

## ***Lluïto en català pero amo en castellano: Language Ideologies and Registerial Repertoire in the Linguistic Landscape of Barcelona***

Prior research on linguistic repertoires in Catalonia has revealed a lower usage of Catalan as compared to Spanish in vulgar or informal registers (Frekko 2009; Newman, Patiño-Santos, and Trenchs-Parera 2012). This phenomenon has been attributed not to lexical gaps among this region's highly bilingual population, but rather to the idea that Spanish terms "carry connotations that the Catalan equivalents might not" (Woolard 1989, 65).

Furthermore, it is prudent to consider how increased socio-political tensions resulting from the contentious 2017 Catalan independence referendum (Oller, Satorra, and Tobeña 2021) have influenced current language ideologies and their effect on linguistic repertoires. Ianos, Huguet, and Lapresta-Rey (2017) indicate that Catalan and Spanish (national) identities remain divided, and that language ideologies reflect competition rather than coexistence between the Catalan and Spanish languages. This adumbrates a reversal of prior trends that showed weakened ideological ties between native Catalan ethnicity and Catalan usage (Woolard 2009; Pujolar and González 2013), a shift from in-group language preferences to positive perceptions of Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015; Davidson 2019), and a desire to depoliticize the Catalan language (Woolard 2016).

The present research contributes to post-referendum sociolinguistic scholarship on language ideologies in Catalonia's public sphere by examining the linguistic landscape (LL) of two demographically distinct neighborhoods in Barcelona: Vila de Gràcia (predominance of Catalan-L1 speakers) and El Barri Gòtic (predominance of Spanish-L1 speakers). The aim of this study is to analyze the relationship between linguistic repertoire and identity construction in graffiti on public walls. The author photographed all publicly-visible transgressive artifacts<sup>1</sup> (N=1,587) from every street in both communities and coded the language(s) and theme of each message in Adobe Lightroom Classic. Prominent themes across graffiti were identified via a qualitative content analysis (Ben Said and Kasanga 2016), and these themes were then extrapolated to corresponding identities (i.e., romantic messages to an *amorous self*). Correlations between languages and different themes in the graffiti were inferentially verified via Chi-Squared analyses in R (v4.2.2; R Core Team 2022).

Findings reveal that while the Catalan-dominant Vila de Gràcia had a statistically significantly higher representation of Catalan in its LL, the distribution of themes for which Catalan was used in Vila de Gràcia was not statistically significantly different from that of El Barri Gòtic. Spanish and English artifacts showed thematic representation patterns that were distinct from Catalan, but parallel to each other. Language-theme relationships in the data indicate that Catalan graffiti represent *socially-minded*, *politically-oriented*, and *community-conscious* identities, whereas Spanish and English artifacts are used to index *sentimental*, *romantic*, and *rebellious* identities. These findings evidence the difficulty of developing a complete registerial repertoire in public discourse for minority languages that, despite official status, must compete with both state (Spanish) and global (English) hegemonic languages. The results also shed light on how contexts of socio-political tension in multilingual regions may solidify an association between the minority language and higher, socially-oriented registers.

**Key words:** Linguistic landscape; Catalonia; identity; language choice; Catalan

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<sup>1</sup> Signs on public walls that disrupt official discourse (Scollon and Scollon 2003), including graffiti, posters, stencils, stickers, and other ephemeral items outside the official and commercial realms.

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