it soon becomes clear how the metaphorical process contributed to present the Gulf war as a just action. Lakoff summarises the metaphorical process as follows: “the basic idea of a just war uses the nation as a person metaphor, plus two narratives that have the structure of classic fairy tales: the self-defence story and the rescue story” (2004: 71).

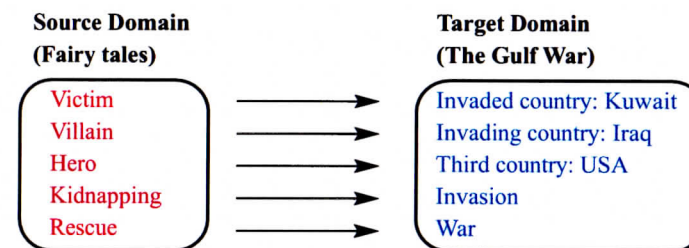


Figure 4. Metaphor: A WAR (THE GULF WAR) IS A FAIRY TALE

Similarly, the contents conveyed through texts such as newspaper articles or political discourses are not pure images of reality, but are accompanied by opinions and points of view that may be more or less explicit. The use of rhetorical figures traditionally associated with literary language pervades all human communication and becomes a powerful means of ideological transmission.

2.2 The war metaphor

One of the most commonly-used metaphors both in the press and also communication in general is that which has war as its source domain. As Teruel observes in a study of newspaper headlines referring to Catalan society, “the life and experience of individuals from this culture are interiorised as a battle,” that is to say, “in our culture a large part of reality is conceived in terms of war and confrontation. To win or lose seems to be, therefore, the main metaphor of this (maybe every?) society” (1997: 263, translation). The war metaphor is found to be the second most frequently encountered after that in which man is the source domain (118 as opposed to 152 out of 1000 headlines), and it is especially prominent in the fields of politics, society and education (1997: 276).⁴ It is hardly surprising, then, that Teruel’s findings were confirmed in the articles analysed in the present study, in which, as stated in the introduction, the main metaphor is A SITUATION OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IS A WAR. In this warlike confrontation the following components can be distinguished:

⁴ Chapter III.3 “La interpretació. Anàlisi cognitiva” (‘Interpretation. Cognitive Analysis’) offers analytical tools, data and more general reflections on the use of metaphors in the media, especially the Catalan press.

- a) The two sides are: people who wish to go about their lives in Catalonia using only Catalan, on the one side, versus those who want to use only Spanish, on the other side.
- b) The motives behind the confrontation are linguistic rights and obligations.
- c) The battle field is, on the one hand, the street (in this case the space of socio-economic relations) and, on the other, the Catalan Parliament where the ammunition is the laws.
- d) The results of the battles are: inspections, sanctions, proposed legislation, complaints, and other legal actions.
- e) The aim of the confrontation is Catalan monolingualism (or in a more immediate and realistic way, the possibility of being understood in Catalan) versus an asymmetric Spanish/Catalan bilingualism that actually conceals Spanish monolingualism or, as Moreno Cabrera expresses it, *substitutive* rather than *additive bilingualism* (2008: 114-115).

Through analysis of a variety of excerpts from news articles which employ different aspects of this metaphorical conceptualisation, this paper will now go on to consider how the war metaphor and other related metaphors are articulated both from the perspective of those who want to speak Spanish in Catalonia in the socio-economic domain and of those who want to speak Catalan.

3. THE WAR METAPHOR AND LANGUAGE USE: the Spanish speaker's point of view

From a Spanish speaker's point of view the situation of warlike confrontation is very prominent. Those people who wish to use Spanish in Catalonia in socio-economic interaction tend to present themselves as victims of linguistic discrimination and of persecution by the Catalan administration, in particular the government coalition, the *Tripartit*:

Alcampo recibe presiones para catalanizar sus hiper (HL6)⁵
[Alcampo is under pressure to catalanize their hypermarkets]

La desigualdad política, la discriminación de los ciudadanos por razones lingüísticas, el atropello burocrático, la persecución legal y la sanción económica son el pan nuestro de cada día en una comunidad que se jacta de su civismo... (A11)
[Political inequality, discrimination of citizens for linguistic reasons, bureaucratic abuses, legal persecution and economic sanctions are our daily bread in a community which boasts about its public-spiritedness...]

⁵ The examples are followed by one or two letters and a number: the letters correspond to article (A), headline (HL) or subhead (SH) and the number identifies the internal ordering of the articles analysed (see final appendix).

...en cada empresa o comercio tiene que haber una persona que entienda el idioma o de lo contrario también tiene la amenaza de ser sancionada (A18)
[...in every company or business there has to be one person who understands the language, otherwise they are under threat of being sanctioned]

...el tripartito utiliza la inspección coactiva (A18)
[...the Tripartit uses coercive inspection]

Y en los colegios los nuevos apestados son los niños castellanoparlantes (A35)
[And in schools the new *pariah* are the Spanish speaking children]

They are victims and they "are afraid" of "retaliation", so that it is only under exceptional circumstances that they will report the persecution; in other words, they feel like an oppressed minority amongst whom only a few heroes can be found.

Idiosincrasia gastronómica en castellano en las calles de Barcelona (underneath a photograph which shows a restaurant placard with the names of the dishes in Spanish). (A13)
[Gastronomic idiosyncrasy in Spanish in the streets of Barcelona]

Hay miedo a denunciar (HL13)
[There is fear of reporting]

Él se ha atrevido a denunciar su caso (A13)
[He has dared to report his case]

(The owner of La Valenciana) "prefiere no hablar para no tener más problemas" (A93)
[prefers not to speak out so as not to have any more problems]

To support their argument the articles usually include real testimony from victims of sanctions who speak in the first person within the journalistic discourse.⁶ Such a focus on victims points not just to a context of war but also to one of abuse, which is currently a very sensitive issue due to increased awareness of cases of domestic violence in Spain. Thus, in the active conceptual frame, it is presented as logical that the "victims" should defend themselves or be defended by certain specific organizations, such as the Partido Popular (Popular Party, the most important right-wing party) and Convivència Cívica de Catalunya (Civic Coexistence of Catalonia):

⁶ It is worth observing that, in contrast with the Catalan speaking perspective, the journalists adopting the Spanish perspective do not comment on any other actual cases of "abuse" or "discrimination" than the fines they have received for having resisted the law, particularly for not using Catalan in signage and information. There are no confirmed cases of people not being served or having a problem when speaking Spanish as customers in the socioeconomic domain.

La Generalitat multa a 102 empreses del resto de España por no utilizar el catalán (SH18)
[The Generalitat fines 102 companies from the rest of Spain for not using Catalan]

Such formulations of the need to defend diversity and freedom are linked to the idea that languages should be unifying forces rather than the cause of disunity:

La lengua sirve para tender puentes, comunicarse, crear. Pero deviene en Babel cuando los políticos tratan de instrumentalizarla (A35)

[Language is used to build bridges, to communicate, to create. But it turns into Babel when politicians try to use it as an ideological tool]

La propuesta de Convivencia Cívica apuesta por el bilingüismo en las escuelas... La iniciativa quiere que “ninguna de las dos lenguas oficiales en Cataluña sea excluida en los colegios” (A18)

[The Convivencia Cívica proposal backs bilingualism in schools...The initiative wants “none of the official languages in Catalonia to be excluded in schools”]

In such a manner, people who are *de facto* monolingual are presented as defenders of bilingualism, a bilingualism that is to be practised by Catalan speakers since they would be unable to manage without Spanish in Catalonia. In fact, contrary to the version of reality presented in A18, it is, of course, entirely possible to express oneself exclusively in Spanish in the socio-economic domain without experiencing any difficulties.

3. THE WAR METAPHOR AND LANGUAGE USE: the Catalan speaker's point of view

Catalan speakers experience and see the situation in a very different way, highlighting other aspects of the linguistic conflict. As we have seen, they tend to be presented (and, indeed, they often present themselves) as the attacking or fighting side, as much from the point of view of the administration as from that of the citizen.

Serra va fer una enginyosa crida a l'activisme econòmic i identitari llegint “català” a l'inrevés: “A l'atac!” (A32)

[Serra made an ingenious call for economic and identity-based activism, reading “català” (“Catalan”) backwards: “a l'atac” (attack!)]

Si jo vull un café amb gel, em reca que primer em portin un bol de llet bullint Rendir-se, o no, aquesta és la qüestió (A16)

[If I want an ice coffee, it saddens me that first of all they bring me a bowl of boiling milk... To give up or not, that is the question]

At the civic level, this “fight” is fought through insistence on the use of Catalan and through official complaints (A3):

Aquella inesperada visita fue motivada por la denuncia de un consumidor que consideró vulnerado su derecho a recibir la información... en catalán (A25)

[The unexpected visit was motivated by the complaint of a consumer who considered that their right to receive information ...in Catalan had been infringed]

Després que les JERC d'Igualada advertissin que denunciaren els comerços que no retolen en català... (A30)

[After the youth wing of the ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) of Igualada had announced that they would report any business that did not have their signs in Catalan...]

Nevertheless, those citizens who wish to use Catalan in their daily lives feel like the losers in this fight, in spite of their belief they have that the law and the right that identifies language and territory on their side:

Cada vegada costa més viure en català a Catalunya? Vam fer aquesta pregunta als oients de RAC1 i la resposta va ser, massivament, que sí (A26)

[Is it getting more and more difficult to live in Catalan in Catalonia? We posed this question to the listeners of RAC1 and the answer was overwhelmingly yes]

Que tothom parli com vulgui, és clar que sí; per tant, exigeixo el dret de poder parlar en català al meu país (A49)

[Of course everybody should speak how they want to; that's why I insist on my right to be able to speak Catalan in my own country]

M'he sentit per enèsima vegada estranger en el meu propi país (A45)

[I have felt for the umpteenth time a stranger in my own country]

Much of their weakness stems from the message given out by the Catalan administration that the use of Catalan depends on the user. It is they who must maintain the language and make the effort to be understood (A37, A50, A97). In this sense it is interesting to consider Quim Monzó's satirical reflection on the phenomenon that he calls “linguistic mobbing.” Monzó defines Pujol's language policy as “that pontiuspilatian ‘it depends on you’, that was the Pujol era's way of saying ‘you'll manage’” (A97).

Customers who wish to be served in Catalan must either make all the effort themselves:

Duen que hem d'estar-nos l'estona que faci falta descrivint, en català, com és un tallat (A37)

[They say that we have to take however long it takes to describe what a *tallat* (a coffee with a little milk) is]

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Si jo vull un cafè amb gel, em reca que primer em portin un bol de llet bullint Rendir-se, o no, aquesta és la qüestió (A16)

[If I want an ice coffee, it saddens me that first of all they bring me a bowl of boiling milk... To give up or not, that is the question]

At the civic level, this “fight” is fought through insistence on the use of Catalan and through official complaints (A3):

Aquella inesperada visita fue motivada por la denuncia de un consumidor que consideró vulnerado su derecho a recibir la información... en catalán (A25)

[The unexpected visit was motivated by the complaint of a consumer who considered that their right to receive information ...in Catalan had been infringed]

Després que les JERC d'Igualada advertissin que denunciarien els comerços que no retolen en català... (A30)

[After the youth wing of the ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) of Igualada had announced that they would report any business that did not have their signs in Catalan...]

Nevertheless, those citizens who wish to use Catalan in their daily lives feel like the losers in this fight, in spite of their belief they have that the law and the right that identifies language and territory on their side:

Cada vegada costa més viure en català a Catalunya? Vam fer aquesta pregunta als oients de RAC1 i la resposta va ser, massivament, que sí (A26)

[Is it getting more and more difficult to live in Catalan in Catalonia? We posed this question to the listeners of RAC1 and the answer was overwhelmingly yes]

Que tothom parli com vulgui, és clar que sí; per tant, exigeixo el dret de poder parlar en català al meu país (A49)

[Of course everybody should speak how they want to; that's why I insist on my right to be able to speak Catalan in my own country]

M'he sentit per enèsima vegada estranger en el meu propi país (A45)

[I have felt for the umpteenth time a stranger in my own country]

Much of their weakness stems from the message given out by the Catalan administration that the use of Catalan depends on the user. It is they who must maintain the language and make the effort to be understood (A37, A50, A97). In this sense it is interesting to consider Quim Monzó's satirical reflection on the phenomenon that he calls “linguistic mobbing.” Monzó defines Pujol's language policy as “that pontiuspilatian ‘it depends on you’, that was the Pujol era's way of saying ‘you'll manage’” (A97).

Customers who wish to be served in Catalan must either make all the effort themselves:

Duen que hem d'estar-nos l'estona que faci falta descrivint, en català, com és un tallat (A37)

[They say that we have to take however long it takes to describe what a *tallat* (a coffee with a little milk) is]

Or else they have to renounce their language and just be glad that they haven't been forced to do so, through pressure or insults:

Si parlàvem en castellà ens entendriem tots millor (A41)
[If we all spoke in Spanish we would all understand each other better]

Els cambrers del Hard Rock Cafè la van vexar per parlar en català (A57)
[The waiters in the Hard Rock Cafè harassed her for speaking in Catalan]

I és que resulta massa habitual haver de demanar un cortado per tal de poder prendre's un tallat en alguns bars i restaurants (A27)
[And it's just become too much of a commonplace to have to order a *cortado* in order to be served a *tallat* in some bars and restaurants]

No le dio ninguna de las excusas que a veces (los días que están de humor) utilizan los que se ponen tras una barra o un mostrador decididos a que sea el cliente quien se adapte a su lengua (A97)
[He gave none of the excuses that are sometimes (when they can be bothered) used by those who are behind a bar or a desk, determined that it should be the customer who adapts to their language]

Indeed, it is the Catalan citizen who is often treated as an aggressor, when, as a customer, it is ultimately his or her rights which have been undermined. Their behaviour is considered anomalous, to the extent that they can end up being identified as an alien (A57) or a terrorist (A49).

tractant la Maria Josep com si fos una extraterrestre que parlés en marcià i no en l'idioma oficial de Catalunya (A57)
[treating Maria Josep as if she were an alien who was speaking Martian and not the official language of Catalonia]

“Ja n'estic fart, per exemple, d'anar al bar de la cantonada i que em malmirin com si fos una mena de terrorista només pel fet que parlo català” (A49)
[“I am completely fed up, for example, of going to the bar on the corner and them giving me such dirty looks, as if I were some kind of terrorist just because I speak Catalan”]

These examples demonstrate how the very fact of speaking a minorised language can be presented as something anomalous and even offensive, a strategy which Moreno Cabrera (2008) considers to be characteristic of Spanish linguistic nationalism.⁷ In the case of people who consider that their rights to use Catalan have been infringed, it ultimately leads to a sense of

⁷ Moreno Cabrera considers such “double standards” to be characteristic of nationalist ideology, comparing the case of Spanish in Latin American countries with that of Puerto Rico, where the language is in a position of inferiority with respect to English: “... (double standards) can be observed when it is the national language which is oppressed, marginalized or questioned by another language belonging to a more powerful society. In this case we speak of imperialism, brutality, oppression or imposition” (2008: 120, translation).

being doubly persecuted for a defence they themselves consider to be legal and fair:

el desprecio y el odio a lo catalán —fomentado y auspiciado desde los minaretes más selectos— lanza cada mañana mil y un fundamentalistas a las calles de Catalunya, entregados en cuerpo y alma a su remozado alzamiento nacional y decididos a triturarnos (A97)
[the scorn and hatred of Catalan — encouraged and backed from the most select minarets, — launches every morning a thousand and one fundamentalists onto the streets of Catalonia, with their body and soul dedicated to their rejuvenated national uprising and set on crushing us]

In contrast with the strategies associated with the Spanish point of view, those who vindicate the normal use of Catalan usually write about real situations in which they have really suffered offence or discrimination (e.g. A26, A41, A43, A46, A52, A57, A97). They speak in the first person using their own words and they do not usually present themselves as victims, but as users who are demanding good service. Another metaphorical model is adopted, that of the client-service giver, which can produce a certain level of sympathy towards the weaker party, the server, who is also usually an immigrant. The example mentioned earlier of the discriminatory situation in the Hard Rock Cafè in Barcelona (A57) includes all the typical components of representation from the Catalan-speaker's perspective:

Resulta que l'empleada (sud-americana, com la majoria de personal d'aquest local) que la va atendre, se la va mirar de dalt a baix i, “amb molta mala educació i com volent dir: ‘I tu de què vas, nena!’, va i li exigeix que parli ‘en espanyol’”. Sense excusar-se prèviament ni demanar-ho amb un mínim d'educació i, el que és pitjor, tractant la Maria Josep com si fos una extraterrestre que parlés en marcià i no en l'idioma oficial de Catalunya, l'empleada del Hard Rock Cafe es va fer forta a negar-se a atendre-la. L'amiga de la Maria Josep, immigrant hondurenya però que parla perfectament català, al·lucina.

I la Maria Josep, que no hauria tingut cap inconvenient a canviar d'idioma si se li hagués demanat correctament, es va enrabiar, i va decidir que exigiria els seus drets, és a dir, ser atesa en català. Però s'hi va negar. I aleshores va ser quan la Maria Josep va demanar el full de reclamacions [...] (A57)

[The employee (South-American, like the majority of the staff in this place) who served her, looked her up and down and “very impolitely as if to say: ‘who do you think you are, love!’ goes and insists that she speak ‘in Spanish’.” Without apologising beforehand or asking with the slightest degree of politeness and, even worse, treating Maria Josep as if she were an alien speaking Martian rather than the official language of Catalonia, the employee of the Hard Rock Cafè was adamant in her refusal to serve her. Maria Josep's friend, a Honduran immigrant who speaks perfect Catalan, was amazed. And Maria Josep, who would not have had any problem with changing language if she had been asked properly, got very angry and decided that she would insist on her rights, that is to say, to be served in Catalan. But the employee refused to do so. And that was when Maria Josep asked for a complaint form (...)]

The article begins by presenting the situation: two friends, who want to get something to eat, go into an establishment in the Plaça de Catalunya in Barcelona and address the waitress at the door saying in Catalan “Would you have a table for us to eat two salads?”. The innocent question unleashes a conflictual situation in which, on the one hand, there is the customer who wants to be understood in Catalan, as she considers this to be her right as a citizen and a consumer, whilst on the other there is the waitress, who considers their use of Catalan to be an attack and impolitely insists on a change of language. The additional information that the friend who accompanied the Catalan speaker was South-American and spoke Catalan makes it clear that the attitude of the waitress is not a generalized one (and neither intrinsic nor inevitable), while the comment that the customer would have changed language if the request had been a courteous one, highlights a predisposition to back down if bad grace is not detected on the part of the service giver. There is activation of a “foreign interference” or “invasion” frame, used to refer to the way in which outsiders frame the linguistic uses of those inside. By adopting a position of superiority and righteousness, whether morally or simply in the name of “logic” or reason, the “victim” is transformed into an “abuser”.

5. THE CONFLICT: METAPHORS, SIMILES AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMES

The preceding analysis of the newspaper articles reveals two very different conceptions of the same reality. Yet the question remains: how can two such different, if not contradictory, visions coexist? The further one delves into the subject of identity and ideology, the clearer it becomes that it is not so much reality that counts, but the perception of reality as formed by the individual or the group;⁸ and this perception is connected to the conceptual frame activated, giving meaning to that which is being interpreted. Conceptual frames are defined by George Lakoff (2004) as “the mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as good or bad outcomes of our actions.” From his perspective, “[r]eframing is a social change” (xv): our perception of reality has an influence on reality.

Thus, whilst defenders of Catalan activate the frame of citizen and consumer rights, defenders of Spanish activate the frame of victims of political persecution; indeed, they often invoke the Franco period, something which might in fact appear contradictory, as it was Catalan that was prohibited by Franco, not Spanish.⁹ Yet, as Lakoff reminds us, “it is a general finding about frames that if a strongly held frame doesn’t fit the facts, the facts will be ignored and the frame will be kept” (2004: 37). This is certainly the case in the “victims of persecution” frame; when the facts do not fit, they are elided or ignored.

⁸ So, for instance, regarding political elections, Lakoff (2004: 33) makes the surprising yet verifiable affirmation that “voters vote for their identity and their values, which need not coincide with their self-interest”.

⁹ In a similar way, Moreno Cabrera (2008: chap. 6) performs an interesting analysis of the way in which linguistic immersion is viewed from the Spanish nationalist and from the Catalan perspectives, observing that the Catalan administration is criticised for something which the Spanish administration has done for many years and still continues to do.

As shall be seen in the examples that follow, similes and paradoxes are also of interest in the activation of the different conceptual frames. A common example of the use of simile is the comparison of the situation of Catalan with that of other languages and countries.¹⁰ So, for instance, Joan Oliver states that:

...en la majoria de grans ciutats del món gairebé tots els cambrers són immigrants però a cap no passa que no t’atenguin en la llengua del país: ni a Nova York, ni a Londres, ni a París, ni a Milà, ni a Madrid. Això només passa a Catalunya (A28)

[...in the majority of big cities in the world almost all the waiters are immigrants but in not one of these cities will you find that they do not serve you in the language of the country; not in New York, or in London, or in Paris, or in Milan, or in Madrid. It only happens in Catalonia]

Oliver attributes this behaviour to a paradoxical fact: “it is a country where it is considered outlandish to insist on people knowing the local language.” In fact, the behaviour of some waiters towards Catalan speakers is often compared to their behaviour towards foreigners who speak English: “they were falling over themselves to serve all the foreigners in English” (A57).

The same kind of simile is used from the opposing perspective, as in the following article by Jiménez Losantos:

Nadie puede imaginar a Esperanza Aguirre multando a un comerciante catalán que tratara de vender sus productos en Madrid o en cualquiera de sus grandes pueblos mediante rótulos sólo en catalán. O en inglés. O en alemán. Allá el comerciante y su mercado. Multar a un ciudadano europeo por rotular su comercio, sus productos o lo que venda en el idioma que le dé la gana en cualquier país de la Unión Europea debe de ser un delito como un piano, amén de un atropello liberticida (A11)
[Nobody can imagine Esperanza Aguirre fining a Catalan businessman who tried to sell his products in Madrid or in any other of its large towns by using signs written only in Catalan. Or in English. Or in German. It’s up to the individual. Fining a European trader for making signs for his business, his products or whatever he sells in whatever language he wants to in any country in the European Union should be a huge crime, as well as an attack on liberty]

Here Jiménez Losantos compares the attitude of the Catalan Government, personified metonymically as “A man from Cordoba who presides over the autonomous Catalan Government,” i.e. president José Montilla, with the hypothetical actions of the homologous seat in the autonomous community of Madrid, before going on to draw further comparisons with Icelandic traders who make their signs in the Icelandic:

¹⁰ Other situations and linguistic behaviours are also compared with parallel situations related to consumer problems (A25) or sanctions. Thus, for instance, the article “You can smoke but ask in Spanish” (A15) suggests treating the possibility of being served in Catalan like that of smoking in a restaurant: in the author’s opinion, what is needed is a sign to indicate that “in this place one is permitted to ask for service in Catalan (and, what is more, you will be understood).” Article 36 compares the desire to normalize the use of Catalan through the use of posters and campaigns with attempts to end gender violence by the same procedure.

En todo caso, es problema del que vende y del que compra. Aguirre sólo debe intervenir si el islandés vende bacalao en malas condiciones y envenena a la gente... (A11)

[In any case, the problem is that of the seller and the buyer. Aguirre should only intervene if the Icelandic person sells cod that has gone off and poisons people...]

This strategy of commenting on hypothetical situations instead of explaining real ones occurs repeatedly in the Spanish newspaper articles.

Another article compares the situation in Catalonia with the case of Switzerland, a more “civilised” country where, according to the author, everybody can speak whichever language they want to and will be served in the language in which they express themselves:

¿Cómo es posible que el *govern* multe si alguien pone los letreros de su tienda en castellano, siendo un país libre? Eso es empequeñecerse. En Suiza, por ejemplo, hay tres idiomas: alemán, francés e italiano. Y todos los letreros de cualquier cosa están en los tres idiomas y, por supuesto, si entras en un bar o en una tienda de cualquiera de los tres, te atienden en el idioma en que tu te expresas. Eso es cultura y lo demás retraso. (A47)

[How can the Catalan government fine somebody for making the signs of their shop in Spanish if we are a free country? This is belittling. In Switzerland, for example, there are three languages: German, French and Italian. And all of the signs for everything are in the three languages and, of course, if you go into a bar or a shop of any of the three, they will serve you in the language in which you express yourself. That is culture and anything else is backward]

Here the socio-linguistic situation in Switzerland is presented as a model to be imitated but also as an argument in favour of the use of Spanish. However, this is to ignore both the federal structure of Switzerland and the fact that it is more often the problem in Catalonia that one will not be served in the language in which one expresses oneself if that language is Catalan. If the model proposed by the reader were to be adopted, perhaps the latter problem would no longer occur.

Similes such as those discussed above hide facts that are considered to be paradoxical, revealing the need for further reflection on the function of paradoxes in different conceptual frames. The subjective presentation or construction of paradoxes ultimately aims to bring the reader closer to the author’s position. In the corpus of articles analysed here, these paradoxes are centred on a range of different subjects, which produce divergent points of view when seen from the Spanish or the Catalan perspective. On the Catalan side:

- a) there is a tendency to highlight paradoxical asymmetries in linguistic use, such as when the signs and information in a restaurant are in Catalan but the customers are served in Spanish (A15) or when an immigrant makes the effort to speak Catalan, but finds that he is addressed in Spanish (A2, A10);

- b) the progressive increase in inspections is set against the degree of contravention of linguistic laws, which is perceived by users to be very high.

However, these facts are elided or ignored on the Spanish side. A notable example is the very way in which linguistic fines are presented. From the Catalan point of view these are presented as a way to make sure that the language laws are obeyed, ensuring that Catalan continues to be used; whereas from the Spanish perspective they constitute a sign of censorship against the use of Spanish:

Un amigo ha cometido el “delito” de usar el castellano en los letreros de su tienda. Los inspectores lingüísticos le visitaron, le dijeron que esos carteles no se ajustaban a la legalidad y le obligaron a utilizar el catalán bajo amenaza de ser multado si no lo hacía. (A29)

[A friend has committed the “crime” of using Spanish on the signs in his shop. The language inspectors came to visit him, told him that the signs did not comply with the law and made him use Catalan under the threat of being fined if he didn’t]

The metonymy activated here from the Spanish point of view is very clear: to ask for Catalan to be used is the same as prohibiting the use of Spanish. The manipulation involved becomes even clearer if compared with what the current legislation holds, as explained by another reader:

l’articulat oficial sobre l’ús del català en rètols i etiquetatges ordena que tant els rètols com els etiquetatges de les botigues siguin fets en la llengua pròpia de Catalunya que és el català, l’ús del castellà tindrà un caràcter voluntari [...] si algú utilitza solament la llengua castellana, infringeix la llei i per tant pot ésser sancionat. Aquesta sanció vindrà no per fer-ho [etiquetar/retolar] en castellà, sinó per eludir l’ús del català, la qual cosa és ben diferent. (A48)

[The official rules about the use of Catalan in signage and labelling orders that both the signs and the labels in shops should appear in the language of Catalonia which is Catalan, the use of Spanish will be voluntary in character (...) anybody using only Spanish in their signs is breaking the law and can therefore be sanctioned. This sanction will result not from having done them (signs/information) in Spanish, but from avoiding the use of Catalan, which is something very different]

As George Lakoff reminds us, “to be accepted, the truth must fit people’s frame. If the facts do not fit a frame, the frame stays” (2004:17). The facts and paradoxes discussed above do not fit into the frame of those people who want to live in Spanish in Catalonia, and thus the paradoxes perceived by them are very different ones:

- c) Sanctions or actions related to the promotion of the commercial use of Catalan are perceived as an obstacle to economic progress (HL90: “The language should not hinder the economy”). Thus, it is implied that the obligation to provide a service or to give information in Catalan involves unnecessary economic expenditure (A6) and such

sanctions do not help commerce (A30, A53, A90). Furthermore, the attitude of ERC and the Generalitat in general of fining traders is set against the attitude of the PP of “encouraging policies of collaboration with those traders who in their daily actions create riches in our homes and places of work” (A77).

- d) From a point of view that is critical towards the administration, it is also considered to be paradoxical that the number of sanctions and inspections has increased since 2003, whereas the Catalan administration says that such actions do not constitute a priority policy (A18).
- e) The critical perspective also presents as paradoxical the practice of issuing fines for certain specific signs, such as “No smoking” or “Emergency exit”, or indeed for till receipts in Spanish (A5).

This whole line of argument is ultimately based on the opposition between incentives and sanctions, which is exemplified particularly well in Josep Maria Piqué’s proposal, when he was president of the PP in Catalonia, to substitute the *Oficines de Garanties Lingüístiques* (Offices for Linguistic Guarantees) for *Oficines de Llibertats Lingüístiques* (Offices for Linguistic Freedoms) (A89). Thus, the paradoxes presented by the defenders of Spanish, can be summarised as follows: Spanish is a language that is minorised and attacked in Catalonia, even though it is a legitimate language of Catalonia and has global reach and acceptance (A14, A13, A35).¹¹

At the end of the day the debate revolves around the relative legitimacy of a language in a particular territory. In the Spanish frame, the territory is Spain, the legitimate language Spanish, and Catalonia and Catalan are subordinated to this unquestionable figure, in accordance with a carefully constructed and propagated belief system (see Moreno Cabrera 2008). From the Catalan perspective, the territory is Catalonia and the language is Catalan, both of which have to coexist with Spain and Spanish as a background, a situation which is accepted to varying degrees, and into which the Catalan speaker’s own language and territory has been forced to fit.¹²

11 In the corpus it is possible to observe a phenomenon that reflects that proposed by Tolmach Lakoff in relation to North-American politics: “These rhetorical tactics work via the presupposition that, again, our ideas are neutral and apolitical, theirs dangerous and political. That assumption is continually reinforced by the adoption of a vocabulary suggesting that the program of the other side is divisive and hostile to us, and by that means is calculated to make its targets unattractive” (2000:71). She adds that this rhetorical strategy is more typical of the political right, even though it can also be found on the democratic side.

12 See Geeraerts (2008) for further discussion of the different frames or idealised cognitive models related to the situation of multilingualism and to linguistic varieties within the same language. In this article he compares and contrasts the rationalist and the romantic model, analysing the different transformations and tensions between the two since the eighteenth century, from their beginnings as archetypal models, through nationalist transformation in the nineteenth century and the postmodern transformation at the end of the twentieth century.

6. CONCLUSION

In the media, reality does not exist as such but is presented in a particular way. As far as the press is concerned, this subjective filter, whether produced by a particular newspaper or by the author of a particular article, comes to the fore through the use of rhetorical strategies such as metaphor, simile or paradox. Fortunately, reality is not so conflictive, but the image depicted by the newspapers, especially the right-wing Spanish ones, constitutes a clear case of a war metaphor conceptualisation of a situation in which two languages are in contact.

The main components of the two conceptual frames explored in this essay can be presented as follows:

Frame 1 (To communicate in Spanish in Catalonia)	Frame 2 (To communicate in Catalan in Catalonia)
Complete Frame: victim–agressor/repressor	Incomplete Frame: client–service-giver
Perspective: businessman	Perspective: client
Territory: Spain (Catalonia)	Territory: Catalonia
Legitimate Languages: Spanish (Spanish-Catalan)	Legitimate language: Catalan
Useful Language: Spanish	Useful Languages: Catalan-Spanish
Minority Language: Spanish	Minority Language: Catalan
Minorisation: inspection, sanction (Law of Linguistic Policy)	Minorisation: no service in Catalan, effort to be understood in Catalan, change of language

Figure 5. Two frames about communication in the socio-economic domain

By using the metaphorical strategies under analysis, the press achieves a reversal of values by which Spanish is presented as a minority language in danger of extinction, which merits protection and represents democratic values and freedom, whilst Catalan, and especially the Catalan government, becomes the oppressive force. From the Catalan perspective, although fewer metaphorical resources are used, the feeling of being involved in a struggle is highly prevalent, and it is a struggle in which Catalan speakers are often presented as the losers. In both cases, the frame of conflict or war is very prominent, but it has clearly differentiated components, making each frame mutually incomprehensible to the other. As R. Tolmach Lakoff points out, a change of frame, as a structure which allows us to make predictions and generalisations, is something that will appear almost counterintuitive:

New perceptions don’t make sense, since they cannot be places in a familiar frame. Within a frame, things are unmarked: normal, predictable, neutral, orderly, natural, and simple. They do not require explanation. Once a frame shifts, everything changes. We are, in a way, brought back to infantile incompetence. (2000:48)

Furthermore, as our analysis has endeavoured to show, the frame activated by Spanish is fully developed, complete, identifiable and coherent, and therefore generates more comprehension and sympathy. This is especially the case outside of Catalonia, where there is only access to negative news stories about linguistic policy in respect to Spanish, whilst cases of discrimination against Catalan speakers are removed or even denied. In contrast, the frame associated with the use of Catalan demonstrates what G. Lakoff (2004) characterises as hypognition when, referring to North-American politics, he compares the model based on the “strict father family” particular to Republicans,¹³ with the “nurturant parent family” particular to the Democrats. In cognitive science this concept is defined as “the lack of the ideas you need, the lack of a relatively simple fixed frame that can be evoked by a word or two” (2004: 24).

Thus, when terms such as “pressure”, “threaten” and “fine” appear in a news story, as we have seen in this study, the frame of the “victim of persecution” is activated. More significantly, it is also activated when a counterargument is attempted. For this reason Lakoff (2004) recommends creating an alternative frame to that used by one’s opponent because “If you keep their language and their framing and just argue against it, you lose because you are reinforcing their frame” (2004: 33).

In conclusion, the metaphors, similes and paradoxes discussed in this article reveal an anomalous linguistic situation and two irreconcilable visions of the uses of Spanish and Catalan, as well as marked ideological bias. The use of conceptual metaphor theory and frames to analyse articles on language use in the socio-economic domain both helps to provide a better understanding of the rhetorical and conceptual strategies that are activated and reveals the difficulties in achieving a solution to the conflict.

¹³ For an analysis of the two metaphorical models, see G. Lakoff (1996) and also the summaries presented in Lakoff (2004: chap.1, pp.39-40).

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Appendix. References of the articles cited in this paper

Article	Newspaper	Date	Author	Headline
1	Segre	2006-02-08	Herrero, E.	Comerç expedienta dos botigues per fer publicitat només en castellà
2	Punt, El	2006-05-28	Cortadellas, Xavier	Quatre clients del súper
3	Vallenc, El	2006-09-01	Ribé Pujol, S.	Em podria atendre en català, si us plau?
5	Mundo, El	2006-11-28	Sastre, Daniel	El PP arremete contra la inmersión en la escuela y las multas lingüísticas con dos proposiciones de ley
6	Economista	2006-03-22	Sacristán, Jordi	Alcampo recibe presiones para catalanizar sus hiper
7	Dossier	2006-12-02		El 42,9 % dels restaurants no incorpora català
8	Econòmic Regió 7	2006-12-22	Brunet, Pau	La retolació en català del comerç manresà augmenta del 50% al 80% en tretze anys
10	Regió 7	2007-02-16	Rodó, Jordi	Un cafè amb croissant, si us plau.
11	Mundo, El	2007-03-01	Jiménez Losantos, Federico	Multar lo legal.
12	Diari de Terrassa	2007-03-01	Rovira, Joan	Multes pel català
13	ABC	2006-01-15	M.J.C.	Hay miedo a denunciar.
14	ABC	2006-01-15	Porta Perales, Miquel	Monolingüismo por decreto
15	Regió 7	2006-03-02	Domènech, Xavier	"Pots fumar, però demana en castellà"
16	Diari de Sabadell	2006-03-07	Álvarez, Elisabeth	Campaña per potenciar l'ús del català a comerços i restaurants.
18	Razón, La	2006-04-05	Planes, Joan	La Generalitat multa a 102 empresas del resto de España por no utilizar el catalán
21	Fura, La	2006-06-16		"S'accelera l'etiquetatge de cava en català i ja són tres de cada quatre les ampolles que compleixen la llei
25	Economista, El	2007-05-11	Martínez, David	"Si no quiere multa, mejor rotule 'Orxata'".
26	Avui	2007-06-18	Bosch, Xavier	Casos puntuals.
27	Avui	2007-08-01	Alegret, Xavier	Allau de cambrers immigrants
28	Avui	2007-08-07	Oliver, Joan	En català. En anglès. Mil cambrers
29	20 Minutos	2007-05-17	Martínez, Josep	Multa al castellano
30	Diari d'Igualada	2007-09-21		Calbó: "Torras ha d'impulsar programes per donar suport al comerç, no sancions".
32	Punt, El	2007-10-04	Etxearte, O.A.	L'exotisme català, en venda.
35	Época	2007-12-21	Basallo, Alfonso	Me siento asirio, mire usted.
36	Diari de Girona	2007-11-17	Soler, Albert	Les Fires en català.

37	Avui	2007-08-01	Cot, Salvador	La fórmula del tallat
39	Razón, La	2006-01-31	Sánchez Reyes, María	Imposición lingüística.
40	Razón, La	2006-03-20	Pérez, José	Polémica por los rótulos.
41	Punt, El	2006-04-12	Martí i Torras, Mireia	Atendre en català
43	Periódico de Catalunya, El	2006-07-10	Sanz Navarro, Enric	
45	Punt, El	2006-08-12	Hernández, Jordi	Caprabo i la catalanitat
46	Punt, El	2006-08-17	Parcerissa, X.	Empresaris, hotelers i la llengua catalana
47	Metro	2007-05-03	González, Cristina	Multas lingüísticas.
49	Avui	2007-08-06	Capdet, Víctor	El dret de parlar català
50	Punt, El	2007-01-18	Canal, Joel	Retolació en castellà.
51	Punt, El	2007-02-08	Monguillot, Aleix	Mal de Llengua.
52	Periódico de Catalunya, El	2007-12-10	Boada, Llaia	Carod i l'idioma.
53	Razón, La	2006-03-15	Santaeulària, T., Pardeiro, M.	El Govern pagó informes para controlar el uso del catalán en restaurantes y pymes
57	Avui	2006-05-07		Una nit per enrabiar-se
65	Metro	2006-04-05		168.000 € en sancions al castellà
69	Punt, El	2006-11-28		O.A.- Etxearte El PP qüestiona de nou la llei de política lingüística i al·lega que no actua per marcar terreny a Ciutadans.
77	Enllaç, L'	2007-02-22		El PP denuncia que ERC i JERC els preocupa més la llengua dels rètols que ajudar als comerços.
89	Mundo, El	2006-01-11	Mayor, Leonor	El PP propone al Parlament una batería de ocho medidas para potenciar el bilingüismo.
90	Economista, El	2006-03-10		Que la lengua no atasque la economía.
91	Regió 7	2006-04-06	Camps, Gemma	Òmnium converteix Manresa en la segona ciutat amb més sancions per la llei del català
93	Mundo, El	2006-12-21		Ni el PSC rebaja el acoso al castellano en los comercios.
94	ABC	2007-03-15	Garrido, Luis	El catalán impuesto
97	Vanguardia, La	2007-03-09	Monzó, Quim	A Payne in the ass.