

CREAM MERINGUES VS A DIVINE T-SHIRT¹³: CATALAN IDENTITY IN THE SPANISH SPORTS DISCOURSE

Valentyna Kotenko

Candidate of Philological Sciences, lecturer
National Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv
ORCID 0000-0003-3934-3871

This paper aims to make a sketch in the investigation of the representation of the Catalan identity that is inextricably linked to FC Barcelona in the contemporary Spanish sports discourse from its linguistic perspective within the sociocultural premises. The corpus of the data we have analyzed is translated from the most important Spanish sports newspapers As, Marca, Mundo Deportivo and Sport in the range of 2012-2015, as well as from the books of publicist style, with a particular attention paid to some headlines of the articles to the Champions League Final, World Cup and UEFA Euro Cup. The methods we used are critical discourse analysis, linguistic description with elements of sociolinguistic research. It was revealed that both newspapers and books of journalistic and artistic styles are filled with lexical units from Catalan language: from slogans up to toponyms, anthroponyms, or cultural realia. The lexical item lo catalán ("Catalan" and "Catalonia") is incorporated into the broad range of speeches and written texts. The official status of this language is regularized in the Statute of FC Barcelona. The incorporation of the Catalan language is manifested in the discourse of players and coaches, Statutes of FC Barcelona, slogans, toponyms, anthroponyms and cultural realia. We also analyzed the role of deictic markers as an expressive dominant of the texts that constitute the fan-position of the above-mentioned sports newspapers. It was exposed the clear presence of two units of discourse madridismo and barcelonismo that have sociocultural meaning to define the tendency of the rivalry between two sports clubs that goes beyond the mere sport. Sarcasm, irony, and humor are the main communicative strategies of their construction in the contemporary Spanish sports discourse.

Key words: Spanish sport discourse, Catalan language, unit of discourse, deictic marker, expressiveness.

КРЕМОВІ БЕЗЕ ПРОТИ СВЯЩЕННОЇ ФУТБОЛКИ: КАТАЛОНСЬКА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ У ІСПАНСЬКОМОВНОМУ СПОРТИВНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ

Котенко В.Л.

кандидат філологічних наук, викладач

Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка

Метою цієї статті є зробити нарис у дослідженні елементу каталонської ідентичності, з якою нерозривно пов'язаний футбольний клуб "Барселона", в сучасному іспанськомовному спортивному дискурсі у його мовному вираженні із соціокультурним віднесенням. Корпус проаналізованих прикладів перекладено із найважливіших іспанських спортивних газет As, Marca, Mundo Deportivo та Sport у період 2012-2015 років, а також взято із книг художньо-публіцистичного стилю; особливу увагу у дослідженні приділено заголовкам статей, присвяченим фіналу Ліги Чемпіонів, Чемпіонатам Європи УЄФА та світу. У роботі використано такі методи дослідження: критичний дискурсивний аналіз, описовий метод з елементами соціолінгвістичного аналізу. За результатами дослідження було виявлено, що як газети, так і книги художньо-публіцистичного стилю наповнені лексичними одиницями, запозиченими з каталонської мови: від гасел вболівальників до топонімів, антропонімів чи

¹³ Unofficial nicknames of Real Madrid FC and FC Barcelona

культурних реалій. Лексична одиниця *lo catalán* введена до широкого кола промов та написаних текстів. Офіційний статус каталонської мови закріплено у Статуті футбольного клубу “Барселона”. Використання каталонської мови також зафіксовано у мовленні гравців і тренерів, слоганах, топонімах, антропонімах та культурних реаліях. Було проаналізовано роль дейктичних маркерів як експресивну домінанту текстів, що дозволяє простежити вболівальницьку позицію зазначених спортивних газет. В ході проведеного аналізу також було виявлено дві одиниці дискурсу соціокультурного значення *madridismo* та *barcelonismo*, що використовуються на позначення тенденції до суперництва між двома спортивними клубами, яка виходить за межі суто спорту. При цьому гумор, сарказм та іронія є основними комунікативними стратегіями їх побудови у сучасному іспанськомовному спортивному дискурсі.

Ключові слова: іспанськомовний спортивний дискурс, каталонська мова, одиниця дискурсу, дейктичний маркер, експресивність.

Introduction. The **aim** of this paper is to describe the phenomenon of the Catalan identity in the Spanish sports discourse. First of all, it is important to briefly explain the Spanish context we are talking about, summarize the socio-historical premises for the existing antagonism between FC Barcelona and Real Madrid CF and then pay attention to the linguistic aspect of such representation. All the corpus of examples we will illustrate our points with are translated from the Spanish sports newspapers *As*, *Marca*, *Mundo Deportivo* and *Sport* in the range of 2012-2015 and some books of journalistic and artistic styles. The **methods** we used are critical discourse analysis, linguistic description with elements of sociolinguistic research.

According to the official UEFA statistics, 8 football players who represent exactly Spanish football clubs (5 of whom are from FC Barcelona and 3 from Real Madrid CF) were included in the UEFA 2015 team of the year; 2 from Barcelona and 5 from Real Madrid in 2018; three Spanish football clubs (Real Madrid CF, FC Barcelona and Atlético de Madrid) are among the top 5 in the UEFA ranking; L. Messi, Neymar Jr., C. Ronaldo were the three finalists of the FIFA Balón d’Or 2015 nomination and Barcelona’s Luis Enrique won the same award as the best coach. Ironically he was in the same nomination with the former Barcelona’s coach Pep Guardiola who is currently working in Manchester City’s team. In addition, Spanish sports newspaper “Marca” is the second most popular newspaper in Spain per its net circulation average; totally, 805 journalists from 35 countries representing 164 means of mass communication came to cover El Clásico in March 2015. According to various sociological researches, 70% of the population of Spain identify themselves with either Real Madrid or Barcelona.

In the country where football is more than just a sport, there is also a club, which is “more than a club” – FC Barcelona. The official web page of the club states: *More than a club because without forgetting our roots in Barcelona and our Catalan identity and culture, we have always been open to the world, and have become a meeting point for different people, cultures and nations* (www.fcbarcelona.com). As a capital of Catalonia, Barcelona is traditionally claimed to be an open avant-garde urban space, meanwhile Madrid, Spain’s capital from the XVIth century, has remained a center of the monarchy and the crown, of *lo español*. ... *The only opportunity for the Spanish flag to appear on the European stage for the next Champions League is that Madrid*

plays, because no one would think that the fans of Bilbao or Barça will carry it as a proper emblem (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006: 143); *In Madrid the national base is super important* (El Mundo 30.07.2013). To the contrary, the cosmopolitan character of FC Barcelona was evident by its very creation: it was founded in 1899 by six Spaniards, three British, two Swiss and a German. From the moment of its creation FC Barcelona took an active political stand: since 1915 and during the World War I the club demonstrated its support of the *Mancomunitat* (the Commonwealth of Catalonia), proving the possibility of coexistence of the local governance and sports, which was not typical for the rest of Spain. In this way we may speak of football that does not carry any mission of unification (Pujadas, 2011: 122), unlike, for example, the Olympic games do. In 1918 the club supported a petition for a statute of autonomy for Catalonia, which was being demanded from all sectors of the Catalanista movement. Moreover, in 1921 the club drafted its statutes in the language of Catalonia, even though Catalan was not an official language. In the contemporary statutes written in Spanish, English, and Catalan the matter of language, is also being emphasized¹⁴. However, the new version of the same statutes of 2018 are written only in Catalan. The Statutes of Real Madrid CF, on the contrary, are written only in Spanish and highlight the presence of the Royal Crown at the emblem (art. 8). As Spanish journalist and writer Luis Carandell described in his poem “Romance of the transfer of Cruyff”:

<i>Hay entre el Madrid y el Barça</i>	<i>There is between Madrid and Barça</i>
<i>una fuerte rivalidad</i>	<i>a strong rivalry</i>
<i>trasunto de otras cuestiones</i>	<i>transcript of other issues</i>
<i>que no son de este lugar</i>	<i>that they are not of this place.</i>

Luis Carandell, “Romance of signing up Cruyff”

During the Franco’s autocratic regime football became to be considered as a social instrument to demand freedom and democracy (“*In 1957 Camp Nou was the only legal space in which they could articulate ethnic and cultural identity as an alternative to Spain’s indivisible national Catholicism*” (Miravittlas, 2013: 156). In most recent times, and most vocally since 2012, Barcelona joined a new movement to achieve the independence from Spain: one of the last Primera’s match was filled up with esteladas (nonofficial flag of Catalonia, a symbol of the struggle for

¹⁴ Art. 1 Nature: FC Barcelona is a private Catalan sports association of natural persons

Art. 4 Functional Area: 2. Complementarily, the promotion of and participation in social, cultural, artistic, scientific or recreational activities that are relevant and necessary to maintain the representative nature and public projection that the Club enjoys due to its ongoing tradition of loyalty and service to Club members, to the general public and to Catalonia.

3. To complement to these objectives, the Club: will promote, through the FC Barcelona Foundation, solidarity, the civic and social dimension of the Club in Catalonia and worldwide.

Art. 5. Maintaining the Club’s Catalan identity, FC Barcelona must partake in the sporting and complementary activities outlined in the previous article, in the local, national, state or international spheres as appropriate and demanded by the sports competitions or complementary activities in which it participates.

Art. 6. Language: The language of FC Barcelona is Catalan and, therefore, this will be the normal language of preferred use in all the Club’s activities.

Art.8 Register: FC Barcelona is inscribed in the Register of Sporting Bodies of the Government of Catalonia, and the Register of Sports Associations of the “Consejo Superior de Deportes”, as well as the registers of the Catalan, State or International Federations or Associations of Clubs for the sports activities that the Club practices.

Art. 41 Conditions for being an elector: h) With respect to the pre-candidate for the Presidency, being of Catalan civil residence status. VS Art. 40 of the Statutes of Real Madrid among Requirements to become a Candidate for President or a Member of the Board of Directors highlights to be Spanish.

independence) and claims for sovereignty and it was watched by 400 mln viewers live. In 2013, during the final of the Champions esteladas were also brought to the stadium, which caused a 30 000 € fine from the UEFA executives. The official response from the club's representatives was that esteladas respond to a popular feeling that is very old and socially ingrained, surpassing any possible political message and, therefore, its exhibition can not be sanctioned in the future (As 7.08.2013). In 2015, UEFA sanctions were imposed against the club for its fans bringing Catalan national flags to the stadium during the Champions League final in Berlin as well as for the poems and slogans for independence. Oriol Amorós, an assistant spokesperson of the Republican Left of Catalonia claimed: *"They may say whatever they want because we will keep bringing more esteladas as never before to the football fields and we will keep demanding freedom and independence"* (El Mundo 30.06.2015). In this way, nowadays FC Barcelona is considered to be one of the voices that represent Catalonia: *"This Saturday Barça plans not to use its usual color (blaugrana/blue and scarlet), but to put on its third uniform – with red and yellow stripes, which obviously has a nationalistic meaning. We are living in the complicated times of the separatist demands of Catalonia and many people have asked "Barça" to verbalize them"* (As 11.09.2014).

FC Barcelona's former manager Evarist Murtra named the undeniable affiliation to the autonomous province of Catalonia (*catalanidad irrenunciable*) to be one of the distinctive values of this club and even related the physicality, teamwork, effort and self-improvement to the creation of new Catalonia: educated, civil and open (Violan 2012, 29,37). We may partially agree or disagree with this statement concerning the multinational lineup of both teams, but pro-Catalan position of FC Barcelona, its patronage and popularization of the Catalan culture in general and language, in particular, are obvious: *together with "La Caixa" bank and Generalitat FC "Barcelona" is considered as one of the pillars which constitute Catalonia* (Miravittlas, 2013: 7). It is quite symbolic that J. Laporta was a President of FC Barcelona from 2003 till 2010 and then became a deputy of the Catalan parliament in 2010-2012. His successor Sandro Rosell stated: *"If you were born in Catalonia, perfect. If not, we want you to be like Gamper, who was a Swiss, who came here, integrated himself into the country, spoke Catalan and made it the official language after the foundation of the club. Being Barça in Catalonia and speaking Catalan, this is what must be done"* (Marca 18.03.2013). *Renaixença blaugrana* as an allusion to the famous Catalan movement in the 2nd half of the XIX century is an indicative metaphor to illustrate the importance of FC Barcelona in the life of Catalonia. However, some journalists claim that politicization of sport in the democratic society is not possible and in terms of globalization football club must go beyond all the ideologies and parties, and that the political functions of the clubs should nowadays be fading (for instance, Nestor Hernández Alonso).

Results and discussion. During our research, we analyzed the presence of the Catalan identity in the contemporary Spanish sports discourse by studying it via newspapers and books dedicated to sport written by journalists and sportsmen. In the context of Spanish sports discourse we use a term *'unit of discourse'* as an interlevel unit of both lingual and extralingual meanings to define the symbiosis of linguistic and

cultural meanings in one pattern of discourse understanding it as a combination of the linguistic sign, its content and a respectful cultural meaning accompanying it. In other words, it may become possible to trace the way Catalan identity is being represented through the language: *Barça players, whereas do 12 km jogging according to Seguer orders, are Anglo-Saxons with legs, but with the head and hands they are very Catalans. They do footing gathering rovellons (the most important Catalan mushroom) and on their way back to Nou Camp they roast butifarra, lamb ribs and rovellons* (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006: 77). Such sociocultural units of discourse, *madridismo* and *barcelonismo* as communicative units of the discourse may be used to define the above-mentioned tendency of the rivalry between two sports clubs that goes beyond the mere sport: *The more a particular Madrid's fan is excited about seeing Barcelona in 'la Segunda', there are still more, much more, who could not understand a league without the Barça-Madrid and vice versa. It would be something as if, suddenly, don Jose Ortega y Gasset would have had to do without the Ortega or Gasset* (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006: 129).

Then from another article: *Barca is in the emergency. Today it is a ruin, it has collapsed in football, in its physical and emotional aspects. Its eternal enemy made it pay for its extreme indolence and, to its horror, without a necessity to bid with the headlines. For Madrid it was enough to use a couple of secondary players to deal with an opponent without a soul, without any tension.* (El País.com 2.03.2013).

And yet one more quote: *The Catalans form more or less collective consciousness, a very delicate one because of the sad history of their relations with the central state, Spain, and basically adopt only that or those that help them fulfill their purpose of the unceasing hostility to the Spanish governance. In football it is called Real Madrid.* (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006: 171). It is also worth mentioning that King Felipe VI debuted in his first Cup of the King in the status of the King of Spain accompanied by an immense whistle during the anthem of Spain by fans of Athletic Bilbao and FC Barcelona: *The festival of football in the Copa del Rey started with a sonorous and historic whistling and booing during the course of chords of the national anthem of Spain resounding in the loudspeakers.* (Sport 31.05.2015).

To illustrate the realization of *madridismo* and *barcelonismo* as sociocultural units of discourse we have also analyzed the headlines of newspapers that covered events of World Cup 2010 and 2014 as well as the European Championship Euro 2012 and two publications of the same publicist genre “100 reasons to support Madrid (and not Barcelona)” and “100 reasons to support Barcelona (and not Madrid)” which stand in an obvious antagonistic relationship.

These books are written by journalists in 2012 and consist of short narratives, each one of them is united by one topic and constitutes one specific reason why one should be a fan of one and not another particular club. 100 reasons for each club do not exist in a direct dialogue with each other, but the issue of stadiums, fans, coaches, the physical aspect of players, the number of trophies won, are present in both of them.

Table 1

100 reasons to support Barcelona (and not Madrid)	100 reasons to support Madrid (and not Barcelona)
We can say Barça is more European than Real Madrid is [p.17].	The negativity that permeates the barcelonismo in general; and then there is this strange dialect (of Latin) they speak that there is no one who can understand it except in those unknown lands. It is called Catalan and it is filled with unintelligibly cut apocopic and full words [p.189].
Barça, no matter what, is Catalonia [c.94].	Moreover, Barça is not Spanish (nowadays it is so awkward to be Spanish), but Catalan, and being Catalan has always been very modern, of course [p. 34]
Against the delicate, almost feminine, a little bit angelical style of Casillas, we put the fun style, the grace, the ancestral power and the smile of Keita. Unlike these cute boys who come from fashion magazines being rather bland, who form the 11-team of Real Madrid, the Barça's squad is full of charismatic characters, which are more suitable to appear on the pages of the sports newspapers [p.44].	Casillas is a real archetype of Greco-Roman beauty without any decorations, just as natural as it may be [p.149]. ... Madrid speaks a universal language that unites people and cultures; it represents a culture that has written some of the most sublime works of art of all ever created in the literature. Unlike other teams, that in an exclusive way defend minority languages as the signs of their identity, el Castellano or Spanish is one of the three most widespread languages in the world [p. 47].

“100 reasons to support “Madrid” counts 15 core lexical items with the radical “madrid” in the titles and of the stories and not a one to mention lo español. “100 reasons to support Barcelona” has 26 core lexical items with the radicals “barç” and “catalan”, as well as 6 stories dedicated to Catalonia (for instance, “*Barça supports catalan music*”, “*Barça is Catalonia*”, “*Barça is an unarmed army of Catalonia*”). This peculiarity proves the obvious emphasizing of the Catalan identity in sports texts. Culé (FC Barcelona’s fan) as the lexical unit that is officially recognized the Royal Academy of the Spanish language and also acquires cultural meaning: While it would be unacceptable for barcelonismo to have culé that does not speak Catalan, one madridista may be a real one without knowing Castilian (González Gil-García, 2012: 48). Humor, sarcasm and irony are the main communicative strategies to create such sociocultural units of discourse of the ardent rivalry between two clubs. In this way is becomes possible to make sure that both players and clubs have different stands towards languages, traditions, and even in some issues related to the physical appearance. Of course, the reliability of such evidences remains controversial because of the subjectivity and expressiveness in Spanish language of sport, but the very existence of such differences is symptomatic and indicates a problem of antagonism between the historical regions of Spain through the units of discourse of sociocultural meaning *barcelonismo* and *madridismo*.

As it becomes obvious, one of the most effective arguments “for” the team is prompting many “against” its main historic rival. Books that represent the journalistic style do not cultivate tolerance towards others and retain objectivity perhaps only in

numbers. Thereby it only highlights the idea that Spanish nation is a an abstraction and there is always the feeling of small homeland which stands in the first place. As Alain Bainer put it, *“In terms of popularity, the “national sport” of Spain is almost certainly soccer (association football). Yet, ... soccer also makes us appreciate the extent to which Spain is at best a divided nation and at worst, not a nation at all – merely a nation-state”* (Bairner, 2008: 999). For instance, FC Barcelona’s player Andrés Iniesta in his book *“A year in paradise”* wrote:

So I put a flag of Castilla la Mancha as a pareo. This is a sign of my origin. [...] I wanted to make my speech in Catalan, because I know that the fans will appreciate it. ... I said: “Bona nit, aficio. Visca el Barça, Visca Catalunya. Y visca...”. That’s when everyone shouted at once: “Fientealbilla”. Mission accomplished. I had done it. I had made people make “Fientealbilla” as one of their war cries. For me it’s important because I will never forget my origins”. ... I thought: “My God, Andres, this is really incredible. You managed to make 80 000 people shout the name of your town”. When the screams stopped and I realized where I was, I added: (in Catalan) “Thank you, I am the happiest man in the world. These things are just the beginning. If I can wish for more, I wish the coach to work more years...”.... You don’t know how beautiful Camp Nou is in the dark with hundreds of thousands of cameras immortalizing a historic day... Visca el Barça, Visca Catalunya. Y visca... (Iniesta, 2009: 109, 113-114).

It is worth mentioning that one of the brightest examples of the Madrid-Barcelona rivalry is hidden in the antagonism of their fans. For instance, this is one of the rhythmic slogans:

<i>Somos españolistas</i>	<i>We are the Spanish nationalists</i>
<i>de la corona,</i>	<i>of the crown,</i>
<i>de la corona,</i>	<i>of the crown,</i>
<i>somos especialistas</i>	<i>we are specialists</i>
<i>en dar palizas</i>	<i>in beating</i>
<i>al Barcelona.</i>	<i>Barcelona.</i>

Españolistas de la corona (Candau, 1996: 218).

Talking about the special role in the construction of the Catalan identity in media would be impossible without mentioning the personality of the head coach of FC Barcelona Josep Guardiola in 2008-2012, a man, who is best known for a widely spread in media metaphor of *blue and scarlet blood*. As one of the papers put it: *Having become an institution, Guardiola had very wisely assumed his role as an emblem of catalanidad of the team ... in the same way as Raul has been the exclusive ethnic excuse of Real Madrid until the arrival of Casillas (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006: 115).* He presumably embodied a number of virtues and positive qualities (*Barcelona needed a superclass, telegenic Catalan football player, with gift of words and people, able to recite national poets and with a sense of humor necessary to be spokesman in a madhouse (ibid., 117).* But even more so, he is presented as personalizing Catalonia as a separate country, “el país”: (Violan, 2012: 178-179). Or, to give another quote: *Guardiola is an excellent representative of the country: Catalan to the heart, he is sensibly passionate, completely identified with the colors, committed to the culture he belongs to, with a genuine pure last name and an exceptionally good public image*

Calculation, awareness of the high condition, obsession with the judgment of the society and catalonismo and an educated delicacy: that is Pep (Miravittlas, 2013: 239). Analyzing Guardiola's career in comparison to J. Mourinho's journalists make a symbolic comparison: *Both stylish and attractive, from the different aesthetics. Mourinho, more Italian. Guardiola, more Catalan avant-garde* (Cubeiro, 2010: 202). In 2011, J. Guardiola was awarded the Catalan Parliament's Gold Medal and this is how he finished his speech: *... And never forget that if we rise early, I mean if we get up very, very early, having no reproach or excuses and just get to work as anyone else, we are an unstoppable country. Believe me, we are unstoppable. Thank you very much and Visca Catalunya* (Violan, 2012: 53-54). On other occasions he publicly supported the idea of the referendum for the independence of Catalonia *"Here you have one more vote for the independence"* (Marca 11.09.2012).

Although the most popular official newspaper publications try to avoid provocative statements openly supporting one of the teams, it is still possible to trace the "fan-position" of some editions at the angle of the priority of covering the events. *Marca* was founded as a Phalangist newspaper which was filled with the critical statements concerning the development of sports during the governance of the Republicans, characterizing it as a source of "all the evil" (Pujadas, 2011: 209). Nowadays *Marca* and *As*, founded in 1967 in Madrid, are considered to be pro-Madrid, whereas *el Mundo Deportivo*, founded in 1906, and *Sport*, founded in 1979 support FC Barcelona. If we compare then, for example, *Marca* and *Sport* of the same events, it becomes obvious that the latter often covers news related to Real Madrid CF starting from page №20, thus devoting 19 pages of text to events exclusively associated with FC Barcelona with one of its pages even including the coupons to buy blankets with logo of this club. For instance, its issue from 13 August 2014 had news about Real Madrid CF winning European Supercup on page 15-16, whereas the main focus of the issue was put on a new possible transfer of the player in FC Barcelona and other news.

On the other hand, it is evident that *As* has a specially clearly marked "fan-position" towards Real Madrid, including the use of personal deictic markers *we* as an element of self-identification with the club. At the same time, it remains indifferent towards the success of its main rival; for instance, the victory of Barcelona in the first game of the Champions League 2015 semifinals was not even mentioned. Meanwhile, *Sport* posted a headline in Catalan on the front page (Sport, 7.06.2015).

Table 2

Newspapers	Marca	As	Mundo Deportivo	Sport
Date, event				
07.05.2015 FC Barcelona's victory in the first game of the semifinal.	Messi devours Pep	Morata would come back for 30 mln €	Herr Messi. The towel of Barça	Brilliant, brutal, unstoppable... ¡Thank you, Messi! Yes, yes, we are going to Berlin!
13.05.2015 (12.05) FC Barcelona's getting into the UEFA	Pending histories. Madrid before another epic night at the Bernabeu.	All for one! (C. Ronaldo's portrait) Buffon: whistles for Casillas is an	To Berlin! Barça eliminates Bayern and will play its	To the final! Barça is one step away from its fifth Champions trophy

Champions League Final; 13.05 – a game of Real Madrid for the second place in the final)	Barça is already waiting in Berlin	ungrateful, unjust and outrageous gesture. James: if they whistle one player, they whistle all of them. Allegri: “Those will be ninety-five long and endless minutes”.	eighth final of the Champions in the capital of Germany seeking its fifth title. + A picture of the match	
14.05.2015 (13.05 Real Madrid lost the UEFA Champions League semifinal)	The fiasco of the century. 1-1 Madrid fails at the Bernabeu and wastes a historic opportunity to play against Barcelona in the mother of all the finals.	We are left another year without the dream final. It had to be Morata. I wish he had scored against another team!	¡MAMMA MÍA!	¡WHAT A PITY! There will be no el Clásico in Berlin. Triple failure of Madrid, which will not win any title this season after crashing against Juve (1-1). Barça will play the Champions League final against the Italians.
07.06.2015 (6.06.2015 FC Barcelona's victory in the UEFA Champions League final)	Fifth gold	Renewed cycle	Three-times champion!	Three-times champion Tricapions! (in Catalan)

Table 3 provides the newspapers' headlines of the next day after the finals of 2010 and 2012 and the last qualifying match for Spanish national team in 2014. It is obvious that sociocultural unit of discourse *barcelonismo* can be traced most clearly in the headlines of the newspaper *Sport*. It reported the victory in the World Cup in 2010 in the light of the creation of neologism *iniestazo* referring to A. Iniesta, who scored in the final; the credit for the 2012 victory of the whole team thanks to this particular club is manifested through the obvious contrast between FC Barcelona and its style of play – ‘*made in Barça*’. On the other hand, its defeat to Chilean national team, which brought to the final relegation from the tournament during the 2014 World Cup, wasn't even mentioned in this newspaper as it was only focused on a contract with a new player of FC Barcelona. *Mundo Deportivo* mentioned this defeat at the bottom part of the first page of the newspaper using one-member sentence – “Abdicate”. At the same time *Marca* stresses the concept of one country by using personal pronoun **we** as a deictic marker as well as graphical component describing the 2010 victory; a noun *España* (Spain) and metonymy La Roja in 2012, it also regrets about the 2014 defeat by using the epithet *lamentable* (regrettable) and a contrastive phrase *la época más*

gloriosa (the most glorious time) to describe past achievements and justify this failure. As was quite neutral about the victories and only focused on past successes (using the personal deictic marker *we*) when talking about the defeat. The same example can be found in the article “We are the Champions” (Marca 12.08.2015): *The supremacy of Spanish football in the international scene. With the Barca’s victory against Seville, there’re seven international titles gained by our representatives in a consecutive way.* Thus, *Marca* and *As* tend to express a pro-Real Madrid position, while *Mundo Deportivo* and *Sport* make no secret of their sympathy for the Barcelona.

Table 3

Competition			
Front page headlines	World Cup 2010 (11.07.2010), victory	UEFA Euro 2012 (1.07.2012), victory	World Cup 2014 (19.06.2014), defeat
Marca	Indeed, we are the champions! (colors of the national flag)	Spain and no one else. La Roja is displayed as the best team of all time.	The End. The regrettable end of the most glorious time of la Roja.
As	Champions of the world	Champions of Europe!	It was nice while it lasted. Do not apologize. We owe you a lot.
Mundo Deportivo	Champions of the world!	Historical. Legendary triplet: Euro ‘08, World Cup ‘10 and Euro ‘10	Bravo, done. Total agreement between Barça, Real, and the player. It will be azulgrana for 4 years and costs 12 million. / Abdicate.
Sport	Champions of the world. Another historic ‘Iniestazo’	Historical! Three times champions. Spanish national team thrashed Italy in the final with a football exhibition <u>‘made in Barcelona’</u> .	Signed! Barça will pay 12 million to Real Sociedad to gain Bravo.

The Catalan language, as it was mentioned above, is yet another tool to support the Catalan culture, which is used by FC Barcelona. According to the main newspapers editing guidelines and the “Book of recommendations for the press”, all foreign elements are, if possible, to be substituted with the Spanish equivalents (this rule resembles the federal notice 6/1940 valid till 18.07.1972 where it was obligatory to change those names of clubs the grammatical construction of which was not correct

according to the norms of the Spanish language as well as to substitute the words Racing, Athletic, Sporting etc. by the corresponding Spanish equivalents (Relaño, 2012: 893)). Nowadays, both Spanish newspapers and books of journalistic style are filled with lexical units from Catalan language starting from slogans (*Visca el Barça, Visca Catalunya; més que un club; som un equip*) up to toponyms (*Camp Nou, Nova Creu Alta; Centre d'Esports Sabadell; Nou Sardenya Barcelona, barrio de Gràcia, Ciutat Esportiva, Ciutat de València, Selecció catalana; El pequeño Jordi ya está en casa. En el Barça. En L'Hospitalet* (As 4.07.2012)) and anthroponyms (*Francesc Vilanova i Bayo, Xavi Hernández*).

Catabarça is another lexical unit formed as the representative example to illustrate an existing unity between FC Barcelona and Catalonia (base morphemes Catalonia + Barcelona) which coexists with the amalgamate nature of this club. It is also worth mentioning that such lexical units as *barcelonismo, barcelonista; madridismo, merengue (madridista); culé (catalanismo, barcelonista); Dream Team* are registered in the Dictionary of sports terms.

The lexical item *lo catalán* referring to “Catalan” and “Catalonia” is incorporated into the broad range of speeches and written texts (the club’s statute highlights the importance of Catalan language, Catalan Football Federation, Government of Catalonia) in Spanish proving that Catalonia (unlike Castilla, for instance) is presented as an autonomous unit using football as one of the most important indicators for the demonstration of its own identity. For J. Laporta, the issue of language was also very important: *Language is not just a tool for communication, it is also an instrument to face the world, how to live it; for centuries we’ve been expressing ourselves in Catalan... I would like Barcelona to go on being an instrument of promotion of the Catalan culture* (Miravitllas, 2013: 175). In some occasions, there are even the entire paragraphs in Catalan within the Spanish texts, as, for example, in the column of Barcelona’s vice president G. Masfurról. The 1.2.7 clause in the contract signed by new players states that they should make every possible effort to integrate into Catalan society, respecting and assuming its values, especially by the commitment to learn the Catalan language. In this way, during the 2015/16 team presentation, the above mentioned Andrés Iniesta as a captain concluded his talk with a call in Catalan “*Visca el Barça, Visca Catalunya!*”. However, it is worth mentioning that none of the contracts signed since 2018 followed the above mentioned requirement (ABC, 17.01.2020).

Conclusions. Despite the existing beliefs that the link between nationalism and sports is getting weaker because of the globalization and commercialization of the latter, Spanish sociocultural situation demonstrates the absolute contradiction. The antagonism between Real Madrid CF and FC Barcelona demonstrates the tendency to include national characteristics in the sports discourse from the part of the latter club. The analyzed corpus of texts of recent years proves the existence of a clear confrontation between these two major sports clubs in the Spanish language of sports by the creation of linguistic units of discourse *barcelonismo* and *madridismo* that have sociocultural meaning to refer to all the relevant attributes of these clubs. The historical antagonism between them is embodied both in the sports media (newspapers give preferences in the priority of events coverage depending on the “fan’s position” of the

editorial: *Sport, Mundo Deportivo* – Pro-Barcelona, *As* more, *Marca* less, but a Pro-Real Madrid one) and in the books dedicated to sport. In language, these units of discourse are created by deictic markers as an element of self-identification with the club as well as by the expressive dominant of texts and means of paratext. The incorporation of the Catalan language is manifested in the discourse of players and coaches, Statutes of FC Barcelona, slogans, toponyms, anthroponyms and cultural realia.

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