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# The non-linear politics of language: history, ideology and assemblages in the context of Catalonia under Franco

Claire Green

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This article will examine the relation between power and language in the case of the repression of Catalan by Franco's dictatorship. This is an issue of contemporary relevance, as the Catalan independence and language movements are coming to increasing prominence within the Spanish state. To analyse why language was of such concern for Franco's regime, I will look at the relation of language and power in a broader theoretical sense, and how these concepts manifested themselves in the particular Catalan case. Finally, I will examine two events which serve as intersections of the myriad forces at play in Franco's repression of Catalan. An analysis of the political nature of language in this context must allow for the multi-faceted, non-linear interrelations of history, institutions and socio-cultural factors, and so will draw on the discussions of language in the work of Manuel de Landa, and Deleuze and Guattari.

## INTRODUCTION AND CATALAN CONTEXT

As calls for Catalan independence grow, along with a rise in Catalan language use, it is important to understand the historical context that preceded and influenced this movement. The Catalan case can be seen to have reverberations far wider than the borders of Spain: the relationship between power, nationalism and minority languages is an issue that affects many modern nation-states, democracies or otherwise. Language can be understood as both national tongue and as the act of speech or enunciation, and the context of Franco's Catalonia is an intersection of both these features: the Catalan language was attacked, and language as speech functioned as both weapon and target of this repression. Language simultaneously shapes and symbolises conceptions of reality, ideology and identity and, as such, is strongly interrelated with history, culture and power. This significance is amplified when both manifestations of language coincide, that is, in the case of speech concerning a minority language. The implications of language for thought, identity and power relations make it an especially important issue for totalitarian or fascist regimes, whose ideology centres on control and homogeneity. Therefore, an analysis of the political nature of language in this context must allow for the multi-faceted, non-linear interrelations of history, institutions and socio-cultural factors and, as such, will draw on the discussions of language in the work of Manuel de Landa, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.

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Franco's regime focused on establishing a homogenous conception of reality, a project interconnected with language at every level, and therefore one that must be understood within a wider historical context. Following the end of the Spanish Civil War in April 1939, the new dictatorship's objective was to establish a unified, Catholic, Castilian-speaking Spain.<sup>1</sup> As such, the country's minority languages, particularly Catalan and Basque, were heavily persecuted until Franco's death and the beginning of the transition to democracy in 1975. In pursuit of the regime's goal, 'free speech, free press, right of assembly and trial by jury'<sup>2</sup> were sacrificed, and a powerful propaganda machine espoused the benefits of the new state. Throughout this ideological project ran a conflict between the centre and the periphery, a tension also present in much of pre-Franco Spanish history. Although the Franco period was the most dramatic instance, language as ideological battleground has been a feature of Spanish history for hundreds of years.

Catalan began to develop as an independent language in the ninth century, with Castilian taking precedence in what would become Spain from 1085 onwards.<sup>3</sup> Catalonia was the 'dominant power'<sup>4</sup> within the Crown of Aragón, which it joined in 1137, but this prominence ended when Catalonia was brought under Castilian command in 1469.<sup>5</sup> This loss of power was exacerbated by the exclusion of Catalonia from trade with the Americas, as the Spanish monarchy 'made no political distinction between Catalans and foreigners.'<sup>6</sup> The conquest of the Americas not only weakened Catalonia, but strengthened Castilian power and language, in spreading both to the New World. Moreover, Spain was the first Romance language-speaking country to attempt to standardise its language, in 1492, the same year as Columbus' arrival in the Americas.<sup>7</sup> This reflects the connection between political homogenisation and the concretisation of language, as the standardisation 'was intended to be a companion of the Empire... and should spread Spanish... along with the rule of the Spaniards,'<sup>8</sup> and the power of the Catholic Church. A standardised language is an important tool in the creation of political hegemony, entailing 'one homogenous identity for all citizens,'<sup>9</sup> an objective particularly relevant during the conquest of the Americas. Given these factors it is perhaps not surprising that in 1715 official use of Castilian became mandatory in Catalonia.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.M. Maravall, *Dictatorship and Political Dissent* (London, 1978), 5.

<sup>2</sup> H. Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia 1939-1979* (New Jersey, 1991), 39.

<sup>3</sup> M. De Landa, *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History* (New York, 1997), 199-200.

<sup>4</sup> J. Díez Medrano, *Class, Politics and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia* (Ithaca, 1995), 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> De Landa, *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*, 206.

<sup>8</sup> E. Haugen, 'National and International Languages', in (ed.) A.S. Dil, *The Ecology of Language: Collected Papers* (Stanford, 1972), 260.

<sup>9</sup> De Landa, *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*, 212-213.

<sup>10</sup> Díez-Medrano, *Class, Politics and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*, 35.

The coinciding of the wish to spread political and religious hegemony to the Empire's "peripheries", with the imposition of an official language upon all the communities within Spain, shows how significant language was for the consolidation of power. The emphasis on shared language, history and religion was similarly integral to Franco's rule. Franco had fought in a colonial war in Morocco,<sup>11</sup> and the ideology of imperialism persisted in the nature of his centralised governance, despite Spain's international isolation.<sup>12</sup> On taking power, Franco eradicated the autonomy of Catalonia and the Basque Country;<sup>13</sup> a foregrounding of the centre over the periphery that was part of a wider cultural project imposed by the regime, based on both unity and fear. To fully understand this repression of the Catalan language by the Franco regime, it is important to first analyse the relationship between language and power more broadly.

## LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

The significance of language for totalitarian regimes begins with its role in the development of subjectivity. Without language one would have no concepts, only immediate sensory experience. An unpleasant sensation is registered by the brain if the body suffers damage, but 'you learned the concept "pain" when you learned language.'<sup>14</sup> Language, therefore, is not only the means of expressing thoughts; it is the building blocks they are made from. Furthermore, language creates the subject that thinks: the concept of pain, rather than the primary sensory experience, relies on awareness of the 'I' that feels it, which, without language, would be impossible. Language is also public in nature, and shapes the subject's self-awareness through interaction with the external world. Words are, Bakhtin argued, 'social events,'<sup>15</sup> and the meaning of every word is located in the world outside of the self. It is therefore much too reductive to think of language as merely the sounds or symbols used to convey thought. The subject, words, the material world and the other subjects within it are engaged in a constantly fluctuating, reciprocal relationship that creates, defines and shapes all of them interdependently.

This can be seen in the role language plays in group identity, through the relationships it establishes between past and contemporary speakers. According to Borges 'every language is an alphabet of symbols the employment of which assumes a past shared by its interlocutors.'<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> S.G. Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975* (Wisconsin, 1987), 625.

<sup>12</sup> J. Tussel, *La España de Franco* (Madrid, 1989), 87.

<sup>13</sup> Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 231.

<sup>14</sup> L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford, 1953), 118.

<sup>15</sup> E. San Juan Jr., 'Bakhtin: Uttering the "(Into)nation" of the Nation/People' in (eds.) San Diego Bakhtin Circle, *Bakhtin and the Nation* (Pennsylvania, 2000), 118.

<sup>16</sup> J.L. Borges, *The Aleph* (London, 1998), 129.

As such, using a language involves an engagement with all its past speakers, whose decisions and experiences shaped its present incarnation. Therefore, entering into a chain of language use is an ideological process that conveys information about the identity and group membership of the speaker. This is particularly evident in the case of a bi-lingual speaker, with two past chains of use to choose from. Additionally, language is not only an ideological discourse between past and present users, but a related, non-linear discourse between contemporary speakers. De Landa writes that ‘the concept of social obligation is crucial to an understanding of... language itself,’<sup>17</sup> as relations between speakers and concurrent norm enforcement are not only a function of language but part of its substance. Moral, political and cultural judgements are conveyed by and affect the language considered appropriate in a certain context.

This means that different styles of speech both bind group members together and identify them as members to others. The more a linguistic marker is used, the more important it becomes to the group’s identity, until it is no longer merely a signifier but part of the norms the group is bound by. Bourdieu describes how ‘the categories according to which a group envisages itself, and according to which it represents itself and its specific reality, contribute to the reality of this group.’<sup>18</sup> Language, due to its non-linear relation to historical and cultural values, is a prime example of a signifier of group identity, or reality, becoming part of that identity itself. Just as the interaction of a subject with others through language develops that subject’s sense of self, a group’s identity becomes stronger through interaction with those that do not share in it. This can be seen in the prominent role language often plays in nationalism, highlighting the role of an “other” in the relationship between language and group development, and the association of language with heterogeneity.

As a result, totalitarian states often attack language as enunciation, through censorship both official and tacit. Holquist describes how ‘in the totalitarian state, language seeks to drain the first person pronoun of all its particularity,’ in the sense that the “I” becomes subsumed into the “we” of the nation<sup>19</sup>. This aim is even stronger in terms of minority languages, given the greater degree of autonomy they imply. An attack on minority languages by a totalitarian state is an attack on the particularity of social groups, who disrupt the image of national unity that such states wish to perpetuate. If one language is indicative of shared values, history and beliefs, then a multiplicity of languages suggests cultural fragmentation. Moreover, the values carried by language, as well as its fundamental role in the shaping of both individual and group identity, make it a potent force for political resistance. Bourdieu writes that ‘political

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<sup>17</sup> De Landa, *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*, 191.

<sup>18</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 1991), 133.

<sup>19</sup> M. Holquist, *Dialogism* (London, 1990), 52.

subversion presupposes cognitive subversion,<sup>20</sup> and any cognitive process is inseparable from language. The public nature of language makes this especially threatening and, in this sense, Bakhtin's 'social events' become a vehicle not just for interaction but for dissidence. In attempting to control language, a totalitarian state is not only attempting to control resistance, but its very means of production.

This relationship between language and political dissidence leads many authoritarian regimes to practice what Bourdieu calls 'usurpatory ventriloquism, which consists in giving voice to those in whose name one is authorised to speak.'<sup>21</sup> This is in a sense what happens in a democracy, but is particularly pernicious in a regime when the "authorisation" has been extracted by force or coercion. Totalitarian regimes first remove the voice of individuals or certain groups, and then insert their own voice into the vacuum. 'Usurpatory ventriloquism' is part of a wider process aimed at the 'monopolisation of collective truth,'<sup>22</sup> which constructs a narrative of cultural and social unity that underpins the totalitarian state. Propaganda slogans, the press, teaching, and the distinction between major and minor languages are at the forefront of this process of hegemonising conceptions of reality, as enforcers of the symbolic violence 'which pertains to language as such, to its imposition of a certain universe of meaning.'<sup>23</sup> These elements, along with other public acts of speech and writing, can be called the collective assemblage of enunciation,<sup>24</sup> which is 'what must account for the social character'<sup>25</sup> of a society, and is particularly significant for the exertion of symbolic violence in a totalitarian or fascist dictatorship.

The collective assemblage of enunciation derives from assemblage theory, which posits a 'multi-scaled social reality,'<sup>26</sup> consisting of assemblages, or 'wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts.'<sup>27</sup> Crucially, on this model all objects 'must be thought of as existing at the same ontological level differing only in scale.'<sup>28</sup> Therefore, a particular group made up of human beings is no more or less "real" than the individual human beings that constitute it. A flat ontology does not reduce the power of entities such as institutions to the sum of their constituent physical parts, and allows for the changing, fluid, nature of

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<sup>20</sup> Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>23</sup> S. Žižek, *Violence* (London, 2009), 1.

<sup>24</sup> M. Lazzarato, 'The Concepts of Life and the Living in the Societies of Control', in (eds.) M. Fuglsang & B.M. Sørensen, *Deleuze and the Social* (Edinburgh, 2006), 173.

<sup>25</sup> G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (London, 1987), 89.

<sup>26</sup> M. De Landa, 'Deleuzian Social Ontology and Assemblage Theory', in (eds.) M. Fuglsang & B.M. Sørensen, *Deleuze and the Social* (Edinburgh, 2006), 251.

<sup>27</sup> M. De Landa, *A New Philosophy of Society* (New York, 2006), 5.

<sup>28</sup> M. De Landa, *Deleuze: History and Science* (New York, 2010), 5.

assemblages. This more holistic or ‘rhizomatic’<sup>29</sup> conception acknowledges the meaning located in the relations and interactions between entities, not just inherent to the entities themselves. This is particularly important when analysing language: the significance of language is based in the connections between subjects, groups, political institutions and other bodies, not in the constituent elements themselves, and these connections are inherently fluid.

Furthermore, language not only connects but builds these assemblages; the ‘transmission of linguistic materials helps maintain the identity of social assemblages across time much as the flow of genetic materials helps to preserve the identity of biological assemblages,’<sup>30</sup> as a result of the values and norms that language carries. This emphasis on multiplicity and enmeshed institutions, bodies and interactions, acknowledges that language cannot be investigated as an independent entity, only as interlinked with every other aspect of reality. As Deleuze and Guattari write, ‘a method of the rhizome type... can analyze language only by decentering it onto other dimensions... A language is never closed upon itself, except as a function of impotence.’<sup>31</sup>

#### THE COLLECTIVE ASSEMBLAGE OF ENUNCIATION AND FRANCO’S CATALONIA

As stated earlier, the Franco regime was obsessively focused on the creation of a unified Spain, with one culture, one Church, one conception of the nation’s history, and one language. The collective assemblage of enunciation was integral to this mission, and the state propaganda machine and press created a climate of intimidation that made widespread resistance almost impossible. The rhetoric underpinning this propaganda was that any seemingly harsh measures enacted by the dictatorship were part revenge for the ‘Jewish-Bolshevik-Masonic conspiracy’<sup>32</sup> of the Second Republic, and part redemptive process bestowed upon the nation by the patriarchal Franco. Preston writes that ‘Franco’s propagandists presented the executions, the overflowing prisons and camps, the slave-labour battalions and the fate of the exile as the scrupulous yet compassionate justice of a benevolent Caudillo,’ showing how important the collective assemblage of enunciation was in directing and justifying the acts of physical entities, those which pertain to the ‘machinic assemblage.’<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> De Landa, *A New Philosophy of Society*, 44.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>32</sup> P. Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (New York, 2012), 520.

<sup>33</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 98.



In addition, the collective assemblage of enunciation not only perpetuated the regime's program of repression, but was also engaged in concealing its violent extremes. Díaz-Balart writes that the repression attempted to hide the brutal origins of Francoism,<sup>34</sup> that is, the coup against the Second Republic and the atrocities committed during and after the Civil War. This can be seen as part of the establishment of what Lacan called the 'quilting point', which acts on the constitutive elements of an ideological field and "'quilts' them, stops their sliding and gives them meaning.'<sup>35</sup> For example, the meaning of a coup, or an idea such as 'family', is not fixed but depends upon ideological and political context. In 1940s Spain the meanings of socio-cultural signifiers such as these would have been quite different had the Republicans won the Civil War. Therefore, in order to solidify their takeover of power, Francoist propaganda had to align their meaning according to the quilting point of totalitarianism. The quilting point also anchors the meaning of past signifiers; 'it retroactively submits them'<sup>36</sup> to this overarching imposition of meaning. It is clear that the early Franco dictatorship was concerned not just with creating a new society but with controlling the meaning of past events; Preston writes that 'through endless reiteration in the press, in schools, in children's textbooks and from church pulpits, a single historical memory was created and disseminated over three and a half decades.'<sup>37</sup> As Preston shows, this non-linear project was enacted through the collective assemblage of enunciation, that is, through language.

The retroactive imposition of meaning is particularly relevant in the case of Catalan. Catalonia, especially Barcelona, was associated with trade unionism and anarchist tendencies for much of the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Later, the democratically elected Second Spanish Republic allowed Catalonia more autonomy and linguistic freedom than the preceding dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, albeit within a restricted framework. This greater autonomy resulted in Catalonia's 'steadfast support'<sup>39</sup> for the central government. This factor and the high levels of left-wing and anarchist resistance in Catalonia during the Civil War undoubtedly influenced the heavy repression imposed upon the region by Franco. This can be seen as part of the attempts to retroactively establish the quilting point of fascism, in pursuit of a unifying historical memory. The use of the Catalan language, once linked to a democratic, self-governing and progressive movement, was now a signifier of disloyalty and social breakdown.

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<sup>34</sup> M.N. Díaz-Balart, 'El porqué y el para que de la represión', in (eds.) M. Álvaro Dueñas, *et al.*, *La Gran Represión: Los Años de Plomo del Franquismo* (Barcelona, 2009), 21.

<sup>35</sup> S. Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London, 1989), 95.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>37</sup> Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, 520.

<sup>38</sup> S.G. Payne, 'Catalan and Basque Nationalism', *Journey of Contemporary History*, 6.1 (1971), 22.

<sup>39</sup> Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism*, 36.



The view of Catalan as dangerous to a unified Spain influenced a range of repressive measures. Franco's regime prohibited the use of Catalan in advertising, books and schools,<sup>40</sup> dramatic performances, religious celebrations and even maps.<sup>41</sup> The seven Catalan-language newspapers were closed; Catalan names could not be given to children, and a concerted effort was made to downgrade the common perception of Catalan from a language to a dialect.<sup>42</sup> Notices appeared proclaiming 'Speak Christian' and 'Don't bark; speak the language of the Empire', not only denigrating Catalan but connecting the language to anti-clericalism,<sup>43</sup> and the Franco regime to the centralist, Catholic empire. Slogans such as these show that, while the repression enacted upon the Catalan language by Franco's regime was the most extreme instance, it should be understood within a wider historical context of tension between centralist and autonomist forces, exacerbated by the dictatorship's particular ideological field.

#### INCORPOREAL TRANSFORMATIONS: LANGUAGE AND RESISTANCE

Nevertheless, the 1950s and 1960s saw a weakening of state control of the population, which was reflected in Catalonia's linguistic landscape. The press and publishing industries were given a greater degree of freedom, although they were still expected to exercise self-censorship<sup>44</sup>, which was required throughout Spain, but particularly important in Catalonia. Balcells notes that 'the same ideas when expressed in Catalan aroused greater wrath... than if they had been expressed in Spanish'<sup>45</sup>. This shows how, despite the loosening of the dictatorship's social control during this period, the Catalan language was still associated with dissidence and danger. The greater degree of openness strengthened a burgeoning Catalan language movement, but this resistance quickly came into conflict with the repressive forces of the regime; greater language rights may have been permitted, but only if they did not challenge state power directly.

This tension can be seen in two related examples, known as the 'Caso Galinsoga' and the 'Sucesos de Palau'. In 1959, the editor of La Vanguardia newspaper, Luís Martínez de Galinsoga, left a Barcelona church shouting 'Catalans are shit'<sup>46</sup> in protest at the service having been conducted in Catalan. Galinsoga, a prominent Francoist, had been given the position of editor following the end of the Civil War. As such, his words were extremely controversial, and sparked a campaign to have him removed from his post. This campaign

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<sup>40</sup> K.A. Woolard, *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia* (Stanford, 1989), 28.

<sup>41</sup> Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism*, 30

<sup>42</sup> Woolard, *Double Talk*, 28-29.

<sup>43</sup> Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism*, 29.

<sup>44</sup> A. Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present* (London, 1996), 148.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

took the form of pressure on the newspaper's advertisers, public destruction of the newspaper, and demands for a boycott. The protest was ultimately successful: in February 1960, Franco's cabinet dismissed Galinsoga from his position.<sup>47</sup> This outcome was a clear victory for Catalan resistance against Francoist language repression.

However, the success was short-lived. In May that year an event was planned in Barcelona's Palau de la Música Catalana to commemorate the centenary of the Catalan poet Joan Maragall's birth, and 'perhaps to pour oil on nationalist waters stirred by the Galinsoga affair.'<sup>48</sup> Franco would be attending the events, which were intended to include a rendition of Maragall's *El Cant de la Senyera*, the public performance of which had been prohibited since 1939 due to its Catalan nationalist content. This unusual situation prompted some who had been involved in the anti-Galinsoga campaign, including future President of the Generalitat Jordi Pujol, to circulate heavily critical flyers.<sup>49</sup> The flyers highlighted the repressive nature of the regime and ended by stating that Franco 'not only is an Oppressor, but a Corruptor.'<sup>50</sup> The performance of Maragall's song was subsequently removed from the event's program. Ultimately, Franco did not attend but a number of government ministers did and, when the crowd began to sing the prohibited piece, the police reacted with extreme force.<sup>51</sup> Pujol, who had not attended the event but was widely believed to be responsible for the flyer, was detained along with around twenty others, tortured, and sentenced to two and a half years in prison.<sup>52</sup> The regime may have been attempting to present an image of greater openness, but this brutal reaction meant it was 'shown in its true colours'<sup>53</sup> once again.

These events show how volatile the situation of the Catalan language remained even when certain rights had been extended to it. Galinsoga's associations with Franco meant that protesters were not just fighting for the right not to be insulted, or to celebrate mass in their own language, they were 'attacking a surrogate of the generalissimo.'<sup>54</sup> This was a valuable outlet, as the Palau incident demonstrated that the consequences could be very different if Franco was attacked directly. Catalan has a proud literary tradition that made the issue of the *Cant de la Senyera* so significant, and the installation of Galinsoga as editor of *La Vanguardia* had been part of the violent construction of Franco's Spain: these examples show that a complex interrelation of historical forces, power relations and institutions was at play in the repression enforced. Furthermore, these events angered the middle classes, who had

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<sup>47</sup> Johnston., *Tales of Nationalism*, 127-128.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>49</sup> Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*, 140-141.

<sup>50</sup> Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism*, 129.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Tusell, *La España de Franco*, 224.

<sup>53</sup> Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*, 140.

<sup>54</sup> Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism*, 128.

previously ‘helped maintain the government’s claim to legitimacy’,<sup>55</sup> and as such had a profound impact on the nature of Catalan resistance to the dictatorship.

It is clear from these cases how language was not only the target of repression, but the means of enforcing and of resisting it. The key controversial aspects centred on linguistic expression: Galinsoga’s statement, Pujol’s flyer, Maragall’s hymn. Nevertheless, their significance was based in a meshwork of institutions of power, historical trends and cultural entities. Moreover, the effects of these statements were not limited to the linguistic sphere: they involved changes in physical bodies, such as the dismissing of Galinsoga and the imprisonment of Pujol, and the change in Catalanist resistance. Deleuze and Guattari call such statements ‘incorporeal transformations;’<sup>56</sup> acts of speech which have an instantaneous effect on physical interactions, for example the immediate change in status of a person when a judge pronounces them guilty of a crime.<sup>57</sup> While the statements made by Galinsoga and the flyer were incorporeal, they sparked immediate changes in status, with clear physical effects. These changes in status relate to both the collective assemblage of enunciation and the machinic assemblage; De Landa writes, therefore, that ‘linguistic replicators affect reality by catalyzing’<sup>58</sup> incorporeal transformations. Linguistic acts such as those involved in the Galinsoga and Palau incidents are the points where the myriad influences and bearings upon the significance of language intersect with its equally numerous effects, in a non-linear, non-hierarchical interaction.

## CONCLUSION

It can be seen, therefore, that Francoist repression of Catalan, and the relationship between language and power more broadly, must be understood as part of a wider, interrelated historical, ideological and political context. Catalonia under Franco is not only a point where both the significance of minority languages and of language as enunciation intersect. It is also an entrance into the meshwork of elements that underpinned all actions of the Francoist state: tensions between centralist and autonomist forces; associations between Catholicism, imperialism and Castilian; discipline, nationalism and the primacy of the homogenous collective. The influence of these factors was fluid, and one aspect may have been more prominent at a given time: enforcing discipline was more directly influential than imperialism in the arrest of Pujol. However, discipline is required for homogeneity, influenced by the idea of imperialist political dominance, a factor inextricable from cultural, religious and linguistic

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>56</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 89.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> De Landa, *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*, 203.

implications. It is for this reason that the bearing of such factors as ideology and power upon Francoist repression of Catalan should be understood holistically: as elements of a constantly changing, non-linear grouping of interrelated and interdependent parts.

This holistic interpretation is as important for the how of the repression of Catalan as the why: many aspects of the collective assemblage of enunciation, such as the press, and of the machinic assemblage, such as the police, were interdependent in the enforcement of ideology, as the Galinsoga and Palau incidents show. The interpretation is also supported by the current strength of the Catalan language; its prominence is less in spite of the brutal measures of the Franco dictatorship and more because of them, precisely due to the brutality's interrelation with historical and ideological forces. The pre-existing tensions that influenced the ideology of the regime, such as that between the centre and the periphery, did not end with the death of the dictator. The Franco era became part, albeit a very extreme part, of this vacillating trend, and, as such, the transition to democracy entailed greater regional autonomy and minority language rights. The regime functioned as a repressive 'other' in relation to Catalonia, meaning that, far from destroying the Catalan language, its brutal project of eradication in fact created the conditions for it to thrive, along with related ideological forces.

In 1936, in an altercation with fascists in Salamanca, the philosopher Miguel de Unamuno warned them 'You will win, but you will not convince.'<sup>59</sup> This is especially significant in the Catalan context. While the regime was dedicated to convincing the population that Catalan was simultaneously threatening and illegitimate, as part of a wider historical and political meshwork Franco's winning of the Civil War and the brutal repression this entailed ultimately contributed to Catalan's present legitimacy and power. The relationship of history, ideology, nationalism and power relations to language meant that Franco sowed the seeds of his own failure; in terms of Catalan especially, he won but he could never convince.

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<sup>59</sup> Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, 175.

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