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by

Lucas John DUANE BERNEDO

Born on 15 November 1984 in New York (USA)

THE INSTITUTION OF LINGUISTIC DISSIDENCE IN THE BALEARIC ISLANDS: IDEOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF CATALAN STANDARDISATION

Dissertation defence committee

Dr Julia de Bres, dissertation supervisor
Associate Professor, Université du Luxembourg

Dr Joan Pujolar, dissertation co-supervisor
Professor, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Dr Melanie Wagner, Chair
Senior Lecturer, Université du Luxembourg

Dr Maite Puigdevall, Vice-chair
Professor, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Dr Kasper Juffermans
Postdoctoral Researcher, Université du Luxembourg

Dr James Costa
Professor, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3

Abstract

This thesis describes ethnographically the recent institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands, understood as the establishment of a belief in the archipelago's socio-political field that claims 'Balearic', and not the current Catalan, must share official status with Castilian as its authentic autochthonous language.

Three associations of language activists created in 2013 are responsible for this development. Given the hegemony of the belief that Catalan is the autochthonous language in the Balearic Islands, linguistic dissidents departed from a marginal social position and saw social media as the means for the materialisation, organisation and gradual crystallisation of their linguistic—and political—activism. Thus, this thesis analyses two years of social media activity of the three language activist associations, together with three interviews with activists and the participation in a highly symbolic activist event.

Findings show how activists engaged in a struggle for the legitimisation of an alternative standard that revolved around authenticity ideologies, while they simultaneously secured and advanced the anonymity value of Castilian. Social media was instrumental for these purposes, as it provided activists representational control to articulate discourses about language and to police language practices, all in front of their supporters.

This thesis also examines the implications that this development represented for Catalan standardisation. What does the institution of linguistic dissidence tells us about the Balearic linguistic market? How should social actors in favour of Catalan take into account these recent events? Precisely, these were the topics I asked 11 language planners working at different institutions in the Balearic Islands and two Catalan language advocates, in a set of interviews conceived to approach the other side of the question of Catalan standardisation and thus fully grasp the ideological dynamics for Catalan speakers in the archipelago.

The interviews provided accounts on the ways institutional actors police the standard variety, as well as on the ideological obstacles that they identify for Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands. After finding a vertical distribution of standard

practices among institutional actors, the analysis focuses on a local planner's social media practices, given their explanatory potential of the workings of the linguistic market in the Balearic Islands.

In all, this thesis advances three arguments about the activists' strategic adoption of the standard language regime, the existence of an identification need in the Balearic linguistic market, and the role of minoritisation on standardisation. The case presented in this thesis offers grounds to consider how both the legitimisation and confrontation of standard varieties revolve around symbolic capital accumulation, a process in which ideologies of authenticity play a key role for minoritised languages.

Résumé

Cette thèse décrit, d'un point de vue ethnographique, le récent établissement d'une dissidence linguistique aux Îles Baléares, compris comme l'implantation dans le champ socio-politique de l'archipel d'une croyance selon laquelle la langue « baléare », et non plus le catalan actuel, doit partager le statut de langue officielle avec le castillan, et ce, de par son caractère authentique de langue autochtone.

Trois associations d'activistes linguistiques nées en 2013 sont responsables de l'établissement de cette croyance. Partant du principe que la société baléare reconnait de manière hégémonique le catalan comme langue autochtone de l'archipel, les dissidents linguistiques sont partis d'une position sociale marginale et ont considéré les réseaux sociaux comme le moyen idéal de matérialiser, d'organiser et de cristalliser de façon graduelle leur activisme linguistique et politique. Par conséquent, cette thèse analyse deux années d'activité sur les réseaux sociaux de trois associations d'activistes linguistiques, trois interviews de militants ainsi que la participation à un événement fortement symbolique.

Les découvertes montrent comment les activistes se sont engagés dans une lutte pour la légitimation d'une norme alternative, articulée autour des idéologies de l'authenticité et qui, par la même occasion, a assuré et a fait progresser la valeur de l'anonymat du castillan. Les réseaux sociaux ont joué un rôle clé dans la réussite de ces objectifs parce qu'ils offrent aux activistes un contrôle représentatif pour divulguer des discours sur la langue et pour contrôler les comportements linguistiques face à leurs partisans.

Cette thèse étudie également les implications que ce processus représente dans la standardisation du catalan. Que nous apprend l'établissement d'une dissidence linguistique sur le marché linguistique aux Baléares ? Les agents sociaux en faveur du catalan doivent-ils réagir face à cette dissidence ? Ce sont précisément les sujets que j'ai abordé lors des entretiens effectués auprès de 11 responsables de la planification linguistique provenant de différentes institutions des Îles Baléares, ainsi qu'à deux militants de la standardisation de la langue catalane dans un ensemble d'entretiens conçu pour apporter une autre vision sur la standardisation du catalan, et ainsi

pouvoir pleinement saisir les dynamiques idéologiques de la langue catalane dans l'archipel.

Les interviews fournissent des informations sur la façon dont les agents institutionnels contrôlent et agissent sur la variété standard, ainsi que sur les obstacles idéologiques qu'ils identifient à l'égard du processus de normalisation du Catalan aux Îles Baléares. Après avoir identifié une distribution verticale des pratiques de la variété standard entre les agents institutionnels, l'analyse se focalise sur l'utilisation des réseaux sociaux de la part d'un responsable de planification local, étant donné son potentiel explicatif du fonctionnement du marché linguistique dans les Baléares.

En résumé, cette thèse présente trois arguments : a) l'adoption stratégique de la part d'activistes dissidents d'un régime standard linguistique ; b) l'existence d'une nécessité d'identification dans le marché linguistique des Baléares ; et, c) sur le rôle que joue la minorisation et son influence sur le processus de standardisation. Le cas d'étude de cette thèse sert de fondement pour étudier comment, tant la légitimation que la confrontation des variétés standard, s'articulent autour de l'accumulation de capital symbolique, un processus dans lequel les idéologies d'authenticité jouent un rôle fondamental à l'égard des langues minoritaires.

Resum

Aquesta tesi descriu etnogràficament l'establiment recent de la dissidència lingüística a les Illes Balears, entesa com l'assentament al camp sociopolític de l'arxipèlag d'una creença que reivindica que el "Balear", i no l'actual llengua catalana, ha de compartir oficialitat amb el castellà en tant que autèntica llengua pròpia.

Tres associacions d'activistes lingüístics creades el 2013 són les responsables d'aquest moviment. Tenint en compte que la societat balear reconeix de forma hegemònica la creença que el català és la llengua pròpia de l'arxipèlag, els dissidents lingüístics partiren d'una posició social marginal que veié en les xarxes socials el mitjà per a la materialització, organització i cristal·lització gradual del seu activisme lingüístic i polític. D'aquesta manera, aquesta tesi analitza aproximadament dos anys d'activitat a les xarxes socials d'aquestes tres associacions, a més de tres entrevistes amb activistes, i la participació en un esdeveniment altament simbòlic organitzat per aquestes associacions.

L'anàlisi mostra com els activistes s'implicaren en un afany per legitimar un estàndard alternatiu basat en ideologies d'autenticitat, el qual simultàniament afermava i potenciava el valor d'anonimat del castellà. Les xarxes socials foren fonamentals per a aquests objectius, atès que oferiren als activistes un control representatiu per a articular discursos lingüístics i per a patrullar i avaluar pràctiques lingüístiques davant els seus seguidors.

Aquesta tesi també examina les implicacions d'aquests esdeveniments per a l'estandardització de la llengua catalana. Què ens diu l'establiment d'una dissidència lingüística sobre el mercat lingüístic a les Illes Balears? Com l'han de tenir en compte els agents socials favorables a la llengua catalana? Aquests van ser els temes sobre els quals vaig entrevistar 11 tècnics lingüístics de diferents institucions de les Illes Balears i dos activistes favorables a la normalització del català, en un conjunt d'entrevistes dissenyat per abordar l'altra posició sobre l'estandardització del català i d'aquesta manera copsar les dinàmiques ideològiques que afecten els catalanoparlants a l'arxipèlag.

Les entrevistes proporcionaren perspectives sobre la manera com els agents institucionals controlen i practiquen la varietat estàndard, així com sobre els obstacles ideològics que identifiquen de cara a la normalització de la llengua catalana a les Illes Balears. Un cop identificada una distribució vertical de les pràctiques de la varietat estàndard entre els actors institucionals, l'anàlisi se centra en l'ús de les xarxes socials que en fa una tècnica lingüística que treballa a l'àmbit local, donat que aquest ús contribueix a esclarir les dinàmiques del mercat lingüístic a les Illes Balears.

En resum, aquesta tesi presenta tres arguments: a) l'adopció estratègica d'un règim d'estàndard lingüístic per part dels activistes dissidents, b) l'existència d'una necessitat d'identificació en el mercat lingüístic balear, i c) la influència de la minorització sobre l'estandardització. El cas analitzat en aquesta tesi serveix de base per a considerar com la legitimació i la confrontació de les varietats estàndard es basen en l'acumulació de capital simbòlic, un procés en el qual les ideologies d'autenticitat tenen un rol fonamental per a les llengües minoritzades.

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Abbreviations

Cs   Ciudadanos
            Citizens (political party)

DGPL   Direcció General de Política Lingüística del Govern de les Illes Balears
            General Directorate of Language Policy of the Government of the
            Balearic Islands

El Pi   El Pi-Proposta per les Illes Balears
            The Pine-Proposal for the Balearic Islands

EULIB2014   Enquesta d'usos lingüístics a les Illes Balears 2014
            Survey of linguistic usages in the Balearic Islands 2014

FJ3   Fundació Jaume III
            Foundation Jaume III

Foment   Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears
            Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands

GAB   Associació Cultural Grupo d'Acció Balear
            Cultural Association Balearic Action Group

GxF   Gent per Formentera
            People for Formentera

IEB   Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, Govern de les Illes Balears
            Institute of Balearic Studies, Government of the Balearic Islands
            (currently, Institute of Language and Culture of the Balearic Islands,
            ILLENC)

IEC   Institute d'Estudis Catalans
            Institute of Catalan Studies

ILLENC	Institut de la Llengua i la Cultura de les Illes Balears
	Institute of Language and Culture of the Balearic Islands (formerly,
	Institute of Balearic Studies, IEB)
LNL	Llei de normalització lingüística de les Illes Balears
	Linguistic Normalisation Law of the Balearic Islands
MÉS	MÉS (political coalition)
NSPC	No som Països Catalans
	We are not Catalan Countries (Facebook Page)
OCB	Obra Cultural Balear
	Balearic Cultural Work
Podem	Podem (political party)
PP	Partido Popular
	Popular Party
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
RAE	Real Academia Española
	Royal Spanish Academy
TIL	Tractament Integrat de Llengües
	Integrated Treatment of Languages (schooling system reform)
Toc·Toc	Revista Toc·Toc Balears
	Toc·Toc Balears Magazine
UIB	Universitat de les Illes Balears
	University of the Balearic Islands
UPyD	Unión, Progreso y Democracia
	Union, Progress, and Democracy

Note to the reader on quotations and transcription

The originals of all Catalan and Castilian quotes that appear in English in the body of the text are given in footnotes. Given that most of these media and academic sources are in Catalan language, I use *italics* to represent those in Castilian. I use the same convention for translations and originals appearing in footnotes. All translations to English are my own except where noted.

In data extracts from both social media and interviews, I will use the same regular/*italics* convention as in quotes to represent Catalan and Castilian. The originals are offered along with the English translation. In all extracts and for both languages, I will not mark non-standard features.

In extracts from social media, Catalan regional variation remains unmarked in order to avoid making choices throughout the data concerning linguistic nature, especially taking into consideration the blurry boundaries between varieties. The Introduction illustrates this issue.

The transcription format for interview extracts follows the conventions in Woolard (2016), which "are not intended for close interactional or sociolinguistic analysis" (p. xxi). I only represent with non-standard spelling the most salient phonological features of regional variation of Balearic vernaculars. The first initial of the interviewees' pseudonyms identifies their turns. The transcription key for interview extracts is the following:

Transcription key

(.)	short pause
(word)	uncertain transcription
(())	analyst's comment, clarification, or substitution
...	material omitted
:	elongation of speech segment
=	latched speech, no pause

A Mallorca, no enyorar és gairebé
subversiu.

In Majorca, not being nostalgic is
almost subversive.

> Nanda Ramon, epilogue to *Els
> carnissers*, by Guillem Frontera

¿Qui creurà en la nostra existència,
sinó nosaltres? Siguem radicalment
optimistes: nosaltres i la nostra
cultura no ens podem morir, ni ens
poden matar, perquè ja estem
morts.

Who will believe in our existence,
but us? Let us be radically
optimistic: neither us nor our
culture can die, nor can we be killed,
because we are already dead.

> Josep-Anton Fernàndez, *El malestar
> en la cultura catalana*

Chapter 1

Introduction

Javier	June, 2015
Cuan era petit a s'escola teniem prohibit xerra Mallorqui,me daren mes de dues bufetades per axo..cuan feia sa "mili" en xerra Mallorqui me deien"*polaco habla español*"! Yara a n'es 60 anys que puc expresarme lo millo que se,veniu tu Marta y Carlos a rectificarme.sempre estic agrait de aprenda,pero mai amb befas.voltros si que ho sou un atentat..¿qui vos pensau que sou? No teniu vergonya.anau a aprenda civisme,y si no, a porga fum.	When I was a kid we were forbidden to speak Majorcan, I was given more than two slaps for this... when in the military service I spoke Majorcan they'd tell me "*Pole, speak in Spanish*"! And now when I'm 60 years old when I can express myself the best I know, you, Marta and Carlos, come to correct me. I'm always happy to learn, but never with mockeries. You are the ones who are an attack... Who do you think you are? You have no shame. Go and learn civility, and if not, get out.

The ramifications that language minoritisation has on speakers can be bewildering, as the above text illustrates. Someone called Javier wrote this text in a social media site of a language activist association from the Balearic Islands, Spain, where Catalan and Castilian are the official languages. Javier responded to two people, Marta and Carlos, who had corrected and mocked the non-standard Catalan that Javier had used in a previous comment to endorse this association. Javier, who says he is 60 years old, compares Marta and Carlos's behaviour to two other experiences when

he was sanctioned for "speaking Majorcan". First, in school, where the repression of cultural and linguistic diversity that characterised Franco's fascist regime was harshly applied. Second, during his military service, when the code-switching command to "Spanish" came together with the branding "Polish", a well-known derogatory insult in Spain addressed to Catalan speakers which stresses the presumed unintelligibility of Catalan. In turn, Marta and Carlos's correction is explained by the gradual establishment of Catalan schooling—and consequent literacy spread—in the Balearic Islands after Franco's regime. Javier draws a link between policing practices enacted for completely different reasons which illustrates the difficult conditions that Catalan speakers have faced during the 20th century.

The backdrop against which this interaction took place is the social media site of the language activist association Foundation Jaume III (*Fundació Jaume III*), which claims that 'Balearic' must share an official status with Castilian in the Balearic Islands as its authentic autochthonous language variety, instead of the current Catalan. What were Javier, Marta, and Carlos *doing* there? What did activists from the association think of their exchange, and how did they react, if so? What did Javier mean when he finished his text impolitely inviting Marta and Carlos to "get out"? Get out, from where? Why were *they* to get out, and not Javier, if need be? These questions become relevant in light of the recent developments concerning language politics in the Balearic Islands, where linguistic dissidence, spearheaded by the Foundation Jaume III and understood as a linguistic dissidence that opposes the Catalan hegemonic belief and its standard model, has surfaced in public debates as never before.

This thesis addresses the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands, that is, the establishment of this belief in the socio-political field of the archipelago. Given that the Catalan belief is academically and culturally hegemonic in Balearic society, linguistic dissidents departed from a marginal social position that saw in social media the means for the materialisation, organisation and gradual crystallisation of their activism. Consequently, this study focuses on the social media activity of the three language activist associations that have played a role in the recent institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands, as social media allowed them to implement dissident ideas, meet supporters, and advance their sociolinguistic—and political—goals. Additionally, this dissertation explores the implications that this event represents for Catalan standardisation. What does the institution of linguistic dissidence tells us about the Balearic linguistic market? How should social actors in favour of Catalan take into account these recent events? Precisely, these topics were addressed to language planners working at different institutional levels in the

Balearic Islands. Their interviews were designed to approach the other side of the story and thus fully grasp the changing ideological conditions for Catalan speakers in the archipelago.

1.1 Language politics in the age of social media

The intensification of globalisation of the last decades manifests itself in societal changes all around the globe, for example, in terms of human mobility and modes of communication. The range of options for people's identification widens as mobility and the self-configuration of communication networks allow to sustain and cultivate individual autonomy (Castells, 2012)—which may not coincide with institutional governance plans. Both mobile and dwelling people encounter changing cultural conditions that destabilise many of the long-standing ways that they used to identify themselves—and 'others'—and make sense of their shared reality. These identity developments explain why some politicians appeal to traditional and static authenticities in rapidly diversifying constituencies, such as Trump in the USA or Le Pen in France.

One of the prime categories available for identity workings is language, which has been, and still is, a primary defining feature for people's identity and group definition (Anderson, 1983). In most parts of the world since modernity, language standardisation has been the dominant way to define human groups on the basis of language (Costa, De Korne, & Lane, 2017; Joseph, 1987; J. Milroy & Milroy, 1999). Standardisation is an attempt to homogenise the linguistic repertoires of people that ultimately seeks to produce ideological effects, establishing boundaries with speakers of other linguistic varieties (J. Milroy, 2001). Some speakers, however, may engage in re- or de-standardisation efforts (Auer, 2005). During recent years, these notions have been of the interest of sociolinguistic scholarship (e.g., Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011; Lane, Costa, & De Korne, 2017), given their role in identity power plays.[1]

The Balearic Islands are an excellent setting to examine how the identity struggles of our societies find in language a stage for public political contention. As I will soon show, in the increasingly diverse Balearic society, central identity categories are currently in question. A few social actors address these matters by debating *language*, specifically, Catalan standardisation (see Duane, 2017a). These actors put Catalan standardisation into question to influence identity affiliations and thus further their political interests. In this way, the Catalan language becomes a site of

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[1]One of the largest sociolinguistic conferences in 2015, which was held in Hong Kong, was entitled "The Sociolinguistics of Globalization: (De)centring and (de)standardization".

political struggle. The exploitation of language for identity struggles is something recurrent in history, as the neighbouring cases of Valencia (Pradilla, 2004), Catalonia (Woolard, 2016), and Corsica (Jaffe, 1999a) exemplify, but the Balearic case that I present here accounts for how social media allows a handful of language activists to prompt specific *language ideological debates* (Blommaert, 1999).

In our current communicative context, social media have become crucial for all sorts of social activism (Castells, 2012; Juris, 2008), as the examples of the Spanish 15M, #Occupy Wall Street, and the 2011 Arab Spring show (see Juris, 2012; Poell, Abdulla, Rieder, Woltering, & Zack, 2016). Dissident language activists in the Balearic Islands are not an exception in this regard, as they attempt to influence Catalan standardisation intensively using social media. An analysis of their social media activity shows the potential—and hazards—that these networks have for sociolinguistic struggles over identity.

1.2   The Balearic Islands

The Balearic Islands are an archipelago located in front of the Eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The four inhabited[2] islands are, in descending order in respect to their size, Majorca (*Mallorca*), Minorca (*Menorca*), Eivissa (*Eivissa* in Catalan, *Ibiza* in Castilian),[3] and Formentera (*Formentera*) (see Figure 1.1). Majorca and Minorca can be further grouped as the Gymnesian Islands, and Eivissa and Formentera as the Pityusic or Pine Islands. Majorca is larger than all the other islands combined and around 250 kilometres separate Minorca and Formentera, the two most distant islands.

The Balearic Islands constitute one of the seventeen autonomous communities of the Kingdom of Spain. Since the end of Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), autonomous communities are the first-level of political and administrative divisions in Spain. They have legislative chambers that elect regional executives, while their powers are determined by their corresponding statutes of autonomy,[4] normally including education, autochthonous language policy, and social welfare, among other competences.[5] For the purpose of this study, it is important to mention that, in

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[2]There are several other uninhabited islets, such as Cabrera.

[3]In this study, I choose the autochthonous form 'Eivissa' to refer to the island.

[4]The Balearic Islands reformed its Statute of Autonomy in 2007, in which they became considered a "historical nationality" ("nacionalitat històrica"). Chapter 2 will illuminate the historical reasons for such denomination.

[5]There are increasing tensions between the central State administration and autonomous communities regarding to which degree the latter can not only execute, but also *decide* on competences.

1986, the regional Balearic chamber passed legislation, still valid today, to "normalise" (i.e., "revitalise") the Catalan language and culture after almost 40 years of Francoist repression, on which I will later elaborate.

Figure 1.1: Map of the Balearic Islands and their location.

In the 2016 census, there were 1,107,220 inhabitants in the Balearic Islands, of which almost 78% (861,430) of them resided in Majorca (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, n.d.-b). The increase in population dramatically accelerated in the Balearic Islands after the 1950s,[6] when the region began a quick shift from a long-standing agricultural economic model dominated by landowners to one strongly based on mass tourism.[7] In 2016, the Balearic Islands received more than 15 million tourists, more than ever before (Agència de Turisme de les Illes Balears, 2017). The unprecedented economic growth of tourism demanded workforce from outside the archipelago, to the point when, by 2016, over 44% of the population had been born outside the Balearic Islands (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, n.d.-b). The profile of this workforce has changed during the years, from migrants from the rest of Spain during the first decades of tourism to migrants from other countries after the turn of the century. Whereas by 1998, 26.6% of the Balearic population had been born in other Spanish autonomous communities and 6.8% abroad (Instituto Nacional

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[6]Between 1960 and 2014, the population in the Balearic Islands increased 258% (246% in Majorca, 148% in Minorca, 495% in Eivissa, and 414.5% in Formentera), while, as a comparative index, Spain's increased 150% during the same period (Govern de les Illes Balears, Universitat de les Illes Balears and Generalitat de Catalunya, 2017).

[7]Nowadays, tourism is the main industry of the region, representing almost 45% of its GDP in 2014 (Exceltur and Govern de les Illes Balears, 2014).

de Estadística, n.d.-a), by 2016, these figures had become, respectively, 22.5% and 21.7% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, n.d.-b).

The outreach and depth of the societal, cultural, and environmental changes that mass tourism involved were radical. Nanda Ramon (2016), referring to Majorca, speaks of "the subversion of an immutable order", as tourism "definitely ousts the traditional economic structures, [it] produces a major exodus towards Palma and the coastal areas, and the emerging social class—the tourist bourgeoisie—replaces what had been the ruling class until then, the landowner aristocracy" (p. 201).[8] The new economic elites that tourism forged, and which nevertheless included part of the traditional Majorcan nobility, benefited during Francoism from economic, social, and political privileges that explain their full integration in the power structure of the Spanish State (Jordà, Colom, & Mayol, 2016, pp. 39–40). The speed of the economic model change left its mark on society. According to Ramon (2016), "[t]he new scenario, radically distinct after centuries of immobilism, and the brief period for the adaptation of changes, cause an outlook of generalised dissatisfaction" (p. 213),[9] while Joan Pau Jordà, Joan Colom, and Gabriel Mayol (2016, p. 39) argue that such pace partly explains the tendency for conservatism of Balearic society, especially Majorcan.

Two political paradigms coexist nowadays in the Balearic Islands regarding the culture, identity, and national affiliation of its people (Jordà et al., 2016). One foregrounds the Hispanic frame while the other the Catalan one. On the one hand, the hegemonic vision, promoted by political and economic Majorcan elites since the 19th century, assumed

> a regional identity with a marked cultural specificity, but which did not enter in contradiction or conflict with a Spanish national identity. This folkloric and subsidiary regional identity served as an efficient means to integrate the Spanish national spirit, as well as its cultural and political frame. (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 20)[10]

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[8]"desbanca definitivament les estructures econòmiques tradicionals, es produeix un fort èxode cap a Palma i les zones costaneres, i la classe social emergent—la burgesia turística—substitueix la que havia estat fins aleshores la classe dirigent, l'aristocràcia terratinent".

[9]"El nou escenari, radicalment distint després de segles d'immobilisme, i l'escàs temps d'assimilació dels canvis, provoquen un panorama d'insatisfacció generalitzada".

[10]"una identitat regional amb una marcada especificitat cultural, però que no entrava en contradicció i conflicte amb una identitat nacional espanyola. Aquesta identitat regional folklòrica i subsidiària va actuar com un eficaç instrument d'interiorització del sentiment nacional espanyol i del seu marc polític i cultural".

Usually, proponents of this *regional identity* that fits with the Hispanic frame did not consider the normalisation of Catalan culture and language as a political priority, but they were not hostile to it either—at least, until 2011, as I will soon explain. On the other hand, since the end of the 19th century, there has been another vision, known as political *Majorcanism* (*mallorquinisme*), that promotes an alternative national identity based on the cultural and linguistic Catalan character of Majorca and on the defence of the political autonomy of the islands.[11] Nowadays, Majorcanism, which can be considered the insular version of Catalanism—though not being exactly the same—, also defends an economic model that moves away from the dependence on mass tourism (2016, p. 21).

According to Jordà et al. (2016), sociological data allow to define, with precaution, the socioeconomic distribution of these two political paradigms:

> [W]e can say that a managerial position or a non-qualified worker are more likely to feel more Spanish than Majorcan, and that, on the contrary, it is among the farmers, the small business owners, the technicians, and the mid-level positions where we find a higher average of individuals who exclusively feel insular.[12] (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 34)

Regarding geographic distribution, Jordà et al. (2016) also suggest that is more likely that an individual feels exclusively Majorcan if he or she lives in a small location (in which case there are also more chances that he or she will support Catalan normalisation, i.e., the institutional efforts to restore the status of Catalan after Francoism).

A crisis of identification

Josep-Anton Fernàndez (2008) argues that, in Catalonia, the normalisation of Catalan culture aimed at reverting the effects of Franco's regime has caused a crisis of identification.[13] Roughly put, the project of normalisation tries to reconcile two contradictory ambitions: the capitalisation on the identity and symbolic values of

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[11]This conception, which includes all the archipelago, has its equivalent in Minorca with *Minorcanism* (*menorquinisme*).

[12]"podem dir que és més probable que un càrrec directiu o un obrer no qualificat se senti més espanyol que mallorquí, i que, de manera contrària, sigui entre els agricultors, els petits empresaris, els tècnics i els quadres mitjans on es donin els percentatges més elevats d'individus que se senten únicament illencs".

[13]Fernàndez argues that, in fact, normalisation has caused a typically postmodern triple crisis that I review in Chapter 7.

Catalan[14] with the de-ethnicisation of Catalan identity required for market creation in a context of intense migration. Consequently, there are multiple competing discourses about Catalan identity that have short-circuited Catalan identity itself. I argue that, in the similar *normalising* context of the Balearic Islands, analogous processes are also taking place. I identify three different indicators from the political, academic, and cultural fields which all point to a crisis of identification in Balearic culture.

The first indicator is the political developments of recent years in the Balearic Islands which focus on the role of the Catalan language in Balearic society. As I will further explain in Chapter 2, a *regionalist* government was elected in the archipelago in 2011 which, as it had announced, furthered the dismantlement of Catalan normalisation, undermining the language's symbolic value in society. This programme, however, encountered enormous resistance from very different segments of society, in the form of massive demonstrations (including the largest in the history of the archipelago), manifestos, and strikes. To some extent, the government's hostile stance against Catalan was responsible for it not being re-elected, according to political commentators (see Manresa, 2015a, 2015b). These political dynamics surrounding the cultural and societal role of the Catalan language suggest that identity is an area of public contention in Balearic society.

A second indicator, from the academic scene, is the publication, in 2016, of *Shared dreams. A debate on Majorcan identity* (*Somnis compartits. La identitat mallorquina a debat,* Jordà et al., 2016), a work that reached regional media (Mateu, 2016) and that I use in this study. This essay, written by three Majorcan and *Majorcanist* thinkers born after 1985, addresses the questions "[i]s it possible to speak in the 21st century of a shared identity? Even more, is it possible to do it in the case of a society as complex and heterogeneous as the Majorcan one?" (Rico i García, 2016, p. 9).[15] The authors advocate for the central role of the Catalan culture and language in Balearic societies, though abandoning resistance discourses and ethnolinguistic conceptions of identities. All in all, the publication of this essay speaks for itself about the ongoing crisis of identification, as it evidences how Majorcan intellectuals are addressing the dissolving consensus around what it means to be Majorcan.

The third indicator, from the cultural sector, is the unexpected success of a play called *Acorar* (to slaughter a beast by stabbing its heart, in Catalan), produced by a small Majorcan theatre group and written by Majorcan Toni Gomila (1973). *Acorar* has continuously been performed since its premiere, in 2011, until today, amounting

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[14]These values were imbued with a discourse of resistance during Francoism (Fernàndez, 2008).

[15]"És possible parlar en el segle XXI d'una identitat compartida? Encara més, és possible fer-ho per al cas d'una societat tan complex i heterogènia com la mallorquina?"

to 370 performances, of which around 235 have been in the Balearic Islands.[16] In 2013, *Acorar* won one of the most prestigious theatre awards in Catalan culture,[17] and, in 2015, a documentary was released about the "phenomenon" of its success. *Acorar* is a monologue about the drastic changes of Majorcan society during recent years, and in which losing the vernacular plays a crucial role. By representing a day of *matances*, the traditional Majorcan ritual of pork slaughtering, which does not turn out well, the play is a "reflection about the collective identity of peoples, about what it is that defines us, what makes it possible that—still—our community may exist",[18] as the theatre group's website describes itself. The most known passage of the play are its final words,[19] which function as a postface where the lead voice addresses the audience. They are of special relevance to fully grasp the ongoing crisis of identification in Balearic society:

> We first silenced and forgot the songs.
>
> We then closed our eyes and forgot the landscape.
>
> And now I don't know if we still have time left or if we ought to get used to living in a shadeless desert.
>
> Nor do I know whether we will find any fertile parcel in this arid wasteland and, if we happen to find it, we'll have to burn brambles and shrubs, and... all the known definitions of *lo nostro* [*what's ours*].[20] (Gomila, 2012, p. 57)

In this passage, the voice critically reviews the changes that Majorcan society has gone through in recent years. The first line addresses the loss of the vernacular, which relates to the accelerated decrease of use of Catalan that the next section will

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[16]Most of the remaining 135 representations have been in Catalonia, except around ten that have been performed, in Spanish, in the rest of Spain and South America. There are plans to continue playing *Acorar* in 2018, including performances in Palma, as well as a Latin American tour. The theatre group sent me all this information in a personal communication in November 2017.

[17]The *Premi Crítica Serra d'Or de Teatre*.

[18]"reflexió sobre la identitat col·lectiva dels pobles, sobre què és allò que ens defineix, què és allò que fa que—encara—existeixi la nostra comunitat".

[19]The essay that was presented as a second sign of the identification crisis (Jordà et al., 2016), uses this passage as an epigraph.

[20]"Primer callàrem i oblidàrem ses cançons.

Després vàrem cloure es ulls i oblidàrem es paisatge.

I ara no sé si encara hi som a temps o si mos hem d'avesar a viure dins un desert sense cap ombra.

I tampoc no sé si trobarem cap racó fèrtil dins aquest ermàs, i si el trobam haurem de cremar batzers, i romaguers, i... totes ses definicions conegudes de *lo nostro*".

expose, while the next two lines refer to the cultural ('forgetting') and environmental consequences of tourism. The final paragraph questions the audience and proposes how to reverse the presented pervasive situation. The repairing action has a material and a symbolic dimension. First, having to burn useless and fruitless weeds that occupy what otherwise would be a fertile land is a reference to the need of tuning down the economic model of mass tourism. Second, and most crucially, the voice compels the audience to abandon "all the known definitions of *lo nostro*".

Lo nostro, which uses non-standard features of Majorcan linguistic varieties and which roughly translates into 'what is ours', is a Majorcan expression that refers to the folkloric dimension of Majorcan identity. *Lo nostro* does not entail any kind of edification or cultural recognition, but only a circumstantial celebration of superficial features of Majorcan identity, such as gastronomy. This folkloric dimension has traditionally been promoted by political proponents of the *regionalist* identity presented above, and here it is seen as co-accountable for the surrender of Majorca to tourism. For the author of the play, Majorca is becoming unrecognizable for the benefit of an economic exchange that makes an abusive and superficial material and symbolic use of Majorca and its symbols (see Fernàndez, 2008, p. 113). Redemption requires leaving behind *lo nostro*.

These words in *Acorar* will echo in forthcoming pages. For now, the phenomenal success of this play is another sign of the crisis of identification in Balearic society, where political, academic, and cultural actors find themselves at an identity crossroads after decades of a combination of mass tourism, shifting migration, and institutional cultural normalisation. Linguistic dissidents, as I will show, also engage with this crisis.

1.2.1   The sociolinguistics of the Balearic Islands

In the Balearic archipelago there are two main linguistic systems in contact, Catalan and Castilian. The autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands is Catalan, as a result of a medieval process of conquest and colonisation (Chapter 2 will further detail this and other historical processes). The 1983 and 2007 Statutes of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands stipulate the official status of Catalan as legally "the own language"[21] of the region. Usually, people name their vernacular according to their corresponding island, as Majorcan (*mallorquí*; see Javier's text, above), Minorcan (*menorquí*), Eivissan (*eivissenc*), and Formenteran (*formenterenc*),[22] considering

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[21]"la llengua pròpia". See Woolard (2016) to grasp the political connotations of this term.

[22]Speakers from the Pine Islands (and also Majorca, in the past) also call their speech '*pagès*' (peasant), which attests the rural connotations that Catalan historically carried faced to Castilian.

them varieties of the Catalan language.[23] The official status of Catalan is shared with the Castilian language, on the basis that it is the official language of the Spanish State ('Castilian' is the language commonly referred as 'Spanish', especially outside of Spain [see Woolard, 2008]).

The fascist Franco dictatorship (1939–1975)[24] is fundamental to understanding the current sociolinguistic situation in Spain, as it explains the nature of regional language policies ever since the restoration of democracy in 1978. The following lines capture the reach and nature of the dictatorship's symbolic and physical repression of Catalan culture:[25]

> [T]o say it plainly, Catalan culture, as a field of production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods (that is, as the combination of writers, intellectuals and artists, critics, technicians, scientists, journalists, school teachers, university professors, and the public user of cultural products, institutions, publications, spaces, meeting points, symbols, languages, social practices, habits, etcetera, all of them identified to a greater or lesser extent with the project of national culture construction), was officially abolished *insofar as its Catalan identity*.[26] (Fernàndez, 2008, p. 36, emphasis in original)

When democracy was restored, minoritised regional movements across Spain considered that public institutions had to play a role in reversing the effects of the monolingual language policy enforced by the dictatorship. The process of language and culture reclamation took the name of "normalisation" (see Boix-Fuster & Vila-Moreno, 1998). In the Balearic Islands, where most of Balearic society was still bilingual in Catalan, the regional chamber unanimously passed a Linguistic

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[23]In official documents, these insular labels are vaguely referred to as "modalitats insulars". For example, article 35 of the 2007 Statute of Autonomy mentions the "Catalan insular modalities, from Majorca, Minorca, Eivissa, and Formentera" ("modalitats insulars del català, de Mallorca, Menorca, Eivissa i Formentera").

[24]Franco's coup succeeded in the Balearic Islands in 1936, except for in Minorca, which came under control of the regime in 1939.

[25]Additionally, the relegation of Catalan to the status of an inferior household tongue "affected adversely the unity of the language in its different regions and also was a disunifying factor between the literary norm and everyday speech" (Azevedo, 1984, p. 319).

[26][P]er dir-ho sintènticament, la cultura catalana, com a camp de producció, distribució i consum de béns culturals (és a dir, com a conjunt d'escriptors, intel·lectuals i artistes, crítics, tècnics, científics, periodistes, mestres d'escola, professors d'universitat, i públic consumidor de productes culturals, institucions, publicacions, espais, llocs de trobada, símbols, llenguatges, pràctiques socials, hàbits, etcètera, tots ells identificats en major o menor grau amb el projecte de construcció d'una cultura nacional), va ser abolida oficialment *en tant que catalana*.

Normalisation Law in 1986 that I will later review. Since then, Balearic institutions have tried to extend the knowledge and use of Catalan among society, most crucially, by gradually becoming the main language of instruction in schools.

Currently, after over 30 years of linguistic normalisation, there is a widening disparity between the knowledge and use of Catalan. Most of the Balearic population can understand, speak, read, and write in Catalan (96.8%, 80.5%, 83.5%, and 61.9%, respectively; the averages for Castilian are above 99% for all categories), according to the EULIB2014, an official government survey from 2014 the results of which have recently been published (Govern de les Illes Balears, Universitat de les Illes Balears and Generalitat de Catalunya, 2017). These averages have been gradually increasing during the last decades mainly as a result of Catalan schooling. *Knowing* the language, however, is not the same as *using* the language. A majority of the Balearic population selects Castilian as their most commonly-used language, as shown in Figure 1.2.[27] Nevertheless, Catalan has what the EULIB2014 calls "attraction capacity", as more people identify with Catalan than have it as their initial language, whereas Castilian shows the opposite tendency (surveys from Catalonia show a similar pattern).

Initial language
First language spoken at home: Catalan 37.9 | Castilian 48.6 | 3.6 | 9.9

Identification language
Language identified by respondents as their own: Catalan 40.5 | Castilian 47 | 4.6 | 7.9

Commonly-used language
Language most often spoken: Catalan 36.8 | Castilian 49.9 | 10.3 | 2.9

■ Catalan   ■ Castilian   ■ Catalan and Castilian   ■ Other situations
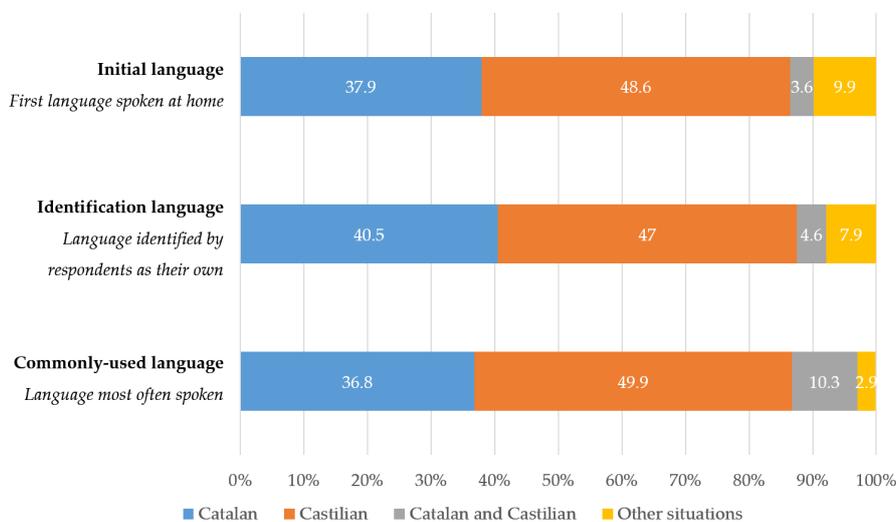
Figure 1.2: Initial language, identification language, and commonly-used language in Balearic population (EULIB2014).

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[27]There are remarkable differences within the archipelago in regard to initial language, identification language, and commonly-used language. For the three categories, Castilian is particularly dominant in Palma's metropolitan area and in Eivissa and Formentera, where as in the rest of Majorca and in Minorca Catalan surpasses Castilian (EULIB2014).

These two dimensions, knowledge and use of Catalan, show a diametrically opposed evolution. Whereas knowledge shows a positive tendency, the use of Catalan in the Balearic Islands has been continuously decreasing since the 1990s (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 33). For instance, the percentage of the respondents who had Catalan as their commonly-used language in 1991 was almost 70% (Bibiloni, 1998), which has decreased to nearly 37% in less than thirty years. The main reason for the stark decrease is the demographic changes resulting from migration.[28] Around 40% of the Balearic population has been born in places whose autochthonous language is not Catalan,[29] and they mostly adopt Castilian as their identification and commonly-used language (EULIB2014; see also Sastre, 2012).

Nevertheless, these demographic changes do not seem to affect the symbolic value of Catalan in Balearic society, as suggested by the language's "attraction capacity", especially, among newcomers' children (EULIB2014). Jordà et al. (2016) argue that

> islanders have managed to create strong social consensuses around the social role of the Catalan language and culture. These major agreements would have not been possible if a significant part of newcomers and Castilian speakers had not adopted, in one way or another, the language and some concern for and/or the promotion of the Majorcan insular identity.[30] (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 35)

Jordà et al. (2016) support this argument with findings from recent sociological surveys of several institutions, which, for example, suggest strong support for the role of Catalan in education across the population. Survey data also shows constant trends regarding insular identifications as an alternative to Spanish ones, which "would indicate a certain degree of integration of newcomers and/or an increase of national awareness of islanders" (2016, p. 33).[31]

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[28]The changes in the demographic composition of Balearic society also explain the average decrease of the use of Catalan with family members that the EULIB2014 reports.

[29]By 2014, almost 18% of the Balearic population was born in non-Catalan speaking areas of Spain (i.e., the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, and the Autonomous Community of Valencia) and over 22% abroad Spain (EULIB2014).

[30]"els illencs han estat capaços de teixir uns forts consensos socials entorn del paper social de la llengua i cultura catalanes. Aquests grans acords no haurien estat possibles sense que una part molt important dels nouvinguts i castellanoparlants hagin fet seva, d'una o altra manera, la llengua i la preocupació i/o promoció de la identitat insular de Mallorca".

[31]"indicaria un cert grau d'integració dels nouvinguts i/o un augment de la consciència nacional dels illencs'.

The Catalan language in the Balearic Islands

Peter Auer (2005) provides a historical perspective on Europe's constellation of languages, where Catalan fits into the most common standard/dialect relationship, the *diaglossic* repertoire, best imagined as a pyramid with the standard at the peak and vernaculars at the base. Instead of what happens in *diglossic* repertoires, where the standard variety and vernaculars are discrete units with clear functional distinction, diaglossic repertoires refer to a continuum between standard and vernaculars with no clear and abrupt point of transition (2005, p. 23). In between them, 'regiolects' and even regional standards can be identified (e.g., Swanenberg, 2011, 2018). The Catalan diaglossic repertoire in the Balearic Islands can be identified as follows. We find variability at the level of local vernaculars together with island regiolects such as Majorcan or Eivissan. Then, despite the absence of a fixed regional standard, the repertoire follows with the 'restricted standard' incorporating some features of Balearic varieties decided by the Institute of Catalan Studies (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, henceforth IEC), in collaboration with the University of the Balearic Islands (*Universitat de les Illes Balears*). The 'general standard' variety of the Catalan language finally is at the peak of the diaglossic repertoire pyramid.[32]

Catalan sociolinguistics distinguishes between the *normativa* and the *estàndard*, the former being "the standard as institutionally codified" and the latter as "the abstract notion of a shared, uniform code" (Frekko, 2009b, p. 163). Both are interrelated, since "the goal of the *normativa* is to achieve an *estàndard*" (2009b, p. 164), and the latter refers to what here is meant by 'standard'. The Catalan standard is based on the Central Catalonia varieties (Azevedo, 1984; Costa Carreres, 2009; Segarra, 1985), but, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, it allows *licensed variation* (Sebba, 2007, p. 30) to represent regional variation. From the perspective of pluricentricity (Clyne, 1992), Catalan can be considered a pluricentric language where Central Catalonia varieties are dominant (Casesnoves & Mas, 2015; Mas, 2012).

Balearic vernaculars differ from other varieties of Catalan at the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic levels (F. Moll, 2008; Veny, 1983). According to the most important dialectologist of the Catalan language, Majorcan Joan Veny, the main reason for the singularity of the Balearic dialectal group is its geographic isolation, which causes two interconnected processes:

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[32]Auer (2005) sets Catalan as an example of how the standard variety of a diaglossic repertoire may compete with an exoglossic standard: "the relationship between dialectal and standard Catalan is diaglossic, while the relationship between Castilian and dialectal Catalan is diglossic" (p. 24).

> [O]n one side, it triggers, after a stagnation of centuries, the firm rooting
> of all sorts of archaisms, and on the other, it leaves the door open, due
> to the relaxation of a norm, to an innovative boost, especially in the
> phonetic field (...). Both circumstances turn Balearic—we believe—into
> the most singular of the Catalan dialects.[33] (Veny, 1983, p. 73)

Archaism is accountable for the two linguistic aspects on which I now provide considerable detail: a couple of forms of verbal morphology and the definite article system, for which Balearic vernaculars are most known. From all the particularities of Balearic vernaculars, I only elaborate on these two aspects because, as they are salient compared to other Catalan varieties, dissident activists focus on them. Hence, discussion around these specific verbs and articles will constantly recur throughout this thesis and it is convenient that the reader becomes accustomed with them.

Two features stand out from the many singularities of Balearic vernaculars in regards to verbal morphology. First person verbs of the indicative present tense have no suffix, in contrast to all other Catalan varieties. For example, Balearic speakers produce '*jo cant*' ('I sing') instead of '*jo canto*' (general standard) or '*jo cante*' (Valencian standard). Additionally, in verbs ending in '-ar' (the most common form), the suffixes of the first and second persons plural of the same tense differ from other varieties: they produce '*cantam*' ('[we] sing') and '*cantau*' ([you plural] sing), instead of '*cantem*' and '*canteu*' (in the general and Valencian standard). All these verbal variations are normative and thus accepted in the restricted standard variety, a highly important matter, as we will later see.

A brief linguistic digression is necessary to introduce the definite article system of Balearic varieties, drawing on work by Joan Veny (1983) and Francesc de Borja Moll (2008). As a result of morphological and historical variations, there are two definite articles in Catalan. On the one hand, the *l-article* or 'literary article' is *el/la/els/les*, which is rooted in the Latin *illu/illa* (like most Romance languages). It is widespread in most of the Catalan language domain. On the other hand, the *s-article* is *es/sa/es/ses* (see Table 1.1), deriving from Latin *ipsu/ipsa* as it also occurs in Sardinian (Carlier & De Mulder, 2010). The *s-article* was widespread during the earlier stages of Catalan,[34] but it only remains prevalent in speech in

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[33]"d'un costat, abona, a través d'un immobilisme de segles, l'arrelament ferm d'arcaismes de tota casta, i de l'altre, deixa el camí obert, pel relaxament d'una norma, a l'impuls innovador, especialment en el camp de la fonètica (...). Ambdues circumstàncies fan del balear—creiem—el més singular dels dialectes catalans".

[34]*S-articles* appear fossilised in many place names in the mainland, like in Sant Joan Despí ('*des pí*', 'of the pine') or Sant Llorenç Savall ('*sa vall*', 'the valley'), hence attesting their former spread.

the Balearic archipelago—though with differences between islands—and in a few
northern coastal villages of Catalonia (Rabella, 2009). Experts, as well as the lay
public, call the s-article the *article salat* ("salty article") (e.g., Wheeler, Yates, & Dols,
1999), despite the unclear origin of the label (Veny, 1983). Speakers use the 'salty'
qualifier when they want to refer to its usage, as in "she is salting" (*ella està salant*).[35]
Henceforth, I will literally refer to the s-article as 'salty article'. The literary article
is also used in the Balearic Islands in two ways: in speech, only designating some
unique entities such as 'the sea' (*la mar*) or 'the bishop' (*el bisbe*), hours of the day,
prayers, traditional sayings, and some place names; and in written texts (with very
few exceptions, such as social media texts) and in formal uses of language.[36]

Table 1.1: System of the s-article or salty article in Balearic
varieties, based on Veny (1983).[37]

	Masculine singular	Feminine singular	Masculine plural	Feminine plural
+ cons.	es	sa	es	ses
+ vowel	s'	s'	es (ets)[*]	ses

[*] Variant for Majorcan and Minorcan varieties.

According to the *norms* for the Catalan language set by the IEC, the salty article
is correct. However, following the writing tradition of Catalan, the *standard* variety of
Catalan uses the literary article. 'Salting' is only accepted in informal *and* restricted
usage (that is, informal usage restricted to the Balearic area). Thus, *formal language
in the Balearic Islands uses the literary article.* This way, printed media and official
documents never use salty articles. Dissident activists, as we will see, target these
absences and defend the use of the salty article in all domains, including in written
language, disregarding the standard variety and its tradition. Such usage, though,
would not be completely strange for people in the Balearic Islands, since place and
trade names (e.g., restaurants and the main savings bank from the archipelago,
"Sa Nostra", which roughly translates as "Our [Savings Bank]") commonly use salty
articles—thus acquiring certain 'authentic' value from this practice.

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[35]Some speakers apply this way of referring to the *s-article* onto the *l-article*, as '*article lalat*' or
"*ella està lalant*".

[36]Some authors refer to this very specific article distribution in Balearic varieties as the "Balearic
article" (F. Moll, 2008; Radatz, 1989).

[37]This table represents the system of Eivissan vernaculars, which matches the protosystem of
Balearic varieties. Salty articles vary after certain prepositions (see F. Moll, 2008; Veny, 1983).

A close look at Catalan definite articles illustrates how setting boundaries between Balearic varieties and other Catalan varieties results in an arguably, blurry and overlapping distinction. As we will see, defining a linguistic form as exclusively 'Balearic', in opposition to 'Catalan', is problematic because these two categories contain one another without any clear distinction and because of variation *within* Balearic varieties. For instance, there is one town, Pollença (in the northern tip of Majorca, see Figure 1.1, p. 5), whose vernacular *does not use* the salty article. Instead, the Pollençan vernacular (*pollencí*) conserves the *illu/illa* article, though with its own variation: it produces '*u*' for singular masculine nouns instead of '*el*' (Veny, 1983, pp. 99–100). The salty article itself, which some label as 'Balearic', is not exclusive to the Balearic Islands—and not even *within* them.

Gonellisme

The variability of diaglossic repertoires such as the Catalan one implies that regional standards may split off from the general standard varieties. These processes of linguistic divergence are known as de-standardisation, regionalisation, or re-standardisation. They have much more to do with language ideologies than with structural distance, especially when language is a symbol of national identity (Auer, 2005, p. 26). Examples of these dynamics are Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian (2005, p. 26), Luxembourgish and German (Horner & Weber, 2008), or Galician and Portuguese (Pradilla, 2003), among many others. In these cases, the semiotic processes of *iconisation*, *erasure*, and *fractal recursivity*, which we will run into throughout this thesis, are "the means by which people construct ideological representations of linguistic difference" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 237).

The recent history of the Catalan language provides an example of partial linguistic divergence. In the 1980s, discourses of linguistic dissidence by Hispanicist parties were determinant in officialising the term 'Valencian' instead of 'Catalan' and in rendering significant political outcomes (Pradilla, 2004; Trudgill, 2004). It is a case of 'partial' divergence because, despite the name change, language planning institutions continue considering Valencian and Catalan as the same linguistic system.[38] On this subject, the EULIB2014 survey shows that almost 81% of the Balearic population agrees that vernaculars from the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Andorra, and Catalonia are different ways of speaking *the same language* (while 12.7% disagree and 6.4% do not respond or do not know).[39] The level of education is the most relevant variable in

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[38]However, the different name has been instrumental to hinder the public interregional use of the language (see VilaWeb, 2017).

[39]In 2004, these figures were, respectively, 78.6%, 16.5%, and 5%.

this regard: support for the unitary belief decreases to 65.7% among the population with only primary education (while it increases to 89% among those with university education).[40] This matter will surface in forthcoming chapters.

The traditional name for linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands is *gonellisme*, after the public controversy triggered by the letters to the editor that someone using the pseudonym of Pep Gonella—hence *gonellisme*—wrote to a Majorcan newspaper in 1972 (Chapter 2 will reveal the identity behind Pep Gonella). Gonellisme, whose supporters are known as *gonelles* (singular, *gonella*), can be defined as:

> [A]n ideological tendency that oscillates between the critique of the excessive standardising influence of the Catalan language in Majorca and the negation that the Majorcan and Catalan vernaculars are part of the same linguistic system. According to the few studies about the topic, gonellisme would defend the distancing of Majorcan society from the linguistic and political Catalan project, in order to thus remain [Majorcan society] in the current status quo aligned with the Spanish project (Calaforra and Moranta, 2005).[41] (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 30)

Guillem Calaforra and Sebastià Moranta (2005) define the two poles between which *gonellisme* oscillates as the dialectalist tendency or *gonellisme stricto sensu* and the "anti-Catalan secessionism". In recent decades, anti-Catalan secessionism was minimally organised in a few very marginal associations, with no political support, as will be shown in Chapter 3. Given the hegemony of the belief that Catalan is the autochthonous language in the Balearic Islands, the main activist event of anti-Catalan secessionist associations was participating in Palma's carnival parades. This explains why, in 2009, Joan Costa Carreres (2009) wrote that "similar claims [to the Valencian secessionist ones] have also been made in respect of the Balearic variety, but these have been more diluted, and exploited politically with less effect" (p. 24).

Since 2013, however, and in a very particular political context, a number of activist groups and associations have appeared openly defending the postulates of dialectalist

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[40]Similarly, only 6% of those with primary education use the name 'Catalan' to refer to the language; among people with university education, this average increases up to 50%. In any case, we must take into account that an insular denomination does not entail a divergent belief (EULIB2014).

[41]"una tendència ideològica que oscil·la entre la crítica a l'excessiva influència estandarditzadora de la llengua catalana de Mallorca fins a la negació que la parla mallorquina i la catalana formen part del mateix sistema lingüístic. Segons els pocs estudis sobre el tema, el gonellisme defensaria l'allunyament de la societat mallorquina del projecte lingüístic i polític català per a mantenir-la, d'aquesta manera, en l'statu quo actual alineada amb el projecte espanyol (Calaforra i Moranta, 2005)".

gonellisme. These associations are Magazine Toc·Toc Balears (*Revista Toc·Toc Balears*), Foundation Jaume III (*Fundació Jaume III*), and Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands (*Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears*). These dissident language associations are responsible for the institution of linguistic dissidence in the archipelago and, as such, they are the main object of analysis of this dissertation. Activists from these associations promote an updated version of gonellisme. They use several labels to define themselves and their activism against what they see as the excessive standardising influence of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands. These labels are *neogonellisme* and its adjective form *neogonella* (plural, *neogonelles*), and *balearisme* and its adjective form *balearista* (Balearism and Balearist).[42] In the rest of this thesis, I will indistinctly use these terms to refer to these activists, associations, and activism (though, as I will show, neogonellisme and Balearism foreground different discursive aspects).

1.3   Theoretical frame

This thesis approaches the language-ideological dimensions of minority language standardisation, in this case, Catalan standardisation. Language ideologies can be defined as "the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language" (Errington, 2001, p. 110; see also Kroskrity, 2000, 2004; Woolard, 1998) and are sociocognitive constructs we all have. Scholarship has given names to many widespread language ideologies, such as the belief that there are purer words, accents, or language features than others—the ideology of purism (Thomas, 1991)—, the belief that there is a fixed, more correct variety for each language—the standard language ideology (J. Milroy, 2001)—, the belief that language repertoires can be divided into 'languages' or 'dialects', and that some of these are superior than others—the hierarchy of languages (see Weber & Horner, 2012, pp. 16–17)—, the belief that there should be a correspondence between nations and languages—the one nation-one language ideology (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998b; Schmidt, 2007), or the belief that certain languages are more appropriate for interaction with strangers—ideological linguistic interposition (Pujolar, 2010).

These ideas about linguistic repertoires and their speakers have much to do with linguistic value and authority, that is, the ways in which they both come to be seen as worthy and authoritative for people. In this regard, the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1982, 1991) and Kathryn Ann Woolard (1985, 1998, 2008, 2016) are especially

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[42]Another label they use is 'enlightened gonellisme' (*gonellisme il·lustrat*), which, as I will show, addresses the marginal position from which these associations depart.

relevant. Bourdieu's conceptualisation of society around fields that function as markets where different sorts of capitals attain different values and compete for legitimacy explains many sociolinguistic dynamics, especially, the role of institutions in value attribution. Woolard's framework, in turn, is suited for grasping the way languages underpin their linguistic authority, particularly in contexts of minoritised languages.

'Minoritised' languages and speakers are not so much a result of any quantification of speakers but, instead, should be seen in relation to power and dominance. The terms 'minority' and 'minoritised' may be used interchangeably (e.g., Lane et al., 2017), but in this thesis I chose the latter for ontological and critical reasons. First, 'minoritised' emphasises the constructed nature of groups categorised as 'a minority' (Costa et al., 2017, p. 8), which brings *history* to the surface and suggests how political and social dynamics may affect what is considered to be minoritised. For instance, would an hypothetical independent Catalonia entail a reconfiguration of what languages are minoritised, perhaps having to consider Castilian in such a way? Second, the term 'minoritised' alludes to how "the political, institutional, and ideological structures which can guarantee the relevance" (Nelde, Strubell, & Williams, 1996, p. 1) and use of, in this case, Catalan, are less prominent than the ones that can guarantee the relevance of the use of Castilian by the same speakers.[43] Traditionally, Catalan sociolinguistic scholarship has clearly distinguished between dominant and subordinated or 'minoritised' languages (see Boix-Fuster & Vila-Moreno, 1998), a standpoint known as 'sociolinguistics of conflict' (Aracil, 1965, 1982). It is from this view that sociolinguistic *normalisation* was conceived, as well.

Language standardisation is a particularly productive site for language-ideological research given the constant decisions or *stages* it involves (see Haugen, 1966) and, especially, its inherent contradictions. When James Milroy (2001, p. 543) seminally defined the standard language ideology as "an idea in the mind—it is a clearly delimited, perfectly uniform and perfectly stable variety—a variety that is never perfectly and consistently realized in spoken use", he was already picking out the basic contradiction in standardisation: the inescapable variability of speech and language turns standardisation into a never-ending and never-accomplished process. There is a second contradiction in which standardisation, though aiming for a homogenisation of linguistic repertoires, nevertheless creates heterogeneity as the standard becomes a normative reference for all vernaculars. Susan Gal (2006) has called this the 'recursions of standardisation'. Given these contradictions, standardisation always

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[43]A straightforward example is the 2013 decision of Spain's Ministry of Culture to only acquire e-books in Castilian for the digital loan system of public libraries (Ara, 2016; Riaño, 2016).

offers space for social actors' ideological-driven remedying or reorienting intervention, such as the one that neogonelles promote.

A productive way to study ideologies of standardisation is conceptualising standardisation as a 'language regime' (Gal, 2006), which can be considered as

> a set of individually internalized rules of conduct as well as the myriad actions and ideas that govern linguistic usages. The examination of standards is a way of understanding logics of action under regimes of standardization, including contestation of such a mode of regulating language. (Costa, 2017, p. 48)

This conceptualisation is useful to approach social contention over standards, as thinking of standard language regimes allows us to analyse under one same lens the standard practices of different actors and their governing logic. For example, James Costa (2017) uses this frame to understand how speakers of Scots inhabit a double language regime: a standard one as users of English and a non-standard language regime for Scots, where the former exerts great influence on the latter—despite the lack of a Scots standard variety. Whereas in standard language regimes the source of linguistic authority is supposed to rest outside the individual or the situation of communication, in non-standard regimes issues of locality and linguistic ownership come to the foreground for speakers. By analysing the case of Balearist language activism, this dissertation shows how the public defence of a standard regime for a set of vernaculars can paradoxically serve to advance a non-standard regime for them.

According to James Costa, Haley De Korne, and Pia Lane (2017), minoritised language standardisation differs from dominant language standardisation in three main ways. First, "the status of social actors involved [in minority language movements] and the goals of these movements are often at odds with the dominant linguistic hierarchy", and consequently, the "marginalised status as a point of departure creates a new motivation for standardisation (...) and new challenges" (2017, pp. 11–12). Chapter 2 shows how these power issues influence both the cases of Catalan (in respect to Castilian) and neogonellisme (in relation to Catalan). Second, the contemporary nature of minoritised language standardisation prevents its straightforward naturalisation and acceptance and thus allows for disagreement. Nowadays, standardisation efforts are accessible and visible and "states no longer have a monopoly over the production of legitimate knowledge" (2017, p. 12). As we will see, neogonella activists confront Catalan standardisation and engage in constructing a knowledge base underpinning their linguistic model. Third, the recognition of diversity that

imbues minoritised language movements entails that they normally have a positive view on linguistic diversity. Thus, "[a] desire for a pure, monoglossic norm may emerge in minoritised language communities (...), but it does not (or cannot) translate into the same monolingual outcome" (2017, p. 12). The regional variation licensed in standard Catalan and the polynomic model of Corsican (Jaffe, 2003) are examples of this feature of minoritised languages. All in all, in this dissertation we will see how dominant linguistic hierarchies, marginalised departure points, and the production of legitimate knowledge condition the legitimation and opposition to Catalan standardisation.[44]

Noticing the complexities involved in minoritised language standardisation should prevent researchers from directly assuming what Jacqueline Urla, Estibaliz Amorrortu, Ane Ortega, and Jone Goirigolzarri (2017) have called the 'reproduction thesis', a common claim which argues that "minority language movements tend to reproduce the values of dominant language ideology and, inadvertently, the inequalities and hierarchies these values entail" (p. 43). Elsewhere, I partly ascribed to this view (Duane, 2018), focusing on the tyrannies involved in any standardisation attempt. Indeed, minority language movements reproduce some of the values of dominant ideologies, such as the 'one nation-one language ideology' in the case of many Catalan advocates, but minoritised language standardisation demands taking into account other factors shaping the process:

> A careful social history of praxis, historical context, and the evolving
> linguistic market needs to accompany our analyses of the semiotic features
> of language ideology and discourse. One could say (...) that the conditions
> of minoritized languages and advocacy efforts are rarely rehearsals on
> a smaller scale of majority language dynamics. They generate ironies,
> predicaments, and innovations that need to be appreciated in their full
> complexity. (Urla et al., 2017, p. 43)

This is the kind of approach I undertake in this thesis. Accordingly, I follow the line of enquiry of Pia Lane, James Costa, and Haley De Korne (2017), who have recently argued for foregrounding the role of social actors in the development and use of standard languages, considering "standardisation processes as a political

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[44]An alternative view on these features, which draws on the sociolinguistics of conflict, distinguishes between *establishment* and *standardisation* (Lamuela, 1994). From this view, the non-establishment of minoritised Catalan in the Balearic Islands crucially affects the language's standardisation, for instance, fostering an "ideology of fragmentation" or regionally-based dissidence (Bibiloni, 1999).

domain where social actors use standards as semiotic resources for articulating discourses on society" (Costa et al., 2017, p. 2). Indeed, Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands is a changing arena where social actors further identity, cultural, and political discourses about Balearic society. I examine the Balearic linguistic market for Catalan, paying attention to standard language practices, their rationales, and receptions, mainly from challengers to the current standard variety, but also from their different advocates. Ultimately, such exploration aims at enlightening whether "the ideological systems that have supported attributions of standard and vernacular language may be crumbling, losing their potency or being restructured" (Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011, p. 13).

1.4 Empirical and ontological overview

The research question of this thesis is '*how has linguistic dissidence become established in the Balearic Islands and what does this process tells us about the current ideological dynamics of Catalan standardisation?*' The notion that inspired the way I organised my approach is 'language policing', defined as "the production of "order" [in language]—normatively organised and policed conduct—which is infinitely detailed and regulated by a variety of actors" (Blommaert et al., 2009, p. 203). From this view, I identify Balearic actors actively engaged in the reproduction of linguistic norms for the autochthonous language—that is, policing Catalan language. Among the actors appropriating the standard, I also consider individuals, such as Javier, as they are "embedded in sets of relations within different fields they seek to influence, modify or contest through their practices" (Costa et al., 2017, p. 14). Thus, I engage with *stance* (Jaffe, 2009c) and *agency*, roughly understood "the role(s) of individuals and collectivities in the processes of language use, attitudes, and ultimately policies" (Ricento, 2000, 2, p. 208).

As I will later explain, I conceive this thesis as an ethnographic study aimed at providing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of language dissidence as a manifestation of social behaviour, drawing particular inspiration from the ethnography of language policy (Canagarajah, 2006; Jaffe, 1999b; Lane et al., 2017). The implementation of language policy is not a straightforward process and must take into account the ideological and discursive appropriations of the social actors the policy was devised for. Ethnography can contribute to language policy research "by discovering and representing grounded, insider perspectives on linguistic needs and aspirations", and it "can also assess the effectiveness of policies by showing their local realizations" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 164). These are my intentions in this dissertation.

To achieve them, I analyse a wide range of social media activity from the Facebook sites or Pages[45] of each one of the three neogonella associations, where activists and Facebook users interact (among these users, we find both supporters and opponents to neogonellisme). Additionally, I also analyse a total of 16 interviews and my participation in a highly symbolic event of neogonellisme. The interview participants were neogonella activists (3), language planners (11), and Catalan advocates (2).

Research participants

The voices represented in this thesis are briefly introduced here. Antoni, Salva, and Miquel are the neogonella activists I interviewed. Antoni has been very involved with the three neogonella associations, while Salva with two of them. As for language planners, I interviewed four working at different institutions which have a regional scope: Biel and Carla are high ranking officials at two language-related bodies of the regional government; Caterina is a former Catalan language editor at the regional public media; and, Maria is a professor and a former language planner at the University of the Balearic Islands. Additionally, I also interviewed seven language planners working at insular and local institutions: Aina, Antònia, Guillem, Joana, Rafel, Ramon, and Xisca. Finally, I interviewed two Catalan advocates: Sebastià, a senior member of a long-standing Catalanist language association, and Josep, a Minorcan political and cultural figure.

Additionally, there are many other voices that I source from social media data, like the text by Javier that opened this Introduction. The information I will provide about them is restricted to what they disclosed in their comments on neogonella Facebook Pages. On some occasions, they will become relevant for the unfolding argument, such as with neogonellisme's supporter Coloma, or as with contenders to this dissident activism Dídac and Natàlia. Additionally, we will find that the voices of neogonella activists Antoni and Salva also appear in social media contributions.

Chapter 4 offers more detail on these data sources and on the array of decisions made to undertake the research. Before getting there, however, the reader will find that Chapters 2 and 3 already use extracts of individual comments from social media sites—such as Javier's—and of interviews. These usage of voices aims at enhancing the historical and mapping functions of these two chapters by engaging with data in a dialogical way.

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[45] As Chapter 4 will explain, the sites of neogonella associations on Facebook are 'Pages', according to Facebook's terminology (see footnote 4, p. 97).

Reflexivity

The epistemological position of ethnography requires researchers to enact a reflexive awareness throughout all stages of research. Ethnography is a position from which researchers observe society unfold. It is observed from an privileged standpoint, allowing access to the social beliefs and understandings that explain and shape social practices. Given the constructed nature of our experiences, ethnographers must fully recognise the scope of their particular social constructions to be conscious of how these might affect their work both at the level of observation and of final interpretation. Only in this way can we claim to reach any understanding. For this, a conscious position of the role of researcher is needed. In the particular case of this research, I must particularly reflect on my sociolinguistic beliefs and stances, and my associated views on linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands. I further explore these issues below, hoping that they were properly managed during my research.

Though being from the sociolinguistic hotspot of Barcelona, my interest in sociolinguistics developed while working in Quito, Ecuador in 2010, from the combination of three factors. First, I was puzzled over a series of political developments in Spain that problematised the collective political recognition of Catalan citizens. Simultaneously, I noticed that a part of my identity continuously remained unrecognisable in my new home. As Fernàndez (2008, p. 369) puts it, I was a Catalan, but as such I did not *exist*: being Spanish hid and somewhat undermined this part of my identity. Third, I was able to compare this feeling with the similar conditions of Kichwa speakers and culture, despite the differences between the Catalan and the Kichwa cases. I soon found myself involved with initiatives that promoted the use of the nearby Kichwa and the then very distant Catalan. This autobiographic note should speak for itself about my position in favour of minoritised languages and their speakers (a few years later, and in line with this stance, I also began learning and using Luxembourgish in my new home). My bond with the Balearic Islands is very personal, as Formentera became the summer base camp of the family in the 1970s—and still is. There, I saw and experienced, and still to date, how my family used their Catalan repertoires under rather similar conditions to those in Catalonia. In addition, I have travelled to the other islands on many occasions, mostly to Majorca.

From the combination of my origin, my stance towards minoritised languages, and my life experiences, I believe that the linguistic repertoires that are considered autochthonous in the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, and Valencia (among other places) are part of the same language, the so-called Catalan language. But, in addition to my accumulated experiences and learnings, above all, my *trust* in academia sustains this

belief. This trust is not a matter of faith, but of the coherence, systematicity, high-standards, and critical self-reflection that drive its knowledge production endeavour and which differentiate academic discourse from other discourses of representation. I am very much aware that, for this conceptualisation to make sense, I am *erasing* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) many differences between these linguistic repertoires. The same can be said of my belief about the varieties of Castilian or Spanish that I consider to exist in Barcelona and Quito, as I neglect the differences that exist between both speeches. In consequence, some kind of *iconisation* also takes place in these ideological workings.

I am in disagreement, however, with Balearist linguistic dissidence, for reasons that I hope will become clear in the following pages. Yet, I believe that my approach to linguistic dissidents has remained open and non-judgmental during this research—at least I have tried for it to be so. I always accessed neogonella texts with an open mind and willing to learn new things about the Balearic people, islands, and repertoires. And indeed, I have learned from neogonella activists and, thanks to them, I am also more critical of the ideological foundations that sustain my Catalan belief and the current model of standardisation. I thank neogonella activists for this. Especially in the first stages of my research, I felt more sympathetic to some of the claims of neogonelles, those that argue for more visibility of part of Balearic repertoires in standard varieties. With time, however, I have come to realise that the *interests* that neogonella activists promote, and which will soon be clear to the reader, are not aligned with mine. Their "defending the salty article" is not that innocent after all. For the moment, let me say that neogonelles' interest in Balearic varieties is not the only interest they further. To come to this realisation, my short but intense fieldwork in October 2016 was of particular importance, as I came to attain a clearer understanding of language politics in the field.

1.5   Organisation of thesis

It is necessary to comment on the ethnolinguistic categories and political-ideological positions that I will use going forward. Following emic usages, I use the construction 'Catalan speaker' and 'Castilian speaker' to refer to the way people are identified by their initial and/or dominant language.[46] In the Balearic Islands, as in Catalonia, these terms "are usually used for social categories rather than as strictly linguistic descriptors, but there is slippage in the usage" (Woolard, 2016, p. xix): while basically

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[46]In Catalan, these terms are *catalanoparlant* and *castellanoparlant*. In Castilian, they are *catalanohablante* and *castellanohablante*.

all 'Catalan speakers' also speak Castilian, 'Castilian speakers' often do not speak Catalan, and when they do, they are more likely to identify themselves as 'bilingual'. As for political-ideological positions, I use the term 'Catalanist' (from *catalanista*) for positions which are in favour of the promotion of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands.[47] It is important to stress that, additionally, for many people, this linguistic position goes in hand with a political position that advocates for the sovereignty of the archipelago, ideally in collaboration with other Catalan speaking regions, which from this view tend to be called 'Catalan Countries' (*Països Catalans*). Following Woolard (2016), I use the term 'Hispanicist' to categorise people, entities, and positions that I identify as Spanish nationalist. In addition, as mentioned above, I use the terms 'neogonella' (plural, 'neogonelles') and 'Balearist' to refer to this linguistic dissident position.

The following two chapters complete the contextual frame for contemporary Catalan language dissidence and policing in the Balearic Islands. Chapter 2 presents the most important historical episodes that social actors currently invoke to justify and explain their stances regarding the Catalan language. A special focus is on the history of the threads of linguistic dissidence in the archipelago, including the mysterious episode of Pep Gonella in 1972. This historical perspective will allow the reader to start connecting dissidence with Balearic politics and nationalisms. Chapter 3, in turn, is a mapping exercise of the most prominent public and private social actors currently engaged with Catalan standardisation, that is, enacting standard practices. I make a special effort to present the sociolinguistic stance of the three neogonella or Balearist associations that I focus on throughout this research. Along the way, I will bring pieces of data into the argument to begin unpacking related aspects of the analysis. When I do so, I refer to the appropriate section explaining the nature of the data.

Chapter 4 explains the design of the research. I describe the ethnographic foundations of my approach to then turn to the two sources of data collection. On the one hand, I introduce the features of the gathered social media activity of the three neogonella associations, distinguishing between its texts (posts and comments) and the participation traces it involves. On the other hand, I explain the rationales and the process of conducting interviews with a sample of language activists and, most importantly, 11 language planners and two advocates in favour of Catalan standardisation and normalisation. These exchanges were devised to obtain the perspectives that neogonelles respond to. I finalise the chapter unpacking the method

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[47]Catalanist political parties may also use the labels 'Majorcanist' or 'Minorcanist' to identify their positions, as explained above, but I use Catalanist for clarity.

of data analysis and the ethical provisions of the study.

The following three chapters present the findings of this thesis. The first two focus on linguistic dissidence, while the third one concentrates on Catalan language planners. Chapter 5 presents the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands as a struggle for legitimation of an alternative standard. Using the aforementioned frameworks of Bourdieu and Woolard, I expose the range of legitimation strategies that neogonella activists carry out to achieve recognition. These involve, mainly, the delegitimisation of alternative sociolinguistic stances and accumulation of symbolic capital. The struggle of neogonella activists requires considering, as well, the special relationship they have towards the value and the role of the Castilian language in the Balearic Islands.

Chapter 6 delves into the way neogonella activists inhabit Facebook. First of all, I present a 'Model post' as an example of the types of social practices hosted in this social media. Afterwards, using the notion of 'entextualisation' (Silverstein & Urban, 1996), I explain how neogonella activists use social media sites to attempt to define the Balearic linguistic field, by digesting public debates and refining sociolinguistic categories. In addition, social media are sites for the language policing by activists. The representational control afforded by these sites serves multiple sociolinguistic purposes for them. It allows them to construct a legitimacy conflict in the linguistic field and to interactionally construct themselves as the experts that identify such situation and can repair it. Such expertise also allows them to identify certain aged individuals as the legitimate speakers. Linguistically speaking, representational control allows activists to fixate the iconic value of features such as the salty article. The last section of the chapter shows, however, how these spaces also have their hazards for activists. Activists continuously stumble into the recursions of standardisation (Gal, 2006), and opponents to neogonellisme do not lose the opportunity to stress this contradiction. I also review the main arguments that opponents to dissidence use, and show the particular stance trajectory that some speakers show towards neogonellisme.

Chapter 7 addresses the challenges of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands that appear in the analysis of interviews with Catalan language planners and activists. In the first part, I present the obstacles that normalisation faces in the current context, distinguishing between those that stem from the subordinate condition of Catalan and those that relate to the implementation of normalisation itself. The rest of the chapter focuses on standard language orientations and practices by planners working at different institutional levels. I first argue that orientations and practices follow a vertical distribution across these levels. In the second part, I

delve into a set of standard practices that Xisca, a local language planner, spreads in her institutional Facebook site. The enormous social media resonance that these practices had suggests a need in the Catalan linguistic market, a need that precisely offers an explanation to the recent institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

Chapter 8 takes a step back, to bring together the findings from the previous chapters. I advance three arguments. The first one uses the notion of 'language regime' to better understand the paradoxical relationship between the claims and aims of neogonellisme. In second place, after relating the emergence of neogonellisme with the identification crisis in the Balearic Islands, I argue that an identification need in the linguistic market can be discerned from the behaviour of different social actors. The third argument engages with Urla et al. (2017) to discuss the role minoritisation in language standardisation. The institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands and the existence of an identification need in the linguistic market bear a relationship with Catalan's minoritised condition.

Finally, Chapter 9 summarises the thesis and concludes by identifying its three key contributions. These refer to Catalan sociolinguistics, to research on language standardisation, and to the epistemology of social media data.

Chapter 2

Historical background

The construction of "Golden Age" myths is highly significant for language standardisation (Joseph, 1987). In this chapter we will see how different interpretations of historical events in the Balearic Islands have significantly influenced projects of language standardisation, leading to the construction of different stances regarding the character of the autochthonous language. There are numerous historical periods that neogonella activists contest. Their disagreements are found to be predictably projected onto readings of local history. And thus, the neogonella or Balearist associations put forward their own versions of history to counter the most accepted and widely circulated ones.

The main historical periods that shape prevalent sociolinguistic meanings about the autochthonous language relate to the interplay between the history of the language, the linguistic, cultural, and geographical peripherality of the archipelago (both in relation to Catalonia and Spain), and politics in the Crown of Aragon and afterwards in the Kingdom of Spain. These main historical periods are the arrival of the Catalan language to the Balearic Islands (13th century), its "decadence" (16–19th century), and its "rebirth" and standardisation (19–20th century). This historical sequence explains the foundations of the social and cultural hegemony that support Catalanist stances until nowadays. In parallel, I will introduce some data to show how neogonella activists downplay the salience of Catalan culture in the history of the Balearic Islands. Finally, I historicise the three threads of linguistic dissidence in the archipelago to suggest that Balearic linguistic dissidence is concomitant to Hispanicism.

I draw on the general sociocognitive framework that Josep Massot i Muntaner (1972) provides regarding the historical relationship between the Majorcan people and their "autochthonous language" (*llengua autòctona*). According to him, and similarly

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to Calaforra and Moranta (2008), two types of linguistic awareness co-existed in
Majorca, a *unitary* and a *differential* one. From the point of view of the former,
Majorcan was a variety of the Catalan language, resulting from the settlement of
Catalan population which followed the *Reconquesta* and which I will soon present.
From the point of view of the latter, Majorcan could be linguistically perceived and
treated in some kind of isolation. Both types of awareness can be found in Balearic
sources of the last centuries, with varying degrees of prominence according to the
historical period and without necessarily being pitted against each other. As we will
see, one important caution to historical sources is that the meaning of old references
such as 'language', 'variety', or 'dialect' has changed over time (Ferrando Francés
& Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 104). For Massot i Muntaner, historical references to a
"Majorcan language" refer to the Majorcan variety of Catalan.

2.1   The arrival of Catalan

The autochthonous character of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands can be
traced to a historic point in time. The Crown of Aragon (12th century) originally
united the sovereign states of the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Barcelona.
During the 13th century, it expanded south from its original territories beneath the
Pyrenees, seizing territories that were under control of Muslim *taifas* (i.e., estates)
since the eighth century. In this way, King Jaume I conquered large portions of
the Iberian peninsula's Mediterranean coast and the Balearic archipelago (which
would thus be part of the Crown of Aragon until the 18th century, except for one
short period that I will address below). This historical event, which brought about
profound social changes in the conquered lands with the introduction of feudalism,
is known as the *Reconquesta*. The main language of the new rulers was Catalan, as
well as of most settlers that arrived to the Balearic Islands, mainly from Eastern
Catalan counties (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 125; Veny, 1983,
p. 80). These old mobilities are evidenced by some settlers' last names, which took
the name of their original Catalan villages, and are still common in Majorca and
Valencia. Nowadays, last names such as Barceló (from Barcelona) or Ripoll (a town
in Catalonia) are very much noticed in identity discussions in social media. As a
result of these events, both scholarship and the current legal framework concur that
the autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands is Catalan.

The 13th century *Reconquesta* initiated the creation of a maritime empire through-
out the Mediterranean and launched a very prolific period of cultural production in
Catalan language, with various centres such as Majorca, Valencia, and Barcelona,

the rise of prominent authors such as Ramon Llull, and important written works such as *Tirant lo Blanch* (15th century) or the first European code of maritime law (*Llibre del Consolat de mar*, 13th century). The Aragonese Crown's Royal Chancery fixated a unitary linguistic koinè that spread quickly for administrative and literary functions across the Crown (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, pp. 108–110). This resulted in a situation in which it is very hard to distinguish the geographic affiliation of texts from that time (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, pp. 109, 125; Veny, 2008; see also Alcover's similar view in Massot i Muntaner, 1985, p. 130).

In present times, the symbolism attached to the *Reconquesta* has been cardinal for many people, organisations, and political parties in the Balearic Islands, since it represents the event that launched and determined the current Catalan cultural character of the archipelago. For example, in 2016, Majorca's Council officially declared December 31st as the island's annual celebration, which is the date that commemorates the capitulation of Palma, then Medina Mayurqa, in front of King Jaume I in 1229.[1] However, when I interviewed Aina, a local Majorcan language planner,[2] she was disturbed about an anonymous email written in Castilian that she had recently received, complaining about the institutionalisation of this festivity and questioning the consequent Catalan affiliation of the island. The email, which I had access to, was representative of the alternative interpretations about the symbolic meaning and the cultural implications of the *Reconquesta* that circulate among neogonella Facebook sites.

Neogonella activists question three main aspects of the *Reconquesta* in order to diminish its historical significance. First, they negate the transcendence of the Catalan resettlement by arguing that Catalans were a minority among all settlers, since these included all sorts of origins, such as Aragonese and Occitan (cf. Veny, 1983, p. 80). Second, they defend that autochthonous Balearic people already existed before the settlement. In this account, indigenous Christian people kept their Romance speech during the Muslim rule,[3] and this would have crucially shaped current Balearic vernaculars. Linguistic scholarship, however, has proven otherwise (e.g., Veny, 2003, p. 842; Veny, 2008, p. 142). Together, these two arguments aim to discredit the 'Catalan repopulation of the archipelago', and, extensively and more crucially, the widespread belief that Catalan is the autochthonous language of the archipelago.

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[1]This celebration goes back to the 13th century, thus it is one of the oldest civil celebrations in Europe (Alomar i Canyelles, 1998).

[2]See Section 4.3.1 (p. 112) for more on interview participants.

[3]In historical terms, these indigenous take the name of 'mozarabs'.

A third argument targets the political implications of the *Reconquesta* by identifying another historical event whose connotations define Balearic dimensions in opposition to Catalan ones. From 1276 to 1349, the Kingdom of Majorca (that included the continental Roussillon and the estate of Montpellier—together now part of France) was an independent state as a result of complex dynastic developments. In 1349, the Crown of Aragon regained control of the archipelago after winning the Battle of Llucmajor where Jaume III, the last King of Majorca, was killed. The resistance to a political power whose capital was Barcelona works allegorically in the current context for some people who perceive a threatening Catalan nationalism in the Balearic Islands. Balearist associations appoint a resisting symbolism to King Jaume III, reason for which one of them is called Foundation Jaume III and why they organise an annual tribute in his honour every October 25th at the site of the mentioned battle. For these associations, language is the means to redefine cultural and political affiliations and, above all, identity in the Balearic Islands. Another way of diminishing the *Reconquesta* emphasises that the archipelago was considered part of Hispania in Roman times, which would prove its previous relationship to Spain.

The ways that Balearist associations interpret the *Reconquesta* exemplifies how they apply a *discourse of linguistic history* (Duane, 2017a). That is, activists use history as a source for the justification of a particular stance-taking, selecting historical events that reinforce such stance and reviewing and undercovering historic events that official, scholarly, and hegemonic discourses may have allegedly not paid attention to. Activists construct historic materials that are presented without making reference to the shared historical background with the former Crown of Aragon, and if they do, they carry negative connotations. Their arguments are 'eminently' Balearic or they are sublimely integrated within a Spanish frame, as can be seen from their references to Roman Hispania.[4]

2.2   The "decadence" of Catalan

The period that goes from the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century is considered as the "Decadence" (*Decadència)* of Catalan literature. According

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[4]The *discourse of linguistic history* allows denouncing the "Catalan appropriation" of Balearic historical figures, such as Ramon Llull, Pere Melis, Juníper Serra, or the Farragut sailors, which allegedly takes place when they are presented as part of Catalan culture and history by Catalan institutions. Such complaints can also include documents, such as the medieval Catalan Atlas by the Majorcan Cresques Abraham in 1375. Disentangling the archipelago from any Catalan reference also leads to extremely complex heraldic discussions about which are, truly, the flags of Majorca and the Balearic Islands.

to Veny (2003), the decline of Catalan in educated classes in favour of Castilian can be explained by several factors: the increasing economic and political power of Castile, the flourishing of Castilian literature, the overseas expansion of the Castilian language, and the disappearance of Barcelona's court that followed the unification of Castile and Aragon's crowns in 1469. As Milton Azevedo (1984) puts it, "the destiny of the language followed the fortunes of the empire" (p. 308). However, Catalan kept on being the main spoken language and the main written medium in education, business, regional administration (until the 18th century), and in popular literary genres (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011; cf., Azevedo, 1984). At the time of the printing revolution (15th century), the intensifying subordinated position of Catalan prevented its grammatical fixation when most neighbouring languages were initiating their standardisation, thus contributing to an increase in regional differentiation (Azevedo, 1984; Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011).

Massot i Muntaner (1972) argues that a *linguistic differential awareness* exists in Majorca as a result of the literary "decadence", when the weakening of the links with the other Catalan-speaking territories of the Crown of Aragon, due to the decrease of the international power of the Crown, stressed and enhanced the cultural isolation of Majorca (and the rest of the archipelago). The increasing use of Castilian by the elite also played a role in this process. From his point of view, the name of the autochthonous language suffered quite an extended "oblivion" (*oblit*) as a result of this situation. Massot i Muntaner (1972) provides some early examples of alternative denominations, for example, "*vulgar materno e malorquí*" (mother and Majorcan tongue, 15th century), "*prolació catalana*" (Catalan utterance or statement, first half 16th century), "*nostra llengua mallorquina*" (our Majorcan language, 1612), "*lengua lemosina*" (Limousin language, 1st half 16th century), or "*llemosí*" (Limousin, 1646). Originally, *lengua lemosina* or *llemosí* were terms to designate one of the varieties of Occitan, Limousin, but in that time they were used to refer to ancient Catalan.

Antoni Ferrando Francés and Miquel Nicolás Amorós (2011, p. 166) disagree, considering that these "particular denominations" intended to index the origin or the administrative ascription of the author, thus they did not question the unity of the Catalan language. In their view, the existence of a "Limousinist ideology" (i.e., calling older Catalan "*llemosí*") supports this thesis, since in front of the increasingly present regional denominations for the language and the increasing distance with ancient Catalan, the choice for "*llemosí*" to refer to the Catalan language implied a *unitary awareness*. Nevertheless, this denomination highlights the crisis of cultural and political identity for Catalan speaking authors during the early Modern Age (2011, p. 168), without any common editorial circuit and with Castilian as the prestigious

literary model. According to these authors, this would also explain that in the 17th century the onomastic fragmentation of Catalan increased, that is, that alternative names to refer to the autochthonous language proliferated.

During the 18th century the situation of Catalan worsens. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1715) leads to the suppression of the autonomy of the former kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. As a result, Catalan was banned in the administration and Castilian was gradually imposed in schools. In the Balearic Islands,

> Castilianization advanced slowly, for the relative isolation from the main-land, the reduced number of Spanish-speaking immigrants until the mid-twentieth century, and the basically rural character of their society helped preserve Catalan as the language of most of the population (...); nevertheless, Spanish assumed a superordinate role as the upper classes adopted it as a prestige language and became increasingly Castilianised as a means of differentiating themselves from the lower classes (Josep Melià, 1967, pp. 179–184). (Azevedo, 1984, pp. 308–309)

In parallel to the diglossic appropriation of Castilian by the upper classes, inter-dialectal communication was very limited. Cultural connections with other Catalan speaking areas are seen to have been gradually distancing over time, leading to a process of increasing vernacularisation (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011). As a result of all these factors, the 18th century provides more sources of the onomastic fragmentation, and in Majorca these most generally refer to a "Majorcan language" (*llengua mallorquina*) or to "Majorcan" (*mallorquí*), including quite a number of Castilian-Majorcan dictionaries (Massot i Muntaner, 1972).

Directly applying contemporary meanings to the historical use of labels such as "Majorcan language" requires caution. For example, in 1804 a Minorcan author published *General principles of the Minorcan language* (*Principis generals de la llengua menorquina*). Despite what the title could suggest, the author prefaced his work in the following way:

> I have entitled this work General principles of the Minorcan language, not because I consider that this language owes its origin to Minorca, very well aware that this island was founded by Valencians, Catalans, etc., who brought their language with them, which is the same we use and which anciently was called Limousin, but because, being crafted in Minorca, certain words are a bit different to the Valencian, Catalan, and Majorcan.

> However, that this is such an accidental thing will not be an obstacle for
> its rules to also serve to one and all. It is, then, not only for Minorcans,
> but also for Majorcans, Catalans, Valencians, that I have prepared this
> grammar.[5] (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 291; see also
> Massot i Muntaner, 1972, p. 20)

This quote speaks of several aforementioned matters, such as the Catalan settle-
ment of the islands, the Limousinist ideology, and the *unitary awareness*. Historical
sources such as this one point at the validity of the thesis of Ferrando Francés and
Nicolás Amorós (2011), who argue that a "differential awareness" cannot be directly
projected onto the use of labels such as "Majorcan" or "Minorcan" to refer to the
autochthonous language, as Massot i Muntaner (1972) does, and that, instead, these
usages foreground origin to language awareness. Additionally, there is also explicit
evidence of this *unitary linguistic awareness*. For example, in 1785, the Palma City
Council protested against the Council of Castile's prohibition to admit students
from Catalonia at the University of Palma. Palma City Council's reasoning was
that Catalans and islanders shared the same language (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás
Amorós, 2011, p. 290).

During the beginning of the 19th century, grammar and orthography projects
for the "Majorcan language" appeared. While this denomination was very common,
others such as "*llemosí*" were still used. According to Massot i Muntaner (1972, pp. 30–
35), especially authors who were who were in favour of a 'Castilianisation' of the
Balearic Islands wrote about the "Majorcan dialect" or the "provincial dialect".[6] The
variety of terms used to refer to the vernacular language was considerable, but there
were few references to a "Catalan language". By the 19th century, the political decline
of the Crown of Aragon, which had begun almost four centuries before, favoured
a *linguistic differential awareness* for the vernaculars of the Balearic archipelago.
Simultaneously, uses of the Castilian language were dominant in administration,
literature, and education, even though, by mid-19th century, 91.6% of the population

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[5]"Jo he intitulat aquesta obra Principis generáls de la llèngua menorquina, no perquè considèrie
que aquesta llengua dèguia el seu origen a Menorca, sabent molt bé que aquesta illa fou fundada de
valencians, catalans, etc., els quals e-hi portaren la seva llengua, que és la mateixa que nosaltres
usam i antigament s'anomenava llemosina, sinó perquè, essent feta a Menorca, en certes paraules
és algun tant diferent de la valenciana, catalana i mallorquina. No obstant, que això és una cosa
tan accidental que no serà obstacle perquè la major part de les regles que en ella es donaran no
púguien servir per uns i altres. És, doncs, no únicament per als menorquins, sinó també per als
mallorquins, catalans i valencians, que jo he treballat aquesta gramàtica".

[6]This name could include other provinces where such "dialect" was spoken, such as Catalonia or
Valencia.

in Majorca were still illiterate (Veny, 2008, p. 6). Basically,

> [people] spoke in Catalan, but [they] wrote (those who knew it) in
> Castilian. To many Minorcans, this was "grego" (= greek) and for
> Majorcans, "foraster" [foreign].[7] (Veny, 2008, p. 6)

Nowadays, the onomastic profusion for Catalan that characterised the "decadence" of Catalan in the Balearic Islands functions as a reserve of historical sources that is instrumental for neogonella activists. Not considering how terms mean different things in different moments of time, the decontextualised use of multiple names for Catalan is a resource for Balearist associations to delegitimise the current Catalan denomination.

The following comment by Coloma in Toc·Toc's Facebook site fitly represents this use of names from this period. The parent post informed about a demonstration in favour of the mother tongue (mentioning Majorcan, Minorcan, Eivissan, and Balearic), on the occasion of UNESCO's Mother Language Day (February 21). It encouraged to "speak, write, and defend [the] our language!" ("*parla, escriu i defensa sa nostra llengo!*"), using, however, the verb "*parlar*" (to speak) instead of "*xerrar*" (to chat). Both verbs are normative in Catalan, though, in Majorca, *parlar* usually refers to serious speech events and *xerrar* has a higher social currency and it is required in constructions of the type 'to speak a language' (*xerrar una llengua*). Supporters of Toc·Toc identified the post's usage as a misuse, and the thread turned into one of the recurrent debates about the boundaries and the nature of Catalan and Balearic. Neogonella supporter and frequent commentator, Coloma, participated in Castilian as shown in Extract 2.1.[8]

Extract 2.1: Comment by Coloma in Toc·Toc from December 2013.

Coloma	
El catalan es un dialecto del lemosín, una d las famosas lenguas deOc, provenientes d la rama latina francesa. El Balear desciende directamente del latín, d cuando la conquista d los romanos hará unos dos mil años.	*Catalan is a dialect of Limousin, one of the famous Occitan languages, coming from the French Latin branch. Balearic descends directly from Latin, from the times of the Roman conquest of around two thousand years ago.*

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[7]"*Se hablaba en catalán, pero se escribía (los que lo sabían) en castellano. Para muchos menorquines, este era "grego" (= griego) y para los mallorquines, "foraster"*".

[8]See Section 4.2.1 (p. 99) for more on social media textual data.

In this comment, Coloma claims more historical and regional authenticity for Balearic, disassociating it from Catalan in two ways. On the one hand, she devalues Catalan defining it as a "dialect of Limousin". By doing so, she constructs it as a dialect from another language which currently is acutely minoritised, Occitan, and which she links to a foreign language such as French. Coloma represents how the profusion of terms in historical sources to refer to language, as "*llemosí*", allows supporters of neogonellisme to displace Catalan geographically and hierarchically. On the other hand, Coloma raises the value of Balearic in contrast with Catalan. She draws a direct continuity between Latin and Balearic without any dialect or 'branch' in between, differently to her account of Catalan, and historically legitimises Balearic by making reference to an historical event, the Roman conquest of the archipelago, prior to the Catalan resettlement. In her construction of Balearic, there are no traces of Catalan whatsoever. In all, Coloma's comment represents the point made before, namely, to how activists and supporters of neogonellisme trace a link between speech from Romanisation times to nowadays, disregarding key historical events and linguistic scholarship, and how they query the unity of Catalan on the basis of denominations from the period of Catalan's "Decadence".

2.3 The "rebirth" of Catalan

The *unitary linguistic awareness* resurfaced in the Balearic Islands during the 19th century as a result of a cultural movement originated in Catalonia, the *Renaixença* or "rebirth" of Catalan, which ultimately influenced relevant political developments. The *Renaixença* was a minoritary and burgeois literary movement that mobilised Romantic ideas for the rediscovery of the Catalan language, its glorious past and the cultural and linguistic affinities between Catalan speaking territories. Under these Romantic ideas, language was seen as the object containing and best representing the natural essences of groups of people. While it is considered that a poem by the Barcelonan writer Aribau published in 1833 launched the *Renaixença*, the movement spread in society noticeably after the *Jocs Florals* (a literary contest) of Barcelona in 1859. *Renaixença* writers mirrored themselves to the golden historical period of Catalan from the 12-15th centuries, thus intending to end with the period that preceded, which they baptised the *Decadència*.

The ideas of the *Renaixença* had a major impact in Catalonia, where they set the key foundations for the rise of political Catalanism. However, a causality link between Romanticism, the *Renaixença* and Catalanism cannot be directly established

(Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011),[9] as the rise of political Catalanism requires considering Spanish economic politics (Azevedo, 1984; Marfany, 2017). Nevertheless, Catalan national identity was forged during the *Renaixença* (flag, anthem, traditions, etc.), being the Catalan language its central symbolic referent. In the Balearic Islands (and Valencia), local intellectuals adopted the ideas of the *Renaixença*, though without the social ramifications and the political baggage that characterised the *Renaixença* in Catalonia (see Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 321; Kremnitz, 2009).

With the *Renaixença*, according to Massot i Muntaner (1972), the *linguistic unitary awareness*, which had increasingly become dormant in favour of the *differential* one during the last centuries, resurfaced intensively at the hand of Majorcan authors who joined the recovery of the literary cultivation of the Catalan language. Thus, during the 19th century we can observe a consolidation of the denomination of "Catalan" and "Catalan language".[10] During this period, there were many literary magazines published in Majorca for which there was no contradiction between declaring that they were written in "Majorcan" (*mallorquí*) and their defence of a unitary vision of the Catalan language (1972, pp. 48–49). Indeed, the general idea of the time became that the autochthonous language from the Balearic archipelago was the Catalan language, while its varieties and dialects were Catalan, Majorcan, Valencian, and Rossellonese[11] (1972, pp. 52–53). Another belief circulating at the time was the distinction between "literary Catalan", as used during the "golden period", and "vulgar Catalan" with its "dialects" or "pronunciations", such as Barcelonan, Valencian, and Majorcan (1972, p. 49). Nevertheless, it is possible to still find a few authors referring to the "Majorcan language" (1972, pp. 56–57) and corpus works that considered the Majorcan regiolect in isolation (Veny, 2008, p. 8).

It is very important to stress that the ideological work projected onto the Catalan language implied more than a sense of linguistic unity. One of the main leaders of the *Renaixença* was the Majorcan poet Marià Aguiló, with whom "an awareness of

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[9]Note how "the majority of the *Renaixença* intellectuals did not aim at altering the legal and sociolinguistic status quo of Catalan, but at disguising a real linguistic desertion" ("la major part dels notables de la Renaixença no pretenien alterar l'*status quo* legal i sociolingüístic del català, sinó emmascarar una deserció lingüística real", Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 318; see also Marfany, 2017). Additionally, these writers also used Castilian, given the heavy Castilianisation of most of the local burgeoisies.

[10]An anthology published in 1873 entitled *Balearic Poets, 19th century: Poems of living authors written in Catalan* (*Poetes Balears, Setgle XIX: Poesies d'autors vivents escrites en català*) is, according to Massot i Muntaner (1972, p. 45), the first book ever published in Majorca to explicitly include such metalinguistic stance in its title.

[11]Rossellonese stands for the regional variety of Northern Catalonia, today's southern France.

linguistic "Catalanness" never before found in Majorca arises" (Massot i Muntaner, 1972, p. 43).[12] Thus, in the Balearic Islands, the *Renaixença* updated the sense of linguistic unity with the rest of the Catalan language domain and inaugurated a sense of a Catalan identification (with cultural and political entailments) that is well alive nowadays among part of Balearic society. It is not by chance that Balearist associations never make reference to the *Renaixença* nor to its Balearic partakers.

2.3.1 The standardisation of Catalan

During the *Renaixença*, the effects that the "Decadence" had on the Catalan language could be observed in the 'rediscovering' literary practices of writers. Due to the diglossic sociolinguistic situation between dominant Castilian and minoritised Catalan, the Catalan used in the 19th century was influenced by Castilian in different degrees according to geographic areas. The koiné of the medieval Royal Chancery was no longer a recognisable authoritative model for writers, and alternative models and grammars appeared. There was also a diversity of ways of writing Catalan, with different orthographies in circulation (Veny, 2003, p. 848, speaks of a 'total orthographic chaos').[13] Discussions about what system to follow by writers were common. Further, literary practices had *regionalised*. As Costa Carreres explains,

> The unified koiné that had become well established by the fifteenth century suffered fragmentation, as awareness of its standardised conventions—and the social-cultural unity it reflected—was steadily eroded. By the end of the eighteenth century writers of Catalan had in mind only a regionally limited public for works in a local idiom. Generated by this situation was the emergence of the idea that the Valencian and Balearic varieties constituted languages. (Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 8)

The standardisation of Catalan began in the 20th century in the context of a Catalan nationalist agenda and amid the cultural effervescence launched with the *Renaixença*. During the first two decades, Catalanist politicians achieved significant political gains that defined their clear national agenda. At that time, Prat de la Riba, a key political figure in the history of Catalanism, created in 1907 the Catalan Studies Institute (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, IEC), which he conceived as the institution organising science and knowledge in Catalonia. Prat de la Riba sponsored scientists and academics from different fields who contributed to the project of national identity

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[12]"neix una consciència de "catalanitat" lingüística que no trobem mai abans a Mallorca".

[13]The publishing of the winning works of the *Jocs Florals* evidenced this year after year (Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 11).

construction from a scientific and prestigious perspective. As the incipient political autonomy of Catalonia demanded institutional language practices (Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 17), Prat de la Riba asked Pompeu Fabra, in 1911, to join the Philological section of the IEC and to ultimately lead the standardisation of the Catalan language.

In a very short period of time, and after centuries of linguistic fixation disorder, Pompeu Fabra successfully defined the norms and standard for the Catalan language. His encoding endeavour at the IEC began in 1913 with his Orthographic Norms. In 1917, he became the president of the Philological Section at the IEC and, as such, he published the Orthographic Dictionary (1917), the normative Catalan Grammar (1918; seventh edition published in 1933 and valid until 2016), and the General Dictionary of the Catalan Language (1932). The adoption of Fabra's proposals by Catalan political institutions was crucial, conferring a *de facto* official status to both the language and its norms in Catalonia, while promoting the social extension of Catalan from symbolic to instrumental values (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011, p. 368).[14]

Fabra's standardisation principles

Two comments are in order in respect to Fabra's terminology. First, Fabra used the term *redreçament* to refer to the linguistic action that Catalan required. *Redreçament* can be translated as 'restoration' or, more appropriately, 'setting upright' (see Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 18), and it encapsulates to an important degree Fabra's mission and ideological standpoint. Besides implying a process, *redreçament* presumed a former state of affairs which was desirable to recover, namely, the times before the *Decadència*. Second, throughout his work, Fabra systematically uses the term *llengua literària* (literally, 'literary language') to refer to the language variety that had to be the model for literary creation and formal uses of language, and whose definition was his main goal. Fabra's 'literary language' can be understood as "normative standard" (Kremnitz, 2009, p. xxviii).[15] Having clarified these two terms, Fabra's standardisation is based on four main principles, which I draw from the work by Costa Carreres (2009). These four main principles approximately mirror Haugen's (1966) four standardisation phases: selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration.

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[14]The expansion of Fabra's proposal to Valencia consolidates in 1932, with "the formal promulgation of the Normes de Castelló de la Plana, signifying acceptance by the Valencian writers and intellectuals of Fabra's Norm" (Kremnitz, 2009, p. xxvi) and the adaptation of Fabra's norms to some Valencian features.

[15] Kremnitz (2009) accurately relates Fabra's term to the fact that prior to the consolidation of mass modes of communication, literary practices enjoyed a pre-eminent social status.

First, there was an underlying principle that *identified the linguistic domain with the nation*. Fabra, completely engaged with the "revival" of Catalan culture that started in the 19th century, conceived his linguistic mission as a patriotic duty. He believed in the idea of the Catalan Countries (*Països Catalans*)—with Barcelona as its capital. He wanted to prepare Catalan to be used in the future across the linguistic domain; that is, to restore it not just to its "authentic condition" but to its "true national status" (Fabra, 1915/2009d, p. 129). Fabra selected the oral variety of the *centre*, Barcelona, as the base "dialect" for the standard variety of Catalan, using a combination of political, demographic, and social arguments.[16] However, he also considered other large geographic varieties, including Balearic, for the definition of the standard (Segarra, 1985; Veny, 2008).

The second principle was a combined operation of *purification* and *modernisation*. On the one hand, Catalan restoration required a purification of the language, a process also called "de-Castilianisation": "the work of restoring literary Catalan to its proper condition and status is above all one of removing the presence of Castilian influence" (Fabra, 1919/2009a, p. 148). On the other hand, a significant number of medieval conventions circulated in the diverse Catalan writings at the time of the *Renaixença*. For Fabra, most of these conventions were not suited for a modern language and thus they were to be updated. This combined operation implied having to look for and decide on alternatives to fixate for codification.[17] Fabra's main sources for alternatives were archaic or dialectal forms, and to a lesser degree neologisms, attending to the evolution of other Romance languages.

Third, *redreçament* required *linguistic expertise* and *authority*, which implied philological knowledge combined with familiarity with Catalan old classic works and contemporary dialects of Catalan (e.g., Fabra, 1915/2009d). The organisation of the Philological Section at the IEC, led by Fabra with the full-time participation of specialists in linguistics, fulfilled this condition (see Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 11). IEC's top-down approach obtained unprecedented results in respect to the recognition of authority for Catalan, an authority epitomised by Fabra himself.[18]

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[16]This principle relates to the first standardisation phase as defined by Haugen (1966), *selection*.

[17]Codification, which is the second phase in Haugen's (1966) standardisation model, materialised with a corpus of authoritative works published by the IEC, like the above mentioned dictionaries, orthographical norms, and grammars.

[18]Fabra was aware of the difficulties that the "Decadence" posed for the *implementation* or *acceptance* (Haugen, 1966) of the normative standard. Fabra expected that implicit and explicit resistance to the new correct Catalan would appear. For this reason, he envisaged a continuous evaluation period within the norm implementation phase to assess the public's *acceptance* of the made proposals (Costa Carreres, 2009). This partly explains why he published seven editions of the Catalan grammar between 1917 and 1933, for instance.

The fourth principle of Fabra's standardisation was a *multiple reciprocal levelling* of linguistic varieties, where the standard variety would level with the other dimensions of language (geographic, historical, social, and register variation). Geographically speaking, Fabra (1918/2009b) considered that Valencian and Balearic writers were to do as Catalan writers had successfully done during the *Renaixença*, freeing geographic varieties from Castilian influence and linking them with the language of their own Valencian and Balearic medieval classics, as this would produce a nearly identical linguistic outcome.[19] He expected writers to engage in the same de-Castilianisation process and explicitly asked them not to feel pressured to come close to how "we speak in Catalonia". In a pyramidal model similar to Auer's (2005) representation of dialect/standard constellations, he foresaw a two-way flow between the standard variety and refined geographical varieties that would "dialectalise" the standard and "standardise" geographic varieties. Fabra considered a similar interrelation between the literary language, nourished with dialectal differences through the literary language written in each dialect, and speech. Additionally, for Fabra it was necessary that writers and grammarians had a symbiotic relationship to achieve the levelling of the standard.[20] In his view, writers had to be responsible for their patriotic duty in the *redreçament* of Catalan (see Fabra, 1915/2009c, 1915/2009d).[21]

In all, the "rebirth" of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands, when *unitary awareness* re-emerged, is intimately related to cultural and political developments in Catalonia, something disturbing for neogonelles, as we will see. Catalan nationalism spearheaded a cultural modernisation that included the rise of a Catalan standard after centuries of absence of corpus planning. Although Fabra selected the oral variety from Barcelona as the basis for the standard, he also took geographical varieties very much into consideration for the fixation of the norms and standard of the Catalan language (Bibiloni, 1997; Segarra, 1985). Neogonella activists criticise both decisions, criticising Fabra's model for being being "centralist" and "artificial". Additionally, Fabra expected geographical varieties such as the Balearic ones to undertake a cleansing process. This did not occur due to the lack of politically-driven

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[19]According to Costa Carreres (2009, p. 70), Fabra's position in this regard evolved to include peripheral varieties in the making of the normative standard of the Catalan language. Veny (2008) considers that Moll's works (e.g., F. Moll, 2008) addressed Fabra's call in regards to the Balearic group, offering specific varietal options. This invitation to Valencian and Majorcan writers to continue refining their varieties could be considered as part of the *elaboration* (Haugen, 1966) phase of Catalan standardisation.

[20]The literary practices of writers were to offer valuable insights on the *acceptance* (Haugen, 1966) of the norms. Further, as mentioned above, particular features of geographic varieties would access the standard only via their refinement in literary practices.

[21]See footnote 15 (p. 42) for more on the pre-eminence of writers in Fabra's model.

support in Majorca and Valencia, and, above all, because of Franco's coup. In this regard, the following words by Costa are of special relevance:

> Fabra (...) viewed [the recovery of Catalan's "proper condition and rightful status"] as an on-going endeavour, with much still to be done on standardisation of the language as a prerequisite for its social normalisation. He declared his intention that the standard language, as a living organ, should be open to development and to further "innovation" (...), including further incorporation of non-Barcelona usage. The long interlude of 1939-1975, with Fabra himself geographically isolated in the 1940s, had the effect of turning his works into a strict, unalterable orthodoxy, deviation from which was regarded by purists as unpatriotic. (Costa Carreres, 2009, p. 22)

The IEC published a new edition of the Catalan Grammar in 2016, more than 80 years after Fabra's last edition. This new institutional grammar gives continuity to Fabra while defining unresolved issues and offering more tolerance to regional variations and to constructions resulting from contact with Castilian.

2.4 Linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands

Academic and cultural authorities are, since the intellectually-based origin of Catalanism, the solid foundations for the hegemony of the *unitary linguistic awareness* of all Catalan vernaculars, an hegemony which endured Franco's dictatorship. Since the rise of Catalanism there are three historical episodes of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands that further a *differential linguistic awareness*. From a historical perspective, these episodes share two features: agents of dissidence did not aim for any functional standardisation nor reclaim linguistic spaces that Castilian occupied. As such, the three episodes constitute attempts to undermine the hegemony of the Catalan *unitary* belief in favour of the social and political hegemony of Castilian, more than actually defending the symbolic value of local Balearic varieties. Hence, the historicisation of the threads of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands reveals that they advanced the interests of Hispanicism.

2.4.1 The exploitation of Alcover

Antoni Maria Alcover (1864–1932), known as "Priest Alcover" (*Mossèn* Alcover), was a temperamental and conservative ecclesiastic from inland Majorca and one

of the most important figures of the *Renaixença*. During all his life he defended both the unity of all the vernacular varieties spoken across the Catalan linguistic domain (including Balearic varieties) under the name of "Catalan language" (*llengua catalana*), and the Catalan ethnic nationality of the Majorcan people. However, during the later stages of his life, he confronted Fabra's standardisation, a dispute that was politically exploited by the highest exponent of Hispanicism: the Spanish monarchy.

Alcover, a self-taught linguist, organised the First International Congress of the Catalan Language, held in Barcelona in 1906 with more than 3,000 participants, which gives an idea of how popular the Catalan restoration movement had become (Azevedo, 1984). As a result of the success of the Congress, he became known as "the Apostle of the Catalan language",[22] symbolising the "spiritual rebirth of the country" (F. Moll, 1981, p. 82).[23] He became the first President of the Philological Section of the IEC (1911–1917) and two of his many publications represent his trajectory. Both are essential to grasp current ideological debates in the Balearic Islands: the *Catalan-Valencian-Balearic Dictionary* (*Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, henceforth *DCVB*) and the *Majorcan folk tales collection by Jordi des Racó* (*Aplec de rondalles mallorquines d'en Jordi des Racó*).

In 1901, Alcover disseminated across the Catalan linguistic domain an *Invitation Letter* (*Lletra de convit*) asking for collaboration for creating the definitive *Dictionary of the Catalan language* (*Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*, though he would ultimately rename it *DCVB*). It was, and still is, composed of words from all written texts in the language and from all the existing lexicon throughout the Catalan linguistic domain, regardless of the scope of their social use. The initiative was embraced with passion, especially in Catalonia, involving volunteers who sent Alcover file cards recording the speech of their location. Alcover believed that the *Dictionary* was to decisively contribute to the uncovering of the "essential, fundamental identity"[24] of the Catalan language (Massot i Muntaner, 1985, p. 131; see also 134–135).

Alcover was not only engaged with compiling the lexicon of the language, but also with collecting and recording Majorca's folk tales, an activity very much aligned with the Romantic ideas circulating in Europe during the 19th century which, for example, were epitomised by the Grimm brothers in German speaking areas (Massot i Muntaner, 1985; F. Moll, 1981). Throughout his life, Alcover published 24 volumes with over 400 tales under the pseudonym of Jordi d'es Racó ('Jordi from

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[22]"l'Apòstol de la Llengua Catalana".

[23]"renaixença espiritual del país".

[24]"identitat essencial, fonemental [sic]".

the hideout'). They were welcomed with immediate success in Majorca, and they are still very popular nowadays, having been even radio broadcast during the 1960s. He did not adapt them to any literary register in order to respect his sources' "good Majorcan"[25] (Massot i Muntaner, 1985, p. 92), an expression that will appear later in this thesis. For Alcover, this meant respecting his sources' lexicon and recording the vernacular (including salty articles, for instance) through orthographic practices, which represents an example of a "phonemicist orthography" (Sebba, 2007).

Alcover's presidency at the IEC ended in 1918 in a very unfriendly environment after a bitter and public confrontation between Alcover and the rest of the members of the Philological Section of the IEC concerning the definition of the standard variety for the Catalan language.[26] In this regard, Alcover believed that the IEC was too 'centralist', giving an unjustified preference to Barcelona's "rotten dialect" (Massot i Muntaner, 1985, p. 157).[27] Instead, he was in favour of a literary language based on archaic sources and more inclusive to all the varieties of the Catalan language (Darder, 2015, p. 309). In his proposals, Fabra was giving more prominence to language practices from Barcelona, which Alcover considered to be the most negatively influenced by Castilian—hence "rotten".[28] Costa Carreres (2009) summarises the divergence in that "Alcover believed that the priority should be study of the language in general and not the achievement of a normative standard" (p. 34–35). From 1918 onwards, Alcover regularly published his linguistic, methodological and organisational disputes with the IEC (see F. Moll, 1981, pp. 163–227), in an increasingly aggressive tone and gradually addressing Catalan politicians as well. In turn, Catalanist media undervalued and attacked him. Alcover's dismissal from the IEC represented the turning point of his prestige in the *Renaixença* and within Catalanism, including Catalanist cultural circles in Majorca (1981, p. 235).

Collaterally, the *DCVB*, Alcover's most personal and ambitious project, was economically harmed by not obtaining the institutional support of the IEC. In 1919, Alcover sounded the Spanish political establishment for financing. Unexpectedly, it was the King of Spain himself, Alfonso XIII, who decided to subsidise it. Being confronted to the increasingly powerful and organised Catalan nationalism, Alcover was an attractive figure for Hispanicist political elites. In Moll's view, the aim of the

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[25]"bon mallorquí".

[26]There were other minor conflicts related to the observance of Fabra's *Orthographic Norms* or Alcover's commuting between Palma and Barcelona.

[27]"dialecte putrefacte".

[28]Both linguists foreground different aspects of language, but both involve purist language ideologies (Thomas, 1991).

subsidy was to "reveal the spiritual poverty of political Catalanism" (1981, p. 247).[29] After an audience with the King and other meetings with Spanish politicians, Alcover announced that the name of the dictionary would finally change to *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, instead of the planned *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*.[30] In the context of Alcover's confrontation with the IEC, the *DCVB* became a tool to potentially question the linguistic unity intended by Catalan cultural elites via corpus language planning, which the Spanish political establishment perceived as a threatening political factor.

Alcover stands as one of the most important figures in the history of the Catalan language. Applying Massot i Muntaner's (1972) terminology, we can say that, throughout his life, Alcover represented first the *unitary* and then the *differential linguistic awareness*, though, paradoxically as it may seem, Alcover defended the unity of the Catalan language until his death. In current language debates in the Balearic Islands, all sides use Alcover as the main linguistic authority, as his prolific trajectory offers a repertoire of fossilised statements for all stances. Neogonella activists have as normative references the *DCVB* and the "good Majorcan" from Alcover's *Rondalles*—which he had felt were by no means a valid standard model. As for the *DCVB*, the IEC endorses and supports it as a descriptive dictionary, but not normative. To neogonelles, that the title of Alcover's masterpiece includes the qualifier "Balearic" side by side to "Catalan" demonstrates the validity of their stance. Such are the consequences of the exploitation of Alcover's discrepancies about the standard by representatives of Hispanicism: they inaugurated linguistic dissidence within the project of Catalan's recovery and standardisation.

2.4.2   The controversy of Pep Gonella

In the summer of 1972, during the final stages of Franco's dictatorship, the *differential linguistic awareness* unexpectedly surfaced in the Balearic Islands. A text published in the section "Letters" of an important Majorcan newspaper, the *Diario de Mallorca*, triggered an intense public debate about the standard variety of Catalan.

The letter, in non-standard Catalan, was signed with the pseudonym of "Pep Gonella", which is the name of a popular traditional song in Majorca.[31] Succinctly,

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[29]"posar en evidència la pobresa espiritual del catalanisme polític".

[30]Alcover justified the change due to the reservations that the name "Catalan" caused in the language domain except for Catalonia (F. Moll, 1981, pp. 200–201).

[31]'*Gonella*', additionally, refers to the typical 'smock-frock' used by peasants in Majorca, especially by women, which is only used nowadays in local festivities. 'Pep' is the diminutive of the name Josep (Joseph, in English) as used across the Catalan linguistic domain.

Pep Gonella accused standard Catalan to not properly represent "Majorcan" (*mallorquí*), that is, the Majorcan vernacular. As a reaction to his letter, many more were sent, both converging and diverging with Gonella's sociolinguistic stance. Letters were sent in Castilian, in standard Catalan, and in a very 'dialectalised' Catalan presented as "Majorcan". Gonella ended up sending four letters. Known Majorcan writers also participated in the debate and submitted letters to the newspaper. Among them, Francesc de Borja Moll, who was Alcover's disciple and at that time member of the IEC and the Royal Spanish Academy (*Real Academia Española*), stood out as the main opposer to Gonella's stance.[32]

For 75 days, until the newspaper decided to stop publishing any more letters due to the heat of the discussion, a sociolinguistic debate surfaced in Majorca's media "reflecting the state of Majorca's mentality towards the problems of the literary language in the last third of the 20th century" (F. Moll, 1972, p. 6).[33] Gonella acknowledged that Majorcan was a variety of the Catalan language, but constructed Fabra's standardisation as a threatening factor for Majorcan linguistic features. In parallel, he criticised Majorcan intellectuals for being "Catalanised"[34] supporters of Fabra's reform and for subordinating themselves to intellectual circles in Barcelona. Instead, they should stand next to the "Majorcan people"[35] against the IEC's homogenising attempts, in order to "save"[36] Majorcan. Gonella identified Alcover as the main Majorcan linguistic authority—though obscured by Catalanist intelligentsia.[37]

Gonella's opposition to Catalan standardisation marks it as a crucial episode in the ongoing language ideological debates in the Balearic Islands. According

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[32]Moll published and prefaced a representative sample of the overall exchanged letters in *La polèmica d'en Pep Gonella* (*Pep Gonella's controversy*, F. Moll, 1972).

[33]"reflecteix l'estat de la mentalitat mallorquina sobre els problemes de la llengua literària en aquest darrer terç del segle XX".

[34]"catalanitzat".

[35]"poble mallorquí".

[36]"salvar".

[37]In reaction, Moll stressed Gonella's lack of linguistic knowledge. He explained how the literary language accepts features from Majorca and which was the role of the standard variety. He also reflected on what can be considered as *authentic* features of Majorcan vernaculars. Moll showed a clear support to Fabra's reform and the IEC, refuting, for example, the accusation of obstructing Alcover's work. In short, Moll enacted a *discourse of science* (Duane, 2017a), defining who was authorised to discuss such linguistic issues, by what training, and thus defining gatekeepers as himself—and filtering others such as Pep Gonella—to intervene in such debates. Calaforra and Moranta (2008) name Moll's discourse as an "enlightened linguistic discourse" that draws from the rationalism of Enlightenment to define authority, knowledge, and truth on the basis of reason and science.

to Calaforra and Moranta (2008), this controversy "represents the first explicit materialisation of an insurmountable opposition between two discourses on linguistic identity: the affinity discourse and the difference discourse. Or, if we prefer, unitarism and differentialism" (p. 75–76).[38] The salience of this debate can be grasped by taking into consideration that, since then, a person holding dissident beliefs about Balearic vernaculars is known as a 'gonella'. It also gave its name to *gonellisme*, the ideological tendency that promotes *stances of language difference* (Duane, 2017a) between Balearic and other Catalan varieties, and which has given rise to several minor associations of language activists (see Section 1.2.1, p. 17). It is fundamental to be aware that these terms carry derogatory connotations given their lack of academic or institutional endorsement.

After 45 years, in May 2017, José Zaforteza Calvet claimed to be behind the pseudonym of Pep Gonella, which confirmed rumours found in the press (see Janer, 2014; Manresa, 2015d) and gleaned from both social media and interviews during my research. Zaforteza, part of Majorca's traditional nobility, has an extensive resumé: he was Senator for the conservative and Hispanicist party UCD (1979-1982), judge in the Balearic Islands, President of *Sa Nostra* (the main savings bank in the Balearic Islands), Dean of the Bar Association of the Balearic Islands, and president of the publishing house that prints the *Diario de Mallorca* (including during the time of Pep Gonella's controversy). He was also one of the promoters—and first president—of the Foundation Jaume III, the main neogonella association.

2.4.3   Bauzá's office

The third episode of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands is the political event that clearly marks the beginning of the recent language ideological debates in the region. In the 2011 regional and insular elections, the main Spanish conservative and Hispanicist party, the Popular Party (*Partido Popular*; henceforth PP), gained control of the regional Parliament and all the island councils with a qualified majority (except for Formentera, where a local left-wing and Catalanist party was elected).[39] The new regional president of the PP, José Ramón Bauzá, who represented the Hispanicist wing of the party's regional branch, became the new President of the Balearic Islands. During Bauzá's term in office, language ideological debates became very intense as a result of the regional government's language policy changes aimed

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[38]"representa la primera materialització explícita d'una oposició irreductible entre dos discursos sobre la identitat lingüística: el discurs de l'afinitat i el discurs de la diferència. O, si volem, l'unitarisme i el diferencialisme".

[39]This party is People for Formentera (*Gent per Formentera*; henceforth GxF).

at halting Catalan normalisation. In addition, with Bauzá, the regional government questioned for the first time in history the *unitary awareness* of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, favouring in turn the organisation of supporters of *differential awareness*. To understand the significance and implications of this event, it is necessary to review language policy in the Balearic Islands since the restoration of democracy.

The Linguistic Normalisation Law of the Balearic Islands

After Franco's death, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 established the democratic restoration of the country. The Constitution recognised the Balearic Islands as an 'autonomous community' with a legislative regional chamber (but not as a "historical nationality" as Catalonia or the Basque Country). In the consequent Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands of 1983 (and its 2007 reform), Catalan and Castilian were declared official languages, the former as the "own language" of the islands and the latter as the official language of the State.

As happened in Catalonia and Valencia, the regime of officiality for Catalan in the Balearic Islands collided with the diglossic social situation of the language, which had been subordinated to the dominance of the Castilian language enforced during almost three centuries. Although the oral use of Catalan was still widespread at the end of the 20th century, the lack of formal teaching of Catalan during Francoism resulted in most of Balearic society being illiterate in Catalan, except for cultural elites who accessed written Catalan in humanities faculties, mainly in Barcelona.

Political parties and cultural organisations from the Balearic Islands considered that institutions had to play a role in repairing this sociolinguistic situation. Hence, the regional Parliament unanimously[40] approved a Linguistic Normalisation Law (*Llei de normalització lingüística*; henceforth LNL) in 1986, following the example of similar laws approved in other autonomous communities, such as in Catalonia with its own Linguistic Normalisation Law passed in 1983.[41] The political project of normalisation was aimed at continuing the unfinished historical project of Catalan modernity that the *Renaixença* initiated and which Franco's dictatorship abruptly interrupted (Fernàndez, 2008).

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[40]The consensus around the LNL surfaces in current debates, as we will see.

[41]Sociolinguistic scholarship has widely analysed "linguistic normalisation" (see, for Catalonia's case, Frekko, 2009a; Montoya, 2006; Woolard, 2008). At an ideological level, normalisation planning intends to modify a language's existing values of linguistic authority in society: Woolard (2008) observes that "the paradox of [a] linguistic normalisation campaign is that they are marked efforts to make a language the unmarked choice" (p. 14).

The LNL defines four main objectives that public institutions must carry out to restore ("*redreçar*", just as Fabra's *redreçament*) the diminished status of Catalan and return it to its central social role in Balearic society: effectively use Catalan by all public administrations, thus granting it a preferential status; assure that Catalan becomes the main language of instruction in schools; foster the use of Catalan in all media; and create a social awareness about the importance of Catalan. The law stipulates that individuals may use Catalan with administrations and tribunals without discrimination. Additionally, place names must be in Catalan and public signs must preferentially use Catalan. All these measures do not alter the official status and protection of Castilian (and Castilian speakers). The LNL also requires the organisation of periodic sociolinguistic surveys to assess language planning. Regarding geographic variation, the LNL declares that "[t]he insular linguistic modalities of the Catalan language will be object of study and protection, with no harm to the unity of the language".[42]

This language policy framework was interrupted during Bauzá's term in office (2011–2015), a period of a severe economic crisis and during which the PP governed almost all the institutions of the region. Since its election, the regional government led by President Bauzá made decisions to put an end to the effects of the LNL, with the aim of moving "the reality of the street into the institutions" (Diario de Mallorca and EFE, 2011),[43] as one member of the new government stated when he justified the start of broadcasting in Castilian in public regional media. In fact, the Catalan language was targeted in the government's agenda in two complementary ways. First, what I call the "Bauzá Law" was an ensemble of very contentious language policy modifications. Second, the regional government simultaneously questioned the legitimacy of the Catalan standard for Balearic vernaculars, launching what I call a *discourse of particularisation*.

Halting Catalan normalisation: the Bauzá Law

During its mandate, the regional government was responsible for language policy modifications that *de facto* halted Catalan normalisation (see Bibiloni, 2014; Joan Melià, 2014). Subsequent decisions included ceasing the preferential use of Catalan in the regional administration, the suppression of the Catalan competency requirement for public employment recruitment processes, and the possibility for each municipality

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[42]"Les modalitats insulars de la llengua catalana seran objecte d'estudi i protecció, sense perjudici de la unitat de l'idioma".

[43]"*la realidad de la calle a las instituciones*".

to decide the language(s) of place names.[44] Regional public media began using Castilian and broadcasting films dubbed in this language and not in Catalan, as it had been done until then. The TV and the radio of the Council of Majorca, which broadcast in Catalan, were closed, arguing economic reasons (as the Council of Europe reported, see Committee of Experts, 2016).

Nevertheless, education was the main political arena during the mandate, given Bauzá government's aim of displacing Catalan as the main language of instruction in schools (Chapter 3 will briefly describe the Balearic school system). Initially, the government introduced a modification to the schooling system so that parents could choose between Catalan and Castilian as the initial literacy language for their children. For two school years, a large majority of parents chose Catalan (see Bibiloni, 2014, who speaks of 83% for 2012/2013), despite efforts from the government to increase the choice of Castilian (Bibiloni, 2014; Joan Melià, 2014). In response, the government announced in April 2013 a new schooling system reform, the utterly controversial Integrated Treatment of Languages (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*; henceforth TIL). The TIL aimed at modifying the educational system towards one in which Catalan, Castilian and English were to become the languages of instruction for all students. The regional government defended that the TIL promoted "trilingualism".

The TIL became the main element of political contention in the Balearic Islands during Bauzá's term in office.[45] Opposition to the TIL included the largest demonstration in Balearic history (González, 2013) and strikes (including hunger strikes) organised by teacher unions and long-standing cultural associations with the support of parents' associations (Joan Melià, 2014). Opponents to the TIL basically criticised it for two reasons. First, they criticised that the TIL included too short English training provisions for teachers and a too quick implementation. Second, the TIL was considered as a further step towards Catalan minoritisation.[46] The short life of

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[44]This last measure was approved for one specific case, the Minorcan city of Port Mahon, whose official name became the bilingual Catalan/Castilian compound *Maó-Mahón*. This was a way of officially inscribing a spelling that would include the politically-loaded intervocalic 'h'. The Catalan spelling of the city is a matter of controversy between Catalanist and Hispanicist political parties (the former advocate for 'Maó', a spelling coherent with Catalan norms, and the latter for 'Mahó', an option based on some historical sources and which Balearist associations support).

[45]Nonetheless, Bauzá's previous language policy modifications had already been heavily contested. For instance, the Catalanist association Obra Cultural Balear (see Section 3.2.3, p. 78) organised a massive demonstration on 25 March 2012 with the slogan "Yes to our language" ("*Sí a la nostra llengua*", in standard Catalan), to oppose Bauzá's language policy (Borràs Abelló, 2012; González, 2012).

[46]In our interview, one regional language planner told me that, at the time, people did not understand why it was necessary to teach maths in Castilian in order to learn English.

the previous schooling modification, where parents were given the choice to choose the initial literacy language for their children, contributed to such understanding. At the end, the TIL was never fully applied as a result of the teacher strike and a court decision that determined that the plan had not been properly approved for reasons that will be explained in the next chapter. Majorcan sociolinguist Joan Melià (2014) argues that this unsuccessful process of schooling reforms was devised "to reduce the presence of Catalan in the schooling system and, hence, to hinder the extension of the own language of the Balearic Islands, especially among the children of non-Catalan speaking origin".[47]

The *discourse of particularisation* of Balearic varieties

Simultaneous to these decisions that targeted the status of Catalan, members of the government and the PP also questioned the adequacy of the Catalan standard for Balearic vernaculars. They expressed support for a more precise definition of Balearic "modalities" (the official term for Balearic varieties; see above and footnote 23, p. 11). Instead of Catalan, these politicians preferred referring to Majorcan, Minorcan, Eivissan, and Formenteran. I call this a *discourse of particularisation* (Duane, 2017a) of the Balearic varieties of Catalan, building on sociolinguistic literature about similar language ideological phenomena (Boudreau & Dubois, 2007, in Nova Scotia; Pradilla, 2004, in Valencia; Watts, 1999, in Switzerland). This discourse thus advanced *differential linguistic awareness* in the Balearic Islands. Additionally, this discourse carried a key political connotation in the context of the struggle between Hispanic and Catalan nationalisms. Supporting linguistic particularisation implied defending political particularisation, in the sense that it represented disputing the cultural attachments that exist between Catalonia and the Balearic Islands—leaving the Spanish frame of the archipelago unquestioned in the meantime.

The discourse of particularisation that politicians spread during the period did not materialise in legislative or administrative measures, except for one event that surfaced on 8 September 2014 in the newscasts of IB3, which is the public Balearic TV channel (see Darder, 2015; Duane, 2018).[48] Until that day, newscasts were presented entirely in the standard variety of Catalan (normatively adapted to Balearic varieties). That day, following a decision by the regional Government,

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[47]"per a reduir la presència del català en el sistema escolar i, per tant, per a dificultar l'extensió del coneixement de la llengua pròpia de les Balears, sobretot entre els infants d'origen no catalanoparlant".

[48]The regional government also unsuccessfully promoted the adaptation of school textbooks to Balearic varieties (Borràs Abelló, 2013) and published a book that tried to define Balearic "linguistic modalities", as we will see in the next chapter.

the sports and weather forecast sections started using salty articles, a non-standard feature (see Section 1.2.1, p. 14), triggering heated public discussions about the adequacy of such usage. Paraphrasing the event in more emic terms, we would say that, from one day to the other, public regional newscasts began 'to salt'.

Nevertheless, during Bauzá's term in office, associations of language activists that assumed the government's particularisation claims gradually appeared. As we will soon see, these neogonella or Balearist associations objectify the discourse of particularisation defending the use of a 'Balearic' standard instead of standard Catalan, with the aim of removing Catalan from the institutional Balearic landscape. They oppose any further action in favour of the normalisation of Catalan or 'Balearic' and assume discourses in favour of "bilingualism", thus aligning with proponents of Hispanicism (see Woolard, 2016).

In all, while the Hispanicist government of president Bauzá legislated against the *status* of Catalan and indirectly fostered the use of Castilian, it tried placing the spotlight on its *corpus*. It did so by disseminating a discourse of particularisation that was politically negligible but which fostered the organisation of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands in the shape of neogonellisme.

2.5   Summary

This chapter has unpacked the historical episodes that neogonella activists revisit to justify their claim about the autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands. I drew on the distinction between a *unitary* and a *differential linguistic awareness* that Massot i Muntaner (1972) identified throughout the history of the Balearic Islands. The discussion has centred on the three historical periods which are crucial to the understanding of the historical context of language discourse in the Balearic Islands.

The arrival of Catalan in the Balearic Islands was the result of a process of conquest and colonisation during the 13th century by the Crown of Aragon. Neogonelles try nowadays to undermine it by challenging the Catalan origin of the settlers, by claiming that the indigenous Christian population's speech greatly influenced subsequent vernaculars, and by focusing on the short-lived independent Majorcan kingdom.

Afterwards, the period of "Decadence" of the Catalan culture (16–19th century) affected language practices and gave rise to particular linguistic denominations in the Balearic Islands, though Ferrando Francés and Nicolás Amorós (2011) argue that the denominations foreground origin to language awareness. For neogonelles, however, the alternative names for vernaculars that proliferated during these centuries provide

material to query the unity of the language and thus justify their current dissident claim.

The third period corresponds to the 19th century "rebirth" of the Catalan language. This period was intimately related to politics in Catalonia, where the subsequent standardisation of Catalan that Fabra led emerges in the context of a nationalist agenda with the participation of academics and intellectuals from many scientific fields. From then onwards, *unitary awareness* becomes firmly established and supported by academic and cultural authorities, inside and outside the Balearic Islands. I distinguished four main principles driving Fabra's standardisation, drawing on previous work by Costa Carreres (2009). Neogonelles, however, criticise both Fabra's selection of the Barcelona variety as the base for the standard, as well as his decision to take into account other dialects for the definition of the standard, alleging that this contributed to the standard's "artificiality".

Once Catalan standardisation had begun, there are three occasions when linguistic dissidence furthering *differential awareness* surfaced in the Balearic Islands. I put these three events into a historical perspective to show how they are connected to the advancement of the interests of Hispanicism. First, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Spanish political establishment exploited the standard-based disagreements between Alcover and the IEC to promote the distinction between the main geographic varieties of Catalan. Given Alcover's disagreement with the IEC, neogonelles take as a linguistic model the way he recorded traditional Majorcan folk tales in his *Rondalles*.

Second, in 1972, an anonymous Pep Gonella triggered a public debate in a regional newspaper after he criticised both standard Catalan for not representing Majorcan linguistic features and Majorcan cultural elites for being subordinated to Catalanism (F. Moll, 1972). This purposely secretive event led to configuring *differential awareness* as *gonellisme* (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005). The same person that, in 2013, promoted and first presided the neogonella association Foundation Jaume III, then revealed in 2017 that he was behind the identity of Pep Gonella. The fact that this person was José Zaforteza Calvet, an influential Hispanicist member of the Majorcan political and economical elite who presided the newspaper where Pep Gonella's letters were published, has clearly contributed to language dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

Finally, the latest landmark of language dissidence in the region relates to Bauzá's term in office (2011–2015). After summarising the Linguistic Normalisation Law of the Balearic Islands, I described how Bauzá's government unsuccessfully tried to halt it, especially in education, and how the government simultaneously promoted

a discourse of particularisation of Balearic varieties (Duane, 2017a, 2018). It was precisely during these times when *gonellisme* reawakened in the form of neogonella or Balearist associations.

At present, neogonella activists promote dubious readings of Balearic history and a *differential linguistic awareness*, and consider themselves to be heirs of Pep Gonella. Once again, this is not surprising as Zaforteza was the first president of the main neogonella association, Foundation Jaume III. Zaforteza used his powerful media as a subterfuge to promote a *differential* stance, and this is a fine illustration of the premeditated efforts that have led to today's continuing debates about Catalan standardisation in the archipelago. Along with the linguistic confusion caused by Bauzá, this sequence of events has marked the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

Chapter 3

Actors of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands

The present context of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands is dominated by a proliferation of actors attempting to exert their influence on the linguistic market, with implications far beyond the purely linguistic nature of their interventions. To profile this context, we must begin by mapping out the "the role of social actors in the development and use of language standards" (Costa et al., 2017, p. 7). The *source* of legitimacy is the basic feature that allows us to distinguish between *public* and *private* actors who aim at intervening and shaping the language.

In the first part of the chapter, I describe the role of four public actors: the *Universitat de les Illes Balears* (University of the Balearic Islands), political institutions, public media, and schools. As for political institutions, I will identify the two regional government agencies that deal with Catalan in addition to the numerous bodies that we can find at the level of insular and local administrations. I will bring into this discussion, for the first time, an extract from an interview with a local language planner to illustrate the implications of public administrations' political rotation on Catalan language planning.

In the second part of the chapter, I outline four main types of private actors: political parties, private media, language activist associations, and individuals. Among language activist groups, I will distinguish between the main Catalanist one, three recent neogonella associations, and two older gonella associations. It is in this chapter where I will present in detail the stance of neogonellisme towards Balearic vernaculars (and the Catalan language) by analysing two of their launching manifestos. For individual social actors, I will use the notion of *agency* (Duranti, 2004), that is, the role of actors' decisions, efforts, and appraisals. It is important to

bear in mind that not only individuals but all actors here described have agency. For instance, institutions have agency as well. However, I elaborate on agency when I reflect on individual actors as this notion is particularly helpful to grasp how people can also play a role in large social processes like language standardisation.

Costa et al. (2017) argue that "[i]n considering the tensions of minority standardisation projects (...) the practices and perspectives of social actors are of immense importance" (p. 14–15). To approach these practices and perspectives, I introduce the distinction between participants who take *stances of language sameness*, claiming that Balearic varieties are varieties of the Catalan language, and those who take *stances of language difference*, holding that Catalan and Balearic varieties have crucial differences that justify different types of diverging linguistic claims (see Duane, 2017a). From this perspective, it is evident that the three neogonella associations take *stances of language difference*. These two types of stances correspond to the *unitary* and *differential linguistic awarenesses* used in Chapter 2. However, unaware of the underlying awarenesses held by many authors of the online content analysed, I adopt a stance-taking approach (Jaffe, 2009c) to capture, from here onwards, contemporary occurrences and the occasionally shifting positions of today's actors.

3.1   Public actors

Public actors of language standardisation derive their legitimacy from the widespread social conceptualisation of language as a collective matter. In the Balearic Islands, as in most of Europe, public institutions are deemed legitimate and capable of legislating language issues. We can first distinguish between the public University of the Balearic Islands, which is the academic authority for the language, and Balearic political institutions, which include the regional government, the island councils, and the local municipalities. Other principal actors are public media and schools, both of which I consider separately for clarity purposes. The linguistic authority of Balearic political institutions stems from the constitutional apparatus of the Spanish State, which delegates legislative and executive power to autonomous communities such as the Balearic Islands to plan over autochthonous languages. Political party rotation highly influences the decisions concerning the Catalan language of these public actors.

3.1.1   The University of the Balearic Islands

The University of the Balearic Islands (*Universitat de les Illes Balears*; henceforth UIB) is the main player influencing the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands.

It counts with two sources of legitimacy: the *legal* and the *academic* one. First, the legal framework of the region's Statute of Autonomy defines that "the official consultative institution referring to the Catalan language is the University of the Balearic Islands".[1] The consultative role of the UIB means that any legislative or executive initiative that somehow affects the Catalan language must first request the university's position, which always foregrounds the minoritised status of Catalan and its consequent need for normalisation.[2] For this study, I interviewed a member of the UIB, Maria, who is involved in this consultancy role.[3] Maria stated that although the university's rulings may or may not be followed, Balearic political institutions usually respect them, except for what happened during one specific period, the Bauzá administration (interview with Maria, 22:30).

Maria explained how the Bauzá administration did not follow the university recommendations' regarding the government's initiatives to amend the region's official normalisation language policy. In fact, one of the main reasons for which the TIL decree was suspended by the courts was that the government had not requested the advisory UIB report. Faced with the government's disregard of the UIB's role in guiding language policy, the UIB published during that period statements criticising the regional government's actions, for example, its promotion of the discourse of particularisation (UIB, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, 2014b) and the implementation of this discourse on IB3 (UIB, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, 2014a).[4] Media echoed these statements, in what is a clear indicator of the dimension of the language ideological debates during that period.

The second source of UIB's legitimacy is its membership in the worldwide research community. It is a well-recognised institution producing academically legitimised knowledge, including linguistic knowledge. This aspect explains why Bauzá's office encountered such a solid and widespread opposition to its actions against Catalan: the regional government was opposing legitimate academic knowledge. This also

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[1]"La institució oficial consultiva per a tot el que es refereix a la llengua catalana és la Universitat de les Illes Balears". This statement appears both in the Statute's 1983 and 2007 versions (the latter being currently in force). Its location in the Statute, however, is different. Whereas in the 1983 Statute this definition appeared as an Additional Provision, in 2007 it was relocated within Article 35, which refers to the "teaching of own language". This relocation links the linguistic authority of the UIB on Catalan with education.

[2]When requested, reports are composed by members of three internal bodies from the UIB (the Linguistic Service, the Language Policy Commission, and the Catalan Department).

[3]See Section 4.3.1 (p. 112) for more on interview participants.

[4]The University's public statements clearly denote a *stance of language sameness* and pro-normalisation language planning, and thus a firm opposition to Bauzá's language policy changes.

explains why Hispanicist political parties such as PP and Citizens (*Ciudadanos*; henceforth Cs) ceased to look to public institutions as the legitimate authority for linguistic matters, turning instead to the emerging Balearist associations—who are, in turn, in stark opposition to the UIB.

As seen in the previous chapter, the IEC is in charge of Catalan language corpus planning,[5] fixating the *norms* for the language and suggesting a *standard* variety (see Section 1.2.1, p. 14). The UIB recognises the authority of the IEC and both institutions work in close collaboration. For instance, amid the debates generated by the discourse of particularisation of the Bauzá administration (see Section 2.4.3, p. 54), the UIB and the IEC did a joint press conference opposing the contrast between standard Catalan and the island modalities that the government was furthering (see Polls, 2014b). Building on its regional authoritative role, the UIB implicitly participates in corpus planning by suggesting how to adapt the standard to normative Balearic features resulting in the 'restricted standard' (see Section 1.2.1, p. 14). Members of the Catalan Language Department have published works where they propose a Catalan restricted standard for the Balearic Islands (Alomar, Bibiloni, Corbera, & Melià, 1999; Alomar & Melià, 1999).[6] Similarly, the UIB has its own corrective criteria (UIB, Servei Lingüístic, 2014) and it has collaborated in publishing Style Books for other institutions (e.g., Consell de Mallorca & Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2009). Finally, some of the members of the UIB's Catalan language Department, such as Dr. Nicolau Dols, are part of the IEC's Philological Section.

3.1.2 Political institutions

The way Balearic political institutions treat the Catalan language depends on the ruling party in each institution at each point point in time. Broadly speaking, the promotion, use, and treatment of Catalan improves when left-wing coalitions rule, whereas it weakens when the main conservative and Hispanicist party in Spain, the PP, rules. The fact that regional, insular, and local elections are organised simultaneously every four years, results in the most important political bodies (regional government, Island Councils, and Palma's City Council) tending to share the political colours of the time. This shift in linguistic approach is what happened during the 2011–2015 period, as well as at the time of writing, when left-wing coalitions govern the regional government, all Island Councils and Palma's City Council. As a result, currently all

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[5]In collaboration with the Valencian Academy of the Language (*Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua*).

[6]As can be expected, the standard proposals in these two works respect Catalan norms and they obviously do not refer to any kind of "Balearic" standard.

the main Balearic administrations have pro-normalisation governments. What we end up having is a relationship of political institutions with the Catalan language that tends to take a cyclical shape.

A way to grasp how political institutions consider Catalan is to focus one's attention on the departments charged with language policy.[7] As we will see, political agendas heavily condition the work of these bodies across Balearic institutions.

The government of the Balearic Islands

The government of the Balearic Islands has two bodies that explicitly deal with the Catalan language (both under the Education Department), the General Directorate of Language Policy (*Direcció General de Política Lingüística*; henceforth DGPL) and the Institute of Language and Culture (*Institut de la Llengua i la Cultura*; henceforth ILLENC).[8] A high ranking member from each agency, Carla (DGPL) and Biel (ILLENC), was interviewed for this research.

The DGPL is the governmental body in charge of advancing the normalisation of the Catalan language, as defined in the LNL. It has organised the main linguistic campaigns in the region, such as "Catalan, a language for everyone" ("*El català, una llengua per a tothom*", 2002–2003).[9] The ILLENC organises Catalan language courses for adults, as well as it manages self-learning centres in Majorca (Palma and Inca), Minorca (Ciutadella), and Eivissa (Eivissa city). Both institutions work in close collaboration, the former defining main working guidelines and the latter implementing them.

However, the situation was quite different during Bauzá's term in office. One of Bauzá's first decisions in 2011 was to eliminate the DGPL, ceasing all of the governments' Catalan language promotion activities.[10] During Bauzá's office, the ILLENC, which back then was named Institute of Balearic Studies (*Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics*; henceforth IEB), remained operative to organise all Catalan teaching for adults and Catalan official examinations. In addition, though, it also undertook

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[7]The role of institutions in standardisation obviously includes other bodies and practices. For instance, the language choice for public statements of members of the government has ideological entailments in terms of prestige (for example, some high members of the Bauzá administration used Castilian, contravening the LNL).

[8]The official acronym ILLENC composes the Catalan word for 'islander'.

[9]This campaign aimed at promoting the *anonymity* value of Catalan, similarly to other campaigns from Catalonia (Woolard, 2016). Chapter 5 will come back to the relationship between these campaigns and the values of *anonymity* and *authenticity*.

[10]The following government, elected in 2015, re-constituted the DGPL but re-organising the body was a complex task that affected developing a normal activity, according to Carla.

the only initiative *about* Catalan of the Bauzá administration: it published a book called *Les modalitats insulars. Recull de formes lingüístiques normatives de les Illes Balears* (*The island modalities. Compilation of normative linguistic forms from the Balearic Islands*, Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 2013). Its release was widely echoed in regional media, as it was seen as materialising the discourse of particularisation of the regional government.

Les modalitats insulars aimed at giving content to a word that is widespread in the official language policy documentation in the region, "modalities" (see footnote 23, p. 11). The book intended to define what could count as Majorcan, Minorcan, and Eivissan within the norms of Catalan, thus trying to broaden the space provided by these norms. Revealingly, the title of the book makes no reference to which language the "normative linguistic forms" refers to, but this could only be Catalan, given that the publisher was an official body. This absence must be understood in the context of a ruling Hispanicist government not only promoting a discourse of particularisation, but also halting Catalan normalisation. Most likely, the authors of the book were pressured to avoid mentioning the word 'Catalan' in the book's title. This is the case in Valencia, according to Dominic Keown (personal communication), who comments how, over 35 years of association with institutional bodies in Valencia, the extremes which were adopted in grant applications to avoid adverse reaction to the correct philological designation of the vernacular were hard to believe.

Les modalitats insulars was widely criticised from all sides. On the one hand, actors taking *stances of language sameness* considered it negatively. The UIB's Catalan Language Department issued a critical review (UIB, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, 2014b) reminding that the University was the main institution concerning the fixation of the Catalan language, according to the legal framework, and that the IEB (and the regional government) had ignored it. It criticised the publication's technical inaccuracies and, above all, the fact that the book considered island modalities in isolation from the standard and the other Catalan language varieties, and without defining what a "modality" was. It also pointed out that there were already publications with a similar aim, such as the standard proposals mentioned in the previous section, and that modalities had already been considered in IEC's corpus planning.[11] Interviewed local language planners were also very critical of this publication, as everything within it could also be found

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[11]However, it considered "a positive fact that this publication represents a rejection of the secessionist theses of certain private institutions, since it abides by the IEC's normative and/or recommendations concerning linguistic matters" ("Un fet positiu que aquesta publicació representi un rebuig de les tesis secessionistes de determinades institucions privades, en atenir-se a la normativa i/o a les recomanacions de l'IEC en matèria lingüística").

in any Catalan grammar. On the other hand, neogonella associations found *Les modalitats insulars* disappointing, as it did not fixate iconic and normative-breaching features such as the salty article.

Island Councils and local municipalities

The Island Councils of each of the four inhabited Balearic Islands occupy the mid-level of political governance in the archipelago, between the regional government and local municipalities. They are an executive branch bound to each island with a set of competencies defined by the 2007 Statute of Autonomy (among which are culture and heritage) and whose members are democratically elected. Local municipalities are the micro level of political governance in the Balearic Islands.[12]

Since the democratic restoration, "language technicians" ("tècnics lingüístics") were incorporated into both Island Councils and (most) local municipalities . Initially, these technicians were brought in to facilitate the introduction of Catalan in the administration (resulting from its new official status) by training staff and correcting documentation when most of the population was only literate in Castilian. With time, language technicians also adopted part of the linguistic promotion functions envisaged by the LNL. Nowadays, these technicians, who are part of the permanent staff of the institutions, constitute a language-related-body which is normally located within the department of culture (though in Minorca it was recently moved to presidency). These language bodies are usually called 'Linguistic Normalisation Service' (*Servei de Normalitació Lingüística*) or 'Linguistic Advisory Service' (*Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic*). For this research, I interviewed seven language technicians or planners from these bodies.[13] Both at the insular and municipal levels, the duties of these actors of Catalan standardisation are divided into three areas: linguistic training, correction, and promotion.[14]

Firstly, training basically refers to the organisation of Catalan language courses for adults, which in some small municipalities is done with the collaboration of the Catalanist association Balearic Cultural Work (*Obra Cultural Balear*, which I will soon present). Secondly, correction concerns the normative and register correction of internal and external documents. Of all internal documents, planners prioritise those from plenary sessions and documents that will be made public. Regarding

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[12]There are 53 municipalities in Majorca, eight in Minorca, and five in Eivissa. Given its small size, there are no local municipalities in Formentera, which makes its Island Council its main local governing institution. The geographic and demographic size of each municipality varies enormously.

[13]See Section 4.3.1 (p. 112) for more on interview participants.

[14]I consider language planners at both the insular and municipal levels as *local* actors, given that their functions are extremely similar (and different from *regional* actors).

external documents, citizens from each constituency can request their corresponding linguistic service to revise a document. Language technicians spend most of their time correcting internal documents, though they are very far from reviewing everything produced by the corresponding institution (a Majorcan participant estimated that she only reviewed around 10%). Interview participants explain that external requests are very low, except in two minor islands. In one of these, the planner quantified approximately between 300 and 400 queries per year and provided examples of commonly queried texts: house names, retailers' labels, invitations for marriages, restaurant menus, and typical gastronomic products (interview with Rafel, 19:43–21:32).

Thirdly, promotion includes the language technicians' activities and campaigns designed to foster the knowledge and social use of Catalan within their constituencies. Examples of these initiatives are promotion campaigns, dissemination of printed materials such as calendars of agricultural lexicon (Formentera), workshops with schools (Majorca), the organisation of literary awards (Majorca, Minorca), and financial aid for labelling in Catalan in shops (Eivissa, Minorca). Of the three work areas of linguistic services, technicians are less able to dedicate time to promotion due to time constraints (they must prioritise training and correction) and to party political rotation, a matter which deserves further elaboration.

Most interviewed planners agree that the political tendency of the ruling party at the Island Council or the municipality has a huge impact on their promotion tasks, since they can be blocked if Catalan is not among the priorities of the governing party. When this is the case, language technicians (who, as part of the institution's permanent staff, cannot be dismissed) focus on training and, especially, internal correction. Most participants identified the PP as the main party opposing Catalan language promotion.

In the context of a question about the evolution of the number of external correction requests, Rafel, a local planner from a minor island, explained that politics not only influenced his promotion duties, but also correction requests. He explained that the number of queries had fallen, saying that they were now half as many as those compared to the times of the left-wing regional government that governed between 1999 and 2003. Rafel elaborated, identifying the two following PP terms in office as the cause of such decrease. When I further asked him about such correlation between regional government and local correction, he also linked local politics to correction requests, as as we can see in the following Extract 3.1:[15]

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[15] As explained in the initial Note (p. xxiii), in Extracts regular font type indicates Catalan and *italics* Castilian.

Extract 3.1: Interview with Rafel (22:13–24:28).

R: Ara pareix que s'ha deixat de (.) ha anat davallant, pel mig va haver-hi (.) dos governs del PP, sobre tot es de (.) es des darrer govern del PP amb en Bauzá va ser anticatalanista i anaven a carregar-s'ho tot, i sincerament la gent se'n va deixar, vull dir per comoditat, per què ho hem de posar en català si llavó vendrà algú aquí i em dirà *eeee catalán y no se qué, no voy a venir a comprar más*, m'ho va dir un, (.) sí m'ho va dir un botiguer, me va dir ((changes voice pitch to indicate reported speech)) un que va venir que que ((normal pitch)) eren turistes de l'Imserso de Madrid *que si está en catalán no le voy a comprar nada*=buenu bé, (.) estan de pas aquesta gent ((laughs)).... ((70 seconds omission))

R: Si hi ha un moment determinat que: he hi ha una línea d'ajudes per entitas culturals que funcionin en llengua catalana, per editorials que funcionin en llengua catalana, per comerços i indústria, (.) i se tallen amb l'excusa d'una suposada crisi econòmica, això significa que la gent (.) deixa de demanar aquestes ajudes i el=l'ús ambiental de la llengua catalana disminueix, (.) que era l'objectiu del darrer govern. Llavó torna a posar-ho en marxa as cap de quatre anys.

R: Now it seems that (.) it has been decreasing, in between there were (.) two PP governments, especially the (.) the last PP government with Bauzà was anti-Catalanist and they wanted to destroy everything, and honestly people let it go, I mean out of convenience, why should we write it in Catalan if then someone will come here and will tell me *eee Catalan and whatever, I won't come and buy more*, someone told me, (.) yes a shop clerk told me ((changes voice pitch to indicate reported speech)) one who came and ((normal pitch)) were Imserso ((retirement agency)) tourists from Madrid *that if it's in Catalan I won't buy anything from you*=well, (.) these people come and go ((laughs)).... ((70 seconds omission))

R: If there's a certain moment that: there is a subvention programme for cultural entities that operate in Catalan language, for publishing houses that operate in Catalan language, for retailers and industry, (.) and they are cut with the excuse of an alleged economic crisis, this means that people (.) stop asking for these grants and the everyday use of the Catalan language diminishes, (.) which was the objective of the last ((Bauzá)) government. Then set it in motion again after four years.

In Rafel's account, politics determine promotion tasks of language technicians and, in turn, promotion ultimately affects external correction. Rafel began identifying the regional government as having an effect on correction tasks, but at the end of his account, he provided the example of the grants for writing signs in Catalan that are decided at the level of his local administration, and not the regional government. Removing these *local* grants, according to Rafel, diminishes the "everyday use of Catalan", a conclusion he arrived at via the decrease of correction requests people addressed to him. What is also interesting is that, in the beginning of his account,

Rafel links institutional hostility to Catalan with language-based conflicts. In Rafel's view, during Bauzá's term in office people ceased using Catalan for convenience to prevent potential identity conflicts this may have led to (he even provides an example, from a shopkeeper whose use of Catalan in his store became a contentious matter with retired tourists from Madrid). Rafel presents the Bauzá administration as "anti-Catalanist", an impression all language technicians agreed with, and which Chapter 7 will cover.

3.1.3   Public media: IB3

There is one main public media in the Balearic Islands, managed by the regional government: IB3 Radio and TV, which began broadcasting in 2004 and 2005, respectively. According to its corporate charter, one of the main objectives of IB3 is "[t]he diffusion and promotion of the Catalan language, that from the Balearic Islands".[16] IB3 Radio and TV mainly broadcast in Catalan[17] (thus, IB3 TV is the only TV channel with a regional scope that broadcasts in this language).[18] The average regional market share of IB3 Radio was 4.8% in November 2016 (Instituto Balear de Estudios Sociales, 2016), while IB3 TV's was 6.3% during 2016 (Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación, 2017). Given the role that media play in language hierarchisation and standardisation (Bourdieu, 1991; Cameron, 2003), IB3 can be considered an important Balearic actor of Catalan standardisation.

IB3 has a language editing service in charge of language "quality", that is, that Catalan is used properly according to its norms and register system. The name of this service is 'Linguistic Advisory Service' (*Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic*) and it is composed by "language technicians", similarly to what occurs at Insular Councils and municipalities. For this research, I interviewed Caterina, who used to work as a language editor in IB3.[19] She argued that IB3 journalists support and appreciate the work of language editors and justified their role in two ways: the cardinal linguistic

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[16]"Difondre i promoure la llengua catalana, pròpia de les Illes Balears", Public Radio and Television Broadcasting Entity of the Balearic Islands 15/2010 Act. The preliminary recitals also state that unfolding public media is an essential tool for the normalisation of the Catalan language.

[17]As seen above, during Bauzá's office IB3 TV also broadcast films dubbed in Castilian.

[18]As mentioned in Section 2.4.3 (p. 52), there was another public broadcasting entity managed by the Island Council of Majorca, *Ràdio i Televisió de Mallorca*, which broadcast in Catalan language. Like IB3, they both used a standard Catalan adapted to Balearic features. The radio station, *Ona Mallorca*, began broadcasting in 2000, while *TV Mallorca* did so in 2006 (it absorbed several local Majorcan channels). In 2011, after that year's elections, the Island Council, governed by Bauzá's PP, closed both media arguing economical problems (ACN, 2011).

[19]See Section 4.3.1 (p. 112) for more on interview participants.

function of IB3, created to promote the Catalan language, and the need of complying with prestigious and high quality standards, just like any media does (interview with Caterina, 18:39–19:24). She explains that their linguistic model is "obviously" normative, orientating to autochthonous Balearic options whenever possible, and always respecting Balearic phonetics. In terms of register, language editors at IB3 adhere to standard Catalan to convey a professional and technical presentation and to avoid "folklorisation". Caterina's account strongly echoed Frekko's (2009a) findings about the strong prevalence of the standard language ideology of Catalan language professionals in Catalonia.

It is worthy to note that Caterina's views are those of a language technician during Bauzá's term in office when public media were used for language politics. During this period, the regional government closed down the language editing department at IB3. This exemplifies how party politics have affected public media as an actor of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands (see Joan Melià, 2007). I will address these issues in Chapter 7, given that what happened at IB3 is representative of the general sociolinguistic entailments that language planners across multiple levels associate with that period.

3.1.4   Education

Education plays an essential role in the spread of standard varieties (Bourdieu, 1991). Although the focus of this dissertation lies on actors explicitly forging or attempting to forge standards, it is necessary to acknowledge the decisive role of the Balearic Islands' education system in the spread of Catalan standardisation. Although "[l]anguage-in-education policies have been key in achieving the supremacy of Castilian in Catalan-speaking territories over the course of the last 100–200 years" (Vila i Moreno, 2011, p. 143), today, the only fields where Catalan is predominant in the archipelago are education and administration (UIB, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, 2012).

The recent history of the gradual incorporation of Catalan into the Balearic school system speaks of the social support the language has enjoyed. After the banning of the language during Franco's dictatorship, Catalan was introduced as a school subject in 1979. Subsequently, it gradually gained ground as the language of instruction as a result of the bottom-up work of parents and teachers.[20] Given the fast expansion and the social support of this model, administrations finally assumed

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[20]Melià i Garí (1997) explains that this occurred mostly in places where the language was less minoritised, like villages from inland Majorca.

it in 1997, when the regional government, in the hands of the PP, passed the so-called 'Decree of Minimums'[21] which required teaching centres to teach "at least half their subjects in Catalan, with the possibility of increasing this percentage in each centre's language plans" (Vila i Moreno, 2011, p. 130). This legislation incorporated two of the aims of the grass-roots driven model: the prevention of language-based segregation of students and the aim that at the end of compulsory education, all students ought to master both official languages—for which the predominance of Catalan is understood as a rebalancing measure to the hegemony of Castilian (UIB, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, 2012).[22] In a very short period of time, Catalan became the main language of instruction in most schools across the archipelago.[23]

The education system currently works as follows.[24] Whereas nursery schools can choose their own linguistic arrangements, for preschool, primary education, and secondary education, all teaching centres in the Balearic Islands must comply with the above explained 'Decree of Minimums' (i.e., at least half their courses must be Catalan-instructed). By the school-year 2004–2005, for instance, Catalan was the language of instruction in over 90% of public preschools and primary schools and around 50% of private preschools and primary schools, while in the rest it was the language of instruction in at least 50% of subjects (Munar i Munar, 2009).[25] As for secondary schools, it is illustrative that the percentage of students who choose to take university entrance tests in Catalan has increased from 43.7% in 2000 to 79.6% in 2017 (Grup de Recerca Sociolingüística de les Illes Balears, n.d.).[26] In higher education, the UIB is the only university in the Balearic Islands. Its internal and external working language is also Catalan, but each student and lecturer enjoys the

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[21]Decree 92/1997, of 4 July.

[22]This is the reason why Munar i Munar (2009, p. 95) says that schools are language "oases".

[23]Besides being the main language of instruction in schools across the Balearic Islands, Catalan is also, to some extent, the language for the integration of newcomers (Vila i Moreno, 2011, p. 135), and the working language of school administration.

[24]For a legal perspective, see Sbert i Garau (2005) and Segura Ginard (2013), who also examines the TIL (see Section 2.4.3, p. 52).

[25]Concerning private centres, Munar i Munar refers to "*centres concertats*", which are private schools that receive a government grant.

[26]Nevertheless, the 2017 average is lower than the historical maximum of 82.6% in 2014. Vila i Moreno (2008, pp. 43–44) uses this type of test data to argue that schools partially counteract the pressure of dominant Castilian, although this influence should not be overestimated. Additionally, Gelabert i Mas (2009, p. 128) reminds us that students that pass these tests are a minority of all secondary school students. The Balearic Islands is the Spanish region with the highest rates of school dropouts (26.6%, by mid-2017, Ferragut, 2017), mainly because of the high demand of low-skilled jobs from the tourist sector (Amer, 2013).

right to choose between Catalan and Castilian to communicate with other members of the university community (Vila i Moreno, 2011, pp. 136–137). According to data from 2011–2012 reported to the Council of Europe, in the UIB subjects are taught in Catalan in 44.5% of the departments, in Castilian in 40.7%, and in both Catalan and Castilian or in other languages in the remaining departments (Committee of Experts, 2016, p. 53).[27] Finally, according to Francesc Xavier Vila i Moreno (2011), there are no clear public policy language guidelines regarding adult education in the Balearic Islands.

Since the turn of the century, when the PP has been in power in the Balearic regional government, it has targeted this education model, according to Vila i Moreno (2011), "with the aim of garnering votes from the thousands of Castilian speakers from the mainland attracted by the property and tourist boom" (p. 131). During its 2003–2007 term in office, the PP tried to reduce the role of Catalan by raising "the standard of freedom of parental choice" and by passing a law "designed in principle to encourage the use of foreign languages in teaching, but which in passing allows for a reduction in the use of Catalan to only one-third of teaching hours" (2011, p. 131). However, these measures were ineffective given the strong opposition from the school community (2011, p. 131). As we know, when the PP came back to office in 2011, it tried again to undermine the role of Catalan education with very similar strategies (see Section 2.4.3, p. 52). Bauzá's government re-introduced parental choice, but given the widespread support by parents for instruction in Catalan, his government tried to apply the TIL. Even then, social resistance to the TIL halted its definitive implementation (Joan Melià, 2014).

As for neogonelles, the education system is one of their main areas of concern, as we will soon see. Neogonelles supported the TIL, but rather implicitly. What is relevant is that, during the final stages of the debates about this measure, neogonelles tried setting the spotlight on an alleged insufficient adaptation of school textbooks to Balearic varieties. They did so by publishing a "study" (Pericay & Font Rosselló, 2014), for which they organised a press conference, and a *YouTube* video (Fundació Jaume III, 2014b), successfully grabbing regional media's attention (e.g., Agüera, 2014; Europa Press, 2014). On this topic, Felip Munar i Munar (2009, p. 95) reports that in primary education of the Balearic Islands school textbooks do use normative Balearic lexicon (see also Joan Melià, 2000). Nevertheless, literature on Catalan sociolinguistics does not have an explicit focus on the way the standard language regime manifests itself in the education system of the Balearic Islands. Chapter 7 discusses the insights in this respect from interviews with language planners.

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[27]Vila i Moreno (2011) suggests that the weight of Catalan seems to diminish in graduate courses.

3.2   Private actors

The ever-changing shape of a language is not only the result of the management and interventions by public actors. Private actors also intervene in language, both explicitly and implicitly. Particularly important in this sense are political parties, media, and language-related associations, given that their linguistic decisions greatly shape the value and prestige of language repertoires. Of all the language associations, I will pay special attention to the associations that recently have consolidated linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands. Finally, I will also reflect on the role of individuals in standardisation, particularly taking into consideration how the current communicative conditions have the potential of amplifying individual actions.

3.2.1   Political parties

Political parties are actors of standardisation because their stances about language may be implemented in public institutions and because they are the focal point of a great deal of media attention. Currently, all political parties[28] in the Balearic Islands use share the standard written variety of the Catalan language,[29] except for Cs, whose decision of adopting the alternative linguistic model of neogonellisme was key to the establishment of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

The results of a survey (Fundació Gadeso, 2015)[30] on identity stance according to reported vote in the 2015 regional elections (see Figure 3.1) are useful to explain the parties' current stance towards the Catalan language, as the identity stance-taking of voters bears relationship to the value that parties attribute to Catalan. I will first review the parties that support Catalan normalisation to then follow with the parties that are showing increasing hostility towards it.

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[28]Although there are many minor political parties in the Balearic Islands, what follows focuses on the political parties that currently have representation in the regional parliament, given their social prominence and their higher exposure in media.

[29]Regardless of their stance about the autochthonous language, the speech from all politicians is, linguistically speaking, very similar: they all use Balearic varieties of Catalan, recognised by their phonetics and regional lexicon and morphology (verbs, pronouns, salty articles, etc.). For instance, in parliamentary sessions, which are held in Catalan (except for some representatives of PP and Cs), all politicians use salty articles despite the formality of the context. As we see, the register system of speakers of Balearic vernaculars distinguishes between speech and written practices.

[30]The sociological research agency of the Spanish State also conducted a similar survey in 2012 (Centro de Investigaciones Sociólogicas, 2012), but its sample is about half of the one of Fundació Gadeso (2015).
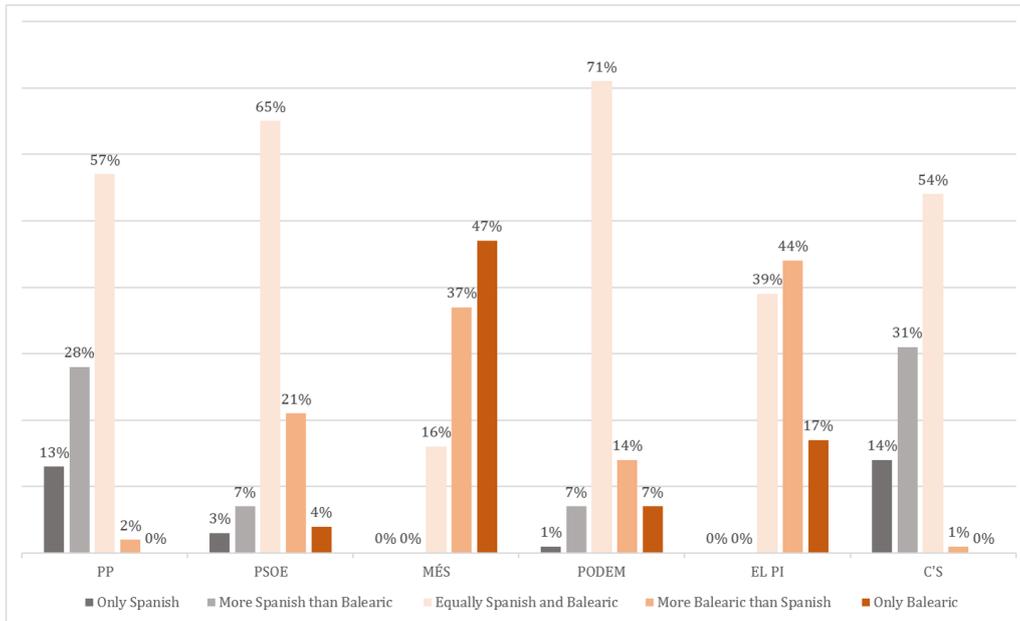
Figure 3.1: Identity stance according to reported vote in Balearic regional 2015 elections. Source: Fundació Gadeso (2015).

There are four parties that support Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands:[31] Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*; henceforth PSOE),[32] MÉS,[33] Podem,[34] and The Pine-Proposal for the Balearic Islands (*El Pi-Proposta per les Illes Balears*; henceforth El Pi). These four parties support the use of Catalan as language of instruction in education, which is the clearest indicator of linguistic value-attribution in the political field. Voters of PSOE and Podem, two parties present in all of Spain, show similar stance-taking, defining an equally Spanish and Balearic identity. Politicians from these two parties tend to give priority to Catalan in public statements. Voters of MÉS, which is a regional coalition of ecologist and left-wing Catalanist parties, largely identify with what in this survey was phrased as "Balearic".[35] Members of this party always use Catalan

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[31]That is, the active role of institutions in promoting the knowledge and use of Catalan as the autochthonous language of the archipelago (see Section 2.4.3, p. 51).

[32]The regional branch of the PSOE in the Balearic Islands is the Socialist Party of the Balearic Islands (*Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears*). As a side note, GxF, a Catalanist and ecologist party from the minor island of Formentera, ran in coalition with the PSOE and won the only seat from this island. The survey here used did not include data on this party.

[33]'*Més*' means 'more' in Catalan.

[34]'Podem' means '[we] can' in Catalan.

[35] The meaning of 'Balearic' in sociological surveys must be considered with extreme caution, given the polysemy of the term and which I will later address. People and parties, such as MÉS, who take Catalanist stances consider that a "Balearic" identity does not exist; instead, these people feel Majorcan, Minorcan, Eivissan, or Formenteran. For them, the 'Balearic Islands' is an administrative

in their public statements. A coalition between PSOE, MÉS, and Podem supports the current pro-normalisation Balearic government since 2015. El Pi, which is a new regional centre-right Catalanist party, has a similar stance towards Catalan to MÉS's and its voters show a tendency towards a Balearic identity.

Differently, a significant part of voters of the PP and Cs incline more towards a Spanish identity. These two Hispanicist parties, which also are present throughout Spain, differ from the rest in terms of their relationship to the Catalan language. For instance, both are reluctant to call it 'Catalan' and are against the prominence of Catalan in schooling. The conservative and Hispanicist PP, historically the most voted party in the archipelago, is said to represent two different sociological profiles: native conservative Majorcan, mostly from rural areas, and urban migrants from the rest of Spain. In regards to language, the PP has changed from an apathetic support of normalisation in the 1980s and 1990s to Bauzá's clear opposition during recent years. Nowadays, the PP does not reject that the autochthonous language is Catalan, but some of its members use Castilian in public statements and the party's website default language is Castilian (though it is also available in Catalan). There are clear signals to believe that the party's tacit tolerance towards normalisation has ended and that, instead, it is ready to apply a discourse of particularisation once it is re-elected (Gelabert, 2017).

As for Cs, its origins are in Catalonia. It was created basically as an anti-Catalanist political platform opposing linguistic normalisation, while assuming a Hispanicist agenda (see Woolard, 2016, pp. 80–88). Recently, it has expanded out of Catalonia, achieving representation elsewhere in Spain, including the Balearic Islands. In the archipelago, Cs opposes Catalan normalisation and it is the only political actor that assumes the implementation of the Foundation Jaume III's dissident linguistic model (which I will soon address) (see Manresa, 2015c). This model was developed by linguist Xavier Pericay, who nowadays is Cs's regional leader.[36] Though Pericay uses Catalan in the regional parliament, most of the members of Cs use Castilian. Further, the party's website is only available in Castilian. Thus, Cs's adherence to

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notion that has been assumed by parties such as PP and Cs in an attempt to neutralise the Catalan affiliation of the archipelago. How can we explain that MÉS voters mostly identify as Balearic in Figure 3.1? The available answers to the survey's question explain this. Most certainly, for MÉS voters a Balearic identification, despite being inaccurate, subsumes insular identifications and is preferred against the offered alternative of identifying with a Spanish identity.

[36]Xavier Pericay participated in the debates in Catalonia concerning what shape standard Catalan had to take after the long Francoist regime. Together with other linguists, he advocated that standard Catalan had to come closer to the speech of the post-Franco time, a stance known as "light Catalan" (*català light*), in front of the alternative stance of "heavy Catalan" (*català heavy*) (Kailuweit, 2002; see also Darder, 2015, p. 309).

the Foundation's linguistic model remains more symbolical than instrumental. But nevertheless, the party's recognition of a neogonella activist association's alternative linguistic model symbolises the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

3.2.2   Media

This section briefly addresses the role in Catalan standardisation of different private media operating in the Balearic Islands, including at state, regional, and local levels. This mediascape uses almost exclusively the Castilian language, as TV and printed media best exemplify (see Joan Melià, 2007). However, most Castilian-medium regional newspapers are mildly tolerant with the project of Catalan normalisation. The radio spectrum is also dominated by stations in Castilian, though many of them also broadcast programmes in Catalan such as, for example, the most popular radio station in Spain, *Cadena SER*.

The few regional private media that use Catalan follow Catalan's normative standard, such as the weekly newspaper *AraBalears* or the digital news portal *DBalears.cat* (which was a newspaper until 2013). In the radio spectrum, the private radio station *Ona Mediterrània* also uses standard Catalan (this station is part of the same group as the online portal *DBalears.cat*). In addition, there are also some online local media that use standard Catalan.

There are also a few insular private media that broadcast in Catalan but use localisms unsystematically. In Majorca, there is *Canal 4*, a small private TV and Radio media. Caterina, the former language editor at IB3 who I interviewed for this research, was very critical of the "language quality" of this media. This media shows connections to neogonellisme: the TV channel echoes the activities of the neogonella association Foundation Jaume III and the radio station collaborates with this association for one of its weekly shows, which is called "We are Balearic" (*Som Balears*). Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that *Canal 4*'s website is only available in Castilian. In Eivissa and Formentera, there is also a private channel called *Televisió d'Eivissa i Formentera*, which broadcasts partly in Catalan, though very recently it announced that its newscasts will no longer be in Catalan, but in Castilian (see Institut d'Estudis Eivissencs, 2017).

As with the exceptions given above of private regional and insular media, there also a few instances of public media, apart from IB3 Radio and TV, that broadcast in Catalan.[37] These exceptions are a few public Radio and TV channels broad-

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[37]Though public media from Catalonia is not a privately owned actor, I include it in this section

casting from Catalonia. Interviewed local language planners deemed these media as fundamental for the perception of unity and prestige of Catalan in the Balearic Islands (especially the public TV channel TV3).[38] However, public media broadcasts from Catalonia are also subject to political rotation: PP regional governments have successfully hampered its correct reception across the archipelago during several mandates. Finally, the Island Council of Formentera operates a radio station, *Ràdio Illa*, which according to the local language planner is very popular, and which uses standard Catalan.

3.2.3   Language activist associations

In the Balearic Islands, there are several associations explicitly related to the Catalan language. They differ in their agendas, activities, social composition, size, and history. Despite their differences, they all fit under Bernard Spolsky's definition of 'language activist groups' and associated 'language activism':

> Language activists are significant participants in language management. They constitute individuals and groups whose ideology is clearest in support of the maintenance or revival or spread of a threatened target language. Working at the grassroots level, they attempt to influence existing, former, or potential speakers of the language to continue its use and to persuade government to support their plans. Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence (...). They attempt to influence two groups—speakers of a language (or ethnic groups associated with the language), and governments who might undertake management favoring the language (Spolsky, 2009, p. 204).

Language activist groups can be found in contexts where the management of multilingualism becomes a contentious social matter. Spolsky (2009), for example, reviews the historical role of pro-Hebrew organisations in the establishment of the language in Israel, illustrating how they engaged in a language policing process throughout society and how the resulting linguistic order requires nuanced agency explanations that move away from simpler top-bottom and bottom-up distinctions. Reviewing other examples from nationalistic and postcolonial struggles, Spolsky (2009, p. 195) argues that language associations begin with a lack of authority and

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as it does not depend on public Balearic institutions. TVE, the main public TV channel of the Spanish State, also broadcasts a 20-minute Balearic newscasts programme per day, using standard Catalan.

[38]See Darder (2015) for an account on Catalan regional variation in this TV channel.

power in linguistic matters, though they do tend to experience a transition from "grassroots" to government, with the classical model of a nationalist organisation whose linguistic claim is assumed by the state after political independence. Another common feature of language activist groups is that their agenda usually includes topics other than language, but language stands in prominence due to its effectiveness for ethnic mobilisation (2009, p. 198).

From a more critical perspective, Urla (2012) argues that "language activism engages with culture and power (...) by illuminating how many everyday practices and beliefs relating to language operate as a form of power by naturalizing the dominance of one language over another" (p. 11). The social intervention that language activism fosters represents an ideological transformation, in the sense that it pushes "language use and attitudes out of the domain of the taken-for-granted and into the realm of the ideological" (p. 13). That is, language activism evidences the ideological foundations of what otherwise would remain unquestioned. Activism has the capacity of modifying ways of understanding language and language practices.

The Balearic Islands present increasing complexity regarding language activism after 2013, when neogonella activist associations first appeared and joined the space already occupied by existing associations. Having similar targets of persuasion (Balearic citizens, political parties, and public administrations), language activist groups in the Balearic Islands can be distinguished according to their *stances* in relation to the autochthonous language of the archipelago. Their stances also relate to the social function and legitimacy that activist groups envision for the Castilian language. The Balearic official linguistic arrangement, which defines Catalan as the autochthonous language, completely determines the agenda, strategy, and discourse of these associations. The existence of diverging associations allows us to speak of an an ongoing competition between language activist groups to attain *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991). Chapter 5 will illustrate this competition from the perspective of neogonella associations.

In what follows, I profile the main language activist associations in the Balearic Islands. First, I present the most senior language activist group in the archipelago, the Balearic Cultural Work, which takes a *stance of language sameness* about Balearic vernaculars and the Catalan language. Afterwards, I describe the three recent neogonella associations and their common *stance of language difference*. Finally, I describe two other gonella associations. As we will see, the stance of Balearic Cultural Work experienced the transition from activism to institutionalism that Spolsky identifies. Both neogonella and traditional gonella associations hope that some day public institutions will assume their stances.

Balearic Cultural Work

The Balearic Cultural Work (*Obra Cultural Balear*; henceforth OCB) is an association that aims spreading the use and prestige of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands in an ideological framework that contrasts the minoritised role of Catalan to the dominant role of Castilian. The OCB counts with over 4,000 fee-paying, registered members and almost 50 local delegations throughout the four islands. These local delegations organise cultural events, Catalan language courses, solidarity events, and some of them issue publications promoting cultural activities with a local scope. The OCB has also received subsidies from the regional governments of both the Balearic Islands and Catalonia. Regarding Balearic varieties, the OCB takes a *stance of language sameness* in relation to other Catalan varieties, a stance which remains implicit given it is already recognised in official language policy. Rather, the OCB focuses on enhancing the status of Catalan and support its normalisation. For this study, I interviewed a key member of this association, Sebastià.

The OCB is an important association in the political and cultural history of the Balearic Islands. It was created in 1962 by several intellectuals, following the ambition of IEC and RAE member Francesc de Borja Moll. After completing the the *DCVB* (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45), which his mentor Alcover had began and which was commonly called "the Work of the Dictionary" ("*l'Obra del Diccionari*"), Moll wanted to create the platform from which to spread Catalan literacy and cultivation among Balearic society. Hence the association's name: it was 'the social work' complementing 'the work of the Dictionary' (interview with Sebastià, 32:18).

In its first years, besides the organisation of Catalan courses, the OCB was also involved in the struggle against Franco's regime. After Franco's death in 1975, the OCB participated in the vindications for political autonomy of the archipelago and for the official status of Catalan. Ever since then, it has continued to organise demonstrations in support of Catalan normalisation, among which we have the massive one held in Palma against Bauzá's language policy changes (see footnote 45, p. 53).

Neogonella or Balearist associations

The years of Bauzá's term in office saw the creation of three associations that defend the discourse of particularisation and the need of a "Balearic" standard for Balearic varieties of Catalan: Magazine Toc·Toc Balears (2012), the Foundation Jaume III (2013), and Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands (last days of 2013). These associations have worked in close collaboration and have been the

main thrust of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands. To pursue their common objectives, this neogonella alliance mobilises different sorts of capital and strategies of legitimation, as we will see in Chapter 5. For this research, I interviewed three neogonella activists from these associations, Antoni, Miquel, and Salva.[39] Antoni has been intensively involved with the three neogonella associations, while Salva with two. In our interviews, they explained that the simultaneity of the three associations was accidental and that they all met as a result of their "Balearist" engagement (further explained in Chapter 5).

As explained in Section 1.2.1 (p. 17), Calaforra and Moranta (2005) distinguished two tendencies within gonellisme, the dialectalist tendency or *gonellisme stricto sensu* and the "anti-Catalan secessionism". Neogonella associations represent the first tendency, as opposed to straight gonella secessionists, given that they proclaim that Balearic varieties are part of the same language spoken in Catalonia and Valencia. However, neogonella activists also proclaim that the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, and Valencia should each have their own standard model. Activists promote their model as "Balearic" (Balear), a construct that defines island *regiolects* according to certain iconic linguistic features, in opposition to standard Catalan. The *ideology of the dialect* (Watts, 1999) underpins their explicit *stance of language difference* with other Catalan varieties. Additionally, these associations never question the status of Castilian. I will now briefly present the three associations to then turn to explain in more detail their overall *raison d'être*.

Magazine Toc·Toc Balears

Magazine Toc·Toc Balears (*Revista Toc·Toc Balears*; henceforth Toc·Toc) is a literary fanzine that promotes the discourse of particularisation of Balearic varieties. A fanzine (a blending of 'fan' and '[maga]zine') "is defined by non-professional production, low circulation, underground distribution, topical specialisation, and a decisively fan or engaged perspective" (Androutsopoulos, 2000, p. 518). Now defunct, its periodicity was irregular, but it usually was trimestral, and it accepted readers' contributions. Toc·Toc was created in early 2012 by several people who met online, via personal blogs with similar views on Balearic identity and language politics. Interview participant Salva was the "editor" or main person involved in the publication of Toc·Toc, while Antoni was also very actively engaged, especially online. Toc·Toc initially had its own website, but it was soon dropped in favour of its Facebook site or Page, where activists were extremely active. During the last stage of Bauzá's government, the IEB (see Section 3.1.2, p. 63) gave Toc·Toc a small

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[39]See Section 4.3.1 (p. 112) for more on interview participants.

grant, thus becoming the first ever language dissident actor to be recognised by a public institution. At the time of writing, the fanzine is no longer published and its Facebook site is rarely active, mainly because of Salva's involvement in other personal projects and the consolidation of the Foundation Jaume III, with which Antoni is very involved.

Foundation Jaume III

Foundation Jaume III (*Fundació Jaume III*; henceforth FJ3) is a private foundation founded in Palma in October 2013,[40] whose name is a tribute to the last independent king of Majorca, Jaume III (see Section 2.1, page 32). Its fundamental aim is to change the official language policy in the region in favour of a 'Balearic' name and standard. Some members of the Foundation's board are known figures of the Majorcan economic elite, such as Gabriel Barceló Oliver (Honorary President of Grupo Barceló, one of the world's largest tourist companies) and others are regular columnists in regional media.[41] The association's promoter and first board president was José Zaforteza Calvet, who recently claimed to be behind the pseudonym of Pep Gonella (see Section 2.4.2, page 48). This revelation allows us to draw a continuity line between Pep Gonella's claims and the contemporary FJ3. Two of the neogonella activists I interviewed, Miquel and Antoni, are key members of the FJ3.

The FJ3 aims at creating a "climate of opinion"[42] and at becoming "a citizen movement of a wide social base that gathers political, media, philological, associative, and cultural initiatives directed to give prestige to Majorcan in all domains".[43] It is important to anticipate that the FJ3 published a model for a 'Balearic' standard variety (Fundació Jaume III, 2015b) which the other two neogonella associations endorse. In this way, this linguistic model epitomises and materialises neogonelles' claim. Most importantly, the political party Cs uses it since its publication. Although initially the FJ3's texts only referred to the "Majorcan" variety, it quickly included the other islands and their varieties. Nevertheless, most of its efforts concentrate

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[40]The association created its Facebook Page on September 30th 2013, some days before its official launching.

[41]The Vicepresident and Speaker of the FJ3 is Joan Font Rosselló. He is a Physics professor at the UIB and regularly publishes columns in the regional edition of the Castilian-medium newspaper *El Mundo*, many of which promote the views and actions of the FJ3. The Vicepresident for Minorca, Joan Pons, publishes columns in the Minorcan newspaper using the linguistic model of the Foundation.

[42]"estat d'opinió". This and the following quote are from the FJ3's Invitation Letter (*Carta de Convit*; see below).

[43]"un moviment ciutadà d'ampla base social que agrupi iniciatives polítiques, mediàtiques, filològiques, associatives i culturals encaminades a prestigiar es mallorquí a tots ets àmbits".

on Majorca. In October 2016, the FJ3 merged with Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands (see below) to become Foundation Jaume III of the Balearic Islands (*Fundació Jaume III de ses Illes Balears*).

Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands

Cultural Promotion of the Balearic Islands (*Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears*; henceforth Foment) was officially constituted as an association in the last days of 2013. Foment had mainly a Minorcan scope (though it also had members in Majorca and Eivissa) and it basically was the initiative of a group of young people who met online, among which interview participant Antoni stands out (activist Salva was also involved with Foment). Its public launching took place in Port Mahon, Minorca, on December 30th 2013.[44] According to its launching manifesto, Foment's goal was to modify official language policy in the Balearic Islands in favour of a 'Balearic' name and standard, drawing on a preservationist view of Balearic varieties. As just mentioned, in October 2016 Foment merged with the FJ3, thus becoming Foundation Jaume III of the Balearic Islands.[45]

A common metalinguistic stance

Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment hold extremely similar metalinguistic views.[46] I will profile them analysing the launching manifestos of the FJ3 (Fundació Jaume III, 2013a) and Foment (see Appendix B, p. 283).[47] According to Fernàndez (2008), manifestos function as an "important strategic element in struggles over identity":[48] in that they are "ideological sites"[49] or "an institutional instance of social practice for ideological production and rationalisation"[50] (p. 263) through which a group "attests its existence insofar as a known and recognised group, aiming for institutionalisation" (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 142).[51] Fernàndez (2008) argues, for Catalonia's case, that Hispanicist manifestos against Catalan normalisation "play a crucial role in the identification crisis [in Catalonia], that is, in the processes of discursive erosion of

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[44]However, Foment's Facebook Page was created two and a half months before.

[45]Nevertheless, Foment's original Facebook Page was still active as of December 2017.

[46]In terms of orthographic practices, Toc·Toc's spelling was slightly different from FJ3's. However, Toc·Toc adopted the FJ3's linguistic model once it was published.

[47]All the quotes in this section are from these two texts. Foment's Invitation Letter is no longer accesible online, as the association closed down its website after its merger with the FJ3. Appendix B is a screen capture showing Foment's Invitation Letter as it used to appear online.

[48]"element estratègic important en les lluites per la identitat".

[49]"ideological sites", in the original, as Fernàndez draws on Kroskrity's (2004) work.

[50]"una instància institucional de pràctica social per a la producció i racionalització ideològiques".

[51]"atteste son existence en tant que groupe connu et reconnu, prétendant à l'institutionnalisation".

the Catalan identity and the de-identification with the symbols and referents of Catalan culture" (p. 262).[52] Neogonella manifestos function similarly in the context of the identification crisis in the Balearic Islands (see Section 1.2, p. 7), as I will now show. The name chosen for both manifestos, additionally, is indexical: they are called Invitation letter (*Carta de convit*), which is a reference to Alcover's letter with which he announced his project for the *DVCB* (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45). For these associations, Alcover is the top linguistic authority—though, as we will now see, they neglect most of his basic principles.

The first line of the FJ3's manifesto states that the aim of the FJ3 is to "dignify Majorcan".[53] The Foundation considers that the current language policy framework in the region has harming consequences on Balearic vernaculars which need to be reverted. In their diagnosis, the dominant language—Castilian—is not the main cause of the unfavourable scenario for the minoritised, autochthonous language. For the FJ3, the problem lies in the officially promoted standard variety of Catalan, because it suppresses local varieties. To solve this, the FJ3 pursues influencing public opinion to ultimately change official language policy. Similarly, Foment's aim was to raise awareness of the need "to save and protect Minorcan, Majorcan, Eivissan and Formenteran"[54] in order to pressure Balearic authorities into "recognising, respecting and teaching"[55] them. Like the FJ3, Foment considered that the official regional language policy promoting standard Catalan endangered the vernaculars of the Balearic Islands. Although Foment also identified a "Castilianisation"[56] of the islands as accountable, standard Catalan was the main danger for the "secular speech"[57] of the Balearic Islands.

Both associations agreed that the origin for this pervasive state-of-affairs is the inscription of Catalan in the region's first Statute of Autonomy of 1983. Since the Statute fixes Catalan as the "own language of the Balearic Islands", the FJ3 considers that Majorcan and other Balearic vernaculars take a subsidiary position as dialects, or "*patois*",[58] to standard Catalan and gradually lose prestige, thus becoming a

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[52]"juguen un paper cabdal en la crisi d'identificació (...), és a dir, en els processos d'erosió discursiva de la identitat catalana i de des-identificació amb els símbols i referents culturals catalans".

[53]"dignificar es mallorquí". The English translation of this phrase lacks a noun accompanying "Majorcan", such as "speech", "dialect", or "language", because the original nominalises the adjective *mallorquí* without further specification. Since this recurrent non-specification is instrumental for the metalinguistic claims of the association, I translate accordingly.

[54]"salvar i protegir es menorquí, mallorquí, eivissenc i formenterenc".

[55]"sia reconegut, respectat i ensenyat".

[56]"castellanisació".

[57]"parlar secular".

[58]"*patois*" (emphasis in original).

private, intra-familial, non-public way of speaking. For Foment, this initiated a
process of replacement of island vernaculars for standard Catalan that led to "a
confinement of autochthonous forms, condemned to little more than vulgar and
folkloric forms that officially do not exist, that are not publicly used and that are
not taught to our children".[59] The unfolding of regional policies associated to the
Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands of the last 30 years, accentuated the
process, according to the FJ3.

For the Foundation, the period since 1983 represents an "abnormal"[60] situation
of "Catalan imposition"[61] in the Balearic Islands: the ensemble of language policies
aimed at expanding the realms of Catalan culture and sense of belonging over the
archipelago, as part of a "pancatalanist"[62] political project, where standard Catalan
is instrumental to ensure the attachment of Balearic's society to Catalonia and to
Catalan culture. According to Foment, such a process of language shift had crucial
implications for Balearic culture and, especially, identity: "We want to make the
population and the institutions aware of the need of using Eivissan, Majorcan and
Minorcan in the Balearic Islands, because otherwise we will lose this language of
ours that identifies us, and if we lose the language, we lose our roots".[63]

The FJ3 constructs several arguments to support such diagnosis. One is the
comparison between old an young speakers; that is, between generations of speakers
that were only schooled in Castilian and those who are now schooled in standard
Catalan and Castilian. According to the FJ3, not only are traditional sayings
and traditional words unknown to current Balearic children, but children are even
"correcting their grandparents because they do not speak the standard Catalan that
children learn at school".[64] Chapter 6 will further explain the key role of older speakers
for neogonellisme. At the institutional level, the FJ3 identifies a hierarchisation of
practices associated to the autochthonous language: "supercorrect words that we had
always used in Majorca are left behind and are replaced by others that are strange
to us but that in theory are correct, as they have made us believe".[65] Dismissed

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[59]"una reclusió de ses formes autòctones, condemnades a poc més que formes vulgars i folklòriques
que oficialment no existeixen, no s'usen públicament i no s'ensenyen an es nostros al·lots".
[60]"anormal".
[61]"imposició catalanista".
[62]"pancatalanista".
[63]"volem sensibilisar sa població i ses institucions que s'eivissenc, es mallorquí i es menorquí s'han
d'emprar a Balears, perquè sinó perdrem aquesta llengua nostra que mos identifica, i si perdem sa
llengua perdrem ses nostres arrels".
[64]"corregeixen es seus padrins perquè no xerren es català estàndar que ets al·lots aprenen a
s'escola".
[65]"s'arraconen formes correctíssimes que sempre havíem empleat a Mallorca i se substitueixen

elements, according to the FJ3, include verbal inflexions, syntax, sayings, the use of the salty article and "endless"[66] words.

To reverse this situation, the FJ3 aims to create a "climate of opinion which allows incorporating the linguistic particularities of Majorcan into the official standard that is used here in the Balearic [Islands], in the school, in public administration, in the university, in public media".[67] To achieve this, both the FJ3 and Foment defined very similar objectives, which can be summarised as a) the definition of a Balearic standard; b) the construction of a "linguistic autonomy"[68] that is required for the promotion of Balearic (which implies breaking bonds with Catalan language managing institutions); and c), the modification of the region's Statute of Autonomy to explicitly displace Catalan. These three claims cover the main areas of language planning: corpus, acquisition, and status planning (Cooper, 1989). Foment invited linguists and historians to collaborate with the association, which indicates the pursuit of cultural capital that neogonelles are engaged with.

The common stance of neogonellisme on the Catalan language is that each main dialect under the Catalan umbrella should have its own standard. Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment reduce the internal diversity of the Catalan language to the administrative and political boundaries of territories. They argue that there are three main distinct varieties, Catalan, Valencian, and Balearic, matching the boundaries of both the current regional Spanish administration and of the former kingdoms of the Aragonese Crown. For the FJ3, these three linguistic varieties are not dialects of the Catalan language; instead, what links them together is an original "linguistic trunk".[69] This metaphor is recurrent for the three associations: an unnamed linguistic trunk from which the *equally important* branches of Catalan, Valencian, and Balearic originate. From this perspective, standard Catalan is metonymically identified with "Catalan" variety, and so is standard Valencian to "Valencian". Under this logic, "Balearic" is missing its own standard, while in the meantime, standard Catalan imposes itself over the otherwise 'autonomous' Balearic branch. In neogonelles' view, Balearic vernaculars can only be protected developing their own "normative corpus",[70] just like Catalan and Valencian have done. Neogonella associations identify the Valencian case as a model because the region's Statute of Autonomy explicitly

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per altres que mos són estranyes però que són en teoria, així mos ho han fet creure, més correctes".

[66]"interminable".

[67]"estat d'opinió favorable que permeti anar incorporant ses particularitats lingüístiques des mallorquí a s'estàndar oficial que s'utilisa aquí a Balears, a s'escola, a ses administracions públiques, a sa universitat, en es medis de comunicació públics".

[68]"autonomia lingüística", an expression found in both manifestos.

[69]"tronc lingüístic".

[70]"corpus normatiu".

mentions Valencian—and not Catalan—as its own language and because there is a regional body in charge of corpus planning.

Balearist associations are not interested in modifying standard Catalan, but in developing a new, parallel Balearic standard for Majorcan, Minorcan, Eivissan, and Formenteran for use by Balearic institutions. Instead of more radical options, the FJ3 builds on the norms of the Catalan language as set by Pompeu Fabra and the IEC:

> We go for a non-disruptive language model, a conciliatory model that can be seen as a natural transition that allows correcting the excesses and abuses of recent years, a model that can make people who nowadays use normative Catalan to gradually opt for more autochthonous forms.[71]

The FJ3 thus advocates for a *re-standardisation* (Auer, 2005) of Balearic varieties, building on the existing "excessive and abusive" corpus planning, but in which the transgression or divergence from the norms of the Catalan language becomes justified against the backdrop of 'authentic' Majorcan, Minorcan, Eivissan or Formenteran speech representation. In 2015, the FJ3 fixated its model with the publication of its *Style Book* (Fundació Jaume III, 2015b), which Toc·Toc and Foment immediately adopted. According to the FJ3's activist Miquel, this model aimed at defining the Balearic "modalities" mentioned in official language policy (see footnote 23, p. 11). He argued that the model does not deny the unity of "the language"[72] and that it respects "99%" of Catalan norms. However, their linguistic model "breaks the indications or the formal and informal registers theory"[73], given that it is an "absurd"[74] system which only linguists understand (interview with Miquel, 07:31–12:17). Hence, he argued that the FJ3's model basically implied elevating salty articles and Balearic verbal morphology to a formal register (01:07:49–01:08:03).

Finally, it is important to mention the associations' naming gymnastics, which are oriented to stress the autonomy of Balearic varieties while keeping the door open to potentially imply some relationship with the Catalan language. For instance, Foment's manifesto does not question "the unity formed by the Balearic, Catalan, and Valencian *system*".[75] Using 'system' in this way leaves the word 'language' available

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[71]"apostam per un model de llengua no rupturista, un model integrador que se pugui veure com una transició natural que permeti corregir ets excessos i abusos que s'han comès durant aquests anys, un model que faci que també ses persones que avui en dia utilisen es català normatiu vagin decantant-se gradualment cap a formes més autòctones".

[72]"sa llengo".

[73]"rompent ses indicacions o de sa teoria de registres formals i informals".

[74]"absurd".

[75]"s'unitat que forma es sistema lingüístic balear, català i valencià".

and not linked to Catalan, allowing neogonelles the unrestricted use of this term. Hence, we find "the Balearic language and culture",[76] "the Majorcan language",[77] and "the Minorcan language".[78] We can also find "Majorcan"[79] or "Eivissan"[80] in isolation (see footnote 53, p. 82). In contrast, these naming practices never include 'Catalan', 'dialect', 'variety', or anything potentially linking Balearic varieties to the Catalan language.

Other gonella associations

As seen above, Calaforra and Moranta (2005) distinguished two tendencies within *gonellisme*, the dialectalist tendency or *gonellisme stricto sensu* (where we can include the described Balearist associations) and the "anti-Catalan secessionism". The main older gonella associations mostly fall under this second category, among which two stand out.

The Cultural Association Balearic Action Group (*Associació Cultural Grupo d'Acció Balear*; henceforth GAB) is a small association that was known for being the main endorser of the belief that "Baléà" was the autochthonous language from the archipelago, a language without a link with Catalan. Baléà had a completely different orthographic system characterised by the extensive use of vowel diacritical marks (including circumflex accents). Socially, this was and still is an extremely marginal stance, without any support from any other main social actor (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005). The GAB organises tributes to King Jaume III, social gatherings, and participates in Carnival parades. Lacking any 'expert' endorsement or associated cultural capital, the GAB is the main association responsible for the widespread mocking of *gonella* positions.

The GAB's name used to be "Grupo d'Acció Baléà", but during 2017 it replaced 'Baléà' for 'Balear' and began showing support of the FJ3's events. Simultaneously, its linguistic practices have changed to abandon the former orthographic system characterised by diacritics to adhere, although not completely, to the FJ3's postulates. This shift suggests that neogonelles have been the winners in the struggle for symbolic capital within the gonella field during recent years, as I will further explain in Chapter 5.

Calaforra and Moranta (2005) discerned that one of the main features of the GAB's anti-Catalan secessionism was "the defence of social bilingualism", which must

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[76] "llengua i cultura balear".
[77] "llengua mallorquina".
[78] "llengua minorquina"
[79] "mallorquí".
[80] "eivissenc".

be understood in the following way:

> The defense of bilinguism holds an extremely important assumption in
> its background, according to which Castilian and Majorcan are "the two
> own languages of the Balearic Islands". (...) No difference is established
> between own language and official language, as both are considered own.
> A Majorcan speaker is also a Spanish speaker, and not in a circumstantial
> way—because of the educational superstructure, but in an *essential* way.
> The bilingualist ideology (...) has a legitimising functionality which by no
> means is obscure or mysterious. We are talking about a hierarchic concept
> or conception that utterly prioritises the preservation and endorsement
> of the political status quo, even in pre-autonomy terms. Briefly speaking:
> what is most important is the unity of Spain and the unarguable hegemony
> of the Spanish language, and such unity and hegemony are considered to
> be threatened by Catalanism in Majorca.[81] (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005,
> 69–70, emphasis in original)

This defence of "bilingualism" and its associated consideration of the legitimacy
of the Castilian language will accrue increasing relevance in forthcoming chapters,
as we will see. Not by chance, the National Foundation Balearic Circle (*Fundación
Nacional Círculo Balear*, in Castilian; henceforth FNCB), the other anti-Catalan
secessionist gonella association, was usually taken as a Hispanicist association. This
association was founded in 1999 and, in 2017, its president announced its dissolution
and its ambition of becoming a political party.

The FNCB was an association that basically advanced the idea of "social bilin-
gualism". It was a Hispanicist conservative association that claimed to defend the
individual linguistic rights of people. It fiercely opposed the use of Catalan as the
language of instruction, espousing "linguistic freedom". The FNCB used Castilian in
its public statements, though its website had lately launched a section on "Llengo
Balear" (Balearic language). It also hosted events of extreme-right and Hispanicist

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[81]"La defensa del bilingüisme té com a rerefons una pressuposició importantíssima, segons la qual
el castellà i el mallorquí són *les dues llengües pròpies* de les Balears. (...) No es diferencia entre
llengua pròpia i llengua oficial, sinó que totes dues són pròpies. Un parlant del mallorquí també és
un parlant de l'espanyol, i no pas de manera contingent—a causa de la superestructura educativa—,
sinó de manera *essencial*. La ideologia bilingüista (...) té una funcionalitat legitimadora gens
abstrusa ni misteriosa. Es tracta de transmetre una concepció jeràrquica que dóna la màxima
importància al manteniment i reforç de l'statu quo polític, fins i tot en termes preautonòmics.
Breument: el més important és la unitat d'Espanya i l'hegemonia indiscutible de l'espanyol, unitat
i hegemonia amenaçades a Mallorca per part del catalanisme".

political parties, and it is worthy to note that Toc·Toc's launching event in 2012 also took place in the FNCB's venue.

3.2.4   Individuals

Institutions, political parties, media, associations, all may want to influence the use and shape of language practices, but, ultimately, language is in the hands and mouths of people. Every time an individual produces language practices, they reify a larger pool of resources which in society usually receives the name of a language. Each reification, in addition, may include a modification to those resources. To assess the role of individuals in language standardisation it is useful to consider what their *agency* is (Costa et al., 2017). Trying to bring together sociological and linguistic approaches, Alessandro Duranti defines *agency* as:

> the property of those entities (i) that have some degree of control over their own behaviour, (ii) whose actions in the world affect other entities' (and sometimes their own), and (iii) whose actions are the object of evaluation (e.g., in terms of their responsibility for a given outcome). (Duranti, 2004, p. 453)

Delimiting three properties that constitute *agency* is useful, since it allows us to focus on any actor's decisions, their effects, and their appraisal, including those made by individuals. Duranti distinguishes two types of agency, *performance* and *encoding*, which are mutually dependent. Within the former, two subtypes can be identified: *ego-affirming* (which appears with any linguistic presence) and *act-constituting* (what language accomplishes in a given situation). Encoding agency, in turn, is the way that agency is dressed and disguised grammatically (it is not the same to say 'I broke the window' than 'the window was broken', for example). From this view, *agency* is an inevitable dimension of human beings. Agency is not exclusively reserved for individuals (see Scollon, 2005). Institutions and associations have considerable agency—through the individuals that work in them. The opposite case also occurs: some individuals have specific agency through the organisations they work or participate in.

In the Balearic Islands, as everywhere, there are many individuals concerned about language, so much as to create or join associations and become language activists to some degree, as seen above. Many of these individuals gather and interact in specific social media sites. The Facebook Pages of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment are places where people interested in language politics on the Balearic Islands meet

and discuss. In these spaces of online interaction, individuals practice language and engage with others' content. They evaluate others' practices and take decisions in relation to the language policies of the site and its threads (e.g., de Bres & Belling, 2014; Lenihan, 2011). In the Facebook Pages of neogonella associations, individuals discuss the development of language ideological debates in the archipelago and their own role in its unfolding. One example illustrates the emerging agency of individuals in linguistic matters.

On March 25th 2013, José Calvet Zaforteza, who was to become the first president of the FJ3 shortly thereafter, formally addressed the President of the Parliament of the Balearic Islands asking her to change the region's Statute in order to better "preserve" island modalities (Álvarez, 2013). The three interviewed members of the Balearist associations identified this event as the main launching event of their ongoing revival. In reaction, a few private Majorcan entities, such as the Foundation Barceló (*Fundació Barceló*) or the most important football club in Majorca, RCD Majorca, announced they had replaced Catalan in their websites for "Majorcan". In Toc·Toc's Facebook Page, neogonella activists and supporters followed these events with great enthusiasm. When activists announced that the football club RCD Mallorca had replaced the label of "Catalan" for "Majorcan" on its website,[82] an individual called Carme commented on this news in the following way (see Extract 3.2).[83]

Extract 3.2: Comments in a Toc·Toc post from April 2013.

Mateu	
Se confirma: això ja ès una tendència en tota regla!!!	[It] is confirmed: this is already a true trend!!!
Carme	
Ben dit Mateu, ès cert: només fa falta observar ses darreres novetats, que parlen per sí mateixes. Mos trobam a un moment històric i som actors de s'història. Hem d'estar orgullosos.	Well said Mateu, [it] is true: [we] only need to look at the latest news, which speaks for itself. We find ourselves in a historical moment and we are actors of [the] history. We must be proud.

Carme is not one of the main participants in these neogonella social media sites, but she engaged with certain regularity, always supporting Toc·Toc's activities and stance. She claimed to write from the minor island of Formentera, which

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[82]By June 2017, it showed "Catalan" once again.
[83]See Section 4.2.1 (p. 99) for more on social media textual data.

Toc·Toc activists appreciated to illustrate the encompassing Balearic dimension of the neogonella movement. This particular comment is interesting because Carme includes herself, together with Mateu and other Toc·Toc supporters, in the category of "actor" that she believes is accountable for the changes in several entities such as RCD Mallorca. Thus, her participation in this social media site was framed as having an effect on language representation. She was thus recognising her *networked individualism* (Rainie & Wellman, 2012) in this Facebook Page (and which Chapter 4 elaborates) with an *act-constituting agency*, in this case, the public promotion of a 'Majorcan' *speakerhood* (see Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon, & Li, 2014; O'Rourke, Pujolar, & Ramallo, 2015). Followers of the Balearist movement interpreted this and other events with similar attributions of co-agency. In all, social media enhances the agency of individuals in debates on language standardisation, similarly to what Costa (2017) argues.

3.3   Summary

This chapter has mapped the different actors from the Balearic Islands that play a role in Catalan standardisation. I distinguished between *public* and *private* actors, according to their source of legitimation, and I drew on a distinction between *stances of language sameness* and *difference* concerning the relationship of Balearic vernaculars with the Catalan language.

I have identified as public actors the UIB, language bodies within political institutions, public regional media, and the education system, all of which were put under intense stress during Bauzá's term in office. The UIB's legitimacy is both legal and academic, but neither of them were respected by Bauzá's government. As for the academic legitimacy, it explains the UIB's involvement in Catalan corpus planning in collaboration with the IEC.

Language-related bodies at political institutions are highly dependant on political rotation, given that they cannot fulfil their duties when Hispanicist parties rule at the different institutions. The two language policy bodies in the regional government best exemplify this. Bauzá's government directly suppressed the department charged with language promotion, the DGPL, while the IEB tried to advance the discourse of particularisation with the publication of *Les modalitats insulars*. At the level of Insular Councils and local municipalities, political rotation also affected "language technicians" working at these institutions. These local language planners have language training, correction, and promotion duties, all of which are conditioned by politics, as seen in the interview with local planner Rafel.

The public regional media IB3 Radio and TV participate in the valuing of Catalan's standard, but they have a reduced market share. These media were also a site of political struggle during Bauzá's term in office (Chapter 7 will uncover how). Finally, education plays a crucial role spreading the standard variety of Catalan in the Balearic Islands. I reviewed the bottom-up process led by parents and teachers that has given shape to the current prevalent role of Catalan as a language of instruction in the schooling system. I also detailed how this model has unsuccessfully been the target of the last PP regional governments (Joan Melià, 2014), and how neogonelles focus on the adaptation of school textbooks to Balearic varieties.

Regarding private actors, I identified political parties, private media, language activist associations, and individuals. I profiled the six main political parties in the Balearic Islands using survey data from the identity stance of voters in the 2015 regional election. PSOE, MÉS, Podem, and El Pi, the four parties whose voters include "Balearic" identifications, support Catalan normalisation. The first three form the coalition that governs the archipelago at the time of writing. In contrast, PP and Cs, parties whose voters include significant Spanish identifications, oppose Catalan normalisation and are gradually adopting a discourse of particularisation, thus showing increasing affinities with neogonellisme. As for the private media, these dominate the Balearic media spectrum and vastly use Castilian. There are, however, a few private media that use Catalan, one of which is a small Majorcan TV channel that uses non-standard features in its broadcasts and which shows connection with neogonella associations. Additionally, public media from Catalonia broadcast to the archipelago, but PP governments have historically tried to prevent their reception.

Drawing on Spolsky (2009), I distinguished several language activist associations. First, the long-standing Catalanist association OCB was discussed. Second, I analysed the three neogonella associations, Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment, and their common *stance of language difference* looking into the launching manifestos of the FJ3 and Foment. Third, I identified two older gonella associations, the GAB and the FNCB, and presented the GAB's marginal belief that 'Baléà' was the autochthonous language of the archipelago, as well as the fundamental role of the "defence of social bilingualism" adopted by these two associations (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005).

Finally, I discussed how individuals are also actors of standardisation, building on Duranti's (2004) definition of *agency*. I illustrated how social media enhances the possibilities of agency in relation to individual resources with an extract of data from Toc·Toc's Facebook Page, where Carme portrays herself as influencing language ideological debates.

Chapter 4

Research design

This thesis investigates the emergence and organisation of neogonellisme, as well as the ideological implications of this process on Catalan standardisation. It aims at understanding the way Balearist linguistic dissidence tries to gain recognition from society, both from a discursive and a performative perspective, and how other social actors respond to these efforts. Altogether, this approach has the potential to enlighten how the legitimacy of standard languages is produced and undermined.

I undertook this research adopting an ethnographic approach, bringing together insights from different materials. For the analysis of neogonellisme, I examined the main social media sites of the three neogonella associations, Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment, from their creation in 2012/3 until mid-2015. I considered posts, comments, and participation in the analysis. Moreover, I interviewed three activists from these associations, two of which were involved in more than one association. I also participated in the main gathering that neogonellisme annually organises. To grasp the implications of this language dissidence movement, I additionally interviewed 11 language planners and two activists in favour of Catalan normalisation in the archipelago. Additionally, I investigated a small set of practices in social media of one of these planners. To conduct interviews, I travelled to the four Balearic Islands, where I became acquainted with the social use of languages in Balearic public life. My being from Barcelona was also relevant in this regard. Finally, I also used news reports significantly, in order to review the public projection of actors of Catalan standardisation.

This chapter presents my ethnographic approach and explains this asymmetrical data sample. Afterwards, I outline the features of the main data sources, social media activity and qualitative interviews, to conclude explaining the overall method of analysis and the study's ethical foundations.

4.1   An ethnographic approach

This research is an ethnography, which can be understood as writing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of a certain social phenomenon, in this case, about the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands.

The origins of ethnography are connected with the discipline of anthropology, as it is the way to "chronicle the life and times of a people" (Ingold, 2014, p. 385). The ontological position of ethnography is that meanings are socially constructed, that is, that the meanings and categories with which people make sense of their worlds are not given, static, nor ideational, but instead, result from the situated practices of social actors. Understanding societies and their organisational meanings requires taking account of these social constructions by an epistemology that can recognise their *invisible* symbolic and discursive scaffoldings. These can be perceived, described, and explained from the epistemological approach of ethnography, which argues that social constructions can become *visible* if properly studied. Accordingly, an ethnography "sets out to learn meanings and contexts which lie outside the concepts and habits of prior experience, to construct and test representations of this new knowledge, and to offer those representations as a characterisation of culture" (Agar, 2009, p. 110). Regarding sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, ethnography allows us to address questions that "range from descriptions of language practices to critical analyses of the ways in which those practices shed light on ideologies of language and society, and on relations of social difference and social inequality" (Heller, 2008, p. 249). Jan Blommaert (1999, p. 10) maintains that language ideological debates, such as the ones occurring in recent years in the Balearic Islands, are excellent linguistic-ethnographic targets.

Regarding methods, "the ethnographer has always been characterised by eclecticism and *bricolage*; the ethnographer thinks and develops methods in response to features of the object of inquiry" (Blommaert, 2008, p. 13). Very often, the ethnographer decides that this method is participant observation of a social group—also known as 'fieldwork'—, as it is particularly suited to allow situated meanings to gradually unfold. But the ethnographer can also access social practices in more ways, such as through interviews (e.g., Briggs, 1986), the materiality of texts and artefacts (e.g., Blommaert, 2008; Heller & Pujolar, 2009; Smith, 2001), infrastructures (e.g., Star, 1999), or social media (e.g., Caliandro, 2017; Hine, 2015).

The main area of analysis of my research are the social practices that occur in social media websites of the three neogonella associations mentioned above. Chapter 2 explains how the academically and legally legitimated hegemony of Catalan in the

Balearic Islands leaves little social space for linguistic dissidence.[1] Given the limited forms of socialisation where to project a dissident agenda, social media constituted a key space for Catalan linguistic dissidence, allowing a public expansion of dissident activities to an extent that had not been previously possible. As we will see, the *social media activity* of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands gathers a continuous flow of exchanges that provides insights on the activists' discursive workings that would otherwise be difficult to access. To understand neogonellisme, social media was the place to be. This is something not specific to language activism, as, currently, different sorts of activism see in social media the strategic platform from where to reach out to society (e.g., Juris, 2012; Rieder, Abdulla, Poell, Woltering, & Zack, 2015). The explanatory potential of social media data was confirmed in Majorca during the fall of 2016, when, having already analysed these data, I conducted interviews with three neogonella language activists and I participated in the main annual neogonella event. Social media gave me the opportunity to better prepare myself to understand sociolinguistic meanings during my on-site participation; that is, I found myself, using Geertz's (1973, p. 13) terms, somehow *finding my feet with them.*

In addition, I conducted interviews with 11 language planners and two language activists in favour of Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands—representatives of the linguistic orthodoxy, so to speak. The aim of this complementary set of data was to understand the social sector that neogonelles respond to. The interviews were designed to obtain a broader picture of Catalan standardisation in the archipelago, gathering as a result accounts from a range of institutional and organisational actors. The inspiration for this approach was 'institutional ethnography' (Smith, 2001; Woydack & Rampton, 2016), which aims at revealing *ruling relations*, that is, the linkages among local settings of everyday life, organisations, and translocal processes of governance that constitute a complex field of coordination and control (DeVault & McCoy, 2001, p. 751).[2] Interviews allow to investigate these ruling relations by selecting particular corners and trying to include as many perspectives as possible, in this case, regarding Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands. For the specific case of one language planner, I also delved into a very small portion of her professional social media practices, given that they constituted a "rich point" (Agar,

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[1]An example of this is that, until recently, the GAB's main public event was participating in the Carnival parade of Palma (see Section 3.2.3, p. 86).

[2]In institutional ethnography, *institution* "does not refer to a particular type of organization; rather, it is meant to inform a project of empirical inquiry, directing the researcher's attention to coordinated and intersecting work processes taking places in multiple sites" (DeVault & McCoy, 2001, p. 753).

2009, p. 115) on standard language practices, that is, an area that demanded close analytical attention to fully understand its meanings. Additionally, the approach of institutional ethnography allows us to reflect on the institutional aims and outcomes of neogonellisme.

Finally, news reports about Balearic language debates complete the data collection sources of this research. As can be noted, the research design was asymmetrical. The combination of neogonella social media sites and interviews with neogonella activists addressed the main aim of the study, which was to understand the reconfiguration of linguistic dissidence.[3] In contrast, interviews with institutional actors such as language planners met the complementary aim of grasping the overall ideological conditions of Catalan standardisation. The absence of a social media projection to address linguistic orthodoxy is, to some extent, self-explanatory. Actors reproducing the legitimate and institutionalised stance on Catalan do not require the activist practices and infrastructures that social media currently offer. In contrast, Balearist dissidents exploit social media to their benefit. The following section approaches the nature and the components of neogonella social media activity that I considered for the analysis.

4.2   Social media activity

The Internet has become a prime site of human socialisation as a result of the rise of social media or *social networking sites* (boyd & Ellison, 2007) such as Facebook, YouTube, LinkedIn, Snapchat, Twitter, Instagram, and Pinterest. These sites allow *mass self-communication*, a particular form of communication that can potentially reach a global audience (hence why 'mass') and in which individuals can play an active role (hence why 'self-') in shaping its content, emission, and reception (Arsenault & Castells, 2008, p. 710). Individuals employ this available form of communication afforded by social networking sites to cultivate what Manuel Castells (2012) calls the "culture of autonomy", that is, the "capacity of a social actor to become a subject by defining its action around projects constructed independently of the institutions of society" (p. 230–231). This translates into people connecting with other people due to similar interests, ranging from trivial hobbies to political activism and contention. Social networking sites facilitate the connection of people with similar interests independently from institutional control—but not its surveillance—and

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[3]I also pay more attention to Balearist dissidence given that sociolinguistic research has already extensively investigated Catalan standardisation (e.g., Boix-Fuster, 2015; Frekko, 2009a; Lamuela, 1994).

spatial constraints, in what can be called *interest networks* (Nahon & Hemsley, 2013, p. 113). Scholarship has attempted to capture this particular form of socialisation happening through social networking sites with different names, such as "participatory culture" (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013), "networked publics" (boyd, 2014), or, as I prefer, "networked individualism" (Rainie & Wellman, 2012), insofar it supports and strengthens the individual practices of autonomy with like-minded people in horizontal interest networks.

Facebook is the epitome of networked individualism (2012, p. 144). In 2012, while using my own personal account in this social media, I became aware that the ongoing language ideological debates in the Balearic Islands were prompting people to create many related interest networks (see Duane, 2017a). With time, I noticed the peculiarity of some of these Facebook Pages[4] opposing Catalan normalisation. They were the online sites of a few recently created associations of language dissidents. I realised that these interest networks emerging in Facebook granted possibilities of *representational control* to associations whose proposals could not be implemented institutionally and which would otherwise have little chances of promoting them (see Chapter 6). Thus, Facebook afforded some individuals a space under their own control in a public and accessible site, from which to contest institutional and normative language regimes and meet people with similar stances (see Lenihan, 2011; Wagner, 2011), a development which persuaded me to further enquire the ways this was attempted and with what outcomes. Furthermore, representational control by administrators did not prevent people supporting Catalan normalisation to participate in the discussions. In this thesis, I ethnographically addressed the discursive novelty represented by a portion of social media activity, given its unique affordances for individuals interested in language.

The gradual incorporation of the Internet and social media into our everyday lives has been a contentious matter for ethnographers. There have been several attempts to define how to do ethnographies in digital or online environments, given their fluidity, fragmentation, and ephemerality, such as *virtual ethnography* (Hine, 2000), *network ethnography* (Howard, 2002), *expanded ethnography* (Beneito-Montagut, 2011), or *ethnography of the virtual worlds* (Boellstorff, Bonnie Nardi, & Taylor, 2012).[5] Across these approaches a tension surfaces on how to apply ethnographic notions such as *field*, *fieldwork*, and *participation observation* onto the Internet. In an article entitled

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[4]Following Rieder et al. (2015), I will henceforth use the term 'Page' with an upper case initial to follow the company's naming convention and to remind the reader of its corporate dimension.

[5]Hine's (2015) distinction between ethnographies *for*, *of*, or *through* the Internet encapsulates to a large extent such diversity of approaches.

"Fieldwork in social media: what would Malinowski do?", Annette N. Markham (2013) outlines the source of this tension, in that the 'field' in social media is a flow—a process rather than a static and bounded object—posing delimitation problems (e.g., hyperlinks, navigation paths, and different uses of the Web). Additionally, she argues that mass archiving cannot substitute for observation, since observation requires some sort of participation. However, traditional ethnography, such as the one Malinowski would do, has also been criticised on similar grounds (Clifford, 1997; Friedman, 2002). Defining sites of 'fieldwork' also implies "delimitation problems" concerning place, movement, time, and people that the ethnographer decides upon, in many occasions in a objectifying way (Amit, 2000; Friedman, 2002). Therefore, it is best to think of ethnography not as field-work bus as a text genre (Clifford, 1986).

I approached social media ethnographically based on the assumption that people participate in these contexts as they do in others. Arguing in favour of Christine Hine's (2000, 2015) notion of *virtual ethnography*, Aoife Lenihan and Helen Kelly-Holmes (2016, pp. 259, 265) define the 'virtual field' in terms of interaction, not place, with boundaries delineated by the ethnographer as part of the research process. From this view, the mediation of technology does not impede approaching the development and practice of culture. I followed this epistemological position, though without redundantly qualifying my ethnographic enterprise as 'virtual'. People's participation in social media are social practices mediated by technology, indeed, but this does not entail they are not the acts of people.

In fact, any social practice is *mediated* (e.g., by gestures, gazes, or language), but some other practices, such as those in social media, are *also mediatised*, as they are "institutional practices that reflexively link processes of communication to processes of commodification" (Agha, 2011, p. 163). This conceptual distinction is important. It invites us both to think that mediatised objects or experiences embed their readers in larger-scale social processes and to dismiss artificial understandings of receptors as passive ending-points. In the case of neogonellisme, Chapter 8 will argue that the unfolding social process is one of particular archive and knowledge economy formation (see Blommaert, 2008). My ethnography of social media practices, understood as mediatised social processes, is "necessarily a study of inter-linkages among semiotic encounters of diverse kinds" (Agha, 2011, p. 165). These social media encounters are preceded and followed by endless offline mediated events of communicators but they are part of the unfolding uptakes of social processes. Particularly, social media practices allow for *entextualisation* (Silverstein & Urban, 1996), that is, the redefinition of meanings that occurs when actors move texts across contexts. As in other communicative contexts, the ethnographer must obtain the

contextual cues required to understand the *meanings* of these social practices. In all, I ethnographically approached social media, focusing on the *textual* and *networking traces* of people's participation, both of which I soon elaborate.

Although Hine (2015, p. 193) recommends not limiting the ethnographic analysis to one platform, the *emic* importance of Facebook justifies my exclusive selection of this social networking site. It is, by far, the online place where all actors and want-to-be actors of language standardisation in the Balearic Islands devote more efforts. They also may use other social networking sites, such as Twitter, but less intensively and without as much as resonance as in Facebook. Both neogonella activists and local language planners acknowledged this salience in interviews.[6] Additionally, I further justify this 'Facebook scope' given my systematic analysis, which included the many hyperlinks shared by administrators and users and which reached beyond the boundaries of this social networking site. By this, I tried to enact the social process that activists further.

Facebook data was systematically collected during September 2015 using the Netvizz application (Rieder, 2013), which is a research application that extracts data via Facebook's API (Application Programming Interface). From a Facebook user account (which 'liked' the targeted Pages, as Netvizz suggests), I retrieved three-month data packages per Page, which included both textual and network traceable data.

4.2.1 Texts from social media

Texts are outcomes and as such they carry with them traces of social practices and contexts that can be ethnographically inferred (Blommaert, 2008; Heller & Pujolar, 2009). Blommaert (2008) challenges the artificial separation between practices and products that many ethnographies of literacy assume, a view entailing that texts must be formally and non-ethnographically studied when practices yielding them are not observable.

> There are no 'context-less' texts: every text displays features of its unique context-of-production as well as of the potential it has to move across contexts. Thus, even a text of which we have no 'contextual' information will be analytically contextualised. (...) [W]e have to contextualise

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[6]For instance, neogonella activist Antoni, who had been managing social media accounts for the three Balearist associations, emphasised how Facebook was the most important platform for them because it was the one that their supporters most preferred.

it, fill in these contextual blanks by means of rigorous ethnographic
interpretation. (Blommaert, 2008, p. 14)

Blommaert exemplifies the ways in which texts display traces of contexts with
one basic inferring process. He makes us think that, when we see a nail in a piece of
wood, we read contextual clues that lead us to think that someone put it there, most
likely using a hammer, and, attending to what timber it joins, we can even speculate
its function and discard possible actors such as children. From this line of thought,
evidences provide grounds for plausibility, which may be later verified and eventually
allow for generalisation. In the case of texts, ethnographers have to aim for an *analysis
or reconstitution of voice*, which consists of "looking at forms of text organisation
that appear to be governed by locally valid norms, rules, and economies of semiotic
resources" (2008, p. 18). Another metaphor is that ethnographers' use of texts
resembles how archaeologists use physical remains (Heller & Pujolar, 2009), which is
particularly illustrative if we think that, in the American tradition, archaeology is
one of the four strands of anthropology.

In this study, I conducted a similar analysis of multi-authored texts sourced
from a specific portion of a social networking site to examine sociolinguistic local
orientations and ruling relations. Though I only met a very small representation of
the people issuing these texts (the dissidents I interviewed), this does not disqualify
the remaining ones or my research as ethnographic. Texts that are normally dismissed
as "nonsense, curious or funny" (Blommaert, 2008, p. 17) also make meanings in
particular ways. Social media texts are often dismissed due to their ephemeral
condition, their contextual fuzziness, and their lack of consequentiality; however, they
are instances of meaning-making where people make choices regarding their linguistic,
stylistic, generic, and symbolic resources, and evaluate others' (2008, p. 17).

Textual data scope

The main data I used in this study were the texts hosted in the Facebook Pages
of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment. As it should clear by now, these Pages were
selected because they are the sites of three organisations that jointly advanced
the novel tendency of neogonellisme, which has successfully instituted itself as
linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands. Thus, although there are other sites on
Facebook that oppose Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands, I focused on
these three because they define and promote neogonellisme. Furthermore, one of
these associations, the FJ3, has taken the lead in debating Catalan normativity and
Balearic authenticity.

In order to understand the institution of neogonellisme in the Balearic Islands, I consider the activity in the three selected Facebook Pages during a long period of time, since their creation in 2012/2013 until the end of June 2015.[7] By the end of this period, Toc·Toc had managed to have almost 7,000 'likes' or followers, the FJ3 almost 2,100, and Foment a bit over 1,700.[8]

The social networking site Facebook envisions Pages as marketing tools "for businesses, brands or organizations to build closer relationships with audience and customers" (Poell et al., 2016, p. 7). Following the mass self-communication model described above (p. 96), Pages have a *hierarchical structure of communication* that provides its administrators with "a public stage to distribute messages to large numbers of people" in the form of *posts* from which they "set the agenda for interaction on the page" (2016, p. 7).[9] Facebook Pages are the most *public* part of Facebook (understandable given their marketing aim), as they can be accessed without signing into a Facebook account (Rieder et al., 2015). These architectural features distinguish Pages from Facebook Groups, which are less hierarchical spaces, allowing any member to post with equal prominence, and which are more private, requiring to sign in with a Facebook account to access them.[10]

Facebook users can interact with posts in a Facebook Page by *liking*,[11] *sharing*, and *commenting*.[12] In addition, users may *like comments* in posts. I subsume these four types of practices under the term 'engagement', following Bernhard Rieder (2013). Whenever a user engages with a post in any of these four ways, the practice leaves a trace in the post visible to the post's audience. Importantly, Facebook users can engage with a post from a given Page whether they 'like' (i.e., follow) that Page or not. Additionally, administrators of Facebook Pages may also allow users to post on the Page's homepage. Yet, users' posts on a Page have a very reduced visual

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[7]I initially foresaw limiting the time scope to January 2015, in order to collect the entire activity from 2014 for the three Pages. However, I extended it until end of June 2015 to include the activity around the May 2015 regional elections—which ultimately impeded Bauzá's second term.

[8]The way Pages link with individuals is the following: any Facebook user can 'like' any Facebook Page. Once they do, they start following the Page, which means that the Page's posts may appear in the user's Facebook news feed, hence making them directly available for interaction (Poell et al., 2016, p. 998).

[9]Rieder et al. (2015) explain Facebook's complex content distribution architecture or algorithm. The main idea is that the more engagement a post receives, this and subsequent posts from the Page will have more probabilities of appearing in additional users' news feeds.

[10]Additionally, access to some Facebook Groups requires the permission from the Group's administrators, a privacy setting which distinguishes between 'open' and 'private' Groups.

[11]The practice of 'liking' Facebook content has recently broadened to include 'reactions'. This change, however, occurred after the period of collected data, thus I stay with the term 'like'.

[12]Since 2013, users can also 'reply' to individual comments.

display on the Page's wall and they receive much less attention than the posts issued by the Page itself (i.e., its administrators).[13] Our three neogonella Pages are not an exception and posts by users are minimal and trigger roughly no engagement. Thus, basically all the exchanges occurred in the context of posts issued *by the administrators of the Page*. Hence, for this study I did not consider posts issued by users because they were not under the control of administrators and because they barely got any responses.

Textual data corpus

Textual data consists of all the *posts by the Page administrators* of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment, and their consequent *reacting comments*, since their creation until mid-2015. Both posts and comments can include texts, images, videos, hyperlinks, and their combinations. Additionally, I consider *likes* and *shares* to posts, as well as *comment likes*, as additional contextual cues for the analysis of posts and comments. In Figures of specific posts, I mention these engagement metrics as further contextual information. However, in Extracts of comments I do not include 'comment likes' as they only are relevant when seeing *all* the comments from a post's response field.[14] The following Table 4.1 quantifies the interactions hosted in each Facebook Page during the selected period, while Table 4.2 counts the number of words in the posts and comments across Pages.

Table 4.1: Textual data corpus from social media.

Page	Period	Posts	Comments	Participants
Toc·Toc	April 2012 - June 2015	1,343	10,538	4,462
FJ3	October 2013 - June 2015	564	2,872	1,477
Foment	October 2013 - June 2015	479	1,722	1,238
Total		2,386	15,132	-[*]

[*] Participation overlapping across Pages prevents summing participants.

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[13]This minimal salience is understandable, given that Pages are thought to offer a space for the administrators self-promotion and not to allow any user to determine conversations in the context of a given Page.

[14]For this reason, only the Model post (p. 177) will include the comments' number of likes.

Table 4.2: Number of words in textual data corpus from social media.

Page	Posts	Comments	Total
Toc·Toc	142,749	448,490	591,239
FJ3	21,840	139,844	161,684
Foment	26,434	51,390	77,824
Total	191,023	639,724	830,747

As Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show, a total of 2,386 posts and 15,132 comments were collected, adding up to a total of over 800,000 words.[15] The texts represent an average of 80 words per post and 42 per comment, thus they were fairly short texts on average. Toc·Toc is the largest data sample, which is explained for its longer life and its more intense posting pace. Overall participation cannot be summed, since, as I will later show, there are many overlaps across Pages, but we can state that participation was of, at least, 4,462 different people (i.e., the largest number of different users from one page, Toc·Toc). All these posts and comments were read and coded (see Section 4.4). Then, some were selected for more detailed analysis, given their representativeness of general discursive patterns. The participation patterns generating this massive corpus of data are revealing, a matter to which I now turn.

Participation dynamics in neogonella Pages

This section on Pages' participation flows sheds light on the textual data corpus in significant ways. The main point is that participation in neogonella associations' Pages was intimately related to language ideological debates in the Balearic Islands. The following chart in Figure 4.1 shows the engagement evolution in the three Pages, that is, the aggregated number of comments, likes, shares, and comment likes across posts in a Page per month. The chart shows how Toc·Toc, which was created earlier than the FJ3 and Foment, hosts the engagement peaks during the time scope of the research. These peaks relate to the Page's review of language debates in the region. First, the request that Zaforteza made to the regional Parliament in regards to Balearic language modalities (which triggered symbolic modifications in the websites of a couple of private foundations and the football club RCD Mallorca; see Section 3.2.4, p. 89) explains the peak around April 2013, as Toc·Toc widely echoed these events. A second peak occurred during the Fall of 2013, a period during

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[15]This number, however, does not include all the words appearing in posted images and videos nor the words of the many posted hyperlinks, which I also accessed and read.

which this Page participated in the heated debates about the TIL schooling reform (see p. 53) and, to a minor degree, about the IEB's publication of *Les modalitats insulars* (see p. 64).
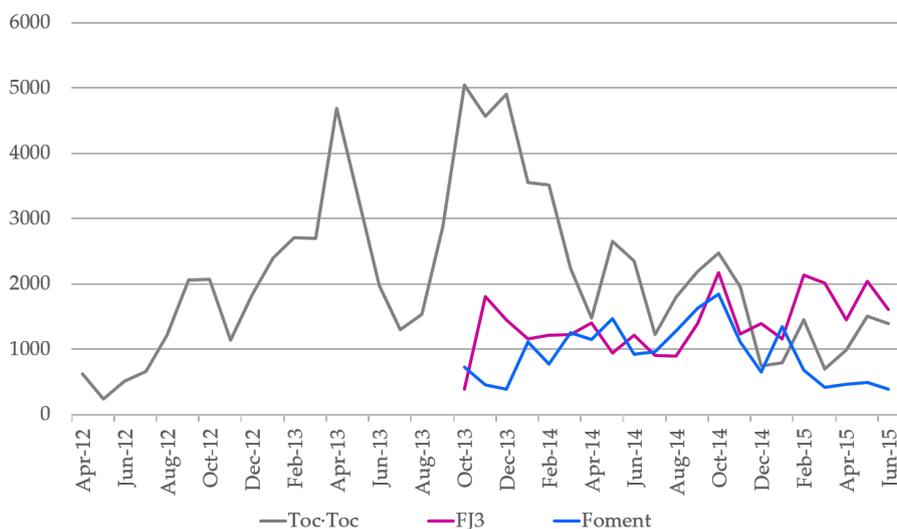
Figure 4.1: Engagement evolution in Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment.

There are two other aspects worth commenting on. First, the FJ3 and Foment were created during one of the peaks, which indicates that there was a need (and motivation) for additional representation during that time. Second, the engagement in Toc·Toc gradually decreased once the FJ3 and Foment created their Pages. What happened is that Toc·Toc's audience scattered across these two new neogonella Pages, given that since their creation, the three Pages—especially Toc·Toc—began incorporating (i.e., sharing) posts from each others' sites. Another relevant aspect is that, at the end of the research period, the FJ3 had overtaken Toc·Toc in terms of engagement (while Foment was waning). The developments after this period further confirm this tendency, as the FJ3 became the main player of linguistic dissidence in the archipelago.

Additionally, paying attention to the evolution of each of the engagement practices is also revealing. One can infer a progressive ideological alignment between neogonella Pages and Facebook users, a matter which I briefly cover by focusing on one Page. Participants in the FJ3's Page changed their way of engaging with posts through time in the following way. While at the beginning of the Page debates were heated—that is, participants were *commenting* posts—, with time the main practice of participants became either *liking* or *sharing* posts.

Comments are of special interest for the analysis, as they produce the interactions between activists, supporters, and opponents that put different discourses into action. A crucial matter in this regard is the number of voices appearing in these exchanges and the degree to which Pages manage to bring new ones to life. I will reflect on this aspect of the data focusing on just one Page, as they all show similar patterns. The following chart in Figure 4.2 shows the total number of comments across posts in Toc·Toc per month.[16] In addition, it also shows the number of different users commenting per month and the number of users who commented in Toc·Toc for the first time in each month.
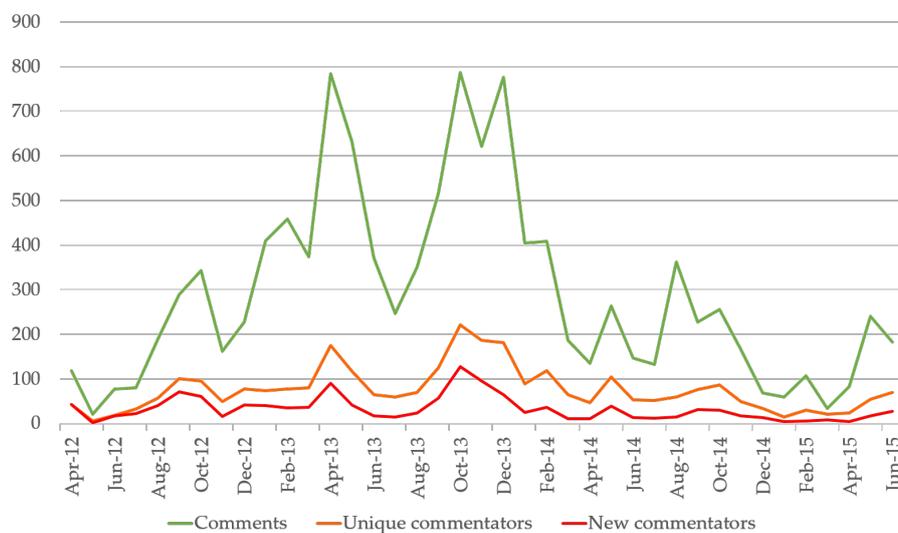
Figure 4.2: Evolution of comments and unique and new commentators in Toc·Toc.

The chart in Figure 4.2 sheds light on three dimensions of neogonella social media activity. First, certain members have leading roles in periods of intense debates, as the rise of comments does not entail a similar rise of unique commentators. Second, the arrival of new commentators across time does not produce a gradual increase in the number of unique commentators, which suggests that most of the new voices in neogonella Pages come and go. Finally, and in relation to the previous point, associations have a constant but limited number of voices. Who these voices are, who comes and goes, and who plays leading roles are questions that Chapter 6 will address.

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[16]The comment dynamics in Toc·Toc show a very similar pattern to the engagement dynamics in Figure 4.1.

4.2.2   Social media networking traces

Richard Rogers (2010, 2013) is the proponent of the 'Digital Methods' paradigm
for the study of Internet. He argues that, rather than trying to digitise traditional
social science research methods such as interviews, questionnaires, or participant
observation, the Internet offers epistemological paths to understand social and cultural
change and complexity. From his view, what these paths tell us about society do not
require other 'grounding' than the Internet. For example, Rogers and Ben-David
(2010) use online news data to propose a method to develop conflict indicators
according to the language used in that data. Epistemologically, Rogers encourages
researchers to *follow the medium*, considering the Internet or some sites not as *objects
of analysis*, but as *sources of methods* providing data to understand culture and
society. Links, search engines, web archives, or Wikipedia provide themselves ways to
understand social phenomena.[17] Following Blommaert's terms (see quote on p. 94),
the *bricolage* of methods I developed for my ethnography also *followed the medium*
of Facebook, as doing so contributed to understand my object of inquiry.

Bernhard Rieder, Rasha Abdulla, Thomas Poell, Robbert Woltering, and Liesbeth
Zack (2015) argue that every action on Facebook can be read from a behavioural
perspective and from a technical perspective that modifies some variable. Working
on texts from social networking sites is a way to address the behavioural perspective.
As for the 'technical' one, in this study I engaged with the inherent networking
dimension of Facebook. When a person uses Facebook, he or she connects with
both other people and some content. These links are *networking traces* that have
explanatory potential for the social life of discursive, mediatised content. Using
Digital Methods as an inspiration, in this study I also took into account the networking
relationships manifesting themselves through social media activity. I approached
these relationships ethnographically to better understand how actors navigate and
organise the sociolinguistic field in the Balearic Islands.

Particularly, I *followed the medium* of Facebook looking at the *networking traces*
that appear every time a user posts, likes, shares, or comments content. In this way,
these practices can be used to investigate actors' networking démarches (e.g., Duane,
2017b).[18] Besides collecting texts from Pages, Netvizz's API-based data retrieval

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[17]This paradigm has recently inspired Caliandro (2017) to propose new research strategies and
analytical concepts for social media ethnographers (thus aligning with Hine's [2015] ethnography
for the Internet).

[18]My analysis of networking traces is not a social network analysis, since I do not undertake
any quantitative analysis of network metrics (cf. Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015; D. Garcia,
Abisheva, Schweighofer, Serdült, & Schweitzer, 2015). Instead, I use networking traces as sources

also tells us who liked or commented content *within* Pages.[19] Netvizz anonymises user names with a so-called 'hash function' that generates 40-digits alphanumerical strings. Users are always hashed to the same string, a matter which was crucial to explore networking traces because, if we collate data from different Pages, we may find traces of users who engaged with more than one Page. Thus, although we cannot query the Pages one specific user interacted with, we can grasp whether participants from, let's say, Toc·Toc's Page, also participated in Foment's. These traces between users and Pages are the type of networking traces data I used for my research.

It is worthy to stress that, in contrast to social media texts, networking traces in this study are not limited to the three Facebook Pages of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment. Instead, insights from the analysis of texts and interviews led me to further explore networking traces. For example, in Chapter 5 we will see how I use networking traces to examine the participation overlapping between the Facebook Pages of our three neogonella associations and political parties. Exploratory analyses of Facebook Pages benefit from cycles of iteration between different levels such as micro/macro, qualitative/quantitative, and manual/automated (Rieder et al., 2015). I consider the analysis of traces similarly to how Bourdieu (1991) advocated for a methodological loop between ethnography and statistics, in which the latter has a *corroborating* role of the findings grounded in ethnography (Blommaert, 2015, p. 7). I manoeuvre similarly in this ethnographic study, moving back and forth between the insights from each data set to better understand the meanings of social practices across settings.

An example of the explanatory value of networking traces will be illustrative at this point. In addition to the networking traces that Netvizz can collect from *within* Pages, this research tool can extract a complementary type of networking trace data: namely, the likes *between* Pages themselves. In the next section, I use this type of traceable data to further justify my focus on the three neogonella Pages.

Social media sampling

During this chapter, I have justified the selection of three Facebook Pages because they are the social media sites of the associations defining and promoting neogonellisme, a recent tendency of linguistic dissidence that has been more successful than any other predecessor. Their selection becomes further justified attending to their *reputation* in the larger sample of Facebook Pages opposing the normalisation of Catalan in the Balearic Islands.

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of additional data that can be approached ethnographically.

[19]Unfortunately, Netvizz cannot extract the traces of *sharing* practices.

Drawing on how Google treats links as reputation markers, Rogers (2010) suggests that "one can begin to gain a grasp of very normal politics of association by showing how sites link to each other, and which links are not reciprocal" (p. 245). We can also grasp the politics of association between Facebook Pages, as Pages may 'like' (i.e., follow or endorse) each other. This means that the administrators of a Page, while signed in as such, may choose to 'like' other Pages (which will increase their chances of them being suggested to the Page's followers). These liking between Pages are another type of *networking traces* which offer us the possibility of seeing who follows who in what Netvizz calls 'Page like networks' (Rieder, 2013), and thus infer the reputation of neogonella sites. Two network visualisations are useful to illustrate this point. Figure 4.3 addresses this issue *for the selected Pages*, showing who Toc·Toc, the FJ3,[20] and Foment like, as well as the likes between the identified Pages. This renders a network of Pages, most of which oppose some facet of Catalan normalisation, and allows us to inspect the reputation of our three Pages.
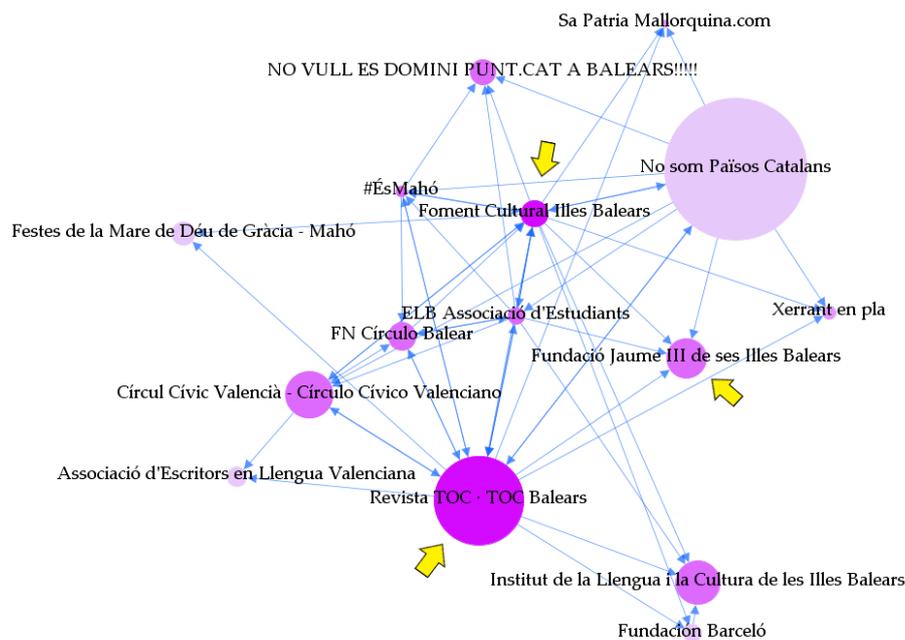
Figure 4.3: Page like network of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment by May 5th 2017 (filtering one-degree nodes). Force Atlas 2 layout (Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann, & Bastian, 2014), in which size relates to number of fans and colour intensity relates to in-degree (number of inward links to the node). The yellow arrows signal the three neogonella Pages.

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[20] The FJ3 does not like a single Facebook Page; nevertheless, we see that other Pages like the Foundation. Additionally, in Figures 4.3 and 4.4, the FJ3 appears as Fundació Jaume III *de ses Illes Balears* ("of the Balearic Islands") (see the Foundation's profile on p. 80).

Focusing first on node size to read networks, Figure 4.3 shows how the largest Page (in terms of fans or followers) in the emerged network is *No som Països Catalans* (We are not Catalan Countries; henceforth NSPC),[21] which is a site without an off-line dimension that creates and disseminates anti-Catalan content from a Balearic perspective (identifiable by its self-presentation via linguistic practices and profile pictures including Balearic flags). For our purposes, however, the colour of a node is more important. Node colour relates to the number of other Pages that *like* that node, meaning that administrators from other Pages deemed that Page as relevant, as explained in the previous paragraph. The darker colour of the three neogonella Pages indicates that they receive the attention of lots of Pages, more, in fact, than NSPC—who may have lots of individual followers but who is not considered so important by other similar Pages. The darker colour of neogonella Pages also explains their central location within the network (see Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann, & Bastian, 2014).

This impression, however, could be misleading, given that this network was generated by querying the connections *of our three Pages*. They produced and delimited the 'field' represented in the network which may explain their reputation and centrality. Thus, an externally-rendered network enhances our understanding of how important our three Pages are for linguistic dissidence. Figure 4.4 represents the network that emerges from *only* querying who does the NSPC Page like.

As seen in Figure 4.4, the connections of NSPC with other Facebook Pages offer a complementary picture to the previous network, incorporating, for instance, pages of Catalan anti-independence organisations, such as Catalan Civil Society (*Societat Civil Catalana*). What is interesting for the purpose of further explaining why I chose Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment is that this visualisation further depicts the *politics of association* in the cluster of gonella Facebook Pages. Within this visualisation, again, our three Pages stand as very important actors, not so much for their number of followers, but for how much they are *liked* by other Pages, as suggested by their bolder colour. Once again, this explains their central location within the network.[22]

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[21]By May 5th 2017, NSPC had 13,471 followers, while Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment had, respectively, 8,273, 3,371, and 2,105. The Netvizz application provided this data.

[22]As mentioned in footnote 20 (p. 108), the FJ3 does not 'like' a single Facebook Page, which explains its more peripheral location; however, its colour indicates that other pages follow it.
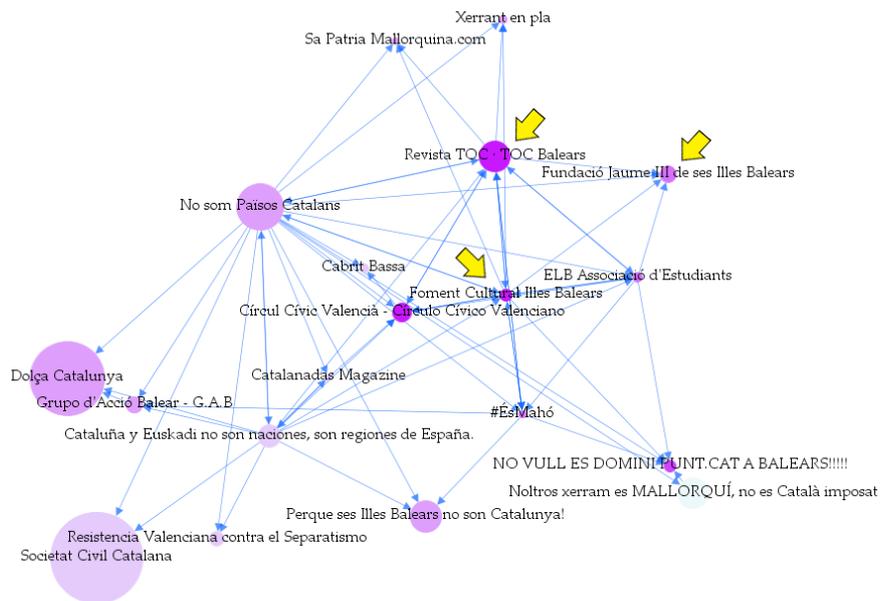
Figure 4.4: Page like network of NSPC by May 5th 2017 (filtering
one-degree nodes). Force Atlas 2 layout (Jacomy, Venturini,
Heymann, & Bastian, 2014), in which size relates to number of fans
and intensity relates to in-degree (number of inward links to the
node). The yellow arrows signal the three neogonella Pages.

In short, Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment have many eyes on them, suggesting
that people engaged in contending Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands
(and in Valencia and Catalonia) deem these Facebook Pages as important. Thus,
their selection for analysis is further justified according to the contextual reputation
of their activity in this social networking site. In a few years, these three language
activist organisations have managed to become meaningful and hence observed actors
of the anti-Catalan Balearic social media field. How and why is a matter that I
address in this thesis in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3   Qualitative interviews

As a second source for data collection, this study relies on interviews. Qualitative
interviews are "conversations with a purpose" (Mason, 1996, p. 38) between one or
more informants and the researcher. They foreground the importance of personal
perspectives in processes of meaning-making, for the purpose of making "cultural
inferences" or "thick descriptions of a given social world analyzed for cultural patterns
and themes" (Warren, 2001, p. 85). Interviews have always been tightly connected

to ethnographies, since they are a suited method to approach the objects of inquiries of anthropological questions, by obtaining elaborated accounts. These accounts, however, must not be taken as truths awaiting to be discovered by correct question phrasing, as there is no such thing as a "real" response awaiting to be "objectively" disclosed by any precise question phrasing (Briggs, 1986, pp. 21–23). An interview is a precise speech and interactional event between two or more parties that are involved in the meaning-making process developing therein. That is, the researcher also plays a role in the interviewee's responses, and the entailments of this co-construction must be properly acknowledged by the researcher throughout the rendered data analysis (see Codó, 2008, pp. 163–164). The reflexive unfolding of processes of interpretation between each participant is not a caveat, but one of the ethnographic qualities of qualitative interviews (Warren, 2001, p. 98). In the same way that we have seen how texts are not 'context-less', interviews elicit talk that is firmly attached to its contextual conditions of production, and we must be aware of all the operating indexicalities (Briggs, 1986).

Asking is not an easy nor straightforward matter in qualitative interviews. On the one hand, researchers want to avoid that their phrasing of questions directs the responses of informants; however, they must utter words for asking. On the other hand, researchers may want to access topics whose access is problematic, either because it may be a sensitive issue or because the inappropriateness of covering it by means of a turn-taking speech event such as an interview. To address both issues, interviewers should learn the 'metacommunicative repertoires' of informants prior to conducting interviews with them (Briggs, 1986). This means that researchers must know, for example, how certain important terms are indexically loaded in the field, that is, the local meanings of words that the researcher might be unaware of, or, if an interview, as a formatted speech event, involves different expectations for participants. Hence, researchers must learn the local meanings of events, interactions, and terms related to the area of interest before going into asking about them.

In the case of this study, I assumed that I shared very similar understandings about what an 'interview' stands for with informants, given our similar cultural background, as well about its appropriateness to approach sociolinguistic questions. As for the indexicalities operating in the sociolinguistic field of the Balearic Islands, I benefited from having analysed social media activity before conducting interviews. This was the way I *learnt* the indexical meaning of language-related terms in the Balearic Islands.[23] For instance, I learnt that using the term 'Catalan' or 'Balearic'

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[23]Though my observation was focused on (but not reduced) to three neogonella Facebook Pages, lots of people disagreeing with them commented therein. This granted me access to meanings that

to refer to people's linguistic repertoires was interconnected to identity politics, or that using 'Majorcan' for the same purposes could convey different meanings in different contexts. Opening the many links to media articles and clips shared by users allowed me to see how media outlets carefully navigated these waters. With time, I also came to understand which were the ways that people identified other people's stances. In interviews, I made use of this knowledge to not display any of these indicators, as I will soon explain. Finally, conducting the interviews towards the end of the research plan allowed me to have a better idea on what to focus on during them, to check preliminary interpretations of social media data, and to explore emerging themes (Codó, 2008, p. 166).

4.3.1   Sample justification

As mentioned earlier, the inclusion of interviews in the research plan draws on 'institutional ethnography'. For the study of ruling relations, Marjorie L. DeVault and Liza McCoy (2001) distinguish between "frontline organizational work" and "ruling work", where the former identifies intermediary actors that link people and ruling discourses and who may provide accounts of "what actually happens", while the latter refers to decision-makers, rulers, or managers (pp. 760–761). As mentioned in Section 4.1 (p. 94), the main aim of interviews was to grasp the ideological conditions affecting Catalan standardisation in the field.

From this perspective, I decided to interview 'regional' and 'local' institutional language planners across the four Balearic Islands. 'Regional' language planners encompass the entire archipelago in their tasks and duties and are mostly appointed by representatives of the regional government. I selected these participants to include regional perspectives from the academic authority, the regional government, and public media. In contrast, 'local' language planners work *in the field*, considering in isolation either an island or a municipality for their duties. Though the constituencies in this category vary enormously (compare the entire island of Majorca to one of its small inland municipalities), the tasks, duties, and employment conditions of both insular and municipal actors are extremely similar and stand in contrast to the ones of regional actors. Local actors have similar training, correction, and promotion duties and are permanent staff at institutions, while regional actors have more diverse duties and are more dependent on political rotation (see Section 3.1.2, p. 62). To ensure the geographical scope, I interviewed a language planner from each of the four Island Councils and from three Majorcan municipalities. The inclusion of Majorcan

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people with different stances attach to certain terms.

municipalities responds to the larger size and population of this island, its central role in all Balearic debates, and the intention of addressing the traditional sociological distinction between Palma and the *part forana* (which roughly translates to 'outside part' and which denotes the rest of the island).

I was also interested in obtaining the perspectives from organisations of language activists, especially from neogonella associations. Hence, I interviewed key members of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment. Additionally, I interviewed a central member of the OCB, the long-standing Catalanist cultural association in the archipelago (see p. 78). Finally, I also included an interview with a Minorcan political and cultural figure involved in drafting the LNL and who was suggested by several people in the field.

The following Table 4.3 presents the 16 participants I interviewed. To ensure anonymity, all names are pseudonyms and in some cases I changed the gender of participants. The four regional institutional language planners are Biel, Carla, Caterina, and Maria, and the seven local ones are Aina, Antònia, Guillem, Joana, Rafel, Ramon, and Xisca (for whom I do not specify their location to prevent their identification, given that many of these local positions are unipersonal). For the analysis, when relevant, I specify that a local language planner is 'peripheral' or 'from a minor island' when she is not *from* Majorca, and 'inland' when she is not from Palma, but from Majorca's own periphery. As for the associational level, Antoni, Miquel, and Salva are the language activists of Balearist organisations, while Sebastià is the one from the OCB. Finally, Josep is the Minorcan political and cultural figure.

Table 4.3: Participants of qualitative interviews (n=16).

Type	Level	Name	Role
Institution *(n=11)*	Regional *(n=4)*	Maria	Professor at the UIB and former member of the university's Linguistic Service
		Carla	High ranking official at the DGPL of the regional government
		Biel	High ranking official at ILLENC (government-dependent)
		Caterina	Former language editor at IB3
	Local *(n=7)*		Language promotor at the Council of Majorca

		Aina, Antònia, Guillem, Joana, Rafel, Ramon, and Xisca	Language technician at the Insular Council of Minorca
			Language technician at the Insular Council of Eivissa
			Language technician at the Insular Council of Formentera
			Language technician from Palma's City Council
			Language technician from Manacor's City Council
			Language technician from Pollença's Council
Association *(n=4)*	Balearist *(n=3)*	Salva	Editor of Toc·Toc's fanzine and one of the administrators of its social media accounts, and key activist of Foment
		Miquel	Key activist of the FJ3
		Antoni	Key activist of the FJ3 and Foment, and one of the administrators of the social media accounts of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment
	Catalanist *(n=1)*	Sebastià	Senior activist of the OCB
Other *(n=1)*	–	Josep	Minorcan political and cultural figure

Finally, email replies and calls, as well as field notes from interviews, were considered as data for the analysis. Moreover, I also included one event I attended to, following Salva's invitation, where the three Balearist activists I had already interviewed had a prominent role. I present this event in the next chapter.

4.3.2   Conducting interviews

I conducted interviews in the field during October 2016, once I had analysed social media activity. Participants decided the location of the interview to ensure their ease. Generally, they preferred either their work offices or some cafeteria. Most interviews lasted around one hour and a half, though they ranged between one hour to almost three, depending on the participants' involvement and as a result of the flexible interview format. At the beginning of each interview, the research project and its aim were presented and a consent form was signed by both the interviewer and the interviewee. I explained that I wanted to have a relaxed 'conversation' about their views and actions in the sociolinguistic Balearic field (with special emphasis on Catalan linguistic regulation), and that there were no right or wrong answers.

Interviews were semi-structured. Before meeting with participants, I adapted an interview model taking into account the participant's institutional level, location, stance, and work. The interview script model was prepared following the guidelines by Jennifer Mason (1996), Charles L. Briggs (1986), and Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (2001), with special attention to the chapter on institutional ethnography by DeVault and McCoy (2001), for example concerning 'modification' questions related to the Catalan standard or the coordination with other language standardisation actors. I did periodical checks on the interview's success, as suggested by Briggs (1986). The main check took place after conducting half of the interviews: I modified the phrasing of some specific questions since some interviewees found them confusing. The script guided my questions during the interaction and it helped me trace the covered themes. However, I did not constrain participants' responses and, to an important degree, I let the interaction flow gear towards what participants found relevant. For instance, if a participant wanted to talk about a certain topic, or I found interesting some unexpected topic brought up by the interviewee, I naturally allowed the interaction to flow into that direction. This explains why the duration of the interviews ranged so much in time. In all cases, the script guided the general structure of the interview. This means that all interviews began with the interviewee's presentation and ended discussing findings from social media. In between, as in the rest of the research, the *dialectics of surprise* (Willis & Trondman, 2000) were allowed. Appendix A is an example of the interview model I used for all interviews.

I want to mention that I interviewed Miquel and Antoni simultaneously, attending to their request. Miquel, who is older than Antoni, was clearly the leading voice during our conversation. Given Miquel's role, Antoni kindly offered to meet for another one-on-one interview, which I conducted that same day.

4.3.3   Positionality

My own positionality affected the ethnographic interviews and the related data collection process. I assume, building on literature on qualitative research (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001; Mason, 1996), that in qualitative interviews meaning is co-constructed during the interaction between the researcher and the other participant(s). For this reason, it is necessary to enquire into the ways in which the researcher has discursively *appeared* in her interaction with participants, to assess how her performances affected meaning creation in the collected 'data'. Researchers must confront the politics in methodological choices concerning interviews, as these are tied to relationships of power and control (see Briggs, 1986, pp. 119–125). In what follows, I summarise the aims of my approach and I justify it against the backdrop of the research context.

At this point, the reader has a picture in mind about the intensity of language politics in the Balearic Islands. Metalinguistic stances and political positioning tend to be highly interconnected, and this entails that talking about language can potentially develop into a highly emotional and contentious exchange. As a researcher aiming to better understand the ideological workings and developments taking place in the field, I had to decide how to maneuver through a setting loaded with political indexicalities, as well as which role to take in interactions. In this regard, clear alignment with respondents would have been a possibility, but it would have hindered access to assumptions and stance justification. Another possibility would have been confronting respondents, but considering the level of polarisation the topic generates, this was not to turn into a healthy option. Instead, I decided to adopt a strategic *lack of definition* regarding the available stances in the Balearic Islands. This is not the same as a neutral role, as this is not possible in qualitative research, in which uttered words, gazes, gestures, and presence have an effect on data collection.

My lack of overt definition, which relied on my researcher role and my non-Balearicness (see below), was strategic for my interactional aims. I wanted participants to talk and explicitly justify their stances and associated actions relative to language. The implicit lack of alignment resulting from my non-partisanship matched the phrasing of my questions: I tried to make myself present in a way that participants felt it necessary to justify themselves, since there was no certainty of ideological common grounds between both interactional parties. Below, I will explain in more detail how this was achieved and how I partly disclosed myself during the interview. I acknowledge, however, that the longer the interview lasted the harder it became to perform my lack of definition.

Displaying this position required, considering the degree of polarisation that

the topic of gonellisme generates in the field, to make participants feel at ease. To balance the potential discomfort that my lack of definition caused, I did two things. One, I always reacted to participants' accounts in a comprehensive, non-challenging way, using for instance "*d'acord*" (OK) or "*molt bé*" (very good): I tried to build up a safety zone for their stance-taking. Two, I displayed discursive hints that could imply alignment with participants. During my presentation to language planners, for instance, I clearly labelled the indigenous language of the archipelago as 'Catalan', something neogonelles never do; however, I did not talk derogatorily about neogonella associations, something uncommon in the field if someone uses such term. Conversely, with activists of these associations, I concealed these naming operations to a higher degree, similarly to what they themselves do throughout their media and social media practices. I was able to navigate interactions in these subtle ways because, as explained above, the prior analysis of social media granted me the situational knowledge about the indexicalities operating in the Balearic context. This knowledge also reverted in the ways I contacted participants and conducted our conversations.

Approaching participants

I identified participants online, either following the activity of language activist groups or looking for language planners at different institutional levels and islands—though a few were suggested by some participants themselves while in the Balearic Islands. In general, my initial contact was a letter sent via email, asking for their participation. Only in a few cases, I called their institution to know who to address the letter to.

The contact letter offered a short description of the research project. In terms of metalinguistic stance-taking, I was purposely vague to avoid being directly ascribed in any side of Balearic language politics, as explained above. However, this stance had offsetting risks with language planners, given that this vagueness tends to be associated with anti-Catalan positions in the field and given that I expressed my strong interest in Balearist associations in a serious way. Consequently, to prevent resistance from language planners, I tried to counter such an interpretation by using standard Catalan and making reference to one of my institutional affiliations, the Catalonia-based Open University of Catalonia (*Universitat Oberta de Catalunya*). References to both a Catalan and an 'outsider' university such as the University of Luxembourg not only conveyed a serious and expert presentation, but also showed an insider/outsider identity useful to avoid partisan affiliations. In contrast, letters to neogonella activists were in Castilian to prevent possible resistances—these activists do not consider Castilian problematic, differently from their negative consideration of standard Catalan. Retrospectively, I feel my letters to planners were excessively

focused on neogonella associations. I should have stressed more my interest in language planners themselves.

A majority of the letters (14 out of 19) were positively replied to and resulted in positive interviews. The bulk of local actors humbly cautioned me about their irrelevance regarding "linguistic regulation", as I called the field of interest of my research, and even a couple of them directed me to the authority of the UIB.[24] Regional planner Carla took a clear metalinguistic stance against the social currency of the term 'Balearic' in her long positive email.

I was unsuccessful trying to reach by phone those who did not reply, except one participant from Minorca who kindly declined to participate because she did not want to discuss issues concerning neogonellisme in a small place where "everybody knows each other", regardless of my emphasis on participants' anonymity. This supports my above critique of the focus of the letter and it confirms the intense polarisation observed online. I also called a couple of participants who showed some reluctance or expressed their concerns about the purpose of the research in their responses to my letter. In these cases, displaying my metalinguistic stance concerning the Catalan language was key to assure their involvement, though they remained disconcerted with the fact that my focus included neogonellisme. In contrast, neogonelles were very willing to participate (one of them clearly taking a stance and sending different sorts of materials in his emails). I will return to this point below. Finally, the inclusion in the sample of Caterina, the language editor, and Josep, the Minorcan figure occurred while in the field, as they were suggested by two previously interviewed participants.

Positionality during interviews

Dorte Lønsmann (2015) proposes discerning positionality by focusing on three levels of identity that may have an effect on qualitative interviews. The first level, *macro-level demographic categories*, involves social categories such as age, gender, nationalities, regional/local identities, or ethnicities. Despite appearing to be fixed, these categories can be negotiated during each interaction. *Local ethnographically-specific cultural positions* follow in the second place, referring to positions such as expert, scholar, consultant, or 'spy for the management' in research on workplaces, for example.

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[24]For example, a participant from inland Majorca replied "I'll be pleased to help you to the best of my abilities, but as you may already know, you will gather more information if you get in contact with the Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics at the UIB" ("Em complaurà ajudar-te en la mesura de les meves possibilitats, però com probablement ja deus saber, aconseguiràs més informació si et poses en contacte amb el Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General de la UIB").

The way that participants are approached importantly determines these positions, though they may shift during the interview. In the third level we find *temporary, interactionally-specific roles*. They refer to roles that participants in the interview may adopt during the interview, such as confidant or language expert.

From all *macro-level demographic categories*, such as age, gender, ethnicity and nationality, the most relevant one in the context of the qualitative interviews I conducted was ethnicity. When I met participants to conduct interviews, I always began by presenting the research as well as myself. In my presentation, I highlighted my professional career and my origin, Sant Cugat del Vallès (Barcelona province). This, together with the features of my own linguistic variety, implicitly defined me as 'Catalan', an ethnic/national category exceptionally polysemic in the field.

On the one hand, a Catalan identity set me as an outsider, not being from the Balearic Islands. This was important because it automatically granted contextual sociolinguistic authority to the interviewee, meaning that my origin prevented me from challenging their sociolinguistic accounts. For example, just after meeting Salva, at a terrace in Palma's Rambla, he explained to me that the sociolinguistic behaviour of the waiter, who had served us in Castilian, defined him in Majorca as a '*foraster*' (foreigner, a label we already encountered in a quote by Veny, in p. 38). On the other hand, being Catalan simultaneously and partially defined me as an insider, given that a considerable part of Balearic society, including some of the interviewed language planners, holds the idea that the Balearic Islands are part of Catalan culture. In addition, my origin implicitly granted me an understanding of language politics on Catalan speaking territories in Spain and an awareness of the related sociolinguistic nuances and challenges of Catalan speakers. This became evident with all participants, even for neogonelles, as they usually contrasted sociolinguistic habits and situations from their island with the ones from Catalonia. Further, all interviewees were able to use the autochthonous language during interviews, presumably the perceived 'we-code' for most.

The outsider-insider position resulting from my perceived ethnicity as 'Catalan' did not always *mean* the same, and so it went through occasional negotiations. For my interview with Miquel, we met outside the building where the FJ3's office is located. We introduced ourselves and we engaged in small talk about Palma and Majorca, my origin, and whether it was my first time on the island, as we headed to his office. As soon as he sat down, however, he asked me, out of the blue: "do you understand me or not?" ("*m'entens o no m'entens?*"), to which, after me asking for confirmation and him specifying that he referred to his speech, I responded affirmatively. Although all our previous exchanges had been positive, at that moment

Miquel wanted to differentiate his speech from mine. But beyond that, his question aimed at defining my outsider/insider position. A negative or dubious reply would have secured an outsider identity ascription.

Regarding *local ethnographically-specific cultural positions*, I identify three specific identities that affected how interviews were conducted: my role as a PhD candidate, the shifting insider/outsider position (determined by my ethnic category), and my own "Catalanist" stance in respect of Balearic linguistic varities.

First, I balanced my academic identity during my presentation. Being a PhD candidate defined me as a member of academia in the eyes of participants. This was very appealing to neogonelles, for instance, due the lack of academic endorsement that their linguistic proposals receive. To balance the "expert" identity and hierarchy associated with academia, I always made clear in my presentation that I was not a philologist, as most language planners were, despite doing research on sociolinguistics. I tried to prevent social roles becoming a procedural problem in the interaction (Briggs, 1986, pp. 56–58), leaving the linguistic expertise ground to language planners, so that they would not feel threatened—due to my interest in neogonelles—and to imply that they could 'enlighten' me. As for neogonelles, I believe that disclosing my non-linguistic background secured their feelings of rapport.

Second, in the interviews, I further negotiated the outsider/insider ambivalent position that derived from my "Catalan" ethnic identity, in two different ways. Firstly, in my presentation I also explained the reason for my interest in the Balearic Islands. I explained that I had spent almost all the summers of my life in Formentera. With this biographical note, I tried to alleviate my outsider identity stemming from my ethnic background, trying to imply that I was not fully unaware of specific language politics of the region; however, this note most likely just attached me an inconsequential 'regular tourist' identity. Secondly, when needed, I used my understanding of Balearic language politics resulting from the analysis of social media activity, showing that I knew relevant denominations and their meanings (Briggs, 1986, pp. 50–54). During the second part of the interview, once interviewees had already explained and justified their linguistic actions, I displayed such knowledge. Some participants expressed their surprise to my deep understandings about the meanings of words such as '*gonella*' or '*foraster*', for instance. With some participants, this shifting positioning to a more insider identity allowed me to gain access to more fine-grained accounts.

In third place, the most important local specific identity used during the interviews was the one associated with my own stance about Balearic linguistic varieties (and associated language politics), which was part of my *lack of definition* strategy. During my presentation, I tried not to offer clear and explicit hints about my stance,

thus constructing my undefined role—although my professional and biographic trajectories contained some indexical cues. I felt that some language planners did not feel completely at ease until they confirmed my 'Catalanist' stance, which normally they discovered by the second part of the interview (although I never presented the discourse analysis of neogonelles' actions in derogatory terms). Apparently, not all participants read these cues about my stance: one local language planner showed relief when, once having turned off the recorder and starting our farewell, I made clear my stance-taking. I believe this indicates that the lack of definition I intended was effective. But also, this relief might suggest that this respondent may have held back to some extent. Indeed, her interview was one of the shortest, but from the beginning this local planner stressed how busy she was (during our interview she received a couple of calls urging her to send some emails), while in her account, she justified her stance and actions similarly as others did.

I have explained that my priorities were to create a comfortable setting for participants and to access the rationales and justifications for their actions and stances. If I completely aligned from the beginning with their stances, their accounts would have *assumed* more. As for neogonelles, this was not such an issue. They were excited by the academic attention that I represented, and the phrasing of my questions, which avoided stance-taking, made them feel comfortable throughout the interviews, even during the second part. Although by then they most likely knew that our stances did not align, this never became an issue. With Antoni, at the end of the interview we even discussed how in my dissertation my stance had to necessarily be transparent, to which he completely agreed without asking which one it was. Amazingly, he immediately continued by explaining how Francesc de Borja Moll's (1972) compilation of the letters of the Pep Gonella controversy, which Moll published to mockingly reveal Gonella's ignorance, actually "backfired",[25] creating instead a "movement" of which Antoni considered himself a heir. Implicitly, he established a potential parallelism between the outcome of my research and what happened to Moll. This parallelism explains neogonelles' excitement towards my academic attention and indicates that, by the end of the interview, Antoni had constructed my stance in opposition to his. In this interaction, he was not only reflectively positioning himself, but also *interactively positioning* me (Lønsmann, 2015).

Finally, *temporary roles specific to the interaction* emerged during interviews. A few language planners, especially with those whose interviews lasted most, prefaced some of their accounts with sentences such as "well, I shouldn't be telling you this".

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[25]"li va sortir es tir per sa culata".

This type of utterances further define the roles between the interview participants. Lønsmann (2015) argues that the researcher should resist such attempts to ascribe her a 'confidant', intimate identity. However, I did not stop interviewees from explaining what followed these warnings as long as it related to their language policing roles. These normally contradictory accounts are highly relevant due to the justifications they require. Temporary renegotiations also took place when local language planners framed some part of their speech as "not said as a language technician".

The 'researcher-researched' positions were inverted in the last part of the interviews, when I shared the findings from my online analysis with participants. This part of the interview allowed interviewees to address questions about those findings. In this part, interviewees usually had already constructed my stance-taking. Consequently, in these sharing moments meaning was more intensively co-constructed. Moreover, in one interview there was one interaction that further subverted the hierarchies implied in the 'researcher-researched' relationship. Ramon, a peripheral language planner, exerted his linguistic expertise in one specific occasion when he politely corrected a non-standard practice I uttered (*coneixo*, instead standard *conec*). He explicitly placed himself on a superior level of knowledge regarding Catalan, which roughly is my object of analysis.[26]

4.3.4   After the interviews

After each interview, I wrote my impressions of it, focusing on the tone and how the conversation developed, the covered themes, and the rich points that sparked my interest. I came back to these series of impressions before the transcription of interviews, which occurred once I had conducted them all.

Altogether, recordings amount to almost 23 hours. The audio quality of each interview varied a lot, according to the location where it was conducted (generally speaking, offices increased quality, while cafes diminished it). I transcribed all the interviews in the qualitative analysis software MAXQDA. Given that my analysis focused on the general discursive level of accounts and was not geared to the interactional and conversational levels, these first transcriptions were basic—for instance, they did not record pauses and instead just focused on verbal realisations. Later on, selected passages were adapted to the conventions that Woolard (2016) uses, given that they constitute an accessible transcription model adjusted to my

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[26]That was not the only occasion he policed language during our interaction. Our interview took place at a cafeteria's terrace and a former student of his Catalan language courses passed by to greet him. Adopting a temporary teacher role, he corrected one of her utterances (use of *tenir* instead of *haver* as auxiliary verb), to her surprise, after which she switched to Castilian.

research goals.[27] The initial Note in this dissertation includes the used transcription key (p. xxiii).

A further methodological and ideological issue was the representation of the Balearic varieties of participants. I followed Catalan norms but I also represented regional non-standard features of their speech. For this, I modified Catalan orthographic norms towards a more phonemicist model (Sebba, 2007) that in many occasions made me align with the linguistic model furthered by neogonellisme. For instance, I transcribed salty articles in the same way neogonelles do.[28] But, in other occasions this did not occur, as with some pronouns and prepositions.

After transcribing, I coded each transcription similarly to texts from social media (see next Section). Finally, after coding, I wrote an analytical summary of each interview, outlining the most relevant aspects for my research. These interview summaries allowed me to draft a more general level of summaries according to the type of participants. Thus, I finalised with summaries for regional planners, local planners, neogonella activists and Catalan advocates.

4.4   Method of analysis

Ethnographers try to inscribe the meanings that actors bring into play in social practices by means of an interpretative epistemology based on inference (Geertz, 1973), as previously discussed when I argued in favour of the ethnographic value of texts (Section 4.2.1, p. 99). *Discourse analysis* is the way I inferred meaning from the ensemble of social media activity and interviews, as well as additional data materials such as emails and calls from participants, field notes, a participation in one event, and news reports. Drawing on the work by Michel Foucault (1972), who defined *discourse* as a practice which systematically forms the object of which it speaks (p. 49), the aim of discourse analysis is to reveal the systems of beliefs and knowledge that organise individuals' situated meanings (Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2011). Sanna Talja (1999) offers guidelines to apply the method of discourse analysis of qualitative interviews which can be applied to all the data sources from this research, given their clarity.

In discourse analysis, the explanatory value of interview talk or social media comments does not lie in their mediation to the authentic intentions of individuals or

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[27]Initially, I had foreseen using the GAT2 transcription conventions (Selting et al., 2011), but even the most basic level of this model delves into interactional details that I did not aim for.

[28]Perhaps, my continuous exposure to their model made me unconsciously follow it in some aspects.

to any objective reality. Instead, as Talja (1999) summarises, texts are always *social texts* for discourse analysis, surpassing the dichotomy between subjective meanings and objective reality. In this way, discourse analysis "concentrates on the analysis of knowledge formations, which organize institutional practices and societal reality on a large scale" (1999, p. 460). Any utterance, text, or practice is always embedded in broad and situated ways of understanding social life. These discourses, or "common interpretative resources", as Talja calls them, can be used for different situations and different phenomena. For example, we know that people use *discourses of language endangerment* for both minoritised and dominant languages (Duchêne & Heller, 2007), as seen for Maori in New Zealand and English in the USA. In both cases these discourses *make sense* for people.

In this way, it is useful to think that versions or accounts are the object of discourse analysis. However, individuals may mobilise different—and differing—interpretative resources according to the frame being constructed in an interaction. If diverging accounts appear in different parts of interviews, this points to the individuals' investment in different discourses. Therefore, the *normal* inconsistencies in individuals' accounts are not problematic in discourse analysis. As implied above, participants are not consistent and coherent entities with one true version; instead, in discourse analysis variation in participants' accounts is socially understood and highly dependent on context, hence the importance, in the case of interviews, of the questions' phrasing and overall interaction. Each *versioning* contains some evaluation and positionality (Talja, 1999) and cannot be understood in isolation, but in its immediate and broader context. Contexts frame meanings in specific ways, and people's novel approaches to same topics may foreground different aspects.

Talja (1999) explains that the identification of discursive patterns consists of three main phases. The first phase is the analysis of *participants' inconsistencies and internal contradictions*. When participants notice any contradiction in their utterances, they tend to repair and justify them. These justifications are particularly useful to discern the shape of diverse social beliefs. When participants do not notice their contradictions, this is a clear sign of the existence and use of different discourses (1999, p. 466). The second phase is the identification of *regular patterns in the variability of accounts* across participants. The above example about discourses of language endangerment shows how a *discourse* can be ubiquitously used to a considerable degree. What prevails in all cases, though, is a common *viewpoint*. We must think that "discourses interpret common concepts (...) in a way that corresponds to the viewpoint on which the discourse is based" (1999, p. 467). The third phase is the identification of the *basic assumptions and starting points* that underlie a

particular way of talking about a phenomenon. Discourses are based on assumptions that "are unspoken theories about the nature of things, and they are the necessary and implicit starting points behind a particular way of speaking about a topic" (1999, p. 468). To discern these assumptions, it is important not only to focus on what is said, but also on what is absent, since "the perspective that builds a discourse involves, above all, strategic selection of meaning" (1999, p. 468).

Operating in this way can reveal the main discourses organising meaning and social action in a particular field. For example, applying such a focus on the linguistic field can elucidate the main *language ideologies* (Errington, 2001; Woolard, 1998) involved in discourses about languages, dialects, accents, and speakers. In the case of my project, discourse analysis has allowed me to capture the beliefs that sustain the different interventions in the linguistic field of the Balearic Islands. Though discourse analysis mainly aims at identifying prevalent *discourses* with which individuals make sense of a particular social field in a particular context, my main analytical aim was to further reveal the workings of different actors of language standardisation in the Balearic Islands. In addition, the analysis discerned the current discursive context of the Balearic sociolinguistic field, where neogonella activists confront Catalan normalisation in apparently new ways. Put all together, the different workings shed light to the discursive and ideological conditions of Catalan in the archipelago.

Analytical steps

To operationalise the discourse analysis of the data, all social media texts and interview transcripts were coded according to several themes such as 'language promotion', 'official language policy', 'geographic language profiles', 'authoritative sources', 'schools', 'normativity', 'authenticity', or "language policing", each of which, in turn, had different subcodes. On multiple occasions, codes overlapped in parts of data. Following Talja's guidelines, (1999) coding focused on categorisations and labels, evaluative orientations to speakers and language practices, contradictions within accounts, the assumptions sustaining beliefs and practices, and regularities and inconsistencies across different sources of data. My observation of Facebook interactions since my Master studies made me well aware of the meanings and nuances involved in Balearic language politics. Such sensitivity allowed me to discern specific data that addressed or challenged the contextual knowledge I constructed. Additionally, the analysis focuses on textual aspects such semantics (e.g., metaphors), local meanings, and internal coherence (see Van Dijk, 1993).

I wrote an analytical summary after the coding of every three months of data from a Facebook Page and after each interview. In these summaries, I focused on

the main themes in data and specific "rich points" (Agar, 2009), that is, pieces of
discourse that attracted my attention in the frame of my research questions. This
strategy allowed me to gradually gain an idea on the discursive patterns in data
and to identify contradictions between data sets. I contrasted and corroborated my
growing understanding with the analysis of networking traces, which turned out to
be a very useful corroborating analytical strategy (see Section 4.2.2, p. 106).[29] For
social media texts, I first analysed data from Foment, as it was the smallest data set
(see Table 4.1, p. 102), to then follow with the FJ3 and Toc·Toc. When all data was
coded, I analysed in more detail specific codes that were relevant to my questions,
and which shaped the analytical sections that build the following chapters.

4.5   Ethics

All the decisions made throughout this study took into consideration the possible
implications for social media and interview participants. The Ethics Review Panel
from the University of Luxembourg approved this research design and its ethical
provisions, which are here summarised.

   All the voices from social media and interviews were pseudonimised and the
gender of some participants was changed to prevent any possible identification.
Pseudonyms were chosen based on the language affiliation of the original names
(names of ambiguous affiliation were given also ambiguous pseudonyms).

   Regarding data from the social networking site Facebook, privacy and anonymity
concerns were paramount. I followed the ethics guidelines of the Association of
Internet Research (Markham & Buchanan, 2012), which are based on the concept of
harm. I therefore decided not to use in any way personal information from personal
profiles in this social networking site, nor did I improperly access personal information
(see Zimmer, 2010). I did not pursue any further research on the personal profiles of
the participants of the Pages where I concentrated my analysis, not even for the most
active participants. It is important to stress, again, that Pages are inherently public
as any other website. I therefore limited my data collection to a set of Facebook
Pages and restrained from digging deeper into personal information from this social
networking site, similarly to what Poell et al. (2016) and Rieder et al. (2015) did
using the Netvizz research application.

   As for interviews, I signed consent forms with all the participants, who had the
opportunity to ask me for clarifications. I informed them of the aims of my research

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[29]Additionally, I also ran basic statistical analysis based on engagement indicators which further
confirmed the gradual understandings I was developing from the close analysis of textual data.

and that they could object to further participate or to cease using their data at any moment without any negative consequences for them.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has described the methodological design devised to undertake my study. I conceived it as an ethnography, in this case, about the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands. Given that ethnography allows researchers to understand the ways people make sense of their social worlds and constructs (Geertz, 1973), it was the most appropriate standpoint from which to properly address my research questions. These aimed at grasping, primarily, how certain social actors try to modify accepted beliefs about language, and, secondarily, what this attempt tells us of the ideological conditions of Catalan in the archipelago, a focus which justified the assymetrical data I collected. In all, my study also aimed at shedding light on the processes of legitimisation of standard language varieties.

The main data of this study was the activity of the three neogonella associations, Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment, in their social media or social networking sites on Facebook. Social media enable *mass-self communication* (Arsenault & Castells, 2008) where individuals can practice, to a large extent, the *culture of autonomy* (Castells, 2012). This materialises in people creating *interest networks* (Nahon & Hemsley, 2013), such as the ones our neogonella associations' Pages on Facebook exemplify. The communication that runs throughout these networks is not only mediated, but also *mediatised* (Agha, 2011), in the sense that it is commodified and amplified so as to become part of larger social processes. Via people's uptakes, mediatised moments or objects affect the reshaping of meanings that link people. It is from this perspective that I ethnographically considered two types of data sourced from social media, texts and networking or participation traces, both of which were collected using the research application Netvizz (Rieder, 2013).

Texts are social practices whose meaning can be contextually inferred (Blommaert, 2008; Heller & Pujolar, 2009). For this study, I collected texts from three Facebook Pages, which can be considered public marketing tools under the control of their administrators (Poell et al., 2016; Rieder et al., 2015). The collected texts total 2,386 posts and 15,132 comments, altogether representing over 800,000 words, originated between 2012/3 and mid-2015. The activists and followers of Pages produced more volume of texts when language ideological debates intensified in the region, and vice versa. This was complemented by the activists' own role in initiating debates that occasionally reached regional media. Additionally, we saw how there was a constant

but reduced number of commentators by looking at Toc·Toc's specific case.

Facebook's networking traces can be seen as a way of *following the medium* (Rogers, 2010, 2013). These are the traces that people leave while participating in this social networking site. They carry complementary explanatory power to the way people inhabit different interest networks. In this study, I looked into the networking traces of people's participation across Facebook Pages, following the insights of the analyses of other data sources. To illustrate the value of the traces we leave while engaging with content in social media, I explored how anti-Catalan normalisation Facebook Pages connect to each other, that is, their politics of association (Rogers, 2010). Two 'Page like networks' (Rieder, 2013) further justified my focus on neogonella Pages, as they showed that these Pages have managed to be seen as relevant by other ideologically similar Pages.

The second dataset of my study are 16 qualitative semi-structured interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001) that I conducted during October 2016. These communicative events must be understood as meaning construction interactions where both parties participate in emerging meanings (Briggs, 1986; Codó, 2008; Mason, 1996). The approach of 'institutional ethnography' (Smith, 2001; Woydack & Rampton, 2016) inspired the choice of my sample of interview participants, as I tried to capture *ruling relations* in the Catalan standard language regime of the Balearic Islands. For these reasons, I selected different types of participants, from different locations, and who work in different conditions. To grasp the ideological conditions of actors implementing Catalan standardisation in the archipelago, I interviewed 11 regional and local language planners from the four Balearic Islands. Additionally, I interviewed three neogonella activists involved with the studied associations, one activist from a long-standing Catalanist cultural association, and a Minorcan advocate of the Catalan language. My field visit on the occasion of conducting these interviews was fundamental to sense the social value and use conditions of Catalan and Castilian in the archipelago.

The chapter also included a detailed reflection on my positionality during the interview process. My strategy was to adopt a *lack of definition* regarding metalinguistic stance-taking in line with my role as researcher and my non-Balearicness. This strategy had its risks, for instance when approaching participants, but I properly managed them to the benefit of data collection. To reflect on my role during the interviews, I used the three-level identity model that Lønsmann (2015) uses: I discussed the way macro-level demographic categories, local ethnographically-specific cultural positions, and interactional roles played a role in conversations with participants, specifically focusing on the insider/outsider ambivalences of my Catalan

ethnic background. I also discussed the analytical steps taken after conducting the interviews, which were transcribed and coded in MAXQDA.

Using discourse analysis (Blommaert et al., 2009; Gee, 2011; Van Dijk, 1993), I analysed social media activity, qualitative interviews, and field notes, as well as the many media sources that I gathered to assess the public stance-taking of actors involved in Catalan standardisation. I described this method of analysis using Talja's (1999) guidelines, given their clarity. Talja highlighted that it is useful to think of texts as social texts issued from certain viewpoints that are shaped by assumptions, categorisations and classifications, and which include contradictions. These are the interstices considered when undertaking discourse analysis, in my case, to enquire as to the values and views of social actors towards Catalan and Castilian. In addition, I described the analytical steps applied to this discourse analysis, which began with coding data according to several broad themes.

Finally, I summarised my study's ethical foundations and related decisions. These were inspired by the guidelines set by the Association of Internet Research (Markham, 2012), in turn based on the concept of *harm*. During all the stages of my research, I ensured the privacy and anonymity of participants and never accessed online personal information. With interview participants, we mutually signed consent forms and I explained their right to object to their data consideration at any stage of the study.

Chapter 5

The struggle for legitimation of an alternative standard

Bourdieu (1991) provides a useful explanation on how societies organise and value individuals according to their behaviours and actions. Building on economic metaphors, he suggests that societies operate in the form of markets where individuals hold different sorts of capital that are differentiated and ascribed a value. A basic example would be ordering French fries in an exquisite restaurant, a behaviour that would entail a low social distinction or consideration. 'Education' or 'manners' would explain such an evaluation and, indeed, these are precisely the terms that suggest the existence of a market producing social stratification. The issue here is how certain behaviours arrive to be negatively considered in certain contexts, and more importantly, by whom. After all, *knowing* what to order in such a restaurant is a *social capital* that might not be very widespread in society.

For Bourdieu, those able to impose their criteria for value fixation in a given situation are in possession of 'symbolic power'. Holders of symbolic power ascribe the highest value to their own social capital, thus hierarchising the rest of circulating capital. The fundamental aspect of symbolic power is that it "can be exercised only if it is *recognized*, that is, misrecognized as arbitrary" (1991, p. 170), meaning that it requires others' complicity to *believe* that the prevalence of certain values is natural or self-evident—such as where (or not) to order French fries.

Neogonella associations aimed at institutionalising a new and different standard for Balearic linguistic varieties—while leaving uncontested Castilian's social primacy. Such a mission involved making people believe that their stance and views about their 'Balearic' linguistic model represented accurately and trustworthily the sociolinguistic state-of-affairs. However, changing how people see and categorise the linguistic field

is not easy. We all give names to things, but some names come to be more generally *recognised* as representing how reality actually is.

> In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense or, more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate naming as the official—i.e., explicit and public—imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, agents bring into play the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles, in particular all the power that they possess over the instituted taxonomies, those inscribed in people's minds or in the objective world, such as qualifications. (...) [T]here is the world of particular perspectives, of individual agents who, on the basis of their particular point of view, their particular position, produce namings—of themselves and others—that are particular and self-interested (...), and all the more powerless to gain recognition, and thus to exert a truly symbolic effect, the less their authors are *authorized*, either personally (*auctoritas*) or institutionally (by delegation), and the more directly they are concerned to gain recognition for the point of view that they are seeking to impose. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 239, emphasis in original)

According to Bourdieu, in struggles over names, symbols, and meanings, actors must take into account the existing *instituted taxonomies* and the available *authorisations*. Addressing these two aspects for the case of neogonelles allows one to understand their legitimation struggle. The way to conduct this analysis is by examining how neogonelles engage with the taxonomies organising the Balearic sociolinguistic field, as languages and speakers are among the categories that we all give names to and to which we associate certain social attributes. The way these sociolinguistic taxonomies are *inscribed in people's minds* relates to *language ideologies*, which can be defined as "the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language" (Errington, 2001, p. 110), as we saw in Section 1.3 (p. 19). The identification of ideologies allows one to make sense of how some speakers use them to advance their own interests (Kroskrity, 2004). Given that language activist associations basically aim at advancing certain beliefs about language, the best way to examine neogonelles' mission is to approach their relationship with language ideologies. Although beliefs are intangible, they can be accessed from discursive realisations (and associated situated practices) (Woolard, 1998, 2016). *Language ideological debates* (Blommaert, 1999), or the moments when explicit discourses about language take centre stage, such as recently in the Balearic Islands, are particularly suited for the analysis of language ideologies.

Woolard (2016) recently analysed the prevalent language ideologies that support Catalan and Castilian's authority in contemporary Catalonia. The present study relies heavily on Woolard's work, given the sociolinguistic parallelisms that can be established between this region and the Balearic Islands. One of Woolard's findings is the identification of a widespread *ideology of sociolinguistic naturalism*, which is the belief that there are linguistic forms whose authoritative status results from "the natural, unmediated expression of a state of social life in the world, rather than the outcome of human will, effort, intervention and artifice" (2016, p. 31). Naturalism includes a "vision of truth" that precedes any sociolinguistic intervention, thus opposing the "recognition of the agency of speaking subjects, and [the] historicized image of language as constructed by human action" (2016, p. 31).

Woolard argues that naturalism is the ideological taproot of the two main sources of linguistic authority, *authenticity* and *anonymity* (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Woolard, 2008, 2016). The ideology of authenticity defines the value of a language on the basis of its community representation: it is speech "from somewhere, and thus its meaning is constituted as profoundly local" (Woolard, 2016, p. 22). Authentic language foregrounds the *who* rather than the *what*, meaning that it is a form of social indexicality (2016, p. 22) that can crystallise into *iconisation* (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In contrast, anonymous languages are public languages that convey "a view from nowhere", foregrounding *what* is said rather than the *who* (2016, pp. 25–26), thus ideologically *erasing* the social and geographical roots of anonymous voices (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Although they oppose each other, these two ideologies are interrelated and co-constituted (Woolard, 2016, p. 21). Naturalism, authenticity, and anonymity are language ideologies that illuminate the struggle for the legitimation of Balearic carried out by Balearist associations.

The following sections aim at unpacking such a struggle. The three Balearist associations were engaged, on the one hand, in delegitimising the other existing stances about the autochthonous language, Baléà and Catalan. On the other, they were also engaged in authenticating themselves, that is, in accumulating symbolic capital for their social recognition, which they did via activist and lobbying practices. In parallel, we must also account for the symbolic essential role they assigned to the Castilian language in the Balearic Islands.

5.1 Delegitimising other metalinguistic stances

The Balearic Islands were already populated with stances about the character of the autochthonous language when neogonelles emerged around 2013. On the one hand,

we find the widespread and institutionalised Catalan stance and, on the other, the marginal anti-Catalanist secessionist gonella stance represented by the GAB (see Section 3.2.3, p. 86). Using Bourdieu's terms, there was an 'instituted taxonomy' with stable symbolic capital attributions organising the Balearic linguistic field. Neogonelles, who believed to be heirs of Pep Gonella's dialectalist gonellisme, aimed for the symbolic re-ordering of the linguistic field, for which they addressed and questioned the symbolic capital of the Catalan and Baléà stances in seemingly new ways.

On the occasion of the launch of the FJ3's *Style Book* (Fundació Jaume III, 2015b), Joan Font Rosselló, spokesperson of the association and co-author of the book, gave an unequivocal speech in this regard.[1] Font defended that the Foundation's linguistic proposal was halfway between the "two antagonistic forces"[2] that were found in the "never solved"[3] linguistic Balearic discussion. He called these two forces "triumphant Catalanism"[4] and "classic Balearism",[5] a mild term to refer to GAB's anti-Catalanist secessionism, and argued that both shared discursive similarities such as foci on identity, origins, norms, and names. "Both of them are clear in that "the name creates the thing"",[6] Font asserted. In contrast to both, the Foundation was to be "pragmatic"[7] and "moderate"[8] with its linguistic model, as it was "respectful with the "norm""[9] while "intelligently making the most of [its] cracks".[10]

This speech is an excellent example of how neogonella activists, in their quest for *recognition*, challenged the value of the other two available stances about Balearic varieties, Baléà and Catalan. Neogonelles' struggle for recognition implied addressing the symbolic capitals associated with Baléà and Catalan in order to weaken the legitimacies of these two other stances, as well as their value in the linguistic market. As Font's words signalled, they did so in completely different ways for each stance.

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[1]The Foundation's website provided the transcription of the speech in two separated entries (Fundació Jaume III, 2015a), which were also shared on social media accounts. The reason for the dissemination of the speech, according to the Foundation, was "the controversy that has generated within Balearist opinion fora" ("sa polèmica que ha provocat dins es fòrums d'opinió balearistes"), meaning the online spaces of the entire gonella spectrum. It is worth highlighting how, in this speech, Font constructs Alcover as the main linguistic authority for Balearic varieties.

[2]"Dues forces antagòniques".

[3]"Mai resolta".

[4]"catalanisme triumfant".

[5]"balearisme clàssic"

[6]"Uns i altres tenen clar que "es nom fa sa cosa".

[7]"pragmàtics".

[8]"moderats".

[9]"Som respectuosos amb sa "norma"".

[10]"Aprofitem aquestes escletxes amb intel·ligència".

This discursive strategy, that challenged the instituted taxonomy working in the linguistic field, was also a way of their taking the middle road, when actually neogonelles were an update of traditional gonellisme, as it will become clear in this chapter.

5.1.1 Radicalising Baléà

Before the recent emergence of neogonellisme, the main differentialist opposition to Catalan and its normalisation was performed by the GAB, a marginal organisation of "anti-Catalan secessionism" (see Section 3.2.3, p. 86). The GAB's metalinguistic stance in favour of 'Baléà' was known in the field for its very complex and inconsistent orthographic norms (a "Majorcan model systematic in its heterodoxy", as Calaforra and Moranta [2005, p. 61] called it).[11] The symbolic capital of this organisation was very limited and their stance enjoyed no support or recognition from any other actor. In fact, the GAB was and still is generally mocked. For instance, there are several Facebook Pages with names such as 'Capitâ Goneya' or 'Grûpõ d'Äcsíãù Mâìõnèsã' that ridiculise particularisation or gonella claims, names which are parodically drawn from the GAB's heterogeneous diacritical practices.[12]

For neogonelles, it was paramount not to be confused with proponents of Baléà. They were well aware of how negatively it could affect them if they were to be associated with the GAB. Thus, Balearist associations distinguished themselves from the GAB by undermining its symbolic capital and characterising it as something 'radical' and 'extreme'. When I asked Salva, Toc·Toc's editor, about the quasi simultaneous creation of the three Balearist associations, he turned to the GAB as Extract 5.1 shows:

Extract 5.1: Interview with Salva (31:39–33:30).

S: Havia d'arribar quant havia d'arribar, no poria arribar abans (.) i sí que he hi havia (.) un grupuscle e::: que era (.) defensor (.) d'una manera molt més agressiva, secessionista, molt poc acadèmica, decimonònica, (.) que manifestava que,

S: It happened when it had to happen, it could have not happened before (.) and yes, there was (.) a groupuscule e::: that (.) defended it (.) in a much more aggressive, secessionist, and hardly academic way, from the nineteenth-century,

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[11]"el seu model de mallorquí és sistemàtic en la seva heterodòxia". Such inconsistency even reached the name the GAB gave to the language, which could be either 'Baléà' or 'Bâlêà'.

[12]Respectively, 'Captain Gonella' and 'Mayonnaise Action Group'. The latter parodies the name of the GAB replacing 'Baléà' for the name of the known sauce, which indexes the city of Port Mahon, Minorca, after which the sauce is named.

per exemple, coses, coses que, com que es
català i es mallorquí no tenen res a voure.
Jo puc comprendre que es mallorquí (.)
i es *xino*, o es japonès, no tenguin molt
a voure, però aquesta era una posició ex-
tremista i que veia jo que no duia a cap
banda (.). Llavonses, e::: va, se va voure
que sí que hi havia una necessidat de
tenir altres defensors que fossin més a:::,
bono, més preparats culturalment també,
perquè aquesta gent no, ((tongue click))
no tenia estudis, ni res, i funcionava a
nivell associatiu però (.) grepuscular,
grupuscular. No, no tenia massa suport
social ni tenia poder ni de convocatòria
ni de convéncer a sa gent. Era, més bé,
eren, si me permetesses sa paraula, (es-
teiem) fent, ells, amb tota sa voluntat,
però (.) de beneits útils pes catalanisme.

which stated that, for example, things,
things like, that Catalan and Majorcan
have nothing to do with each other. I
can understand that Majorcan and *Chi-
nese*, or Japanese, have little in com-
mon, but this was an extremist position
and which I saw was leading nowhere
(.). Then, e::: it become clear that yes,
that there was a need to have other de-
fenders that would be more a:::, well,
more culturally prepared also, because
these people, ((tongue click)) were not
educated, or anything, and functioned at
an associative level but (.) groupuscular,
groupuscular. They didn't have much
social support nor any rallying capacity
or ((the capacity)) to convince people.
It was, rather, they were, if you allow
me to say it this way, (we) were doing,
they, with their best intentions, but (.)
they were useful fools for Catalanism.

Salva explains that neogonelles began organising themselves since the GAB's
stance and work was ineffective. According to him, the linguistic proposals of such
a "groupuscule" were "extreme" and their symbolic capital was insufficient for their
aims, which affected their persuasive capacity. In Salva's view, the GAB functioned
as the "useful fools for Catalanism". This is key to understanding neogonelles' will to
distinguish themselves from the GAB. Salva referred to how Catalanism supporters
disqualify any kind of linguistic particularisation claim by associating such a stance
with Baléà, relying on the limited value of the GAB's symbolic capital. Aware of
such characterisation, neogonelles construct themselves as distinct from the GAB to
avoid having their linguistic proposals identified as Baléà.

This concern can be identified from the origins of neogonellisme to nowadays. In
September 2012, neogonelles appeared for the first time in regional media, when one
of Toc·Toc's collaborators, Tomàs Ribot Dickow, published a 'letter to the editor' in
two regional newspapers, *Diario de Mallorca* (Ribot Dickow, 2012) and *Última Hora*,

using a non-standard Catalan that incorporated many Majorcan linguistic features.[13] The letter was entitled "Enlightened Gonellisme *recovers* strength"[14] and its basic aim was to distinguish the so-called 'enlightened gonellisme', of which Ribot was acting as a speaker, from the proponents of "Bâléà". Besides qualifying the GAB's proposal as orthographically senseless, Ribot exposed that activists of 'enlightened gonellisme' were young people with university studies, thus implying that the GAB's were not. Moreover, the title's "*recovers*" established a continuity from Pep Gonella, suggesting that the opposition to Catalan of the last decades, represented by the GAB, did not count as such.

Neogonelles' concerns appeared to be justified when they saw the first results of their activism in the political field. The approval of the controversial TIL decree, in April 2013, was simultaneous with another minor public debate around Bauzá's decision to offer a subsidy to publishing houses which would introduce Balearic "modalities" in school textbooks. Activists and supporters of Toc·Toc's "enlightened gonellisme" saw this measure as the first materialisation of their claims and consequently followed it with excitement. However, they were very frustrated when media and social actors such as teacher unions characterised this measure as advancing Baléà.

As a reaction, neogonelles published a post entitled "The stigma and the backwardness of "Baléà"",[15] and which was one of the most popular posts of this early period of neogonellisme. The post's text argued that "Baléà" was "a very disturbing pebble in the shoe"[16] for the "renaissance or normalisation of Balearic",[17] since Catalanists equated it with the "indefinable and minor tendency that defends the very peculiar and secessionist "Baléà" orthography, invented (...) from pieces of a prosodic guide of 1835".[18] In turn, supporters of Baléà tried to confront the unfolding characterisation of their stance, arguing that 'Balearic' was "too Catalan"—some even called it "*catallorquí*", a mixture of '*català*' and '*mallorquí*' (as in 'Spanglish'). With time, though, they did so less intensively for reasons that I will soon address.

The characterisation of the GAB had a double function: on the one hand, it presented GAB's 'Baléà' stance as a radical, inconsistent, and secessionist option,

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[13]Toc·Toc's Facebook Page devoted two posts to such a public appearance, one with the link to the letter and the other one with a picture of the newsclipping.

[14]"Es Gonellisme il·lustrat recobra força".

[15]"S'estigma i s'atràs des "Baléà"".

[16]"una molestíssima pedra a sa sabata".

[17]"renaixença o normalització des Balear"

[18]"corrent indefinible i grupuscular que defensa sa molt peculiar i secessionista ortografia "BALÉÀ", inventada (...) a partir de retalls d'una guia prosòdica del 1835" (Toc·Toc post, April 20th 2013). The "prosodic guide" it refers to is the Majorcan grammar by Amengual (1835/2010).

and on the other, the characterisation presented the stance of neogonelles as more modern, rational, non-rupturist with the existing Catalan stance, and supported by indisputable voices. For instance, in January 2014, a 'letter to the editor' in the *Diario de Menorca*, signed by neogonella activist Joan Pons, explicitly demanded to cease relating the 'Balearic' they promoted with 'Baléà'. Instead, he associated their stance with Mossèn Alcover's "*Balear*" evidenced in the title of his major dictionary, the *DCVB* (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45).

The disappearing distinction between neogonellisme and gonellisme

As announced in Section 3.2.3, the delegitimation of Baléà turned out to be successful for the interests of neogonellisme. The GAB recently gave up and adopted the stance of neogonelles, as indicated by its change of name: now, the 'B' in its acronym does not stand for 'Baléà', as it used to, but for 'Balear'. Activists of Balearist associations and the GAB are no longer confronted and now they collaborate in events and radio programmes where they promote a Balearic identity and standard (or language, depending on the audience).[19] Yet, despite abandoning the name 'Baléà', the GAB's linguistic model still does not completely match with the orthographic norms of neogonelles' 'Balearic', as it can be seen on its website.[20]

The main accomplishment of Balearist associations has been to establish the FJ3 as the main actor defending linguistic particularisation or differentiation in the Balearic Islands. In this way, it appear that dialectalist gonellisme that neogonelles represent has pushed aside the GAB's anti-Catalanist secessionism as the main tendency defending linguistic particularisation or differentiation in the Balearic Islands. However, as implied by the GAB's latest discursive shifts, it becomes difficult to distinguish any longer between these two tendencies within gonellisme, as was the case when Calaforra and Moranta (2005) conducted their analysis.

At first sight, Balearist associations would seem to represent "dialectalist gonellisme", given their alleged respect for the unity of the Catalan language and their use of the main arguments for this tendency (see Section 3.2.3, p. 78). However, they have also taken over most of the five main arguments of anti-Catalan secessionism that Calaforra and Moranta (2005) distinguished, in the following ways.

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[19]An example of this collaboration is the November 2016 radio programme from the private Majorcan radio station *Canal 4* (see Section 3.2.2, p. 75), where activists of the FJ3 and the GAB, together with a key member of the PP, criticised the use of standard Catalan in the Balearic Islands (Canal 4 Diario, 2016).

[20]For instance, the website's orthographic practices still show the inconsistencies that always characterised the GAB, such as the plural feminine form of the salty article appearing both as '*ses*' and '*sas*' (see Table 1.1, p. 16).

The first of the anti-Catalan secessionist arguments was the abysmal structural difference between Majorcan and Catalan. Nowadays, neogonelles do not state that they are different languages, as seen above in Salva's Extract 5.1, but they are intentionally ambiguous with regards to the linguistic autonomy of Balearic varieties and, as we know, they never consider any symbolic market with other Catalan speaking areas. Further, another activist, Antoni, told me their ulterior objective is officially declaring Balearic as the autochthonous *language* of the archipelago (interview with Antoni, 24:50). The second argument of anti-Catalan secessionism was the historical naming evidence supporting the difference between Catalan and Balearic varieties, while the third constructed an *ad hoc* historicism challenging the Catalan colonisation of the archipelago (see Section 2.1, p. 32). As seen above, neogonelles have adopted and cultivated these historical arguments. An extension of neogonelles' adoption of this argument can also be seen in the fourth one, concerning the application of self-granted authority. The fifth argument of anti-Catalan secessionism was the explicit, militant and aggressive defence of Castilian via a discourse in favour of 'social bilingualism', as we saw in Section 3.2.3 (p. 86). In this regard, Balearist activists try to avoid taking positions about the social legitimacy of Castilian and prefer focusing on standard language issues. However, if prompted, they essentialise and normalise the hegemony of Castilian in the archipelago, as we will see at the end of this chapter.

The delegitimisation of Baléà was a strategic movement that, considering its minimal symbolic value in the instituted taxonomy of the Balearic linguistic field, allowed neogonelles to circumvent Baléà while absorbing many of its arguments. In the process, gonellisme united.

5.1.2 Estranging Catalan

Neogonelles' delegitimisation of Baléà intended to let Balearic take centre stage in opposition to Catalan. Their main objective, however, is to replace Catalan in the institutional field in the archipelago. The delegitimising grounds for this mission are different from the ones applied to Baléà. Neogonelles challenged Catalan's legitimacy by undermining its *authenticity*. But how can one discredit language's authenticity when it is officially considered as *the* autochthonous language of a given territory? Basically, by arguing that some other speech is more authentic than the prevalent one, which then comes to be presented as 'artificial'. To understand how neogonellisme could operate in such way, we need to address Catalan's current ideological conditions.

Catalan's post-natural authenticity

Woolard (2016) argues that, in Catalonia, there has been an ideological shift of Catalan towards what she calls "post-natural authenticity", an authenticity which may be conceived on the grounds of artifice, destination, and project, rather than on nature, origin, and essence. In other contexts there are also signs of this shift (Rampton, 2011; Snyder-Frey, 2013), providing grounds to argue that late-modernity's sociological conditions favour alternative understandings to natural authenticity (Coupland, 2003; Woolard, 2016). Post-natural authenticity is not a rejection of authenticity, but "a challenge to authenticity understood as naturally given, one that shifts the definition of self and community from origins to goals" (Woolard, 2016, p. 36). Woolard offers the following explanation to this shift as observed in Catalan language promotion campaigns in Catalonia:

> In response to the criticisms from the high ground of enlightened Spanish linguistic anonymity that denigrate Catalan as a local language and a tool of retrograde nationalism on the one hand, and to the appreciable counterproductivity of essentialist discourses for recruiting new speakers on the other, the public defense of Catalan also began moving away from the ideological framework of authenticity. Just as among Castilianists, newer approaches among Catalanist activists and policymakers draw on modernity, universalism, and anonymity in the struggle to reposition the Catalan language. Most notably, since the turn of the millennium, fewer defenses of Catalan have celebrated it as the *llengua pròpia*, despite decades of linguistic advocacy based on exactly that status. (Woolard, 2016, p. 74)

This shift from traditional naturalist discourses of linguistic authenticity can also be observed in public discourse in favour of Catalan in the Balearic Islands. All left-leaning, Socialist-led coalition governments in the region (1999–2003, 2007–2011, 2015–ongoing) have organised language normalisation campaigns conveying very similar ideas to the ones Woolard identifies for Catalonia.[21] Campaigns targeted new speakers, promoting Catalan as "a language for everybody"[22] (2002–2003) or as a language that "now it's yours"[23] (2008). Playing with the double meaning of '*llengua*' as tongue and language, the former 2002–2003 campaign included a clip that showed teenagers playfully acting to be mimes with a voice-over saying "Wake

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[21]The regional government's body in charge of these campaigns is the DGPL (see p. 63).

[22]"El català, una llengua per a tothom".

[23]"Ara és la teva". The slogan also connotes the idea of an opportunity.

up your senses. Another world is possible. (...) Stick out your tongue/language. Catalan, a language for everyone".[24] Another campaign from 2009 called "Help me speak Catalan. Don't switch the language/the tongue"[25] encouraged Catalan speakers to abandon the customary behaviour of switching to Castilian when faced with new speakers of Catalan (see Pujolar, 2010), who were identifiable in TV and radio clips by their accents. In 2017, the campaign "Stories of Catalan"[26] presented the positive experiences of new speakers of Catalan.

Most of these campaigns avoided referring to Catalan as "the own language" or "our language".[27] Instead, as in Catalonia, they tried conveying the idea that Catalan was an "open" and "universal" language, whose ownership was "now" diluted, trying to de-attach it from an ethnic categorisation and instead present *authenticity as a project* (see Woolard, 2016, p. 38, 74). A similar pattern has been observed in Maori language policy in New Zealand, where government language campaigns have, in part, targeted non-Maori New Zealanders, attempting to respond to and foster a non-ethnic based attachment to the Maori language, as a supporting measure for Maori language regeneration (de Bres, 2008, 2011). Since the 21st century and as in Catalonia (Woolard, 2016, p. 80), the post-natural turn in Balearic public discourse about Catalan's authenticity[28] aimed at situating the symbolic battle between Castilian and Catalan in a frame of competing anonymities.

Returning to natural authenticity

We have seen how, in recent decades, the promotion of Catalan in the Balearic Islands has moved the focus to "project authenticity" (Woolard, 2016) possibilities constructed around the Catalan language. The ideological battleground that neogonellisme constructs against Catalan must be partially understood as a reaction to this shift, as a resistance to disconnecting authenticity from naturalism. Neogonelles' authenticity discourses are a return to sociolinguistic naturalism.

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[24]"Desperta els sentits. Un altre món és possible. (...) Treu la llengua. El català, una llengua per a tothom".

[25]"Ajuda'm a parlar en català. No giris la llengua".

[26]"Històries del català". The name of the campaign plays with the double meaning of '*Història*' as story and history.

[27]During these periods, there were also a few parallel campaigns that still furthered ideas of natural authenticity, for example targeting intergenerational transmission.

[28]The post-natural authenticity of Catalan—and its paths to anonymity—surfaced in media in 2017, when Guillem Balboa became major of Alaró, a small village from inland Majorca, in representation of MÉS. Balboa's appointment was debated since he became the first black major in the Balearic Islands. The combination of an African migrant background with a Catalanist and left-wing stance were a matter of discussion in regional media (see Pol, 2017; Ripoll i Ferrer, 2017).

Neogonelles aim at undermining Catalan by constructing a competition on the basis of authenticity, opposing two ideological constructs: on the one hand, Catalan's standard variety (standard varieties are always an "idea in the mind" [J. Milroy, 2001]), and, on the other, an ideological construct based on the speech of certain Balearic speakers. Not any speaker, but one whose repertoire includes many words loaned from Castilian and excludes many forms and meanings associated with Catalonia. In this opposition, this specific Balearic speech secures *vernacular* authenticities, while Catalan is pushed to represent the *establishment* qualities its standard variety is conceived to accomplish (Coupland, 2003). By constructing an alternative authenticity, neogonelles try to remove Catalan's vernacular value, *estranging* its autochthonism *in* the Balearic archipelago to de-authenticate it and, therefore, erode its legitimacy. Ultimately, neogonelles seek these constructed 'Balearic' *vernacular* authenticities to replace the current *established* authenticities and thus become hegemonic in matters related to the autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands. Two vignettes illustrate how neogonella associations simultaneously constructed authenticity for their Balearic model and undermined this for Catalan.

In November 2013, the FJ3 introduced itself to Balearic society with a promotional video (Fundació Jaume III, 2013b) broadcast in public media and spread in online social media of neogonella associations.[29] The one-minute clip represents a classroom where a child stands up and corrects the teacher's language practices. The video begins with a teacher writing on a blackboard. Once she finishes, she addresses the classroom of around fifteen 8–10 year-old children asking "any correction?" ("*alguna correcció?*"). Her utterance identifies her with standard Catalan via the use of *alguna* instead of *qualcuna*, used in Balearic varieties. Her accent also identifies her as speaking an Eastern variety from Catalonia. Although we cannot see her face, we can see that she wears a "Catalan ribbon"[30] pin. In reaction to her question, one female student stands up, causing surprising utterances by the other children: "what are you doing?", "she's crazy" and "she'll fail you", all of which in Balearic varieties—recognisable by pronunciation, syntax, and lexicon. She approaches the blackboard and starts, indeed, making 'corrections' to the text written by the teacher. The child's correcting practice is presented dramatically, using music (the most popular track of the soundtrack of the movie *Requiem for a dream* [Aronofsky, 2000]) and editing in ways similar to contemporary action film trailers. A wide-angle shot

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[29]FJ3 re-posted it the day before the May 2015 regional elections, asking followers to bear in mind who defended "Majorcan".

[30]The ribbon, made out of the Catalan flag, was a symbol of resistance in Balearic schools against the anti-Catalan decisions taken by regional government led by Bauzá. It indexes support to Catalan and its normalisation.

of the entire, now corrected blackboard appears after her last correction.[31] Then, the image is cut to black, and the text "In Majorca, in good Majorcan",[32] written in white font, quickly wipes in and out, while a male off voice says it out loud. This text is a reference to Alcover's same expression with which he referred to the informants of his *Rondalles* (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45). When the text wipes out, a modern flash, which matches the dramatic end of the song, crosses the black background to vanish and disclose the FJ3's logo (in purple), name and website (in white font).

The FJ3 decided to present itself to Balearic society with a video that revolved around *authenticity.* The clip promotes an authentic "good Majorcan", a recurrent expression of differentialist gonellisme, in opposition to what can be assumed to be, at least, a 'worse' Majorcan or language[33] (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005, p. 72). That 'worse' language is standard Catalan, since that is the language variety taught and promoted in schools in the Balearic Islands.[34]

The opposition between standard Catalan and "good Majorcan" must be understood against the backdrop of competing authenticities, established and vernacular, of which the FJ3 promotes the latter. The teacher's text in footnote 31 represents standard Catalan (despite the use of colloquial and non-normative *calda*) while the child's is "good Majorcan". On the one hand, the teacher's text represents

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[31]These are, first, the teacher's original text (including cross-outs), second, the child's offered alternative, and, third, their English translation:

> ~~La Cat~~erina no ~~para de bellugar-se~~. Sempre
> ~~me~~ la trob~~o~~ pujant i ~~baixant els es~~glaons
> de ca~~sa~~ seva, o ~~corrent~~ com una ~~boja~~ per ~~la~~
> vora ~~del~~ mar, ~~malgrat que~~ faci ~~molta calda~~.

> Na Catalina no té aturall. Sempre
> la me trob pujant i davallant ets escalons
> de ca seva, o correguent com una loca per
> devora la mar, maldament faci una calorada.

> Katherine doesn't stop moving. [I] always
> encounter her going up and down the stairs
> at home, or running like a crazy next to
> the sea shore, regardless of how hot it may be.

The child does not cross-out the reflexive pronoun *me* (second line in original), but draws an arrow indicating its position after the immediate pronoun *la*.

[32]"A Mallorca, en bon mallorquí".

[33]The nominalisation of "Majorcan" allows not having to clarify what it stands for: if for a speech, a dialect, a variety, or a language (see footnote 53, p. 82).

[34]School teachers, in the context of the language ideological debates of the archipelago, are crucial agents of language normalisation (see Section 3.1.4, p. 69). The ribbon in the teacher's clothes identifies her as a promoter of Catalan normalisation.

established authenticities: she writes in standard Catalan because Catalan *is* the officially recognised autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands, whose standard variety must be promoted, complying with the linguistic authorities. On the other hand, the child's text represents the set of values of *vernacular* authenticities: for the child, the linguistic capital she has learnt at home *naturally* is the authentic one and she recognises it as such, regardless of external agents such as language planning institutions, schools, and teachers. From this view, native speakers can rightfully stand in front of an 'artificial' linguistic capital such as standard Catalan.

The second vignette is fundamental to understand how neogonella activists mobilise natural authenticity discourses. Above, I mentioned that neogonella activists identify an authentic speech to oppose standard Catalan. This authentic speech they refer to is the one used by "grandparents". For neogonellisme, "grandparents' speech" is a rhetorical figure that justifies opposing to Catalan language planning, given that their speech preceded the illegitimate and artificial intervention on vernaculars that the standard represents. But who are these "grandparents"? Although activists also refer to "ancestors", talking about grandparents allows them to locate authentic speech in the grandparents of current speakers. And grandparents of followers of Balearism share one key biographic aspect: they lacked any formal training in "their language", either because Catalan standardisation was in its infancy, or because they were educated during the Franco regime. Talking of grandparents, then, is a way of referring to a precise historical period of complete subordination of the autochthonous language to Castilian. Linguistically, an abstract, remembered, pre-standardised speech form becomes the *natural* source of authenticity for the written word. Thus, "grandparents" articulate the associations' diagnosis of identifying the need for 'Balearic' (*Balear*).

Grandparents are so important for the de-authentication of Catalan that one of the sections on the FJ3's website is called "Grandfather's Things".[35] Entries in this section are signed by an aged, conservative, and male figure from Majorca, named 'the Grandfather' (*es Padrí*), who explains how to use traditional Majorcan sayings from the perspective of a retired person's daily experiences. In the first entry, the Grandfather explained what the readers were to find in his section:

> It seems that they have left me a small space on this page to write how
> it was done some time ago. Can you believe it! Me, who had always
> thought that Majorcan, Minorca, or Eivissan could just be spoken. Well
> no, now we can also write them, they say. And the fact is that I am fed

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[35]"Coses des Padrí". In addition, the word for 'grandfather' in Majorcan varieties is different from the word in the standard variety, '*avi*', thus becoming instrumental to differentiate them.

up of being corrected all day long by my children, and especially by my grandchildren: *vacances* [holidays] instead of *vacacions*; *signar* [to sign] instead of *firmar*; *cap de setmana* [weekend] instead of *final de setmana*; *busques* [you search, singular] instead of *cerques*... and like these ones, many more. Little will I ever use those! As I think that it's enough to make me believe that I am the one who is wrong, every week I will choose one of the expressions that are bound to be lost. What may turn out won't have any order or sense, but if it helps our speech to be used again and our today's youngsters to learn from their grandparents a good string of words, I'll be satisfied.[36] (FJ3 post, December 23th 2013)

The Grandfather begins by saying that he will write how people used to some vague "time ago", referring to Catalan pre-standardisation times. His text, indeed, intentionally concentrates lots of features assigned to vernacular varieties. In what follows, he admits that he thought that Majorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan were vernaculars not to be written. But the corrections to his speech by his descendants made him react, just as stated in the launching manifesto of the FJ3. Since now "we can write" vernaculars, he will contribute with expressions "that are being lost".

The Grandfather clarifies that his descendants will not make him believe he is "wrong". For him, true speech exists naturally, without any required intervention, and it is authorised by the acceptance of native speakers such as himself. "How we have always said it" is a main argument against established authenticities. In short, vernacular authenticities, faced with established authenticities sourced from schooling, have a higher value. One final remark is important. The Grandfather changed from thinking vernaculars could only be spoken to realise that "now we can write them, they say".[37] Who is saying this? The Grandfather implicitly referred to the authorisation granted by neogonellisme, a matter to which we now turn.

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[36]"Resulta que m'han deixat un raconet en aquesta pàgina perquè escrigui com se feia un temps. Mirau quines coses! I jo que sempre m'havia pensat que es mallorquí, menorquí o eivissenc domés els podíem xerrar. Idò no, ara els podem escriure, diuen. I és que n'estic fart que es meus fills, i sobretot es néts, se passin tot lo dia corregint-me: que si vacances en lloc de vacacions; que si signar en lloc de firmar; cap de setmana en lloc de final de setmana; busques en lloc de cerques... i com aquestes un bon caramull. Pots pensar que les me facin dir! Com que trob que ja està bé de fer-me creure que som jo es que va errat, cada setmana triaré una expressió de ses que se perden. No tendrà orde ni concert lo que surti, emperò si serveix perquè es nostro parlar s'usi un altre pic i sa jovenalla d'avui aprengui des padrins un bon enfilall de paraules, ja me donaré per ben satisfet."

[37]The null-subject clause does not point to any specific agent, so it is unclear who does he refer to. It could refer to "it is said".

5.2   Acquiring symbolic capital

Symbolic capital can be understood as the recognition received from a group regarding a particular way of seeing some aspect of the social world (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 238, 243). The mission of the three neogonella associations involved *changing how people saw the Balearic linguistic field.* For this, they needed to sound convincing, their views accurately representing the current sociolinguistic state-of-affairs. But for people to turn to them, these three associations required, as Bourdieu argues (see quote on p. 132), to be considered *authorised* actors of language standardisation. To gain such an authorisation, neogonella activists attempted to acquire symbolic capital by combining the creation of an identity movement, Balearism, with the deployment of two well-known types of legitimation strategies, activism and lobbying.

The associational conditions of neogonellisme determined the task that each association had to do to accumulate symbolic capital for their activist movement. Toc·Toc and Foment, both working on a volunteer basis, contributed more to laying the foundations of Balearism, especially across social media. On the other hand, the FJ3, a more professionally organised association with the economic support of members of the traditional Majorcan nobility, such as Zaforteza and Barceló (see p. 80), capitalised on Balearism for its activist and lobbying practices. Neogonelles expected all these actions to transform into symbolic capital—i.e., the recognition to ultimately achieve *legitimation.*

5.2.1   Balearism, an identity movement

The main way neogonella associations tried to accumulate symbolic capital for their linguistic proposal was to associate it with "Balearism", an identity movement they themselves created. Balearism promotes a regional Balearic identity that includes insular identities as means to also encompass insular vernaculars under the common label of 'Balearic' (*Balear*). With this discursive arrangement, neogonelles' linguistic model becomes part of an authenticating movement. Neogonelles chose the only available name to refer to all the islands: "Balearic". However, this term is highly problematic for identity-building purposes across all the Balearic Islands.[38]

"There's nothing Balearic"

In the Balearic Islands, the label 'Balearic' ('*Balear*') has barely no currency to designate cultural or identity constructs (Melià Garí, 2014). For example, 300 experts

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[38]Footnote 35 anticipated this issue (see p. 73).

from the archipelago surveyed in a recent study largely agreed that a "Balearic identity" does not exist (Adán Micó et al., 2014, p. 14). Instead, islanders' identities and vernaculars are traditionally assigned to the island scale, not the archipelago (e.g., "I am Majorcan" or "I speak Minorcan"[39]). Additionally, the sociopolitical movements of Majorcanism and Minorcanism, which have long historical trajectories and wide support in their respective islands, allocate a fundamental role to Catalan language and culture for insular identities.[40] Such a lack of an encompassing label or name to designate Balearic varieties in a socially legitimate way has traditionally been the main obstacle for gonellisme. In my interview with Sebastià, one of the main members of the Catalanist association OCB, he mentioned this traditional naming impediment that gonelles encounter, contrasting the Balearic situation with the one in Valencia (where the widespread use of the term 'Valencian' was instrumental for the partial linguistic divergence in the 1980s [see Pradilla, 2004, 2008]):

Extract 5.2: Interview with Sebastià (00:54–01:44).

Seb: Clar, aquí a les Balears, (.) el nom no feia la cosa perquè (.) no li podies dir mallorquí, no li podies dir menorquí, no li podies dir eivissenc, i no li podies dir formenterer, (.) per dir, o per designar, el conjunt de les illes, el parlar del conjunt de les illes. I tampoc no li podies dir balear, (.) perquè el balear és un adjectiu que, entre els balears, té molt poca fortuna. No hi ha res balear, excepte un equip de futbol, (.) que és l'Atlètic Balear. Per tant, el secessionisme lingüístic (.) ho ha tengut realment molt mal de fer perquè no han trobat aquest nom (.) per fer la cosa.

Seb: Of course, here in the Balearic ((Islands)), (.) the name didn't do the thing because (.) you couldn't call it Majorcan, you couldn't call it Minorcan, you couldn't call it Eivissan, and you couldn't call it Formenteran, (.) to name, or to designate, the ensemble of the islands, the speech of the ensemble of the islands. And neither could you call it Balearic, (.) because Balearic is an adjective that, among the Balearic ((people)), has little fortune. There's nothing Balearic, except for a football team, (.) which is the Atlètic Balear. Hence, linguistic secessionism (.) was against the odds because they haven't found this name (.) to define the thing.

When Bourdieu talks of *instituted taxonomies*, he refers to the categorisations and classifications that organise society's fields. In his account, Sebastià explains

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[39]"I speak Minorcan", as explained in the Introduction, does not impede considering Minorcan a variety of the Catalan language (see p. 10).

[40]Reason for which Majorcanism can almost exactly be equated to Catalanism in what refers to language, culture, and identity (Jordà et al., 2016, p. 21), as discussed in the Introduction.

that the instituted taxonomies of the Balearic sociolinguistic field impeded "linguistic secessionism" to fixate its vision in society, because gonelles lacked an appropriate term bestowed with symbolic power to become legitimate across the entire archipelago: "they haven't found this name to define the thing", in contrast to what happened in Valencia. 'Balearic' cannot do the job in Sebastià's view, since "there's nothing Balearic" but a Majorcan football club. All interviewed language planners expressed the same thought, complaining that nobody used the term 'Balearic' for linguistic or identity purposes.

"Balearism" for authentication

Neogonelles pursued the ethnolinguistic endeavour of creating a "Balearism" movement, despite the instituted taxonomies in the archipelago. Why, then, did they engage with such a problematic identity term? One part of the answer is that there is no alternative name to encompass all islands. The other and the most important part of the answer is *authentication* (Coupland, 2003; Jaffe, 2009a), which may be defined as "the deployment of authenticities in the service of some form of legitimation" (Jaffe, 2009a, p. 576). The crucial aspect of authentication is that it allows one to grasp how authenticity connects with authority. Nikolas Coupland (2003) explains that "authenticity requires an infrastructure of expert authenticators, monitors and recorders to establish and defend the status of authentic phenomena" (p. 419). From this perspective, neogonelles fostered Balearism against all odds because it allowed them to *authenticate*, to decide on what counts as Balearic and because, by doing so, they *authorised* themselves. That is, through the promotion of Balearism they became Coupland's "expert authenticators" defining authentic things. Neogonelles' definition of a set of essential features of 'Balearicness' proved them as insiders that *knew* about the Balearic archipelago and its people. They expected this knowledge to grant them group recognition that would eventually authorise and legitimate their linguistic re-shaping aim.

Neogonelles are well aware of the instituted taxonomies organising the sociolinguistic Balearic field and the associated problems of the term 'Balearic'. As mentioned, I interviewed Antoni, the young Minorcan activist highly involved with the three Balearist associations. When asked how he preferred calling his movement, given the diversity of labels that I had observed on social media, such as 'enlightened gonellisme' or 'neogonellisme', he elaborated in the following way (see Extract 5.3):

Extract 5.3: Interview with Antoni (59:29–01:01:15).

A: Bueno, noltros ont esteim faguent molta feina és amb es terme balearisme. (.) Balearisme, com a difusió de:, o com a: nom que aglutina ses illes, perquè, precisament jo com a menorquí (.) intent fer molta feina amb açò, de dir e:=perquè a Menorca, a Menorca sempre es havia dit, o bono sempre es havia dit i interessa dir-hó, també, que: que hi ha dos mals, o dos problemes sempre, que una és sa tramuntana i s'altra són es mallorquins, no, o Mallorca. I: realment no és així vull dir, e: sempre s'intenta culpar de tot=i a Eivissa igual (.) i bé, són tòpics no, són coses de caràcter i coses de s'insularidat.... açò no lleva que no s'hagi de fer una política que tengui en compte totes ses illes=i més si tu vols crear una comunidat, (.) (que) açò que ha fet s'escola és molt malament, i per açò noltros e:, osigui molt malament perquè no s'ha volgut fer una, una, (.) una comunidat, no=no (un) voler crear un sentiment balear, que jo el tenc, però (.) s'ha de fer molta pedagogia i s'ha de fer. I no=no s'ha fet i sa gent, no, que trob que noltros esteim faguent, que trob noltros estem, (.) de qualque manera ho feim. Osigui gonellisme amb lo més amb lo llingüístic que som, perquè som hereus de, de, de, de, lo de: bono, de sa feina que va fer en Pep Gonella, o es qui fos en Pep Gonella, o es qui fossin, i demés, (.) i: i *después* ja més amb lo: general, amb lo més sentimental a lo millor, o identitari, més balearisme, (.) com a conjunt de totes ses illes, no.

A: Well, on what we're working a lot is with the term Balearism. (.) Balearism, as the spreading of:, or as the: name that encompasses the islands, because, precisely I as a Minorcan (.) try to do a lot of work with this, saying e:=because in Minorca, in Minorca people always said, or well people always said and there was also an interest in saying it, also, that: that there are two harms, or two problems always, that one is the Northern wind and the other is the Majorcan people, right, or Majorca. And: actually it's not like this I mean, e: it's always trying to blame ((Majorca)) for everything=and in Eivissa it's the same (.) and well, these are topics right, things of ((our)) character and of insularity.... this does not prevent a need for policy that takes into account all the islands=and especially if you want to create a community, (.) that what schools have done is very bad, and that's why we e:, I mean very bad because no one has wanted to create a, a, (.) a community, right=right, (a) sense of creating a Balearic feeling, which I have, but (.) lots of pedagogy must be done and it needs to be done. And it=it hasn't been done and the people, right, ((and I)) think that we are doing that, ((I)) think that we're, (.) somehow doing it. I mean gonellisme in respect to the more, to the linguistic that we are, because we're heirs of, of, of, of the: oh well, of Pep Gonella's work, or whoever Pep Gonella was, or they were, and the rest, (.) and: *then* more with the: in general, with the more sentimental maybe, or more identity-wise, more Balearism, (.) as an ensemble of all the islands, right.

In the last part of this extract, Antoni distinguishes between linguistic and identity work, respectively identified as "gonellisme" and "Balearism". As for the former, he considers activists such as himself to be "heirs" of Pep Gonella's work. As for 'Balearism', he defines it as something more "general" related to "emotions" or "identity", completing his previous definition as "the spread" or "name that encompasses the islands".

Between Antoni's two attempts to define their activism, we find a fine example of the way neogonella activists use authenticity to construct "Balearicness". Antoni brings into play his Minorcan identity to imply that he uses it strategically to advocate for the creation of a Balearic identity. He does it by uttering a Minorcan saying that conveys a traditional wariness against Majorca. Choosing a saying *authenticates* Antoni himself, meaning that it constructs his Minorcan authenticity at the same time as it authorises him to speak for it: Antoni *voices* Minorcan authenticity. Such identity securing is important, because, in what follows, Antoni disputes this traditional perception against Majorca, contributing to the alternative idea of a harmonic, non-centralised relationship between islands that 'Balearism' promotes. Tradition can only be challenged from an authenticity standpoint.

Antoni shows additional awareness of the instituted taxonomies in the Balearic Islands. He acknowledges that there is little social currency for Balearic identifications in society when he blames schools for not having "created" a "community" or a "Balearic feeling". Antoni, who affirms he has this feeling, believes that politics and institutions must have a "pedagogical" role in promoting this feeling. Thus, he identifies a desirable change for the instituted taxonomies aligned with what Balearist associations have been doing; that is, precisely fostering a Balearic identity feeling. This extract represents the way neogonelles understand and face existing sociolinguistic *common sense* while they construct themselves as the experts of Balearicness.

A few other examples illustrate how neogonelles have promoted Balearism for their own authentication purposes. As explained in Chapter 2, *history* is fundamental for constructing a Balearic identity. Neogonelles diminish or ignore historical events that bear relation to Catalonia or that are deemed important for Majorcanism or Catalanism, such as the loss of Balearic political autonomy that resulted from the Spanish Succession War or the involvement of Balearic writers in the *Renaixença* of the Catalan language. Instead, they highlight the importance of other historic events, which either negatively portray Catalan agents, such as the death of King Jaume III of Majorca, or which have an exclusive Balearic scope and encompass the archipelago's Hispanic frame.

Neogonelles' search for historical Balearic essences provides one alternative iden-tification source which is highly significant: the original culture that populated Majorca and Minorca prior to the arrival of the Romans (depicted as the first external and non-Balearic historical agents).[41] The Roman Empire characterised the indigenous population they encountered as excellent slingshooters. Neogonelles select this characterisation as the symbol representing Balearic identity and use it intensively. For example, old and modern versions of slingshooters appear on the cover of Toc·Toc's first issue (January 2012) and on the cover of its Facebook Page during all 2017 (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Such iconisation erases the political history shared with Catalonia since the 13th century, while naturalising a Hispanic frame, given that neogonella activists highlight how the Roman administration considered the archipelago as part of its Hispanic provinces.

Figure 5.1: Cover of Toc·Toc's first issue.

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[41]This culture is known as the 'Talaiotic' culture and its archaeological sites are especially prominent in Minorca. It was not present in the Pine Islands, but this is not an impediment for it to be an iconic symbol of the entire Balearic archipelago.

Figure 5.2: Cover picture from Toc·Toc's Facebook Page in
August 2017.

Heraldry (flags and coats of arms) is also considered very important in disentangling the archipelago from any Catalan connection. This is a problematic endeavour, given that the flags of the region, of each island, and of most of the Balearic municipalities build on the Aragonese coat of arms, which nowadays is the official flag of Catalonia (four red bars with a golden background). For the construction of Balearism, neogonelles addressed this issue by fostering the idea that the authentic Balearic flag had three bars instead of four (inspired by extremely complex interpretations of historical representations of King Jaume III of Majorca, and which historiography invalidates) (see Bibiloni, n.d.-b). Toc·Toc and Foment devote a lot of time to discuss these issues in specific posts about Balearic history. Salva himself, the editor of Toc·Toc and key activist of Foment, proposed a new Balearic coat of arms, consisting of three bars. However, the websites of the three associations, as well as the covers of Toc·Toc (above) and the FJ3's publications, avoid displaying any flag whatsoever. This is to present themselves as not driven by any nationalistic ideologies and to escape the obvious similarities between any version of the Balearic or Majorcan flag with the Catalan one. Finally, neogonelles also identify Balearic *writers* to admire (as we will see in the next section). These authors are not prominent in the Catalan literary canon from the Balearic Islands.

In all, Balearist discourses *regionalise* the archipelago in two interrelated ways. First, they create a wider frame to oppose Catalonia, and, more importantly, insular stances that align with Catalanism, such as Majorcanism. Second, Balearism fosters an identity that *recognises* the political organisation of the Spanish State in autonomous communities, thus neglecting alternative identity arrangements that do not match this organisation, such as the ones that proponents of Catalanism

generally advance. Regionalisation interweaves with the conception and role that Balearists allocate to Castilian, as the last section of this chapter will show.

As we can see, neogonelles weave similar arguments into very different cultural frames, such as history, symbols, heraldry, and, obviously, language, to show their knowledge of what constitutes authentic Balearicness. In all these frames, their efforts unequivocally aim at disentangling the islands from cultural representations associated with Catalonia or the Catalan language. The combination of all these Balearic dimensions allows neogonelles to refer to a regional Balearic identity and people that harmoniously—at least in the eyes of neogonelles—brings together the four islands under one common narrative which is essentially not Catalan. In the process, they authenticate themselves as true experts on Balearicness.

5.2.2   Activism and lobbying as legitimating strategies

According to Spolsky (2009), language activist groups attempt to influence individual and institutional types of actors: both speakers and non-speakers of the target language they wish to enlist or persuade, and the established authorities in charge of language planning—which activists would like to take over. Looking at the case of anti-globalisation movements, Jeffrey S. Juris (2008) explains that, nowadays, social movements must perform *dual politics*, targeting "both political and civil society, constructing self-managed associations, identities, and publics while simultaneously targeting institutional spheres" (p. 290).

In their quest for legitimacy, in addition to constructing "Balearism", the second way Balearist associations attempted to acquire symbolic capital was through such dual politics, performing two common legitimation strategies that capitalised on the creation of Balearism. On the one hand, they performed known *activist* practices to persuade people, and, on the other, they *lobbied* to pressure other social fields, particularly the political one, in addition to the economic and the media fields. This is a similar action scheme as practiced by Luxembourgish language activists (N. Garcia, 2014), as I will show. Balearist activists expected activist and lobbying practices to grant them with *recognition* to be transmuted into legitimacy for their linguistic model.

It must be noted that a sharp division between activist and lobbying actions is not always clear, as each legitimation strategy also reverts on the other. For example, Balearist associations publicise their meetings with politicians in their social media. And vice versa, success in activist events may attract the attention of political parties or media.

Activist practices

The *activism* of Balearist groups is very diverse. Activist practices have dissemination, materialising, and 'ausbau' (i.e., linguistic cultivation) aims, though they can be distinguished according to which of these aims they prioritise. Let's first introduce the geographical and associational distribution of activism (see Figure 5.3).
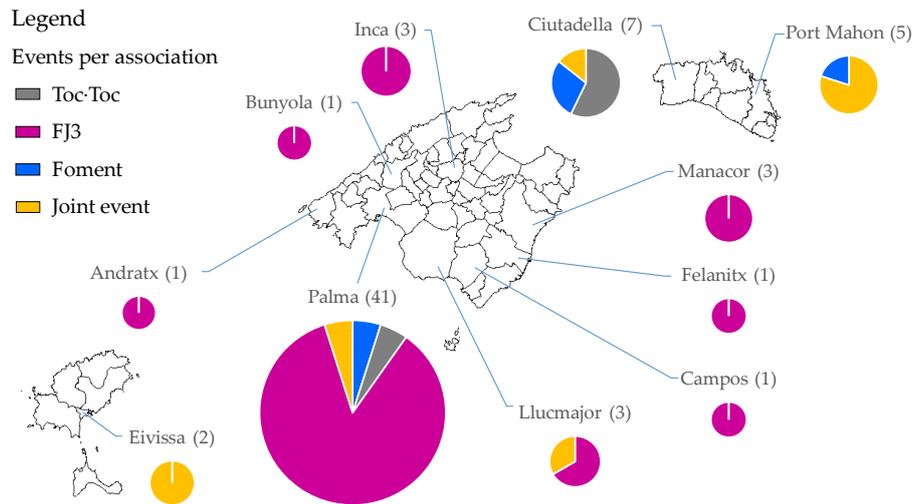
Figure 5.3: Location of activist events held by Balearist associations since their creation in 2012/2013 until mid-2015, according to data from the associations' Facebook Pages.

It becomes clear that a vast majority of the Balearist activist events take place in Palma. Besides obvious demographic reasons, such concentration also responds to the fact that, historically, the area where gonellisme has had more social support is the Majorcan capital and its metropolitan area (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005). *Part forana* ("the outside part"), the traditional name given to the the rest of Majorca, has hosted few activities in comparison, despite the fact that it has roughly the same population as Palma. Minorca concentrates a considerable amount of activist practices, distributed between the two main cities of the island, Ciutadella and Port Mahon. This relates to the dynamism of Antoni, the Minorcan youth who has been involved in the three associations researched in this study since their creation. Finally, there has been little Balearist activity in the Pine Islands, except for a joint event in the city of Eivissa, the island's main city, to which the main Majorcan and Minorcan activists attended, and a slingshot contest.

Figure 5.3 also makes it clear that the FJ3 organised most of the activist practices of Balearism, except in Minorca, where Toc·Toc and Foment jointly organised most events. Before it merged with Foment (2016), the FJ3 had a clear Majorcan scope,

which explains the geographical distribution of its activities. The FJ3 intensified its activist events after the publication of *In the defence of Majorcan* (Font Rosselló, 2014) and *A linguistic model for the Balearic Islands: Style Book* (Fundació Jaume III, 2015b), when it began a series of talks in smaller Majorcan towns to introduce both publications.

The most common activist practices or events Balearist associations organised were *dissemination acts*, such as street stands, where the associations' volunteers made available different textual materials to passers-by, like leaflets and books. Most of these street stands were set in Palma. For instance, the FJ3 had one in the centre of Palma every Saturday during the summer of 2014.[42] In Minorca, Toc·Toc and Foment were particularly active in this regard, organising street stands on the occasion of cultural events, such as Ciutadella's Summer Culture Day (*Diada d'Estiu de Cultura*). As mentioned, another common activity were talks or conferences where activists presented their views or their publications.[43]

Materialisation acts aim at materialising and supporting the associations' stance and identity promotion. The main consolidating activist practice is one specific event that is highly symbolic for the promotion of Balearism: the "*Jornades Balearistes*" (Balearist Days), which I now describe. This event commemorates the death of King Jaume III of Majorca, on 25 October 1349 (see Section 2.1, p. 33). Every year, on the weekend closest to this date, Balearist associations organise activities around the theme of "Balearism". The two main activities of the *Jornades* are a tribute to King Jaume III at a cross monument in the village of Llucmajor, which is located at the site of the battle where he lost his life, and a "*Sopar Balearista*" (Balearist Dinner). King Jaume III's tribute consists of placing wreaths and alternative neogonella flags of the Balearic Islands under the cross and reciting poems in his honour. In the coverage clip by the private TV channel *Canal 4* about the 2014 tribute, an activist from the FJ3 stated that the event "symbolises the defence of Majorcanity; we are Majorcans, not Catalans" (Fundació Jaume III, 2014a).[44] Associations always disseminate group photos of participants in the tribute. Figure 5.4 shows Antoni, Miquel, and Salva, the three Balearist activists I interviewed for this study, at the 2015 tribute, paying homage to King Jaume III with a sword, a poster of Toc·Toc, and a wreath with the logos of the three associations.

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[42]This explains the high number of events in Palma in Figure 5.3.

[43]Foment's launching in Port Mahon in January 2014 is available online (Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears, 2014).

[44]"simbolisar sa defensa de sa mallorquinidat; som mallorquins, no catalans".

Figure 5.4: Antoni, Miquel, and Salva at the tribute to King Jaume
III of Majorca in 2015. Source: FJ3 Facebook Page.

With respect to Balearist Dinners, I attended the 2016 edition (which was a
"formal dinner", to be precise). It was an event to celebrate Balearic identity (basically
Majorcan) as much as of anti-Catalanism. A couple of *xeremiers* (bagpipers) playing
traditional Majorcan music welcomed and bid farewell to the approximately 300
guests, mainly aged adults, who were served a Majorcan traditional menu. The
presence of politicians from PP and Cs among the guests was advertised by organisers.
Following the ceremonial "Gabriel Maura First Short Story in Majorcan Awards",
the merger between the FJ3 and Foment was announced, and speeches were made
by Antoni and the FJ3's president. Antoni's speech was extremely belligerent
towards Catalan and Catalanism, especially when he switched from "Minorcan" to
Castilian—the part of his speech which the crowd cherished the most. The then
current President of the FJ3, Fernando Fortuny, concluded his speech in "Majorcan"
saying "as a summary, Catalan in Catalonia, Majorcan in Majorca, Minorcan in
Minorca, and Eivissan in Eivissa and Formentera. Long live the Balearic Islands,
long live Spain!"[45] To conclude the event, the organisers invited the public to stand
up and sing along the alternative Balearic anthem promoted by Balearist associations,
called '*Pàtria*' (Homeland).

The notion of *ausbau* language explains the purpose of another set of activist
practices. An ausbau language is a "language by development", "because of having
been shaped or reshaped, molded or remolded—as the case may be—in order to
become a standardized tool of literary expression" (Kloss, 1967, p. 29). It is a useful

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[45]"En resum, es català a Catalunya, es mallorquí a Mallorca, es menorquí a Menorca, i s'eivissenc
a Eivissa i Formentera. Visquen ses Illes Balears, visca Espanya!"

concept to grasp the many cases of linguistic divergence where language ideologies relative to national identities are much more relevant than linguistic distance (Auer, 2005; Trudgill, 2004). Alexandra Jaffe (2000, p. 505) referred to how minority languages may undergo ausbau when orthographies for these languages are developed and widely used (though they may not be completely 'standardised'). For our case, Calaforra and Moranta (2005) explained that, the dialectalist gonellisme movement that neogonelles claim to represent "focuses on the claim for dialectalism, but it does not seem interested in the problems of the literary language, in that it has no ambition to construct Majorcan as an independent language by development (*Ausbausprache*)" (p. 59).[46] Nowadays, things have changed and Balearist associations organise a range of *ausbau* or language crafting (see Makony & Pennycook, 2007) practices that aim at differentiating 'Balearic' from Catalan by reshaping and elaborating Balearic varieties as a new *standardised tool of literary expression* in its own right.

The main association furthering ausbau practices is the FJ3.[47] The Foundation has published several books since its creation in an attempt to show the feasibility of its metalinguistic stance. The most important of these ausbau publications was the launch of its *Style Book*, which is neogonelles' linguistic model for Balearic varieties (Fundació Jaume III, 2015b). In it, the FJ3 breaches some of the norms and standard of Catalan. Naming it a 'style book' positions it against Catalan's *norms*, given that a 'style' presumes the possibility of choice, unlike what 'norms' convey. However, the Foundation offers no other option to write in 'Balearic' or 'Majorcan' than its own.

The FJ3's *Style Book* is central for Balearist associations' ausbau. The Foundation has used it for the few books it has published since launching the *Style Book*. For example, it has served to "adapt" one of the most important Majorcan literary works from the 20th century, *Bearn o La sala de les nines* (Villalonga, 1961/1980), from Catalan to "Majorcan", thus becoming *Bearn o Sa sala de ses pepes* (Villalonga, 1961/2015).[48] This novel, whose topic is the disintegration of the long-standing feudal social structure in Majorca during the 19th century, has a strong nostalgic component, similar to the ausbau decisions of language activist groups in other contexts such as Luxembourg (N. Garcia, 2014). Moreover, the choice of this literary work was possible because the holder of the novel's rights was the omnipresent José Zaforteza, the person behind Pep Gonella and first president of the FJ3. The "Majorcan" adaptation was conducted by Mariantònia Lladó, a linguist who was

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[46]"se centra en la reivindicació del dialectalisme, però no sembla que l'interessin els problemes de la llengua literària, no té cap pretensió de construir el mallorquí com a llengua independent per elaboració (*Ausbausprache*)."

[47]Though each of Toc·Toc's fanzines or Foment's leaflets are, per se, also ausbau practices.

[48]The novel's version in Catalan was published with Villalonga's approval.

Linguistic Chief at IB3 during Bauzá's term. She is also married to Xavier Pericay (Suñer, 2017), who was member of the FJ3 before becoming the current leader of the anti-normalisation political party Cs (see Section 3.2.1, p. 74). Thus, there are clear personal links between those responsible for Bauzá's particularisation, Zaforteza, neogonellisme, and Cs.

The literary contests that the FJ3 and Foment have organised in "Majorcan" and "Minorcan" also had to comply with the FJ3's *Style Book* (they valued the use of language features "exclusive" to each island). The two contests are named after two writers, Gabriel Maura i Muntaner (1842–1907) and Joan Benejam i Vives (1846–1922), who are not part of the canon of Balearic writers and whose local colour texts represent Balearic vernaculars from the 19th century.[49]

Another important ausbau practice that draws on the *Style Book* is the Castilian-Majorcan online translator (only available in this direction) launched by the FJ3 in October 2015. This online tool builds on a Castilian-Catalan dictionary, replacing 2,700 words and 750 sayings originally in Catalan for "Majorcan" equivalents, and changing around 50 morphological and syntactical norms, according to an activist from the FJ3 (Europa Press, 2016).[50] In interviews, Balearic activists told me that their supporters appreciate very much this tool, especially older adults who never received training in Catalan. Finally, the FJ3 currently organises two types of weekly "Majorcan" courses. One is devised to learn how to write it, expecting students to already know how to speak it. The second type of course, which has been introduced very recently, is oriented to "Castilian speakers". As with the translator, mastering Castilian is an important prerequisite to delve into the linguistic model of neogonellisme.

In all, Balearist associations organise a very wide range of activist practices to attempt to influence people's beliefs about language, foregrounding dissemination, materialisation or ausbau aims. Via these widely-known and familiar practices, the associations expect to acquire symbolic capital regarding linguistic issues. They hope these performative acts will identify them as legitimate actors given their linguistic care, devotion, organisation, and expertise. It is worth mentioning here that the exploitation of Facebook (and other social media) is, per se, another type of activist practice by neogonella language activists, where dissemination, materialisation, and ausbau aims come together and, as such, will be further explored in the next chapter.

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[49]Additionally, Joan Benejam also published many texts in Castilian and a *Minorcan-Castilian vocabulary* in 1885.

[50]The FJ3 also expects to release a Castilian-Minorcan translator, building on the Majorcan version.

Language lobbying practices

Spolsky (2009) argues that the second type of actors that language activist groups try to influence are established authorities in charge of language planning. In fact, language activists target authorities from other fields as well, such as from the political or media field. In her analysis of the activities of a Luxembourgish language activist group between the 1970s and 1980s, Nuria Garcia (2014) argued that the group could "be analysed as a pressure group or lobby aiming at placing the question of the Luxembourgish language on the political agenda" (p. 124). As part of the group's lobbying strategy, Garcia discerned political and legislative monitoring of statements about language (which were commented on the group's journal), soliciting meetings with politicians, presence in TV and radio, and publishing tribunes in newspapers (2014, pp. 123–124). These actions are strikingly similar to neogonelles' activities, though Balearist associations use social media and not a newspaper for their dissemination to supporters. In all, language activists pressure prevalent actors of standardisation with *language lobbying actions*, understood as those practices and events that attempt to persuade other fields, mainly the political one, so that they *recognise*—in Bourdieu's sense—the activists' stance about language. Thus, language lobbying aims at accumulating symbolic capital from other social fields.

There are three types of lobbying practices done by neogonella associations. First, there are actions aimed at the political field. These include the monitoring of politicians' statements about language and identity that refer to the Balearic Islands, the meetings held with representatives of political parties, and the meetings held with members of the regional institutions, such as the government, the Parliament, the UIB, or the IEB. During Bauzá's term in office, the FJ3 held most of these political meetings,[51] which included Palma's mayor, the regional minister of education, the rector of the UIB, and the 2015 regional electoral candidates of two minor Hispanicist parties, Union, Progress and Democracy (*Unión, Progreso y Democracia*; henceforth UPyD) and the extreme-right VOX, both of which strongly defend 'bilingualism' to promote Castilian's hegemony (see Section 3.2.3, p. 86). Foment, in turn, held meetings with the mayors of the two main Minorcan cities, Ciutadella and Port Mahon, the Minorcan delegates of the party Cs (see Section 3.2.1, p. 74), and the Minorcan delegate of the regional ministry of education. In all these meetings, Balearist associations demanded that these political actors adopt their linguistic model, something that only the Minorcan delegation of Cs promised to do if they were elected—they were not. Finally, Toc·Toc held a meeting with the Director of

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[51] The Foundation held meetings with top officials very soon after its creation, which suggests the political connections of its Board of Directors.

the IEB, in the frame of the financial subsidy that this institution granted to the Balearist fanzine.

The second type of language lobbying practice refers to meetings held with members of the economic field to "advise" them regarding the application of the Balearist linguistic model. Only the FJ3 has managed to hold meetings of this type, probably given the high social position of its Board of Directors. According to its website, it has met with representatives of associations of small and medium-sized enterprises from the archipelago, of the main business association, and with the Chamber of Commerce.[52] In the 2016 Balearist Dinner I attended, the FJ3 recognised one hardware store for having labels in Balearic,[53] which suggests that the meetings with these associations have not been too successful.

The third language lobbying practice involves their presence in regional mass media. These practices could also be considered as *dissemination activist* practices, but I believe that considering them as part of the lobbying practices highlights the crucial role that the media plays in our current societies (Castells, 2011). Balearist associations make a great deal of effort to appear in printed and online media, for example, on the occasion of the Balearist Days. The FJ3 has published two "reports" that echoed in media, one assessing the degree of adaptation of school textbooks to Balearic varieties, and another one on how the UIB allegedly acts "against" Balearic linguistic modalities. Additionally, the FJ3 broadcasts a weekly programme about Balearism in a private radio station, *Canal 4* (see Section 3.2.2, p. 75). Further, a couple of activists publish tribunes regularly in Castilian-medium media.

5.3   Recognising Castilian as the *legitimate language*

In all officially bilingual regions of Spain, the relationship to Castilian of any language or education-related civic association is fundamental to understand its stance. The three Balearist associations agree in this regard: Castilian is the *legitimate language*—the most valuable linguistic capital in the linguistic market (together with English)—, which gives access to the Spanish national identity that subsumes the

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[52]None of the enterprise associations' websites use Balearic and use Castilian instead. Only the Chamber of Commerce occasionally uses standard Catalan. The Foundation also announced in 2014 that meetings with commercial and hotel federations were to take place, though they were never advertised on Facebook or echoed in media.

[53]They also recognised one recently created federation of neighbours' associations from Palma for using the Balearic linguistic model in their communications.

regional Balearic identity they promote. They do not contest its dominant role in Balearic society, but assume and take it as natural. They want to be seen as actors whose stance does not challenge the public role of Castilian in society, differently from what they believe Catalanists do.

Thus, the Balearist stance of challenging Catalan's *authenticity* by pitting it against Balearic goes hand in hand with assuming Castilian's *anonymity*. But it does more than that: given that Castilian is the legitimate language of Spain's public sphere and that the Balearic Islands are part of it, such a stance also assigns an authenticity value to Castilian in the Balearic Islands, given the *natural* (Woolard, 2016) role and presence of the language in the archipelago. Bauzá's language policy changes went in this direction, removing any preference for the public use of Catalan and ceasing to consider it as the "own language" of the archipelago. Such a *naturalisation* of Castilian was one of the features of the "anti-Catalan secessionism" that the GAB represented, according to Calaforra and Moranta (2005) (see Section 3.2.3, p. 86). We see here again how neogonelles adopted some of the characteristics of the more 'radical' gonella stance.

The three associations only differ in the degree of disclosure of Castilian's legitimacy. Toc·Toc is more explicit, as the covers of the fanzine illustrate (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2 on pages 151 and 152). Under the fanzine's name in Figure 5.1, there is a short definition of the publication: "*Magazine bilingüe, literario y de actualidad*" (Bilingual, literary and current affairs magazine), in Castilian.[54] Choosing Castilian for defining purposes is already expressive, but what is most significant is that the first feature characterising the fanzine is "bilingualism". This term has special connotations in Catalan speaking regions in Spain, given that in these regions the defence of bilingualism is used to advance individual Castilian monolingualism (Woolard, 2016), a matter to which I will come back in a few lines. Covers also include the symbol in Figure 5.5 below, consisting of three characters, "ç&ñ", sandwiched between a crown on top and below the shapes of the four islands (connected by subtle strokes).[55] This symbol encapsulates the fanzine's position in favour of the Spanish monarchy and its bilingual character, represented by the iconic letters of 'ç' for Catalan (and Balearic varieties, we assume) and 'ñ' for Castilian, respectively. Whereas the use of 'ç' remains openly ambiguous, the 'ñ' does not: the juxtaposition equates the Balearic iconic value of both the autochthonous language and Castilian within a Hispanicist frame represented by the monarchy.

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[54]In the cover in Figure 5.1, there are two other sentences in standard Castilian in light blue font, which translate two sentences into non-standard Catalan.

[55]The symbol can be seen in the cover in Figure 5.1 (p. 151), in the upper right corner, though in a simpler version without the shapes of the four islands.

Figure 5.5: Close-up of the symbol appearing in covers of
Toc·Toc.

In contrast, the FJ3 (and Foment, before they merged) defines its mission as only focusing on the institutionalisation of Balearic modalities, thus implying that they avoid discussing the role of Castilian in Balearic society. A strategic focus—authenticity—and a significant absence—anonymity. This is a very similar stance to the one of activists themselves. In social media, they try to avoid taking positions in this regard and prefer focusing on standard language issues concerning Catalan or Balearic. Although, if prompted, activists essentialise and normalise the hegemony of Castilian in the archipelago. For example, when activists publicise the tribunes they publish in regional media, opponents signal as contradictory that they write them in Castilian, an aspect that activists do not see as problematic—thus, they *recognise the legitimacy*, in Bourdieu's terms, of media being published in Castilian. On the occasion of one such critique, activist Antoni responded that "it isn't Castilian, precisely, which has taken the place that corresponds to the own language of the Minorcans".[56] In another example, a user asked, in the context of a FJ3 post that identified "silly Catalanisms" in the Balearic linguistic landscape,[57] when would the Foundation do similarly for "silly Castilianisms". The FJ3 administrator responded asking if he could provide any example, which is an intriguing response in a context of intense language contact with Castilian and taking into consideration the many loaned words that the Balearist language model accepts.[58]

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[56]"No és es castellà, precisament, qui ocupa es lloc que li correspon a sa llengua pròpia des menorquins".

[57]The next chapter describes this posting practice.

[58]That same user reacted intrigued, pointing out how that was the Foundation's function, to watch out over the language. After three days without an answer from the Foundation, he suggested that if neogonella activists asked for some example of a Castilian loaned word, "they were doing something wrong" ("algo estau fent malament").

In the last part of all interviews, I always shared some of the insights from my observations of the Facebook Pages of Balearist associations. One of these insights was that posts showing the media presence of the associations receive significantly more comments in Castilian than other posts. When I discussed this with Antoni, he first reacted on the defensive, explaining that neogonelles try to use Balearic as much as they can. The widespread Catalanist accusation that gonelles (including neogonelles) use Castilian to defend "Majorcan" or "Balearic" explains Antoni's defensiveness. Afterwards, he continued and elaborated on the role of "Castilian speakers" for Balearism in a way that is highly revealing of the symbolic value that neogonelles attribute to both Castilian and Balearic:

Extract 5.4: Interview with Antoni (08:53–09:27).

A: Clar, és que noltros tenim un públic, (.) és que noltros sa filosofia nostre és publicar tot lo que poguem perquè és que es nostro, ((tongue click)) seria incoherent, un poc de qualque manera, fer tot lo que feim per, per, per=es balear i després no escriure en balear, seria incoherent. E::: (.), però de qualque manera tampoc volem discriminar an es castellanoparlants perquè sabem que aquí n'hi ha molts, sobretot a Palma, no, a Ciutat, i de qualque manera es nostro discurs mai tanca sa porta en aquesta gent. Ara bé, sí que no entram mai, com ha explicat en Miquel, en temes ni de llibertat llingüística ni bilingüisme. Sa Fundació mai ha obert boca ni obrirà boca amb aquest sentit perquè no, no és una competència nostra.

A: Sure, the thing is that we have a public, (.) the thing is we that our philosophy is to publish everything we can because our, ((tongue click) would be a bit incoherent, in some way, to do all that we do for, for, for=the Balearic and then not writing in Balearic, it would be incoherent. A::: (.), but somehow we don't want to discriminate Castilian speakers because we know that there are many here, especially in Palma, right, in ((traditional name for Palma)), and somehow our discourse never closes the door to these people. However, we do never address, as Miquel explained, issues of linguistic freedom or bilingualism. The Foundation has never said anything and will never do so because it, it is not our responsibility.

This extract from Antoni's interviews includes hints about neogonellisme's relationship to Castilian's anonymity. Antoni argues that Balearism also addresses Castilian speakers, given their demographic weight, especially in Palma. What is interesting is that he talks of addressing "discourse" to Castilian speakers (and not linguistic knowledge on "Balearic", as it would be expected from a language activist

association). Why would Castilian speakers pay attention to the FJ3's discourse that undermines Catalan's *authenticity*, then? Antoni himself implies why when, in what follows, he refers to how the Foundation will always avoid discussing "linguistic freedom or bilingualism".[59] We arrive to one of the piths of neogonellisme, here.

During the last decades, opposition to linguistic normalisation policies in Spanish regions such as the Balearic Islands have characterised them as attacks on individual "freedom" and have pitted them against the goal of "bilingualism", as means to defend individual Castilian monolingualism (see Woolard, 2016, pp. 83–87). The institutional persona of the FJ3 may well not directly and openly address these issues, but its activists share these views, as indicated by Antoni and Miquel's choice of terms and corroborated by social media observation. The reason why the particularising discourse of the FJ3 may be appealing to urban Castilian speakers, as Antoni suggests, lies in the fact that neogonellisme, with its opposition to Catalan normalisation, accommodates the anonymity and hegemony of Castilian. Neogonelles repudiate linguistic restoring policies and their defence of an eventual 'Balearic' standard does not include any functional widening via affirmative status language planning, thus securing, again, Castilian's hegemony.

Such an apparent contradiction came to the foreground during Bauzá's term, when Balearist language activists neglected or implicitly supported the many language policy modifications that went in detriment of Catalan. As mentioned in Section 2.4.3 (p. 52), there were extremely heated debates in the Balearic Islands around the TIL, which envisaged a drastic reduction in the weight of Catalan in the schooling system in favour of Castilian and English. While Toc·Toc explicitly endorsed the measure (finding absolute support from its supporters in turn), the FJ3 and Foment neglected it, focusing instead on a parallel but minor debate around the presence of Balearic modalities in school textbooks.

The other policy modification that triggered intense public debates during Bauzá's term was the suppression of the Catalan language requirement for public servants. Balearist associations avoided commenting on this measure. It was only brought up in one post, where Toc·Toc quoted the statements of Antoni Pastor, member of the political party El Pi,[60] who had rhetorically asked "How is it possible that someone may be a local police officer in Lloseta [a Majorcan inland village] without knowing how to speak Majorcan?"[61] In the subsequent discussion, a few activists aligned with

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[59]Antoni mentions Miquel because the latter said the same a few hours before, in our previous encounter.

[60]Pastor was an important member of the PP, but as a result of the Bauzá Law he resigned this party and joined the El Pi.

[61]"Com és possible que qualcú pugui esser policia local de Lloseta si no sap xerrar es mallorquí?"

Pastor, but the general reaction of the association's supporters was against requiring any knowledge of Majorcan, given Castilian's anonymity, to which administrators finally partially conceded. In other posts Balearist associations did not address this language requirement measure, as doing so would have revealed the contradictions of their defence and promotion of Balearic. For many supporters of Balearism, it appears that their ultimate objective is not the promotion of Balearic, but removing Catalan from the institutional field.

This is the reason why Balearist activists constantly set Valencia as the normative sociolinguistic model, and not Catalonia.[62] There, we find a sociolinguistic context where the particularisation claims for Valencian were already applied in the 1980s (Pradilla, 2004, 2008; Trudgill, 2004).[63] However, the Valencianist counterparts of Balearism, with whom the FJ3 has recently begun to collaborate (Fundació Jaume III, 2017), are nowadays only concerned with hampering linguistic connections or arrangements with Catalonia and not in fostering the knowledge or the use of Valencian. The officialisation of the term 'Valencian' instead of 'Catalan', meanwhile, impedes Catalan from becoming a public, anonymous language across regions, as Spanish courts rule against their interregional use on the basis that different names denote different languages (VilaWeb, 2017).

There are multiple indicators that point to Balearism's covert promotion of Castilian's anonymity. Joan Font Rosselló, spokesperson of the FJ3 and author of the main programmatic works published by the Foundation, was a member of two Hispanicist parties, the PP and the now extinct UPyD before joining the FJ3. UPyD was created to contest peripheral nationalisms and it criticised language policies that revitalised regional languages as attacks against "freedom and equality" (Woolard, 2016, p. 62). In fact, the FJ3 has recently given up its refusal to address issues of "linguistic freedom" mentioned by Antoni and Miquel, given that the Foundation endorses the availability of university access tests in Castilian as of 2017 (Venzal Ballester, 2017). As for social media activity, there are many occasions where supporters of Balearist associations use Castilian and advocate for its use because

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(Toc·Toc transcribed the question using its promoted norms).

[62]This was the case in the three interviews with Balearist activists (Miquel, Antoni, and Salva). Social media activity also includes much evidence in this direction, both by administrators and followers (among which there is a considerable number of supporters of Valencianism). Notice how there is a secessionist Valencianist language association, Círcul Cívic Valencià - Círculo Cívico Valenciano, in the networks of Figures 4.3 and 4.4 (p. 108 and 110, respectively).

[63]The partial divergence of Valencian from Catalan as a result of implementing particularisation has been instrumental to further minoritisation of the autochthonous language in favour of Castilian's hegemony.

it is the language that 'allows one to be understood', unlike Balearic or Majorcan. Extract 5.5 shows two comments from the FJ3 and Toc·Toc's Facebook Pages that represent this recognition of Castilian's legitimacy.

Extract 5.5: Comments from two FJ3 and Toc·Toc posts illustrating Castilian's legitimacy recognition.

Carla	
(...) Hi escrit en castellà perque en català no vui i en baleà no em van vulé ensenyà... Era per que tots m'entenguessiu. (...)	(...) I wrote in Castilian because in Catalan I don't want to and because they didn't want to teach me Baleà... I did it so you all could understand me. (...)

Marga	
Porque nos tienen que tocar los "coons" esos catalanes todo el día (...). Escribo en castellano (español) también mi lengua como el mallorquín para que todo el mundo lo entienda	*Why do those Catalans have to always bother us (...). I write in Castilian (Spanish) also my language as much as Majorcan so that everyone may understand it*

In 2013, participant Carla commented in Castilian in support of a post on Toc·Toc's Page that complained about the lack of institutional attention given to "Minorcan" during the 30 years of normalisation. When a frequent 'Catalanist' participant criticised her, in Catalan, for her use of Castilian to support the vernacular, Carla justified herself in two ways, using non-standard Catalan. On the one hand, Carla justifies her use of Castilian because it is the only option left to her given that she refuses to use Catalan and she was never taught "*baleà*". Implicitly, this argument criticizes the schooling system for having Catalan as language of instruction. On the other hand, Carla justified her use of Castilian to ensure that the audience would understand her, imagining some readers as not capable of understanding Catalan (or 'Balearic'). This argument was similar to Marga's explanation to why she used Castilian for the comment she wrote on a 2014 FJ3 post. This post implicitly suggested that any eventual standardisation of the salty article depended on institutions from Catalonia, to which Marga reacted negatively. She wrote her comment in Castilian, which she considered to be "her language" as much as "Majorcan". Like Carla, Marga justified her linguistic choice to make sure everyone would understand her, which suggests that she *recognised Castilian's legitimacy*. We see how two supporters of neogonellisme used Castilian to argue their position instead of using the vernacular. We will run into this paradox on several occasions.

Another indicator of Castilian's *recognition* can be found tracing the sponsors of neogonellisme. Members of the traditional Majorcan nobility have promoted and supported neogonellisme, the best example being Zaforteza himself. Their public actions, however, signal the higher value they ascribe to Castilian. During the debates around the linguistic change on the website of the football club RCD Mallorca, Toc·Toc effusively celebrated the Foundation Bartolomé March's (*Fundación Bartolomé March*) announcement that its website would replace its "Catalan" version to "*Mallorquín*" (Majorcan, in Castilian). To date, clicking on this option, however, redirects to the "*Español*" (Spanish, in Castilian) version. Gabriel Barceló, a renowned figure in Majorcan society and a founder of one of the world's largest tourist companies (Grupo Barceló), is treasurer and one of the promoters of the FJ3. He's also a key member of the Foundation Barceló (*Fundación Barceló*), whose website is in Castilian and English and in which he appears encouraging Majorcan society to financially contribute to his foundation, in Castilian. Public, anonymous language means Castilian for a powerful part of Majorcan' traditional high classes.

Finally, sociolinguistic naturalism of the role of Castilian in the Balearic Islands has linguistic implications. The FJ3's 'Balearic' linguistic model (as well of all other proposals made by gonellisme) accepts multiple loaned words from Castilian, taking it as the natural evolution of Balearic vernaculars. For Balearism, the authentic speech and speaker precedes any illegitimate Catalan corpus language planning initiated after the democratic restoration. Authenticity is located, instead, on a spoken language that resulted after forty years of monolingual Castilian dictatorship, consequently displaying lots of traces of the intense contact with Castilian. Nowadays, holders of such speech are specific older adults. From this view, the linguistic effects of linguistic repression are assumed, whereas Catalan language planning is an unnatural and "excessively obvious" intervention (Woolard, 2016, pp. 65–66). This is an intriguing example of what Bourdieu (1991) calls "misrecognition" and Woolard (2016) soberly defines as "the ideological erasure of historical roots [that] allows dominance to become hegemony" (p. 29). The next chapter takes a closer look at how Castilian loaned words are justified, together with other workings that Facebook allows Balearist activists.

Neogonelles supporters' greater engagement with Hispanicist parties

The political calendar offered a unique opportunity to explore neogonelles' pre-eminent valuing of the Castilian language. The end of my social media data sample matched with the regional, insular, and municipal elections held on May 24th 2015. Using networking traces, a participation overlapping analysis of the Facebook Pages of

the neogonella associations and the Balearic political parties during the 2015 elections campaign is revealing.[64] It shows that the parties with which the participants of neogonella Pages engaged the most are PP and Cs, precisely the two Hispanicist parties that were, and still are, very much interested in consolidating the anonymity role of Castilian and therefore preventing Catalan from attaining it (see Woolard, 2016).

Using Netvizz-extracted data, Table 5.2 shows the activity on the Pages of the three neogonella associations and the political parties[65] currently represented in the regional parliament (see Section 3.2.1, p. 72) during March, April, and May 2015.[66] It shows the number of posts published by each Page and the total engagement of each Page's posts, as well as the number of unique users of each Page. These Pages' activity varies considerably, but they are nevertheless comparable in terms of social media dimensions and fitted for a participation overlapping analysis.

Table 5.2: Activity in the Facebook Pages of neogonella associations and of Balearic political parties during March-May 2015.

Type of Page	Page	Posts	Unique users	Engagement[*]
Neogonella	Toc·Toc	69	567	2,884
associations	FJ3	103	622	5,000
	Foment	36	286	1,293
Political	Cs	115	855	5,597
parties	El Pi	184	1,516	14,089
	GxF	71	823	2,879
	MÉS[67]	578	5,644	46,199
	Podem	537	1,492	17,889
	PP	265	2,273	18,304
	PSOE	248	264	1,906

[*] Total engagement for all the posts of each Page.

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[64]This type of analysis showed the links between the Facebook audiences of Luxembourgish political parties and a Page advancing controversial views on the status of the Luxembourgish language (Duane, 2017b).

[65]I collected data from the Facebook Pages *of the Balearic branches* of those parties present in all Spain (Cs, Podem, PP, and PSOE).

[66]I selected this three-month period in an attempt to capture the Pages' discussions preceding the elections as well as immediately following them.

[67]The political party MÉS has different brands for Majorca and Minorca, each one of which has

The number of unique users is the attribute on which participation overlapping analysis is based, as it tells us how many different people engaged with a Page during a given time. Hence, we can refer to them as the 'active audience' of Pages. Importantly, the overall active audience or number of unique users of the combination of the three neogonella Pages is 1,140.[68] Though participation in a Page does not necessarily mean support for the Page, in neogonella Pages this tends to be true, especially over time.[69] Table 5.3 shows which percentage of neogonella Pages' active audience (i.e., 1,140 unique users) also participated in each of the Pages of the main Balearic political parties.[70]

Table 5.3: Percentage of neogonella Pages' participants engaging
with each political party's Page.

	Cs	El Pi	GxF	MÉS	Podem	PP	PSOE
Neogonella Pages' participants (n=1,140)	9.12	2.02	0.88	1.93	0.79	8.95	0

The percentages in Table 5.3 are revealing. People who participated in neogonella Pages and who also engaged with a Page of the political spectrum mainly did it with the parties Cs and PP (9.12% and 8.95%, respectively),[71] which are the two main Hispanicist parties in the region and which oppose Catalan normalisation. As mentioned in Section 3.2.1 (p. 72), these two parties show affinities with neogonellisme. Nevertheless, however, it is revealing that a considerable part of those who most likely are *supporters* of neogonellisme also engaged with them. Finally, there are Facebook users who also participated with El Pi and MÉS, though in lesser percentages (2.02% and 1.93%, respectively).

Table 5.3 shows how participation overlapping between any two Pages can be quantified. However, it does not show whether the active audience of neogonella

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its own Facebook Page (the former hosts much more activity). For clarity purposes, I combined them.

[68]Unique users across Pages cannot be added, given that one user may participate in more than one Page.

[69]See "Participation dynamics in neogonella Pages" (p. 103).

[70]This can be achieved as the data that Netvizz (Rieder, 2013) crawls for each Page from Facebook's API can be collated, given that Facebook users are hashed (anonymised) always in the same way (see Section 4.2.2, p. 106).

[71]From the perspective of the political parties, 12.2% of users of Cs's Page and 4.4% of users of PP's Page were active on at least one of the three neogonella Pages. The next party from this perspective would be El Pi (1.5%).

Pages engaged with more than one Page of the sample, that is, if the users who engaged with the FJ3 and Cs also did so with, let's say, the PP. A representation of the overlapping addresses this limitation and provides another layer of data useful for analytical purposes.

Figure 5.6 below is a network representation of the data of the Facebook Pages of neogonella associations and Cs and PP from Table 5.2. I limit the representation to these five Pages given the intense overlapping between them that Table 5.3 revealed. In Figure 5.6, posts of each Page are merged into a single coloured node and users who engaged with any of these Pages are represented with dark grey nodes. The size of a node corresponds to its total engagement. A user's 'like' or comment in a Page's post is represented with a link between the user node and the Page node.[72] Similarly to what we saw in Chapter 4 with Figures 4.3 and 4.4 (p. 108 and 110, respectively), these links affect the location of each node, because a force-directed algorithm (Hu, 2005) determines the location of the data according to the strength of the connections between nodes. The algorithm thus brings together connected nodes and distances those unrelated.
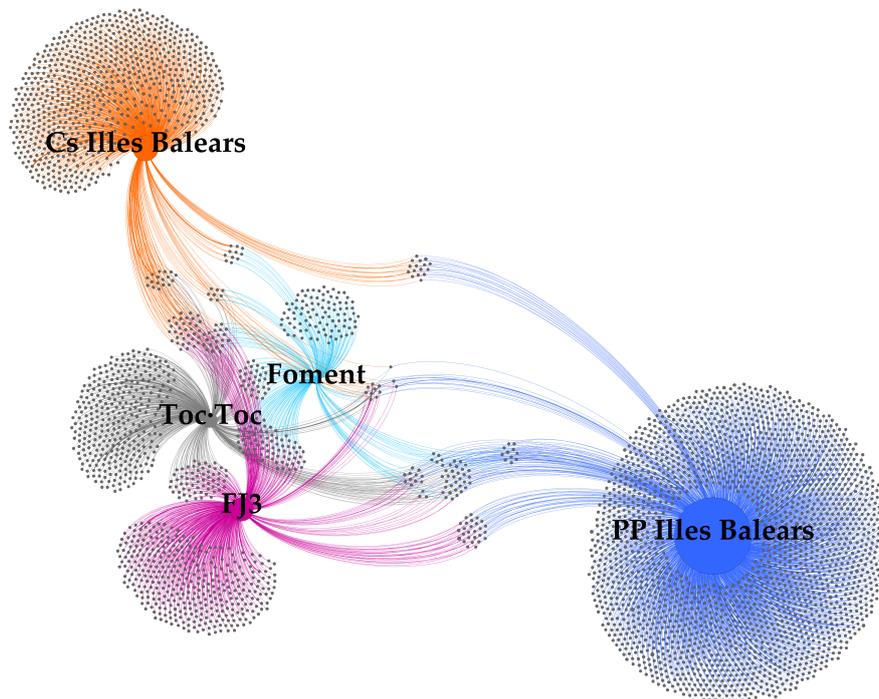

Figure 5.6: Graph of the activity on the Facebook Pages of neogonella associations, Cs and PP during March-May 2015. All posts from each Page are merged into one node. Node size relates to engagement.

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[72]Unfortunately, Netvizz does not extract network data on 'shares' by users.

The network visualisation in Figure 5.6 offers insights into several aspects. For starters, it allows one to discern that all Pages have what we can call their 'exclusive participants', that is, users who during the selected period only participated in that Page (from the sample of Pages selected for this analysis). Between Pages and forming smaller clusters are the users who participated in more than one of the five Pages of the sample.

The location of neogonella associations in Figure 5.6 is illustrative: they are in between Cs and PP, more less equally distant to each party. As explained above, the fact that many participants of neogonella Pages engaged with these two political parties determines this position. Hence, this visualisation provides a clearer picture of the participation overlapping between supporters of neogonellisme and Cs and PP. Almost all neogonella supporters who engaged with one of the two parties did not do it with the other one. This highlights the extent to which people who participated in neogonella Pages during the months previous to the election also interacted with the parties that oppose Catalan normalisation. Further, it suggests how the neogonella movement seems to fit into different Hispanicist agendas. Finally, Figure 5.6 is a good illustration of the participation overlapping across neogonella Pages that I observed online. It shows that a large extent of the supporters of these associations also participated in the Pages of the other neogonella associations. Hence, users saw these Pages as *similar* interest networks.

5.4   Summary

This chapter has unpacked how the irruption of neogonella associations in the linguistic field of the Balearic Islands can be understood as the struggle to legitimate their alternative standard model for Balearic linguistic varieties. The analysis has relied on Bourdieu's (1982; 1991) explanations about the role of *recognition* or symbolic power on the distribution of cultural capital across society. Particularly, I have considered how neogonella activists' quest for legitimacy demanded engaging with the *instituted taxonomies* or classifications organising the Balearic linguistic field, as well as it demanded becoming *authorised*. The analysis used Woolard's (2008; 2016) explanations on linguistic authority to examine how neogonelles performed this aim. The language ideologies of *naturalism*, *authenticity*, and *anonymity* were used to explain neogonelles' discourses about language.

In their attempt to address the *sociolinguistic instituted taxonomies* in the Balearic Islands, neogonelles questioned the other stances populating the linguistic field. On the one hand, neogonelles delegitimised Baléà to circumvent the *lack of*

symbolic power of anti-Catalan gonellisme and to present themselves as serious, feasible, and educated. In the process, nevertheless, neogonelles have adopted most of the arguments of anti-Catalan gonellisme. On the other hand, neogonelles undermined Catalan on the basis of the *lack of authenticity* of its established standard variety. Instead, their 'Balearic' linguistic model constructs *vernacular and natural authenticities* that the language spoken by "grandparents" represent. Taking into consideration how the promotion of Catalan in the archipelago has constructed its value around a 'post-natural authenticity', neogonelles' actions must be partially understood as a reaction to this development that tries to *bring vernacular back to the realms of natural authenticity.*

In order to *become authorised and gain recognition* from the Balearic society, neogonelles embarked on a process of *symbolic capital accumulation.* On the one hand, they associated their language activist movement with an *identity movement called Balearism* they created and which tried to bring the four Balearic Islands under one common identifying narrative. This was difficult, given that "Balearic" is not part of the archipelago's instituted taxonomies about identity. Nevertheless, neogonelles attempted to promote a Balearic identity, including all sorts of semiotic materials such as the 'Talaiotic' slingshooter, because by doing so they *authenticated themselves.* On the other hand, neogonelles used two types of legitimation strategies. First, they organised *activist practices* to persuade people that advanced dissemination, materialisation, and 'ausbau' aims, among which the publication of the FJ3 *Style Book* was central. Secondly, they performed *language lobbying actions* to persuade and gain recognition from other fields of society, such as politics, media, and economy.

Neogonelles' struggle for legitimation of their standard cannot be fully understood, however, without addressing the way they relate to the linguistic capital most hegemonic in Balearic society, the Castilian language. For neogonelles, *Castilian is the legitimate language* in the Balearic Islands. Castilian's legitimacy is not a question for neogonelles as they recognise its ruling *anonymity and natural value.* They do not pit their promoted Balearic model in any way against Castilian, confining it instead to the attainment of authenticity value. In neogonelles' views, Castilian deserves an exclusive anonymous value and they covertly promote it. *Their defence of Balearic thus accommodates the anonymity value of Castilian.* Using networking traces, a participation overlapping analysis around the 2015 elections in the archipelago showed how supporters of neogonellisme tended to engage intensively with political parties who oppose Catalan normalisation—on the basis that it threatens Castilian's dominant anonymity value in society.

Chapter 6

The creation of ethnolinguistic difference on Facebook

The previous chapter illustrated how neogonelles attempt to become a legitimate, recognised linguistic actor to further their aim of re-ordering the Balearic linguistic field. Much of the chapter was based on the general insights obtained from researching Facebook, as Balearist associations intensively exploit it to deploy their discursive arrangements. This chapter takes a closer look at how neogonelles use Facebook to further their sociolinguistic goals, focusing on the possibilities this online space grants for ethnolinguistic differentiation, as well as on the issues that emerge in its interactions.

There are two sets of analytical tools that are important to understand attempts to create ethnolinguistic difference. In the Introduction, I already introduced the semiotic processes of *iconisation*, *erasure*, and *fractal recursivity* (see p. 17). Judith T. Irvine and Susan Gal (2000) devised these notions that explain how people differentiate linguistic repertoires and which I will further unpack as I use them during this chapter.

The second set of notions I draw from are the sociolinguistic and interrelated notions of '*abstand*' and '*ausbau*' languages (Kloss, 1967). I already used the latter in the last chapter to make sense of neogonelles' initiatives aimed at developing 'Balearic' into a linguistic model. These notions help in understanding processes of linguistic divergence (see Trudgill, 2004). On the one hand, one linguistic variety is an abstand language ("language by distance") in relationship to some other variety with which there is enough 'distance' to claim that they are not part of the same linguistic system. On the other hand, and as explained in the last chapter, an ausbau language defines a "language by development", "because of having been reshaped,

molded or remolded—as the case may be—in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression" (Kloss, 1967, p. 29). Ausbau highlights the social agency involved in the processes that result in linguistic split, especially the central role of writing in the construction and development of *differences* between language varieties and speakers (1967, p. 33).

For neogonellisme, Facebook has been an essential space for the cultivation of *difference* that its linguistic divergence aim entails. It grants neogonelles the opportunity to explain themselves, to respond to comments received, and to evidence the apparent plausibility of their linguistic model. That is, Facebook is a space where activists enjoy *representational control*, meaning that they self-mediate the public portrayal and defence of their authenticity. I draw this understanding from Jaffe's (2000; 2009a) work on non-standard orthography, where we learn that a third party's mediation affects a speaker's authentication of non-standard orthographies. This also applies for neogonelles' use of Facebook, given that it is place where their orthographic practices can diverge from standard Catalan without any mediation. Hence, Facebook is a space for *language* and *identity ausbau* (Juffermans et al., 2014) in favour of an emerging Balearic standard and a Balearic regional identity that transforms the way certain speakers relate to linguistic repertoires.

This chapter argues that Facebook functions as a space for neogonelles' entextualisation and language policing, as they benefit from the representational control the social networking site affords. First, I will illustrate how, on their controlled Facebook Pages, neogonelles renegotiate sociolinguistic meanings as they participate in ongoing language ideological debates and engage with prevalent sociolinguistic taxonomies. They bring multiple texts into the discussions to disseminate and refine meanings according to their interests. Second, for these language activists Facebook is a space where they can police language and commentators in favourable conditions. The administrative powers activists enjoy on their own Pages allow them to construct a legitimacy conflict between linguistic constructs, to perform as linguistic experts, and to identify who are legitimate commentators and speakers. Finally, however, the chapter also shows the ways neogonelles' controlled Pages are not entirely under their control, given that the unavoidable choices implied by standard languages allow for disagreement (see Costa et al., 2017; Duane, 2018) and that people holding different degrees of opposition to neogonelles also participate on these Pages.

Before turning to the details, now is the right moment to show the reader an example of the data the analysis is based on. Posts from neogonella Facebook Pages diverge so much in terms of the post itself (its topic and format), its comments (number of comments, unfolding threads, participants, present stances, etc.), and its

non-discursive engagement indicators (more or less likes and shares) that it becomes difficult to refer to any *typical* post. The post in Figure 6.1, instead, is *representative* of general discursive developments found on the Facebook Pages of Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment. Thus, besides aiming at helping the reader gain familiarity with the data of this study, this 'Model post' will help in building the arguments of the following sections.
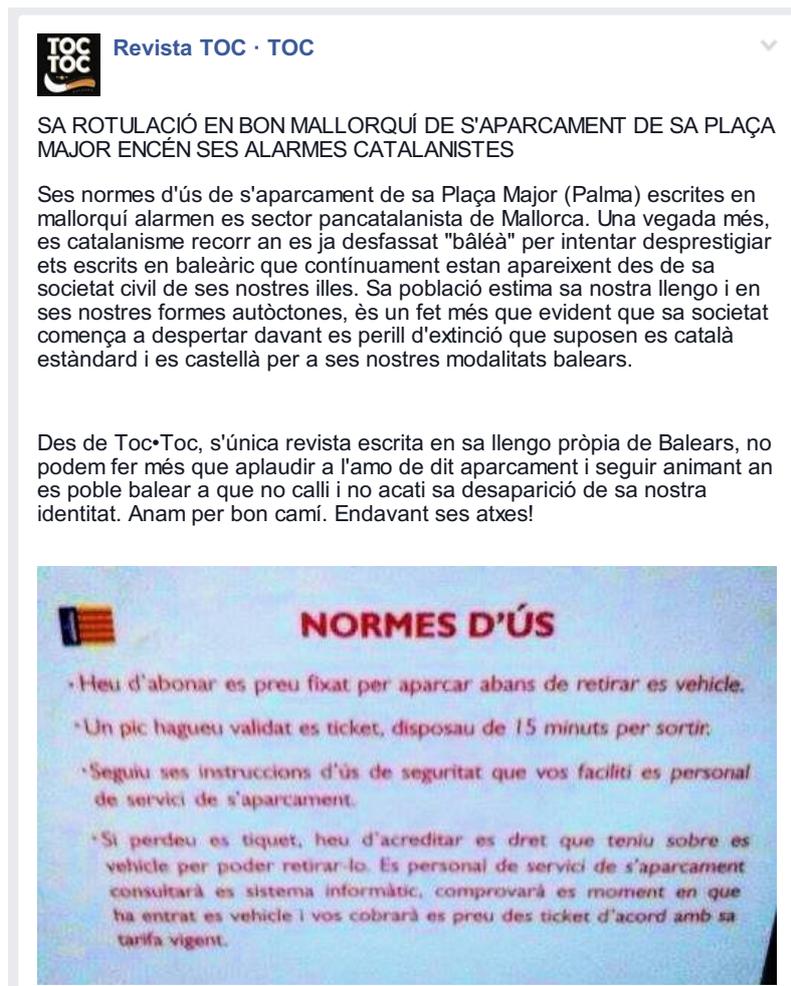
Figure 6.1: Screen capture of the Model post (85 likes, 34 shares, 21 comments).[1]

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[1]The English translation of the framing text is the following:

"THE LABELLING IN GOOD MAJORCAN OF THE MAIN SQUARE PARKING LOT ACTIVATES THE CATALANIST ALARM BELLS

The norms of usage written in Majorcan of the parking lot in Palma's Main Square alarm the pancatalanist sector of Majorca. Once more, Catalanism resorts to the now old-fashioned "Bâléà" to try to discredit the texts written in Balearic that are continuously appearing from the civic society of our islands. People love our language and in our autochthonous forms, it's a fact more than

Let's begin filling the Model post's *contextual blanks*, the way Blommaert encourages us to do when ethnographically approaching texts, as we saw in Section 4.2.1 (p. 99). Toc·Toc issued the Model post at the height of the 2013 debates around the controversial TIL decree (precisely, on the same day it became effective). This is highly relevant because it shows how neogonella activists shifted attention away from the main topic of public language debates at the time, given that their support of the TIL meshed rather badly with their alleged care for the autochthonous language. Instead, they recurrently chose to echo minor events, like the Model post exemplifies. This post publicised the decision of a parking lot in Palma—precisely, in its Main Square—of removing Catalan from its information panels and replacing it for what neogonella activists call "Majorcan". Toni Noguera, at the time councilor at the City Council from the Catalanist party MÉS and at the time of writing Palma's mayor, subsequently required City Hall to correct the sign (MÉS per Mallorca, 2013). Toc·Toc's post included a framing text as well as a picture of the sign (with its text and a Balearic flag).

The post's framing text is essential to understand what meanings the administrators were trying to further. Neogonelles framed the post as proof of an alleged ongoing and exciting sociolinguistic change they represent. Using capital letters, the text reports that the sign's "good Majorcan"[2] activates the "alarm bells" of Catalanists, who, in response, say the sign is an example of "Bâléà", which is in an undermining attempt we addressed in the last chapter. Nevertheless, the text does not provide any proof of such a chain of events. In what constitutes a recurrent rhetorical device that Calaforra and Moranta (2005) identified for gonellisme, the neogonella voice of the text presents itself as speaking for "the people", and knowing, for instance, that people "love our language". Administrators make an effort to present this parking sign as proof of a societal change, constructing it as another example of the texts "in Balearic that are continually appearing", and which make "more than evident that society starts to awaken". Both standard Catalan and Castilian are identified as the endangerment agents for "our Balearic modalities", though Castilian's mention is

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evident that society begins to awaken faced with the danger of extinction that standard Catalan and Castilian represent to our Balearic modalities.

From Toc·Toc, the only magazine written in the own language of the Balearic [Islands], we can't do anything but applaud the owner of such parking lot and continue encouraging the Balearic people not to be quiet and assume the disappearance of our identity. We're on the right track. Let's keep fighting!"

[2]This indexes Alcover's use of this expression to refer to the speech of the informants that provided him with his *Rondalles* (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45). As we saw in the previous chapter, the FJ3's promotional video also used this expression (p. 142).

exceptionally rare for neogonelles, given the *legitimacy* this language has in their eyes and that the authenticity competition they construct excludes it. Finally, it applauds the parking's owner, it encourages "the Balearic people" to not "be quiet and assume the disappearance of our identity", it evaluates that "we are on the right track", and ends with a saying, also common for Catalan speakers from other regions, which appeals to keep the fight alive. The post's high number of likes and shares suggests that many supporters of neogonellisme endorsed the particular reading that activists inferred from the sign. Extract 6.1 shows the 21 comments the post triggered, all of which occurred in less than 24 hours after its publication.

Extract 6.1: Comments from the Model post.

01	Antoni	6 likes
M'encanta veure lo nirviosos que se posen perquè es poble reacciona. Que se pensaven, que estaríem més de 40 anys deixant que mos fotin s'identitat?	I love to see how nervous they get because the people react. What was in their mind, that we would let them take away [our] identity for over 40 years?	
02	Xavier	No likes
jajajaja pero com quedam???? tiquet o ticket?	hahahaha but what shall we agree on???? tiquet or ticket?	
03	Nacho	2 likes
Des ticket no seria d'es ticket? Malgrat això ja va bé que hagin canviat a ses nostres formes	Shouldn't 'des' ticket be 'd'es' ticket? Despite this it's good that they have changed to our forms	
04	Administrator(s)	2 likes
Hola Nacho, s'apòstrof no ès necessari ni se recomana abans de s'article, ès més bé arcaic, però no del tot incorrecte. Segons Don Llorenç Vidal, es qual el sol emprar o almanco el combina amb es qui va sense apostrofar. En tot cas, "de's" sí seria totalment incorrecte.	Hello Nacho, the apostrophe isn't necessary and is not recommended before the article, it's rather archaic, but not entirely incorrect. According to Mr. Llorenç Vidal, who uses it or at least he combines it with the one without apostrophe. In any case, "de's" would be completely incorrect.	
05	Juan	5 likes
Estic content, defensem lo nostro. Per que jo xerram es mallorqui i no parlam es catala.	I'm happy, let's defend what's ours. Because I speak Majorcan and I don't speak Catalan.	
06	Robert	7 likes

Pensava que a sa meua vida viuria per veure un cartel escrit en Balear. Fa guapo.	I never thought that I would see a sign written in Balearic in my whole life. Looks nice.

07	Lorenzo Mari	3 likes

Es el principio....	*It's the beginning....*

08	Francesc Lopez	1 like

pos yo hablo a'ndáluz! no español. no te jodes....!	*Well I speak Andalusian! Not Spanish. How about that....!*

09	Francina	3 likes

Aparcamientos Insulares S.A. ès es responsable, li hauriem d'agraïr de qualque manera.	Aparcamientos Insulares S.A. is responsible, we should thank them in some way.

10	Salva	5 likes

Molt bé. "Des" en lloc de "D'es" ès més generalitzat i modern. O sia, correcte. "Tiquet" i "Ticket" ambdues són correctes: L'una ès anglicisme talment s'anglès i s'altre mallorquinitzat (com "futbol"). Lo que no ès correcte ès no mantenir sa coherència i no seguir es mateix criteri, però ès dins tot aquest texte aquest detall se pot considerar "pecata minuta". Com ha dit en Llorenç Marí, això ès només es principi. Esperau... ;-)	Very well. "Des" instead of "D'es" is more extended and modern. That is, correct. "Tiquet" and "Ticket" are both correct: one is an Anglicism just as in English and the other is Majorcanised (like "futbol"). What is not correct is not keeping the coherence and not following the same criteria, but within this text this detail can be considered "pecata minuta". Like Llorenç Marí said, this is just the beginning. Wait and see... ;-)

11	Francina	1 like

Per cert, que un tal toni Noguera de MES per catalunya ho ha denunciat!!! [hyperlink]	By the way, that a Toni Noguera from MES for Catalonia has reported it!!! [hyperlink]

12	Francina	2 likes

Això se diu tirar pedres din sa seva pròpia taulada, han perdut es cap.	This is to self-harm themselves, they've lost their minds.

13	Salva	6 likes

PACO LÓPEZ, nos parece muy bien. Aquí no te necesitamos: te puedes ir a practicar tu andaluz a Andalucía.	*PACO LÓPEZ, it seems very well to us. We don't need you here: you can go and practice your Andalusian in Andalusia.*

14	Francina	5 likes

Tenim un estatut que diu que s'han de protegir ses nostres modalitats, quina millor manera hi ha que difonder-les dins tot es territori balear.	We have a Statute that says that our modalities must be protected, the best way to do so is by spreading them across all the Balearic territory.

15	Marian	3 likes

On es aquest aparcament que deixaré es cotxo alla	Where is this parking I will leave my car there

16	Salva	1 like

Ja sabem a on deixar es nostros cotxos. Maldament caigui més enfora que un altre pàrking tenim un deure amb aquesta gent.	Now we know where to leave our cars. Even if it's further than other parkings we have a duty with this people.

17	Matilde	2 likes

Dons jo soc eivissenca i no em sent representada per aquesta pantomima que deis balear, això es mallorquí i punt, cada illa parla diferent i mai ens fareu sentir que som balears, i menys a la força.	Well I'm Eivissan and I don't feel represented by this joke you call Balearic, this is Majorcan, period, every island speaks differently and you'll never make us feel Balearic, albeit by forcing us.

18	*Salva*	4 likes

Matilde, no puc més que respectar sa teva opinió PERSONAL, però per favor, no la facis extensiva a tots ets eivissencs i pitiüssos: tenim molts de seguidors a Eivissa i Formentera que se consideren part d'aquest concepte de germanor i convergència històrica baleàrica. Fes es favor de no despreciar-los. Gràcies.	Matilde, I can't do anything but respect your PERSONAL opinion, but please, don't make it true for all the Eivissan people and the Pine Islanders: we have many followers in Eivissa and Formentera who consider themselves part of this concept of brotherhood and historical Balearic convergence. Please don't look down on them. Thanks.

19	Julián	1 like

Salva,Matilde no a despreciado nada,y me uno a su sentimiento.Basta ya de querer imponernos cosas porque si desde Mallorca,si vosotros sentis esas imposiciones catalanistas y no estais de acuerdo,porque quereis imponer vuestras posiciones aqui??Predicad con el ejemplo,y no hagais lo que no quereis que os hagan	*Salva, Matilde hasn't disdained anything, and I subscribe her feeling. Enough of imposing on us things without a reason from Majorca, if you feel those Catalanist impositions and you don't agree with them, why do you want to impose your stances here? Practice what you preach, and don't do what you don't want others to do to you*

20	Tolo	3 likes

Som eivissenc i estic fart des pancatalanistes !!! Molt bé a Mallorca, obrint camí...	I'm Eivissan and I'm fed up with pancatalanists !!! Very well in Majorca, paving the way...

21	Francina	2 likes
Ara resultarà que es balears no som balears, quin desbarat!!!	As it is, it turns out now that we the Balearic [people] are not Balearic, what a nonsense!!!

As we see, the post received, in general, positive reactions. We will come back to them in the following sections, since they will help me illustrate the upcoming arguments. In all, the Model post and its comments exemplify the interactional shape of the main data of this study, in which a post authored by a neogonella association triggers subsequent activity in the form of likes, shares, and comments. Now, let's understand what happened in Toc·Toc, the FJ3, and Foment's Facebook *spaces*.

6.1   A space for entextualisation

One of the main ways Facebook is important for neogonelles is because it allows them, to a considerable extent, to define and redefine meanings organising the linguistic Balearic field. Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban's (1996) notion of *entextualisation* addresses how meanings and discourses change when social actors move texts across contexts (see also Jaffe, 2009a). An entextualisation process is "the (at best) intersubjective and sufficient determination of a "text"—though divergent actor-perspective entextualizations also inhabit interactional regimes" (Silverstein & Urban, 1996, p. 15). In entextualisation, meaning is re-ordered as the result of the ideological frameworks that different actors bring into play.

Silverstein and Urban (1996) argue that "contextually contingent semiotic processes (...) are recoverable in some measure only by analytically engaging with textual sedimentations" (p. 2–3), such as the ones found on neogonella Facebook Pages. These Pages are spaces where participants attempt to fix meanings relative to the linguistic field, by generating their own texts as well as by bringing others in. Obviously, the reach of this meaning redefinition is limited, but it means that activists and their supporters maintain a space where they can feel at ease and engage in defining the ways that events, categories, speakers and linguistic features are to be understood. In this regard, activists have chances to *entextualise authoritatively* (1996, p. 11), given that their administrative roles confer them additional powers to

decide on the topics brought into discussion as well as to append and police other participants' texts.

The entextualisation that neogonelles carry out on their Facebook Pages involves multiple sorts of texts and meanings. Of all of them, the entextualisation of language ideological debates and of the prevalent sociolinguistic categorisations are particularly relevant, as they are instrumental for symbolic capital accumulation and for the linguistic re-naming aims of neogonellisme.[3]

6.1.1 Participating in language debates

One of the key functions of social media for neogonelles is that it provides them a platform from where to disseminate their own views on any kind of language-related event. This is crucial given that no media outlet explicitly supports their Balearist stance on language. Thus, social media became an important tool during Bauzá's term in office as the period was characterised by very intense language ideological debates.

Digesting debates

Balearist associations use their Facebook Pages to follow and comment on public debates—or to redirect the attention away from them, as the Model post exemplifies. Their reviews are always very similar, foregrounding the inappropriateness of standard Catalan for any usage in Balearic society. Associations basically differ in the formats of their reviews of debates. The FJ3 relies on posts that redirect to more elaborated texts at their website, written by its activists and collaborators.[4] Toc·Toc and Foment are more creative and design *collages*—images densely composed of various elements, such as pictures, shapes, logos, symbols, and texts—for many of their posts, including those that reviewed language debates. This is strategic, given that pictures are particularly *spreadable* (Jenkins et al., 2013) in social media (Rieder et al., 2015).[5]

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[3] Neogonella activists also devote a lot of energy to the entextualisation of Balearism, particularly in what regards to redefining historic events (undermining the Balearic Islands' common history with other Catalan speaking territories and naturalising its Hispanic frame, as seen in Sections 2.1 and 2.2). Unfortunately, for matters of space and focus, I limit my analysis to the entextualisations most directly related to language ideologies.

[4] In our interviews, they labelled such texts as "intellectual" materials, probably in comparison to Toc·Toc and Foments' materials. We must keep in mind that the Foundation wants to appear as a serious and expert language advisory body.

[5] Indeed, the most popular post from the three Balearist associations is a collage from Toc·Toc that parodied the Catalanist construct of the Catalan Countries (see p. 26) by creating an alternative

A detailed analysis of one of these rich compositions illustrates how neogonelles use Facebook to show their supporters how to *read* texts and events from the public sphere. Figure 6.2 is an example of one of Toc·Toc's collages, in this case, about the public debates around the decision of Bauzá's government to apply the discourse of particularisation to IB3's linguistic model (see Section 2.4.3, p. 54). Occupying most of the collage, there is the "Majorcan adaptation"[6] of a Catalan-medium article from *Diari de Balears* (Polls, 2014a). The original piece reported on IB3's intentions to extend the use of the salty article, from only its newscasts to all of its programming.[7] Actually, Toc·Toc's "Majorcan adaptation" modified the original piece in three ways.

Figure 6.2: Collage in picture-post in Toc·Toc from 8
August 2014 (46 likes, 29 shares, 9 comments).[8]

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map of some equivalent "Balearic Countries".

[6]"adaptació as mallorquí", according to the text accompanying the picture-post.

[7]The *Diari de Balears*'s original piece included a hyperlink to an official document as a source or evidence. The document disclosed the public tender requirements for the linguistic service which was to carry on these changes.

[8]The screen capture was modified to omit a long framing text before the collage, except for its title ("*TOTAL BALEARISACIÓ D'IB3*", "TOTAL BALEARISATION AT IB3"). This text

First, activists 'adapt' the original piece's standard Catalan to "Majorcan", which means replacing all definite articles for salty or s-articles, replacing the inchoative morpheme of "*aconsegueixi*" ('achieve', subjunctive) to "*aconseguesca*", typical for Majorcan and other regional varieties, such as Valencian, and replacing "*farà*" for "*ferà*" ('will do'). These minute linguistic details are difference markers for neogonelles. Second, they alter parts of the text: the original title "IB3 decides to change the whole linguistic model and not only its newscasts"[9] is replaced by "IB3 decides to Balearise all its contents (and not only its newscasts)",[10] while the original reference to "the salty article"[11] becomes "the quintessential Balearic article (the hissing or "salty")".[12] These two modifications[13] construct governmental action as a "Balearisation" project. Third, activists omit the quantity of the public tender (116,160 €). Balearist organisations are extremely critical of OCB's public financing (see p.78) and do not miss any opportunity to publicise the quantities of the subsidies it receives. Why would administrators hide information about the amount of the public tender, then? Most likely, to not disclose that the "Balearisation" of IB3 also entails a financial cost, as many supporters of Balearism criticise Catalan language planning on the basis of its financial cost.[14] Finally, it is worth mentioning that the collage does not cite, link, or date the original source (it only acknowledges the media outlet), preventing any possible contrasting.

As for the rest of the composition, in the right box, administrators mention the "strange, curious, or Balearist awareness-raising coincidence" promoted by a range of bodies identified by their logos and which not only include our three Balearist associations, but also the regional Parliament and the IEB—at the time, ruled both by Bauzá's PP. Rhetorically, they ask if "our people"—the Balearic people—will "recognise"—a fascinating term choice, since, as Bourdieu tells us, symbolic power is group *recognition*—their work in favour of an upcoming "return to normality" (I will come back to mention "normality" in a few pages). Regardless of the answer, activists

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revolves around the collage's content, which is analysed in what follows.

[9]"IB3 aposta per canviar tot el model lingüístic i no només els informatius".

[10]"IB3 aposta per balearisar tota sa seva programació (i no només ets informatius)."

[11]"l'article salat".

[12]"s'article baleàric per excel·lència (es sibilant o "salat")".

[13]In the second line, they also added the bracketed sentence "(like some bragged until now)" (com alguns presumien fins ara), which refers to people who pointed out how only newscasts were affected by the original linguistic change.

[14]It could also be the case that they anticipated that, given that Catalanists organisations would never apply such a linguistic "Balearisation", only a satellite organisation to neogonellisme would win the tender. This again would evidence that any language planning has a financial cost, something that many supporters of neogonellisme criticise for regional languages.

praise their own "rigorous, moderated and serious work" and signal that there is still much to be done. Once again, neogonelles self-ascribe popular representation to themselves (see Calaforra & Moranta, 2005). More relevantly, they relate political developments to their activism.

The collage's lower band provides the frame for the activists' aimed entextualisation of the 'reported' events. The main objective is to construct a competition between "their "university"" and "our radio-TV". Whereas the latter is represented only with IB3's logo, "their university" is composed of several elements: a logo of the UIB, placed upside down and wearing a mortarboard, a green T-shirt with the printed text "PO/LÍ/TI/CA$^{\mathrm{T}}$", and the Catalan bow. Multiple indexicalities are operating in this composition,[15] but altogether it challenges the UIB's academic and linguistic authority (hence the quotation marks around 'university') while it portrays it as furthering political Catalanism. Now, each side has an arrow that signals that, in the light of the covered news, "their university" side is declining while "our radio-TV" side is rising. Next to the rising arrow, and trying to secure an entextualisation that relates such rising with neogonellisme, three ways to say "we speak" in the Balearic archipelago, using regional verbal morphology and including the non-standard "*rallam*" (prevalent in Minorca, but not exclusive), are placed together with the silhouettes of the four islands.

These lines shed light on the way neogonella activists manipulate circulating texts to frame them to further their interests. But more importantly, this collage shows how activists use their Facebook spaces to review ongoing debates from their own perspective and spread their views among their audience.

Reaching media

Representational control has one additional function for neogonelles' dialogic relationship with language debates. The notion of *switching power* sheds light on another posting practice that connects activists to debates. Castells (2011) argues that in our current network society, one fundamental way to achieve power is by *switching*, understood as "the ability to connect and ensure the cooperation of different networks

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[15]The UIB's satirisation builds on the idea of an elitist body which turns its back to "the people", given the university's opposition to the modification of IB3's linguistic model and the rest of Bauzá's government particularisation measures (see Section 3.1.1, p. 60). The green T-shirt was the symbol of the vast opposition to the TIL decree, led by teachers and parents' associations and widely supported by Balearic society. Advocates of the TIL, in turn, criticised them for 'politicising' education, hence the T-shirt's printed text. The superscripted 'T' produces the acronym of the Catalan language, 'CAT', and it thus constructs the teacher's political work as advancing Catalanism. This is also the semiotic function of the Catalan bow.

by sharing common goals and combining resources" (p. 776). Particularly important is the cooperation with communication networks.

Neogonelles not only use Facebook to entextualise ongoing events, but also use it to try to show themselves as legitimate actors who trigger and participate in Balearic language debates. As a result of their activist and lobbying actions and the connections of certain activists with the media field, Balearist associations manage to regularly reach regional media. Activists repeatedly publicise each one of these occasions in their social media accounts, in order to ensure followers are aware of the media attention they receive. They either post links to media or images of the scanned newsclippings from printed regional media. Additionally, activists concentrate lots of their efforts in disseminating online surveys of media that query readers about issues that are the result of neogonelles' actions (or, during Bauzá's term in office, that were related to the government's particularisation measures). For example, a Minorcan newspaper surveyed if readers were in favour or against the official commemoration of the 1535 Turkish raid on Minorca, an initiative that Foment suggested to Minorcan authorities. In reaction, both Foment and Toc·Toc intensively posted links to the online survey asking followers to vote in favour of their option.

The pursuit of symbolic capital or group recognition explains this posting practice, given the role that media play in conferring prestige and reputation to social actors. Another way of seeing this emphasis on advertising any media presence is as if these posting practices instantiate neogonella activists' *switching power* with media networks. That is, these media switching posts display that neogonelles are effectively becoming powerful as they are able to connect themselves to the media field. Such a self-promotion strategy in social networking sites is nowadays common for different sorts of activism (Juris, 2008).

6.1.2 Redefining sociolinguistic taxonomies

For neogonella associations, Facebook is a space to engage with prevalent meanings relating speakers and languages. In other words, it is a space for the entextualisation of the 'instituted taxonomies' organising the Balearic linguistic field and which we addressed in the last chapter. My aim here is not to delve again into these taxonomies, but, instead, to explain how neogonella Pages become spaces where activists attempt to disseminate and refine them, in collaboration with their supporters. I illustrate the meaning redefinition endeavours with two cases. First, I engage with the meanings associated with speech labels and 'normalisation'. In second place, I explain how their main entextualisation involves the meaning that 'neogonellisme' attained for its supporters.

For the first time in this thesis, this section will focus in more detail on individual participation on Facebook Pages. The beginning of this chapter introduced the *representational control* that language activists benefit from in social media. The capacity of controlling the textual flow of Facebook Pages allows neogonelles to interpret language debates and to construct an actor-becoming process. Representational control also helps to explain how individuals use social media to enhance their agency, given that their participation is not mediated by others.

Chapter 3 used a stance-taking distinction—between *stances of language sameness* and *difference*—to describe Balearic actors of Catalan standardisation. Additionally, the notion of *stance* is particularly useful to understand the participation of 'lay users' in social media, as it allows one to make sense of reactions to posts. Stance is "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). The "salient dimension of the sociocultural field" on our Pages is language and the associated ideological debates ongoing in the Balearic Islands, conceived in close connection to identity. From a sociolinguistic view, the fundamental aspect of stance is its *performative* dimension, particularly productive as a "stance-based perspective views social identities as discursively constructed rather than fixed" (Jaffe, 2009b, p. 11). "Stance objects" towards which an actor positions herself can be discursive, ideological, and even other stances (Jaffe, 2009b; Walton & Jaffe, 2011), and their evaluation can express identificational and ideological orientations (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011).

Sociolinguistic labels

As we know, neogonelles further the term 'Balearic' (*Balear*) in opposition to Catalan, presenting it as unproblematically encompassing all island regiolects. Facebook Pages are spaces where this meaning construction takes place. In the text introducing the Model post (p. 176), for example, administrators argue that Baléà (and, implicitly and obviously, Catalan) cannot be used to designate the parking sign's orthographic practices. Instead, they use seven different ways to refer to what the sign orients to: "good Majorcan",[16] "Majorcan",[17] "Balearic",[18] "our language",[19] "our autochthonous

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[16]"EN BON MALLORQUÍ".

[17]"mallorquí".

[18]"baleàric".

[19]"sa nostra llengo"

forms",[20] "our Balearic modalities",[21] and "the own language from the Balearic [Islands]".[22] Administrators recurrently use this catch-all discursive strategy to refer to the model they further, though always excluding Catalan (and Baléà).[23] Catalanists constantly detect and criticise this ambiguity, which is useful for neogonelles to appeal to people taking milder and greater *stances of language difference* depending on the interactional context. In the Model post (p. 177), for example, three commentators supporting the sociolinguistic change suggested by Toc·Toc use three ways to refer to their repertoires (commentator 03 Nacho refers to the sign as displaying "our forms", 05 Juan calls his language "Majorcan", and 06 Robert, "Balearic").

The unfolding entextualisation gradually secures a range of terms to designate vernaculars while preventing others. It should come as no surprise that the term that becomes most problematised to refer to Balearic varieties is Catalan. But what is relevant is that the meanings that gradually precipitate on these Pages force commentators disagreeing with neogonelles to modify their way of referring to Catalan in order to continue participating in the conversation. Some examples are that opponents to neogonellisme use uncommon compounds such as "Catalan-Majorcan",[24] or that they explicitly say that they would rather not name the language—Catalan—to avoid problems. There are also occasions when Catalanists correct some other user's writing by arguing that it is incorrect "even in Majorcan", which implicitly distances Majorcan varieties from other Catalan varieties. This is one of the outcomes of neogonelles' entextualisation: in these spaces, using the term Catalan does not designate any longer Balearic varieties (unless explicitly stated). 'Catalan' comes to designate something different on the Pages' debates.

Relatedly, another term from the Balearic linguistic field whose prevalent meaning becomes destabilised in the Facebook spaces of neogonellisme is '*foraster*' (foreigner). We have already encountered this term a couple of times, first in a quote from Veny's work (p. 38), and second in an interaction with Salva where he implicitly positioned me as an outsider (p. 119). In the Balearic Islands, the *foraster* notion has traditionally been involved in social categorisation, as Melià elaborates:

> [I]n the [Balearic] Islands, traditionally, Hispanophone migrants have been named *foreigners* (a name that the next generations will keep, if Castilian keeps on being their commonly-used language). This name has

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[20]"ses nostre formes autòctones".
[21]"ses nostre modalitats balears".
[22]"sa llengo pròpia de Balears".
[23]This exemplifies the naming gymnastics described in the associations' manifestos (p. 85).
[24]"català-mallorquí".

never been used for Catalan speakers from the Valencian Country[25] or Catalonia: in fact, people's designations were done with their original territorial demonyms if they were Catalan speakers (*Majorcans*, *Minorcans* or *Mahoneses*, *Eivissans*, *Formenterans*, *Valencians* and *Catalans*) and with the term *foreigner* if they were Castilian speakers (therefore, Catalan speakers, whatever their origin, were not considered from *outside*; here is some evidence of the perception of the unity that the Catalan speaking territories have).[26] (Melià Garí, 2014, p. 249, emphasis in original)

In previous research (Duane, 2017a), I showed how participants of two Facebook Pages used the term *foraster* in their comments, some of them redefining its meaning to target standard Catalan instead of Castilian. Such a redefinition is also promoted on Facebook Pages of Balearist associations. A few posts from the three associations characterise the Catalan language, flag, and people as *foraster*. But it is across comment fields where neogonella activists and especially their supporters intensively use *foraster* to refer to the Catalan language. Opponents to neogonellisme challenge such characterisation; administrators, however, never do so, whereas they confront many other behaviours. The emerging entextualisation of *foraster* in these spaces contributes to the establishment of difference between Balearic vernaculars and the rest of Catalan varieties.

Another term that neogonelles entextualise is 'normalisation', which is elsewhere understood in connection with the Catalan language, as in 'the normalisation of Catalan' or 'linguistic normalisation' (e.g., the LNL). In the Toc·Toc collage (p. 182), for example, administrators rhetorically asked if "our people" will "recognise" neogonelles' work in favour of an upcoming "return to normality". Neogonelles defend that the restoration of Catalan that began in the 1980s meant the unfolding of an 'abnormal' situation leading to the replacement of Balearic for Catalan. Consequently, to them, normalisation actually means the project and process of removing Catalan from the institutional field in favour of Balearic. However, their "return to normality"

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[25]This is the way Catalanists from all Catalan speaking regions refer to the entire region of Valencia.

[26]"a les Illes, tradicionalment, els immigrants hispanòfons han estat anomenats *forasters* (nom que es manté també per a les següents generacions, si continuen amb el castellà com a llengua d'expressió habitual). Aquest nom mai no ha estat aplicat als catalanoparlants procedents del País Valencià o de Catalunya: de fet, les denominacions de la gent es feien amb el gentilici del territori d'on procedien si eren catalanoparlants (*mallorquins*, *menorquins*—o *maonesos*—, *eivissencs*, *formenterers*, *valencians* i *catalans*) i amb el terme *foraster* si eren castellanoparlants (per tant, els catalanoparlants, fossin d'on fossin, no eren considerats de *fora*; una mostra de la percepció de la unitat dels territoris de parla catalana)".

identifies a normal situation at a time when institutions suppressed any public use of Balearic vernaculars—for example, they were not taught in schools. Neogonelles' entextualisation of normalisation ultimately puts the spotlight on the 'normal' qualifier of the ongoing sociolinguistic project of Catalan revitalisation, which is the institutionally-led process of extending the use and knowledge of Catalan among the population.

Finally, another meaning that is redefined in these spaces is 'Majorcanism' (*mallorquinisme*), a term which has traditionally designated a Catalanist stance, as I explained in the Introduction (p. 6). Neogonella associations dispute this meaning. For instance, the FJ3 advertised the 2014 Balearist Dinner as a "Majorcanist Affirmation Dinner".[27] It is also possible to find commentators reacting, for example, to pictures of the FJ3's street-stands, saying "this is carrying out Majorcanism!"[28]

Stance-taking consolidation

The activity of neogonella associations on Facebook redefines the meaning of *stances of language difference*, which are those holding that Catalan and Balearic varieties have crucial differences that justify different types of diverging linguistic claims. It offers these non-hegemonic stances about Balearic vernaculars a discursive umbrella under which they can recognise themselves as part of a language activist movement. Activists utilise posts to present an alleged sociolinguistic change happening in the archipelago as a result of their activism; they want people who take *stances of language difference* to disclose themselves and gather behind neogonellisme's lead. The collage above illustrates these types of practices (it presents IB3's change of linguistic model as a result of its activism), but neogonelles search outside of the media-scape for events 'evidencing' the Balearist effervescence they have fostered. As the Model post's parking sign exemplifies, activists post pictures of any kind of signs from the linguistic landscape which orient to some "Balearic" or "Majorcan" (meaning that it diverges from standard Catalan). They also publicise the replacement of Catalan for Majorcan on some websites, such as on the Foundation Bartolomé March website (see p. 166). By doing so, activists want to channel alike stances into the stream of a neogonellisme that, unlike the GAB, apparently obtains results, regardless of whether they follow their *Style Book* or not.

All of the activity on neogonella Facebook Pages should not only be thought of as consolidating and redefining *stances of language difference*, but also as implicitly fostering linguistic 'disorder'. Their textual practices from posts, without going any

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[27]"Sopar d'afirmació mallorquinista".
[28]"Això ès fer mallorquinisme!"

further, prove and materialise the alternative views on language that neogonellisme promotes. Thinking of posts in such way, as if they were a kind of 'evidence' showing the feasibility, vitality, and consequentiality of neogonelles' activism, becomes useful if we think of how people holding similar stances on language experienced the activity unfolding on these Pages. In Section 4.2 (p. 98), I argued that social media practices such as posts and comments are not only mediated, but also mediatised, in the sense that they embed their readers in larger-scale social processes whose recycling uptakes link them together (Agha, 2011). One of the larger social processes that neogonella Pages mediatise is the crystallisation of a metalinguistic stance whose orthographic realisation is purposely loose, as we will soon see.

Throughout the Page's activity, it is possible to identify many individuals endorsing neogonelles' stance. Responding to the parking sign referred to in the Model post (p. 177), commentator 05 Juan expresses happiness ("I'm happy, let's defend what's ours"), and number 06 Robert shows a positive reaction to his first ever exposure to a sign written in what he calls "Balearic". These two supporters of neogonellisme were endorsing the sign, as well as Toc·Toc's stance and activism. They both illustrate how Facebook Pages are spaces sheltering people taking *stances of language difference* in the Balearic Islands, providing discursive support for their non-hegemonic stance-taking. Table 6.2 is a selection of isolated comments from a range of posts on the FJ3's Page that further illustrate the discursive safe haven that online social media offers to certain people.

Extract 6.2: Comments from different FJ3 posts illustrating consolidation of *stances of language difference.*

Daniel	
Un passa gust de llegir en sa nostra vertadera llengo de tant en cuant.Es un consol per ses orelles después de aguantar tot lo día ses catalanades de sa radio,sa televisió,sa prensa...Sou una bufada d'aire fresc!	One really enjoys reading in our true language every now and then. It's a relief for our ears after having had to put up all day with the silly Catalanisms on the radio, the TV, the press... You're a breath of fresh air!

Jaime	

Fantàstic article. M'ha encantat tot sender: estructura, explicació i moltes de dites interessants de les que avui mateix n'he après molt. Gràcies per compartir amb sa resta. Per acabar, dir que això en es català no hi és, perquè quedi ben clar ;) Som únics [rightthumbsup]	A fantastic article. I really liked it from the beginning to the end: its structure, the explanations and lots of interesting idioms from which I've learnt a lot today. Thanks for sharing with the rest. To finish, this can't be found in Catalan, just to make things clear ;) We're unique [rightthumbsup]

Marc	
Molt encertat. Ja coneixia en Joan Pons per sa revista Toc·Toc, que m'ha duit a valtros. Enhorabona, feis una gran feina !!!	Completely right. I already knew Joan Pons from the Toc·Toc magazine, which drove me to you. Congratulations, you're doing a great job!!!

Tomás	
Que *viva* Mallorca!!! I sa gent que s'esforça per fer que poguem seguir essent mallorquins!! :)	Long *live* Majorca!!! And the people who struggle so that we can keep being Majorcan!! :)

Arnau	
Moltes gracis per se informacio nesesitam mes persones com voste per dona aquestes dades.avui me sent mes Mallorqui que	Thank you very much for the information we need more people like you to provide these data. Today I feel more Majorcan than[29]

These comments illustrate how supporters of neogonellisme see their *stances of language difference* accepted, supported, and consolidated as a result of the entextualisation occurring on Facebook Pages. Daniel and Jaime reacted to two "Grandfather's Things" posts. Daniel appreciated reading "in our true language" in a media environment whose language is too Catalan,[30] reason for which the FJ3 activists are "a breath of fresh air". Jaime loved a Grandfather's text that made him learn "a lot about interesting sayings", for which he thanked its sharing. He appended his comment explicitly asserting that "this cannot be found in Catalan", thus differentiating the vernacular from Catalan. Marc, in turn, aligned to a text signed by neogonella activist Joan Pons refuting the accusations of Majorcan centralism made by Catalanists in the face of IB3's change of its linguistic model. He exposes

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[29]This comment ended in such abrupt way.

[30]The next section will delve into the meaning of the original "*catalanada/es*".

how Toc·Toc brought him to the FJ3 and finishes congratulating the Foundation for its "great work". Tomás reacted to a post that shared two pictures from a FJ3 street stand in Palma, appreciating the Foundation's effort "so that we can keep being Majorcan". Finally, Arnau reacted to a post that shared a historical text about "The Majorcan secular homeland and nation",[31] and we see that he thanked the author for the information and claimed the need for this type of data. Though he did not finish his final sentence, we can infer that reading such post intensified his Majorcan identity or feeling.[32]

In the context of the intense language ideological debates in the archipelago, these Facebook Pages become spaces where a particular stance-taking *makes sense* and is shared by others. This stance-taking becomes identified with the activism of neogonellisme and their 'Balearic' model. Of course, as we later will see, many people opposing such stance-taking also participate, but the important issue at stake here is that people holding non-hegemonic views about Catalan have a space to meet and feel at ease and to understand in new ways their own linguistic repertoires. Supporters of neogonellisme use Facebook Pages to share not only arguments that support their views, but also other evidences of the distance between Majorcan and Catalan such as Majorcan sayings, as well as discomforting images from the linguistic landscape. They also share resistance strategies, such as advice on what to do in front of public signs whose orthographic features are deemed "too Catalan", or inform others of establishments that use standard Catalan, in order to boycott them.

6.2   A space for language policing

In the Introduction (p. 23), I outlined the notion of language policing, defined as "the production of "order" [in language]—normatively organised and policed conduct—which is infinitely detailed and regulated by a variety of actors" (Blommaert et al., 2009, p. 203). This notion guided me through the identification of the Balearic actors actively reproducing linguistic norms for the autochthonous language—that is, engaged with Catalan standardisation. The notion of 'ausbau' (Kloss, 1967), which I introduced in the beginning of the chapter, enlightens the linguistic policing affordances that Facebook grants for neogonelles. Kasper Juffermans, Jan Blommaert, Sjaak Kroon, and Jinling Li (2014) revisited 'ausbau' to address the polycentric normative forces that shape language and identity, and which become particularly

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[31]"Ses seculars pàtria i nació mallorquines". This is an example of the historical entextualisations operating on neogonella Facebook Pages (see footnote 3, p. 181).

[32]His comment received three 'likes', which secures this interpretation.

noticeable in our digital times. The socioideological construction of languages is not only the result of institutions' top-down language planning, but also of the linguistic investment and decisions of individuals, as well as of other intermediary centres of practice such as schools and peer networks (see Wang, Juffermans, & Du, 2016). Biographical, political, and social projects push different agendas of language and identity ausbau (Juffermans et al., 2014, p. 59). Thus, "identity [and language, I would add] work is fundamentally polycentric: orienting to multiple centring forces of normativity or ideological forms of practice at the same time" (2014, p. 50).

We have just seen how neogonella associations use Facebook to publicly engage in redefining events, stances, and categories relative to the linguistic field. In addition, they also exploit it as an explicit space for language policing. This is important, as language activist groups, *per se*, lack authority to implement language policies that would repair the linguistic issues they worry about. Facebook addresses such limitation, affording a way to police language practices and to instruct users in a small-scale setting (de Bres & Belling, 2014). Neogonelles perform all sorts of legitimation strategies, such as street-stands, lobbying meetings and ausbau actions, in their attempt to obtain recognition from speakers, but Facebook allows them to do something different: it is a space to *perform* their linguistic model in interaction with other users. Here, they use representational control to their benefit, spreading their normative rationales, correcting others' practices, and showing the plausibility of their model (see Lenihan, 2011). Associations' textual practices contribute to stance-taking consolidation, as suggested above, but they can also be understood as language policing practices, as each of their texts in social media is an iteration of the linguistic norms they further.

Jannis Androutsopoulos (2006, 2009, 2011a, 2011b) has explained how social media, which escape editorial and institutional control, are sites where language variation, innovation, and change develop, where written language norms are pluralised and localised, and language standards are challenged. In the light of Jaffe's stances, language variation in social media provides grounds for individuals to "draw upon sociolinguistic resources [later defined as "forms of variation that have established social indexicalities"] and repertoires to signal positionality" (Jaffe, 2009b, p. 10). Today, "the elaboration of vernacular writing can be viewed as a process of change facilitated and enabled by digital media, but materialised and performed by net-worked writers in late-modern, post-standardised societies" (Androutsopoulos, 2011b, p. 158). It is important to understand that digital technologies do not determine language use and also that individuals do not simply transcribe their oral language use in digital language practices. Rather, social media are new spaces where social processes textually materialise with particular constraints.

Facebook Pages become an additional normative centre for the language and identity ausbau of neogonella activists and their supporters. They are a space to further their own agendas of language and identity, while simultaneously offering a space to reshape language, as each of their practices reify their alternative norms—drifting away from Catalan. On Facebook, neogonelles' identity ausbau project cultivates the constructs associated with Balearism, such as the slingshooter (see p. 150). Their language ausbau relies mainly on *orthography*[33] and, to a minor degree, on lexicon, as they try to always choose and praise terms uncommon in standard Catalan.

Facebook Pages can be considered "unregulated orthographic spaces" (Sebba, 2007, 2012), as they are "beyond the control of the usual authorities" (Sebba, 2007, p. 44). The orthographic practices of neogonelles, which fit under the category of *regiolectal spellings* (Androutsopoulos, 2000), represent a case of *unlicensed variation*, where Catalan orthographic conventions are broken "in a way that allows the original meaning to be conveyed, along with additional meaning which derives from defying the conventions" (Sebba, 2007, p. 30). The additional meaning that neogonelles try to convey through their deviant orthographic practices should be clear by now: they are an identity marker aimed at differentiating Balearic linguistic varieties from Catalan. Thus, orthography becomes a tool for abstand or language distancing (Jaffe, 2000; Sebba, 2007) with deviations becoming *iconic* (Gal, 2006). Neogonelles' deviations, despite being non-standard, are not entirely unsystematic (especially after the publication of the FJ3's *Style Book*). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller coined the notion of *focussing* for these cases of alter-orientation, or "*focussed* but nonstandard orthographic norms" (as cited in Sebba, 2007, p. 46).

As we will now see, neogonelles promote an ideological connection between orthography and linguistic difference and sameness which is similar to other cases, such as that found in nearby Galician (Sebba, 2007) or the distant Haitian (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998). Sebba also refers to the Comoran case where he discusses the Shinzwani and Shingazidja situation. In the following quote, if we replace Shinzwani

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[33]Neogonelles' focus on orthography resulted from a communicative and a sociolinguistic condition. Communicatively, writing is central in Facebook communication, and so spelling is available to differentiate Balearic from Catalan. Sociolinguistically, in the Balearic Islands, speech that orients to the standard maintains the phonetic features of Balearic varieties. In other words, Catalan normalisation has not involved a dramatic phonetic levelling, and current speech still generally counts as "Majorcan" or "Minorcan" in people's minds (this is why IB3's "Balearisation" basically involved the use of the salty article, and not news anchors adjusting their phonetic productions). This partially explains why neogonelles focus on writing, as the correspondence between speech and writing is unavoidably never exact, based as it is on a convention, and can always be amended. In all, neogonelles' critiques of Catalan take an orthographic shape.

for Balearic and Shingazidja for Catalan, we see that the Comoran case, with its linguistic implications, fitly matches what is at stake with the recent irruption of neogonellisme:

> The act of codification—creating a dictionary —will lend authority in future to any claim that [Balearic] is 'a variety of [Catalan]' or 'a language separate from [Catalan]', claims which may well be taken taken up very forcefully by the different sides in the political dispute. In view of the similarity (lack of *abstand*) between the varieties, orthography will play an important role in making [Balearic] and [Catalan] 'look' different or similar to their users. Thus, orthographic similarity or difference may become the basis for a claim of cultural and ethnic similarity or difference which will be used to support demands for political unity or separation. (Sebba, 2007, p. 165)

Facebook is a space for neogonelles' language policing to create and fixate a linguistic difference between Balearic and Catalan, mainly relying on orthography and on lexical choices. In what follows, I illustrate this process focusing on three different aspects. First, I show how neogonelles' posts contribute to their differentiating aim. Second, I explain how they similarly manage interactions with audiences to advance difference-making. Finally, I describe the most iconic norm that connects orthography and ethnic identity which emerges from these practices.

6.2.1 Proving the legitimacy conflict: *Sa Catalanada* posts

In their attempt to police language through their Facebook Pages, the three Balearist associations issue *policing posts*, where they explicitly argue that certain forms are more suited than others, always on the basis of authenticity.[34] Activists use these posts to police language and to evidence the alleged legitimacy conflict that they construct and further. These posts are very effective in mobilising supportive audiences in the form of shares and comments.

Administrators create multiple formats of policing posts, among which the FJ3's *Sa Catalanada*[35] posts stand out as the most popular ones, an impression that

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[34]To clearly discriminate between policing and non-policing posts is complicated. For instance, it is possible to argue that all "Grandfather's Things" posts (see p. 144) involve some sort of policing, since they present certain expressions as more authentic and explain how to use them.

[35]*Catalanada* (*catalanades* in plural) is complicated to translate. One possibility would be "the silly Catalanism". In Catalan (including Balearic varieties), the nominal suffix "*-ada*", among other meanings, can mean a rude, uncouth intensification. Thus, in this case, *catalanada* refers to a

interviewed neogonella activists agreed on. The format of *Sa Catalanada* posts is quite simple. They always combine a picture and a framing text. The picture is always from the Balearic Islands' *linguistic landscape* (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), for example, signs from official institutions, political parties, media or private companies. The accompanying text identifies certain terms or linguistic features in the sign as *catalanades* or 'silly Catalanisms', as they are used instead of available and more authentically suited "Balearic" or insular alternatives.[36] Entries are signed with a pseudonym, *en Bernadet de Son Frare*, whose complement *de Son Frare* (from Son Frare) indexes a rustic property in Majorca or Minorca. Normally, the texts have a *humorous note* referring to the *catalanada*'s inadequacy and the ridicule made by people and institutions choosing 'excessively Catalan' features.

The FJ3 regularly issues these posts, which link to entries of an homonymous section on its website, and, given their popularity, Toc·Toc and Foment share them on their Facebook Pages as well. *Sa Catalanada* posts illustrate the top-down workings of policing posts, particularly how activists use them to spread policing arguments to their audiences and to tackle the widespread notion that associates *stances of language difference* with low cultural capital.

Sa Catalanada posts most commonly police lexical choices in signs (although on occasions they also target orthography). Some of the policed terms are commonplace, such as the pairs *entregar/lliurar* (to deliver), *menys/almanco* (less), *cementiri/cementeri* (cemetery), *servei/servici* (service), *prémer/pitjar* (to push), *vacances/vacacions* (holidays), *esport/deport* (sport), *proper/pròxim* (next), *fer fora/engegar* (to expel), *gos/ca* (dog), *gat/moix* (cat), *nosaltres/noltros* (plural first person pronoun), and *vosaltres/voltros* (plural second person pronoun).[37] In many of these pairs, the two offered options are normative in Catalan, but neogonelles want to exclusively choose one for standard language practices in the archipelago, according to what they perceive as used in vernacular speech. This is a main way of constructing linguistic difference, as Joop van der Horst (2018) explains for the standardisation of the main European languages during the Renaissance. Verbal morphology and pronouns are also targeted. Last but not least, the absence of the salty article in signs is constantly targeted in *Sa Catalanada* posts. This is related to the fact that policed signs relate to public uses of language and these use the standard variety of Catalan. As we know, Catalan norms do not accept the use of

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sloppy misuse of a "Catalan" term instead of a more appropriate "Balearic" one. Notice the salty article preceding "*Catalanada*".

[36]The selection of policed items is based, then, on its public audience and on the need of intervention of some of its linguistic features.

[37]Policed features and offered alternatives are shown in pairs' first and second place, respectively.

the salty article in formal uses of language, especially in written language and thus, the signs become an easy iconic image for identity conflict.

A traffic light in Palma

One of the most paradigmatic *Sa Catalanades* focuses on "Palma's traffic lights"[38] (see Figure 6.3). Though during my stays in Palma I never found these traffic lights, it was such a popular post that it was the only one the FJ3 ever reposted.

Figure 6.3: *Sa Catalanada* post on the FJ3 Facebook Page from 15 January 2014 (68 likes, 25 shares, 42 comments).

The post consists of text and a picture of a traffic light button that pedestrians can press to accelerate light colour switching, an action suggested by the combination of a hand symbol and the word "*PREMEU*" (to press, imperative formal second person plural). The text above "*ESPEREU VERD*" (wait for green) reminds pedestrians to respect traffic lights. The post's text corrects both verbal forms on the basis on their lack of authenticity.[39]

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[38]"es semàfors de Palma".

[39]This post, one of the first *Catalanades*, corresponds to the first stages of the FJ3, when the Foundation stated quite explicitly that Balearic varieties were varieties of the Catalan language, but which deserved more visibility in standard practices in the archipelago. This position, as we know, evolved, especially after the publication of the *Style Book* and nowadays is hard to find similar

The post's text argues that the form '*espereu*' is "totally inadmissible in Majorca", as Catalan norms accept the adaptation of verbal morphology to Balearic varieties, which in this case would take the form '*esperau*'. This shows how neogonelles use Catalan norms whenever possible to justify certain more authentic forms, as explained when I outlined neogonelles' metalinguistic stance (p. 81). They exclusively prioritise some normative forms, discrediting any other normative options (such as '*espereu*'), in addition to their normative breaching decisions. The correction of '*premeu*' is based on similar criteria (the availability of another normative 'more Balearic' synonym), but additionally it represents the humorous criticism, or the 'puns', in *Sa Catalanada* posts. Though the DIEC2[40] states that the verb '*prémer*' means "to press", the post stresses its inappropriateness, given the semantics of this verb in Majorcan varieties: the "most widespread meaning in Majorca of *prémer*" is "to make efforts, to push, when evacuating".[41] In these kind of posts, puns parody institutions' language choices and further prove the inauthenticity of 'Catalan' forms. This example sustains the post's argument about how Palma's City Council "systematically uses Barcelonan (i.e., Catalan) options".

Tamah Sherman and Jaroslav Švelch (2015) found that Czech "Grammar Nazis" also used Facebook Pages to share and comment specific proof of linguistic deviations from standard Czech. In their case too, Facebook Pages offered a "safe space" for policing practices (2015, p. 323). Another parallel finding from their study is that "Grammar Nazis" used humour to police language, just like neogonella activists with *Sa Catalanades*. In this regard, "[r]idicule tends to reinforce the position of those who possess certain skills or knowledge against those who do not. By doing so, it reflects the inequalities in the distribution of *cultural capital* in a society" (2015, p. 320, emphasis in original). Similarly, the ridiculising puns in *Sa Catalanades* try to show that neogonelles and their supporters hold *cultural capital* in what refers to the autochthonous language. By this, they attempt to subvert the existing connotations that portray people taking *stances of language difference* as holding little *cultural capital*.

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statements about the "Catalanness" of Balearic varieties. I mention this because the post text refers to "Palma's Catalan", something that does not happen anymore in more recent texts from the FJ3.

[40]Normative Catalan Dictionary, published by the IEC.

[41]The text states that the DCVB does not include the meaning of 'to press' for '*prémer*'. In fact, this is false and it does include it. It also includes the prevalent meaning in Majorca, "to evacuate" (to relieve oneself), something that does not happen in the DIEC2.

6.2.2 Policing language in online interactions

Until now, I have illustrated how neogonella activists issue Facebook posts to advance their discourses about language. Although individuals decide on their own reactions to posts (in the shape of likes, shares, and comments), activists also manage to exploit comment fields for policing language and speakers, given that they are the administrators of their Pages.

Neogonella activists intensively patrol their posts' reception, being attentive to any comment and subsequent debates. Five known activist accounts (the administrative accounts of the three associations' Pages and Salva and Antoni, the two activists that collaborated with the three associations and who participated in this research) issue 24.83% of the total number of comments (n=15,132). If we look only at commented posts (i.e., posts that received at least one comment; n=1,764), almost 72% of them include some comment from at least one of these five activist accounts.[42] These figures give a good idea of the degree of participation of activists in their own spaces, geared at policing people's reception of their discourses and stances about language in the Balearic Islands. Activists' participation in comment fields allows them to intervene in unfolding entextualisations, backing supporters and confronting opponents. At the same time, it also allows them to appear as experts on the discussed linguistic matters and to identify and reward legitimate commentators with their approval.

Performing as experts

In the unregulated linguistic spaces of Facebook Pages, administrators have additional interactional powers that permits calling them 'language managers' (de Bres & Belling, 2014). In the case of neogonellisme, these powers allow activists to show themselves as Coupland's authenticity authenticators (see p. 148). They not only publicise their activism, but they crucially *perform* as 'experts' on linguistic matters.

William F. Hanks (1996) analyses a Maya shamanic ritual in detail to explain that participant frameworks are not pre-given but contextual and regimented by discursive

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[42]Activists use administrator's accounts for commenting, as well as their personal accounts. This has two explanations. First, administrators want users to engage with their posts. The more engagement a post receives, the more likely it is that users' news feeds will include that post. Activists contribute to this by supportively engaging with posts with their personal accounts, expecting further engagement from other users. In many occasions, though, this remains unsuccessful and the only comment in a post is that of an activist. These posts that only receive comments by activists (either using the personal or administrator accounts) can be understood as *monological*. Secondly, faced with opposing comments, activists' responses can adjust their responses according to whether they use the administrator or their personal account.

genres. He argues that social categories must be anthropologically understood as participant roles embedded in situated practices where historicity plays a role. Thus, roles such as a shaman inherently are both ascribed and achieved via new entextualisations (Silverstein & Urban, 1996, p. 8). Activists use interaction in their own online spaces similarly, to self-ascribe their expertise and achieve an *expert* status in the eyes of some other participants. The very widespread and familiar practice of correcting and policing others' linguistic productions is the discourse genre by which activists become contextual experts on Balearic. Their performances are based upon authenticity discourses that not only rely on and find a continuity with very specific authorities, the most important of whom is the known philologist Alcover, but also benefit from the administrative powers that activists enjoy within their Pages.

The Model post (p. 177) shows a typical expert performance of neogonella activists. Engaging with the posts' parking sign, supporter Nacho openly poses an orthographic doubt between '*des*', which appears in the parking sign, and '*d'es*'.[43] In the first place, activists use the administrator account to provide an ambiguous answer, allowing both forms but banning the unlooked-for '*de's*'. They support their assessment through the usage of an authority, in this case, Majorcan poet Llorenç Vidal, a usual collaborator with Toc·Toc. The correction, though, has not concluded. Using his personal account, activist Salva secures the ambiguous response that the administrator account provided—a response that he himself might have written while logged in as an administrator.

It is a recurrent interactional pattern for neogonella activists to collectively respond to some doubt or correct some orthographic practice. Neogonelles combine the use of personal accounts and administrative accounts in such interactions, which reinforces the validity of their common assessment and their self-ascribed authority. Let's consider again Nacho's doubt in the Model post. The only responses he obtains are from an activist, Salva, and the administrator, who might well be Salva himself, and both point in the same direction: non-standard flexibility. Nacho does not receive more answers, for instance from people holding *stances of language sameness*, as his question addresses a non-standard feature (the salty article). Asking about something that is not taught anywhere (except for in these precise spaces) reduces the range of possible experts. Nacho knows that neogonella activists will respond to his doubt, and he recognises—in Bourdieu's sense—and concedes them authority and legitimacy to do so. By doing so, neogonelles authenticate themselves as the experts of "Balearic" in the eyes of the Page's audience.

This pattern of expert responding takes a slightly different shape in the FJ3's

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[43]Nacho asks about the contraction of the preposition '*de*' (of) and the definite article '*es*' (the).

comment fields because this association generally refrains from using the 'impersonal' administrative account to police language. Nonetheless, activists and a few supporters assume this role. An important aspect here is that audiences of these Pages quickly know who Balearist activists are, as activists publicise their participation in events and tag themselves in pictures. For example, Marc's comment above (Extract 6.2, p. 190) praised a text in the FJ3 by Joan Pons, an activist who Marc knew was also involved with Toc·Toc. Precisely, activist Joan Pons is one of the most active users policing language practices in comment fields on the three Pages. Hence, audiences come to know that the activists' constant correcting and doubt-solving practices, which are ideologically aligned with the posts' stances, localley legitimate them as 'experts'.

Identifying legitimate speakers

In Chapter 5, the vignette of the FJ3's "Grandfather's Things" illustrated the way neogonellisme tries to attach authenticity to naturalism in its aim to estrange Catalan (p. 144). The selection of an older adult as a rhetorical figure is discursively and socially very relevant, because older adults constitute the 'typical supporter' of neogonellisme. Interviewed activists confirmed this when I prompted them about the recurrent participation of older adults on their Facebook Pages. Also, in Facebook threads, Catalanist commentators show awareness of this predominant social profile.

The main reason why older adults form a specific profile of supporters of neogonella associations is likely to be a shared biographic feature: the absence of Catalan during their schooling, as Castilian was the only language of instruction in schools during Franco's regime and the first stages of the democratic restoration (see Section 3.1.4, p. 69). Thus, for many speakers, contact with the Catalan standard variety came at a later stage in life and once Castilian had mediated most of their literacy practices. This does not mean that all people schooled before the 1990s are supporters of neogonellisme, but people with limited competence in standard Catalan (without schooling in Catalan) are notably over-represented in comment fields of neogonella Facebook Pages. On many occasions, they themselves divulge and excuse their lack of knowledge of standard Catalan.

The older adults that meet on neogonella Facebook Pages are sociolinguistically disenchanted. They complain about the consequences of Catalan normalisation, which they consider an "imposition" causing an unwanted linguistic replacement of Majorcan by Catalan. Activists constantly refer to grandparents that claim to not understand their grandchildren, grandchildren who, on top of this, call their language Catalan and not Majorcan. Older adults also complain that their own speech is

nowadays considered to be affected by many "barbarisms" or Castilian loaned words. They claim that orthographic practices should mirror speech in the same way that Alcover's *Rondalles* did (see Section 2.4.1, p. 45). In a TV interview from 1970s, Francesc de Borja Moll highlighted the importance of the *Rondalles* folk tales during Francoism, as they were the only written contact with Catalan for most Majorcan people (Moll, 2014).[44] This helps explaining why older adults identify these folk tales as the linguistic model for their speech.

Activists' management of older adults' participation on neogonella Facebook Pages exemplifies how activists use interaction to police speakers. Similarly to other supporters, older adults' orthographic practices tend to be non-standard both in Castilian and in what they label as 'Majorcan'. As a result of their schooling, their Majorcan orthographic practices are very unsystematic and do not orient to the linguistic model of neogonelles (this model builds itself on normative Catalan). In interactions, whereas their non-standard Castilian rests unchallenged, their 'Majorcan' practices are often corrected by people taking *stances of language sameness*, normally making fun of them, as Marta and Carlos did with Javier's comment that opened this dissertation. In response, activists—using both administrator and personal profiles—come to the defence of policed commentators, excusing them because of their historical circumstances and determinedly preferring their practices and Castilian loaned words to their critics' 'too Catalan' ones.

Indeed, neogonella activists back supporters and their language practices in the interactions. Activists never criticise the extremely variable and unsystematic orthographic practices of their supporters. However, when users taking *stances of language sameness* criticise the stances and writing of neogonella activists or supporters, activists stick together and back up their supporters and justify their practices. For neogonelles, it is important to construct a space where their supporters can safely avoid writing in standard Catalan.

There are evidences of the authenticating role that older speakers of Balearic varieties, mainly Majorcan, play for this language activist movement: older adults form an identifiable profile of supporters of neogonellisme; they are fiercely defended in online interactions; and, neogonelles discursively exploit the figure of a made-up 'grandparent'. Activists construct them as *the legitimate speakers*, as the following comment by neogonella activist Francina and a short extract from an interaction between activist Salva and supporter Quique reveal (see Extract 6.3).

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[44]A couple of interviewed language planners corroborated the crucial role that Alcover's *Rondalles* played for Catalan literacy.

Extract 6.3: Comments from two Toc·Toc posts illustrating older speakers' authentication.

Francina

Gran veritat, Toni, per què ha d'esser vàlid, per exemple "caldo" i no "Dios", "Au, dios!" ès sa manera més mallorquina de desperdir-se que conec i l'he escoltada de ben petita a gent gran de poble.	Completely true, Toni, why should "caldo" be valid, for example, and not "Dios", "Au, dios!" it's the most Majorcan way of saying goodbye that I know and I've heard it ever since I was child from elderly people from villages.

Quique

(...) Jo som un ignorant perque només he lletgit quatre llibres sobre es tema. Pero es fets son ets fets i ès lo que hi ha. Ès molt pràctic tenir un estàndar però ès molt trist perdre es teu vagatje cultural per tenir-lo. Ajo me fa mal no sabrer escriure sensa faltes per sa edat que teng. Però hem fa més mal que me diguim que faix faltes quan faix servir sa llengo des meus padrins. Quina llengo parlaven es teus padrins quan xerraven entre ells?	(...) I'm an ignorant because I've only read a few books about the subject. But the facts are the facts and that's all. Having a standard is very practical but losing your cultural heritage in order to have it is very sad. Not being able to write without any mistakes makes me feel sorry because of my age. But I dislike even more when I'm told that I make mistakes when I use my grandparents' language. Which language did your grandparents speak when they talked to each other?

Salva

Cert: En Quique acaba d'expresar s'idea que hi ha darrera tot això (que certa gent pretén llevar-li importància, però que ès tota una candent realitat sociolingüística): sa majoria des poble no reconeixen s'estàndard a s'ús, centralista, fabrià, sa llengo des seus padrins. I sa veritat, jo que pentura si he llegit un poc més que en Quique, tenc sa mateixa sensació: som partidari d'un model molt més nostrat. No consentiria per res del món que a qui pensàs així s'el qualificàs d'ignorant.	True: Quique has just expressed the idea that lies behind all this (that certain people want to diminish, but which in fact is a current sociolinguistic reality): most of [Balearic?] people do not recognise their grandparents' language as the used, centralist, and Fabrian standard. And actually, I, who may have read a bit more than Quique, have the same feeling: I'm in favour of a much more [our-ised] model. By no means would I let anyone with such thoughts be considered ignorant.

In a post from February 2013, several followers unexpectedly engaged in a discussion about the use of some Balearic vernacular terms across the Catalan language domain. In her comment in Extract 6.3, Francina aligned with a previous

comment by Salva, where he argued that, considering that languages evolve, habit also transforms words initially considered as "barbarisms" into "legitimate loans". She concurs with Salva's argument contrasting two Castilian terms, one of which has been normatively accepted into Catalan ("*caldo*", broth), and another one that has not ("*Dios*", God).[45] Francina considers that this second word, however, should be normatively accepted as it is part of "the most Majorcan way of saying goodbye" ("*Au Dios!*"). What is most relevant here is that hearing such a farewell from "older people from villages" further validates her argument. Thus, older adults are the evidence supporting authenticity and, by this, she identifies them as the legitimate speakers of vernacular varieties.

The interaction between Quique and Salva draws on identifying older speakers' speech as the one the standard should mirror to. Their comments were located in a post from Toc·Toc that shared a text signed by Jorge Campos, leader of the Hispanicist and extreme-right association FNCB (see p. 87), where he explicitly asserted that Majorcan, Minorcan, and Eivissan were not Catalan varieties. The first two commentators reacted negatively and accused Campos to be lying and to be ignorant. In reaction, Quique and Salva intervened to confront such accusations. Salva's comment, following Quique's words, summarises the stance of neogonellisme by contrasting the centralist, 'Fabrian' (from Pompeu Fabra) standard with the speech of grandparents. As Francina implied, 'grandparents' are the authentication source and consequently writing should orient to their speech. Additionally, we see how Salva uses this interaction to position himself as an expert on the matter and to challenge the association of neogonellisme with low cultural capital.

Thus, we can see how neogonella activists interact with other users to ensure a positive outcome to their movement. Firstly, they perform and become experts on "Balearic" and, secondly, they back their supporters (and legitimise them), as the case of older adults exemplified. Furthermore, this case shows how activists consider older speakers as the legitimate speakers of the vernaculars. It is necessary to look at the shape of the legitimate language that matures in these language policing spaces.

6.2.3   Fixating the iconisation of the salty article

The creation of ethnolinguistic difference can be explained from an ideological perspective. Irvine and Gal (2000) define *iconisation* as the semiotic process by which people link some linguistic features with social groups or activities, "as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature

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[45]Veny (1983) identifies "*(a)diós*" as one of the most common "Castilianisms" in the archipelago.

or essence" (p. 37). People iconise certain linguistic features when they want to make a distinction between closely related language varieties. Neogonella activists and their supporters iconise foremost the salty article as a genuine and distinctive linguistic feature of a Balearic identity, together with some verbal morphology forms and some lexicon. In the process, they ideologically *erase* widespread similarities between Balearic varieties and other varieties of Catalan.

The iconisation of the salty article is a constant matter of discussion on neogonella Facebook Pages (see Duane, 2018). In comment fields, activists and their supporters engage in endless discussions with users who take *stances of language sameness* concerning the writing of salty articles. Neogonelles claim legitimacy to use it in writing practices, regardless of any register or formality consideration, and refer to very specific works by Alcover,[46] Gabriel Maura, and other authors that used the salty article to authorise their claim. In turn, people taking *stances of language sameness* foreground the traditional article distribution according to practices, the authenticity of the literary article, and the need of a uniform standard variety across the language domain.

In these never-ending discussions, a linguistic norm is seeded: the writing of salty articles becomes essentially attached to a Balearic identity. Despite that activists further the iconisation of the salty article in all their actions, online interaction allows it to be put into practice, as the indexicalities of orthographic practices become magnified in debates that revolve around authenticity. Whenever possible, activists and supporters of neogonellisme scrutinise opposing comments. Any absence of salty articles (and other iconised features, such as verbal morphology and lexicon) is wielded to dispute the Balearicness of the other side. Preventing access to a Balearic identity intends to deauthenticate and delegitimise opponents and thus aims at securing neogonellisme's claims of authenticity.

On one occasion, the administrators of Toc·Toc issued a post denouncing the presence of pro-Catalonia's independence symbols in the annual festivities of Porreres, a Majorcan town. Several participants engaged in discussing this topic, among them, Quique, who we recently encountered in Extract 6.3 (p. 203). Quique exchanged a few comments with another participant, Lola, who claimed to be a youth from Porreres and who asked administrators and participants not to police the town's festivities. At the end of their conversation, Quique used the lack of salty articles in Lola's last comment to disqualify her, as we can see in Extract 6.4.

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[46]Mainly, Alcover's *Rondalles*, but also articles he wrote in minor weekly journals at the time.

Extract 6.4: Comment by Quique in Toc·Toc from August 2013.

Quique	
(...) No negarem que es castellà va sopegar sa nostra llengo; primer per voluntat propia (me deia mu mare que, *antes* de sa guerra civil, xerrar mallorquí no feia senyor) i després de sa guerra, per collons. Amb tot axò, varem incorpora castellanismes pero conservarem sa nostra llengo. Amb sa normalització barcelonina, ni tan sols jo a sa meva edat puc evitar fer servir paraules que es meus pares no conexien i olvidant paraules sevas ben mallorquines. Segurament a tu no t'importa. De fet, només es primer article de sa teva contesta es salat. (...)	(...) We won't deny that Castilian stumbled onto our language; first by free will (my mother told me that, *before* the Civil War, to speak Majorcan was unpolite) and after the War, by imposition. With all this, we incorporated Castilianisms but we preserved our language. With the Barcelonan normalisation, not even at my age can't I avoid using words that my parents didn't know and forgetting their good Majorcan ones. Probably you don't care. In fact, only your first article in your response is salty. (...)

Quique's argument illustrates many of the arguments of neogonellisme and which I have been describing in previous pages. In his eyes, the presence of Castilian in the Balearic Islands is a result of "choice" and "imposition", but it nevertheless poses a lesser threatening factor to the vernaculars than Catalan standardisation, which Quique calls "Barcelonan normalisation". For my current argument, however, his final lines are more revealing. Quique accuses Lola of not truly caring about the maintenance of Majorcan on the grounds that she had only used the salty article in her comment once (out of seven chances). Faced with these policing behaviours, commentators come to learn to be careful, as others may focus on the presence or absence of the salty article and other linguistic features. For instance, on a few occasions users taking *stances of language sameness* end up writing comments where they insert brackets after each potential conflictive term with a justification of their choice. Thus, orthographic practices become indexical of stances and identities, despite the resistance of many users. And with this, linguistic norms flourish in these spaces.

A fascinating example of these sociolinguistic dynamics is one of the longest and most intense posts in the data, which revolved around '*gloses*' (singular, *glosa*), a tradition of oral and improvised poems from across the Catalan language domain but which mainly remains practiced in the Balearic Islands. In recent years, *gloses* have enjoyed a revival with young *glosadors* who perform contests on the occasion of local festivities, the most known of whom is Mateu Xurí. In January 2013, a post from

Toc·Toc argued that the presence of literary articles in Xurí's *gloses* was an evidence of the endangerment of Balearic essence in front of an ongoing "Catalanisation".[47] Interestingly, Toc·Toc's post took the form of a written *glosa* and a picture of a three-barred, alternative Balearic flag in a rural landscape. As can be expected, the post's *glosa* used salty articles, though it did not comply with the traditional metrics of the genre. In addition, one of the first comments criticised that Xurí used the literary article (the article for standard practices) when he wrote his *gloses* on Facebook. Supporters of neogonellisme concurred that the absence of the salty article in Xurí's *gloses* questioned his Majorcanness, and a few of them even participated composing their own *gloses* using salty articles.[48] In response, users taking *stances of language sameness* disputed such an essentialist connection between the salty article and identity, distinguished oral from written practices, chided neogonelles' *gloses* for not respecting traditional metrics,[49] and even Xurí himself participated to defend that ancient *glosadors* also used the literary article.

Another example of the cementing connection between the salty article and a Balearic identity opposed to a Catalan one focused on the language practices of a celebrity, tennis player Rafael Nadal, who comes from the Majorcan inland city of Manacor and who publicly embraces a Spanish identity. On an unrelated Toc·Toc post, a troubled supporter of neogonellisme asked, in Castilian, why didn't Nadal use salty articles in a Catalan-medium television interview held in Barcelona. For this supporter, Nadal's presumed non-Catalan identity entailed *only* using salty articles. Using the administrator account, activists responded, *performing as experts* on the matter, guessing that Nadal wanted to be "courteous"[50] as "we are competent in both registers"[51] and because for islanders it is more "practical"[52] given that "if we speak in Majorcan, Minorcan of Eivissan, many times they don't understand us".[53] Activists defended Nadal because he is proud to be Spanish, not a Catalanist (although not a gonella either), regardless of his language practices. But in their answer, they took the position that Nadal's speech in Barcelona did not qualify as Majorcan, thus implicitly validating the essential role assigned to the salty article. We can see how activists exploit minimal but iconic linguistic features for alternative constructs that

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[47]Mateu Xurí is involved with Majorcanist parties, which also explains Toc·Toc's critique.

[48]Half a year later, neogonella activists criticised Xurí again for not *glosing* exclusively with the salty article, thus questioning again his Majorcan identity.

[49]One of them did it with a *glosa* himself, thus this online conversation became a minimal written *glosa* contest itself.

[50]"cortés", in quotation marks in the original, indicating it was a term in Castilian.

[51]"noltros som competents en es 2 registres"

[52]"pràctic".

[53]"si xerran en mallorquí, menorquí o eivissenc, moltes de vegades no nos [sic] entenen".

promote an ethnolinguistic difference between 'Catalan' and 'Majorcan'.

The salty article norm emerging in these spaces as a result of its intense iconisation does not occur without opposition, however. Often, users taking *stances of language sameness* confront the only-salty emerging rule. An example of this resistance is the following interaction, in which a user taking a *stance of language sameness*, Dídac, debated and disagreed with activists and supporters of neogonellisme about a separate ausbau of Balearic varieties, comparing it with the stance that considers Andalusian varieties a different language from Castilian. In response, Alberto, a user taking a *stance of language difference* asked "why all these [people] that hate Majorcan and love the Barcelonan always compare us to the Andalusian [people]".[54] Dídac took the bait and responded "I don't hate Majorcan, I love it more than a good lunch", to which he added a Majorcan saying to secure his claim, preceded by the tag "#ingoodmajorcan".[55] Dídac's display of his command of Majorcan sayings—a sign of true Majorcan authenticity, similar to what Antoni performed in Extract 5.3 on page 149—was contested by Alberto as Extract 6.5 shows.

Extract 6.5: Comments from a December 2013 Toc·Toc post discussing the iconisation of the salty article.

14	Alberto
Dídac, amb tot lo que expreses no t'estimes es mallorquí. Si no ets de Pollença, comença per salar i escriure "ets" i no "els". Tens molta riquesa amb ses formes balears, no tenguis por.	Dídac, [to me,] after reading everything you express, you don't love Majorcan. If you are not from Pollença, start by salting and write "ets" and not "els". You are very skilled with Balearic forms, don't be afraid.
19	Dídac
@Alberto pel fet de salar quan escric no me sent ni més ni menys mallorquí, no tenc cap tipus de complexe que hem faci preocupar-me per això. "ets"? en sa vida he emprat aquest article, i sóm de Manacor. (...)	@Alberto, salting when I write doesn't make me feel more or less Majorcan, I don't have any type of complex that makes me worry about this. "ets"? I've never used this article in my entire life, and I'm from Manacor (...)

[54]"Per què tot aquests que odien es mallorquí i estimen es barceloní sempre ens comparen amb ets andalusos".

[55]"Jo no odio el mallorquí, me l'estim més que un bon dinar. #enbonmallorqui no m'agrada fer riure a qui no te rialles". Notice the use of the expression "in good Majorcan", exactly the same the FJ3's promotional video used. This suggests, once again, how neogonellisme aims at redefining the meaning of existing discourses about language.

Alberto argues that Dídac's arguments against particularisation deny his declaration of love towards Majorcan. To prove otherwise, he compels Dídac—unless being from Pollença, the only Balearic town whose speech does not use salty articles (see p. 17)—to start adapting his orthographic practices to the salty article, which he had not been doing.[56] Alberto's comment ends ironically, telling him not to be afraid to use salty articles given the ability with Balearic forms he has shown in previous comments. In turn, Dídac resists Alberto's iconisation of the salty article, arguing that "salting when writing does not make me feel more or less Majorcan". He then continues to question the authenticity of the form Alberto encourages him to write, "*ets*". In this phrasing, however, Dídac does use, for the first time, the salty article, in "*sa vida*". There are two possibilities why he does so. One is that he is trying to make a point for his resistance to iconisation, implying that using the salty article is, indeed, irrelevant identity-wise. The second one, more plausible, is that he yields and writes a salty article to secure his implicit claim of Majorcan identity, embedded as he is in a context dominated by the scrutiny of neogonellisme.[57]

This interaction shows how neogonella activists and supporters police language practices to differentiate Balearic from Catalan, exploiting the salty article's iconisation to challenge authenticity claims of opponents in the struggle over the legitimate language. However, it also shows how opponents try to resist this emerging norm that essentially attaches claims of a Majorcan or a Balearic identity to the use of the salty article in written practices.

Finally, it is important to mention that the activists' iconisation of the salty article does not occur without controversy even among users taking *stances of language difference*, as not all articles in Balearic vernaculars take the salty form (see p. 15). On one occasion, a GAB supporter announced, in Castilian, his withdrawal from Toc·Toc's Page as he considered that the Page did not use the salty article enough, probably unaware of its peculiar usage distribution. On another one, a supporter of the FJ3 politely criticised one of the association's posts because it contained the construction "*sa setmana*" (the week), considering that it required the literary article.

In all, neogonella activists try to use Facebook Pages as a space for language policing, including both posts and comments. It allows them to disseminate their discourses about language, perform as linguistic authorities, and discern legitimate speakers. Additionally, it becomes a place to cultivate an essential connection between

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[56]Alberto invites him to modify the article '*els*' for '*ets*', written in one of Dídac's first comments, but the absence of the salty article can also be noticed in his love declaration (see footnote 55, "me l'estim més").

[57]Securing his identity claim is also the reason why he discloses his origin, the inland city of Manacor.

a Balearic identity and certain linguistic forms, the most central of which is the salty article. However, as seen with Dídac, lots of people diverging from the views of neogonellisme participate as well on their Pages.

6.3   A space not entirely under control

Until now, this chapter has showed how neogonella activists use Facebook Pages to engage in entextualisation processes and language policing aimed at differentiating Balearic from Catalan. The participation of individuals supporting neogonellisme is essential for these purposes, as it conveys the idea that their activism receives support from part of the Balearic society. This section covers how individuals also complicate the differentialist aims of neogonellisme, as many participants of neogonella associations' Facebook Pages disagree or confront the discursive goals that the associations further in these spaces.

6.3.1   Recursivity comes onto the scene

Together with iconisation and erasure, Irvine and Gal (2000) also coined the term of *fractal recursivity* to refer to another semiotic process that plays a role in linguistic differentiation.

> Fractal recursivity involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level. (...) The dichotomizing and partitioning process that was involved in some understood opposition (between groups or linguistic varieties, for example) recurs at other levels, creating either subcategories on each side of a contrast or supercategories that include both sides but oppose them to something else. (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38)

Following such explanation, a hypothetical opposition between Italian and French languages could recur in the following fractal ways. On a higher level, both languages could be included on the supercategory of Romance languages and oppose them to, for example, Germanic languages. On a lower level, Venetian and Neapolitan, as subcategories of Italian, could oppose each other. Fractal recursivity is particularly useful to understand the ideological dynamics associated with neogonellisme, as this semiotic process explains important implications that standardisation carries for minoritised languages. As discussed in the Introduction, Gal calls these implications the *recursions of standardisation*:

[B]y the nature of the standardisation process, every creation of a standard orientation also creates stigmatised forms—supposed 'non-languages'—among the very speakers whose linguistic practices standardisation was supposed to valorise. Contrary to the common sense view, standardisation creates not uniformity but more (and hierarchical) heterogeneity. (...) This situation creates a social contradiction too. (...) The language attitudes of language specialists, intellectuals and media workers come to be at odds with the preferences of other minority speakers. Sometimes minority or immigrant elites on different sides of the standardisation issue struggle with each other. Stark opposition in languages attitudes and interests develop within what was earlier imagined by the state agencies and minority speakers to be a unified ethnolinguistic group. (Gal, 2006, p. 171)

The recursions of standardadisation allow us take into account that standardisation, though aiming for a homogenisation of linguistic repertoires, nevertheless creates heterogeneity as the standard becomes a normative reference for all vernaculars. In previous research, fractal recursivity allowed me to understand that the Bauzá Law activated the recursions of standardisation for Catalan in the debates of two Facebook Pages, diminishing the pre-eminence of the Castilian/Catalan opposition in favour of an emerging and subcategorical Catalan/Balearic one (Duane, 2017a). Additionally, the emergence of an alternative Balearic standard became an opportunity to reflect on the 'tyrannical' implications inherent to all standards (Duane, 2018), and which are tightly connected to the recursions of standardisation. This thesis completes the explanation of the fractal recursions hampering neogonellisme's agenda for constituting a Balearic standard.

As seen when I described the common metalinguistic stance of neogonellisme (p. 81), Balearist activists consider that their Balearic standard model "embraces diversity" and recognises and protects a linguistic "wealth". Their standard model, they argue, is open, flexible and supports insular variations, even allowing local variations—epitomised in debates on Pollença's unique case (see p. 17). Activists argue that Balearic linguistic varieties present commonalities at the regional and insular level, which only a Balearic standard can promote and maintain given the disdain of Catalan standardisation towards such diversity. However, opponents and even supporters of neogonellisme are troubled with the inevitable choices that neogonella activists are forced to make for each of their texts.

The main problem for neogonellisme is that the inescapable recursions of standardisation associated with its Balearic standard project are excessively evident. That

is, that the *selection* (Haugen, 1966) of certain features for each standard language practice leaves aside too noticeably other alternatives. The reason why choices are "excessively obvious" for the Balearic standard is *insularity*. Balearic varieties cannot be imagined as a continuum, and instead they follow the boundaries set by the insular geography of the archipelago. That is why people identify their speeches as Majorcan, Minorcan, and Eivissan. Selecting a word for a standard language practice according to Majorcan varieties may not match the repertoires of speakers from other islands, and hence be unsatisfactory to them. Thus, inescapable insularity impedes neogonelles' constant efforts to build a Balearic standard. Although this section focuses on linguistic disagreements, insularity also continuously hampers activists' desire to develop the identity movement of Balearism. Activists' attempts such as creating a Balearic frame for news reporting, a flag, a dog breed, and a grammar, clash with insular scepticism from opponents and supporters—a scepticism that emerges even when trying to promote the islands' festivities.

Activists also repeatedly face accusations of being "Majorcan centralists" because their texts' word selection excessively orients to Majorcan varieties, thus leaving aside varieties from the minor islands. In the Model post (p. 177), for instance, we can see how Matilde and Julián (commentators 17 and 19) criticise neogonelles on these grounds. They write, respectively, "I don't feel represented by this joke you call Balearic, this is Majorcan, period" and "enough of imposing on us things without reason from Majorcan", thus opposing neogonelles' stance. Even supporters of neogonellisme, that is, users taking *stances of language difference*, often criticise activists on the same grounds. To prevent these recurrent critiques, activists try to give visibility to the repertoires of all the islands in their texts, as illustrated by the three different ways for 'we speak' (to represent Majorca, Minorca, and Eivissa) displayed in the collage on page 182.

However, not all texts are collages, and when activists have to make a choice and they choose to prioritise the minor islands' varieties—to the detriment of Majorcan varieties—, many Majorcan supporters of neogonellisme negatively react to them. Their negative reactions result from their general ignorance about the diversity of Balearic varieties. This becomes clear when Majorcan supporters criticise the choice of some unfamiliar term prevalent in Eivissan or Minorcan varieties, especially if it matches with Catalonia's varieties—which happens very often. Indeed, setting boundaries with Catalan from a Balearic perspective is extremely complicated as the boundaries are not identical for each island. Said in a different way: the different isoglossal relationship between Balearic varieties and the rest of Catalan varieties does not match well with the neogonella Balearic standard project. There are very

recurrent pitfalls to maintaining one Balearic standard, such as the verb 'to speak' and the noun 'language', where some of the islands' multiple realisations match with standard Catalan and thus continuously pose problems whatever choice activists make.[58] On a few occasions, even activists from the same island disagree on the legitimacy of some term that matches with standard Catalan, which highlights the diversity even at the level of individual repertoires.

Activists are well aware of how the recursions of standardisation obstruct the acceptance of their Balearic standard. To prevent complaints from audiences, very often they append their texts with justifications for their term selection and orthographic choices, emphasising how their Balearic standard allows insular variation no matter what. When audiences do question the activists' practices—despite their enormous care and warnings—, activists engage in repairing and clarifying their choices using similar arguments but with a very different tone depending whether a supporter or an opponent issued the critique. Even on several occasions, activists correct the practices of other activists, evincing the complexity of mastering all Balearic varieties.

Recursivity for opponents to neogonellisme

People taking *stances of language sameness* use the manifestation of the recursions of standardisation to undermine neogonellisme. For opponents of this movement, it is clear that the neogonella Balearic standard implicitly advances Majorcan and not Balearic varieties as a whole. For them, the emergence of the recursions of standardisation for the neogonelles' standard evidences that such a thing as "Balearic" does not exist, as OCB activist Sebastià told me (p. 147) and Matilde and Julián argued in the Model post (p. 177). For them, the identification of these recursions indexes the inherent contradictions and ambiguity of the Balearist model and their murky difference-making process, which they perceive as ultimately envisaged for the advancement of Castilian's hegemony. Opponents continuously ask neogonelles which

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[58] Each island variety takes a different term for the prevalent construction of the verb 'to speak': *xerrar* in Majorca, *rallar* in Minorca, and *parlar* in Eivissa and Formentera—just like in Catalonia, Valencia, *and the Catalan standard variety*. However, all these forms are also present in the other islands and the rest of the Catalan language domain, on occasions taking other meanings, such as *xerrar*, which means 'to chat' in Catalonia, or even *parlar* in Majorca, which denotes a serious speech event. Another conflictive verb is *engegar*, which in Majorca it means 'to expel' but in Minorca, Catalonia, and the standard variety it means 'to turn (something) on'. As for the ubiquitous noun *llengua* ('language'), its spelling is highly problematic because it is pronounced differently in each island and even within islands. Supporters like seeing their own pronunciation recognised in activists' orthographic practices, which poses an insurmountable challenge for the activists.

standard at the regional and insular level would they promote, given the inherent linguistic diversity at these two levels. Addressing neogonella activists' argument that their Balearic standard would even promote local varieties, they also rhetorically wonder if fixation would stop only at the individual level, implicitly constructing the Balearic standard as something unfeasible. They also refer to the unfamiliarity and incomprehension between islands, something which is not misleading if we take into account neogonella supporters' general ignorance about the minor islands' varieties.

Opponents to neogonellisme continuously use *recursive comparisons* (Duane, 2013) as a rhetorical argument against the language activist movement. On the one hand, they constantly compare neogonella activists' will to standardise Balearic varieties with the possibility of applying similar particularisation criteria to Andalusian varieties of Castilian (on some occasions, to Latin-American varieties), as Dídac does in the course of the interaction in Extract 6.5 (p. 208). This argument has been used by prominent Balearic scholars, such as Aina Moll (Mascaró, 2014), daughter of linguist Francesc de Borja Moll (who in turn was Alcover's disciple, see Section 2.4.2, p. 48). People choose Andalusian varieties because of their easily discernible distance from standard Castilian. Such a comparison irritates neogonella activists, most likely due to the traditional low prestige of these varieties within Spain and the marginality of the associations in favour of differentiating Andalusian from Castilian. Neogonelles claim that an alleged long-standing differential *awareness* of Balearic speakers establishes a crucial difference between both cases. On the other hand, opponents like to ask about what would speakers from Pollença do if the neogonella Balearic standard were to succeed, given their non-use of the salty article (see p. 17). Activists, in response, assert that Pollençan people would continue to speak as usual and would be able to write their vernacular. Opponents never validate this answer, as they interpret it as a linguistic laissez faire or a personalisation of the standard that would hinder the autochthonous language standard variety, while paving the road for Castilian's anonymity.

6.3.2 Noticing anti-Catalanism

An absolute division between people who take *stances of language sameness* and *difference* in respect to Catalan and Balearic varieties is not completely accurate. This section discusses the people whose stance about the autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands shows some ambivalence, at least initially. To focus on them here is relevant because their usual trajectory on Facebook Pages of neogonellisme sheds additional light on the language-ideological momentum in the Balearic Islands.

These people, whose stance about language resists the simple but existing and

discerning stance-taking dichotomy previously applied, tend to master standard Catalan and to be younger than the older adults who generally support neogonellisme. Although they are not very numerous, they occasionally appear on neogonella Facebook Pages and are only identifiable through a careful look at the discussions therein. Generally, these people show interest in the knowledge and promotion of the linguistic specificities of Balearic varieties (mainly their own insular regiolects), which would at first sight categorise them as holding *stances of language difference.* Their first impressions about what they can find in neogonella Pages tends to be positive, as they encounter a social actor they can apparently align with in respect to the promotion of Balearic varieties.

However, these people cannot be considered to be taking *stances of language difference* because, in what constitutes a common awareness trajectory, they gradually come to feel uncomfortable with the associations' stance and the unfolding discussions on their Pages. Dídac, a commentator in Extract 6.5 (p. 208), is one of these users. They shift from their initial impression of neogonella associations because they perceive that the associations mainly promote anti-Catalanism and ultimately aim at differentiating Balearic from Catalan, an objective with which these users initially interested in neogonellisme disagree. Such opposition to disentangling Balearic from Catalan would justify identifying these people as conclusively taking *stances of language sameness.* Nevertheless, the aim of this section is not putting labels, but reflecting on this intriguing initial interest towards neogonellisme developing into dislike.

These users initially appreciate the activism of neogonellisme because, at first sight, they perceive that the interest on their varieties does not antagonise Catalan (either its standard or any dimension of Catalan culture). Many programmatic texts of neogonellisme present their agenda in such way, as *just* advancing the promotion of some linguistic singularities of Balearic varieties within the confines of Catalan norms and standard, in the fashion that the early *Sa Catalanada* street light showed (p. 197). It is plausible to infer that, most likely, these people come to know neogonellisme through these texts and thus engage with their Facebook Pages. However, continuous exposure to the interactions on Facebook Pages troubles them in three main ways.

Firstly, the neogonella activists' challenge to linguistic and historical scholarship disconcerts these users, especially when activists antagonise the UIB and the IEC (and the OCB), and portray them as political actors rather than academic ones. Secondly, the activists' different treatment of specific political parties becomes disturbing for these users, since neogonelles treat parties in favour of Catalan normalisation with enormous hostility. From their comments, it is possible to infer that these users do

not perceive normalisation to be in opposition to the promotion of Balearic varieties, something with which neogonellisme disagrees completely. Thirdly and crucially, these users are upset with activists' management and moderation in debates unfolding on the Pages. They are troubled in front of the activists' protection of users that take *stances of language difference*, regardless of their non-standard language practices and their anti-academic discourse, simultaneous to their condescendence against opponents. In the Model post (p. 177), for example, activist Salva (comment 18) diminishes Matilde's critiques against Balearic (comment 17) by treating them as a non-representative expression of a personal opinion, differently from neogonellisme's representation of popular opinion.

The following Extract 6.6[59] includes several comments by Natàlia, a follower of Toc·Toc from the Pine Islands who matches this shifting trajectory.

Extract 6.6: Selection of comments by Natàlia in Toc·Toc's Page.

a	September 16 2014
Bon solpost a tothom, vos acab de trobar per sa xarxa i m'heu encuriosit.....on es pot trobar sa publicació a Formentera o Eivissa?...quants de sous val?	Good evening everybody, I just found you surfing the Web and I'm curious about you... where can your publication be found in Formentera or Eivissa?... how much is it?

b3	September 18 2014
Aiii...jo, perdonau...crec que és un tant exagerat, no? Prefereixc que hi hagi enteniment....	Ehhh... I, excuse me... believe that it's a bit exaggerated, isn't it? I prefer understanding...

b5	September 19 2014
Però ara no acab d'entendre es motiu pes qual no us pareix que s'altres també ho siguin....no sé...he viscut a Barcelona,Girona i València i mai ningú no m'ha fet sentir malament. Ans al contrari....	But now I don't fully understand the reason why you think the others may also be it... I don't know... I've lived in Barcelona, Girona and Valencia and no one has ever made feel bad. In fact, the opposite...

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[59]The format of this extract is slightly different from the previous ones. The four comments by Natàlia were located in three posts. Comments 'a' and 'c' were each in a different post, while comments 'b3' and 'b5' were in another one (their numeration corresponds to comments' order in the post). Additionally, I give prominence to the comments' time stamp because their short time range is relevant.

c	September 30 2014
Uiii... aquí mai diríem "dedins".....(...) tampoc crec en "es balearisme"...perquè veig que al final és "mallorquinisme"... aprenguem a respectar-mos entre illes, i llavors ja parlarem!	Uiii... here we would never say "dedins"... (...) I neither believe in "the Balearism"... because in the end it's "Majorcanism"... let's respect each other across islands, and then we can talk!

On September 16th 2014, Natàlia encountered Toc·Toc on the Web, according to her comment a). Indeed, she had never written any comments on the association's Page prior to this date. Comment a) was located in a post that announced new selling locations for the fanzine in Minorca, advertising the fanzine in this way: "A quarterly, independent, bilingual, and plural publication. In Balearic, from the islands for all islanders".[60] Natàlia responded as she was "curious" and asked where to buy the fanzine in the Pine Islands, to which the administrator account replied that the "Eivissan editorial office"[61] would contact her. Natàlia, in another comment, became very excited to know there was an editorial office in Eivissa.

A couple of days later, however, Natàlia's excitement began to diminish. A post that linked to an article by Joan Font Rosselló in the FJ3's website, called "Catalanism or everything for the money",[62] troubled her. Basically, the article argued that the Catalanist association OCB had diverged from the aims of its founder, Francesc de Borja Moll, and that its members were only interested in receiving subsidies (see p. 78). Natàlia, in comment b3), considered that such an appreciation was "a bit exaggerated" and preferred instead an "understanding" between associations. Activist Salva responded to her. He told her that "in a perfect world there should be understanding"[63] and suggested that although he had some friends at the OCB who were "prudent people with whom dialogue was possible (...) and who respect the point of view of the defence of modalities",[64] the rest were not. Natàlia, however, did not understand why Salva assumed this was not the case, in comment b5), to which she recalled how her speech was never a source of problems—"the opposite", she adds—during her life experiences in other Catalan speaking areas. Her comment, however, did not receive any reply.

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[60]"Una publicació, trimestral, independent, bilingüe i plural. En balear, des de ses illes per a tots ets illencs".

[61]"Redacció Eivissa". Toc·Toc does not have editorial offices; this is the way that activists refer to each islands' activists.

[62]"*El Catalanismo o todo por la pasta*".

[63]"en un món perfecte hauria d'haver enteniment"

[64]"persones sensates amb ses quals es diàleg ès possible (...) i que respecten es punt de vista de sa defensa de ses modalitats".

Some days later, Toc·Toc shared one of the FJ3's *Sa Catalanada* posts policing an institutional ad. Natàlia, however, disliked the FJ3's corrections of the ad and criticised Balearism for being a masked promotion of "Majorcanism" (she probably referred to the "Majorcan centralism" that other users recognise in neogonellisme), as comment c) shows. She finished her contribution demanding more respect between islands as a condition for the promotion of any type of Balearism. This was Natàlia's last comment on neogonella Facebook Pages, and her awareness trajectory is not an exception among the data. Her case, together with others, points at the existence of an interest in Balearic linguistic varieties which does not problematise its Catalan consideration.

6.3.3   Opposing neogonellisme

People clearly taking *stances of language sameness* regularly participate on neogonella Pages. Their interactive patterns varies in the following ways. Most of them only land on these Pages on a single occasion, to undermine neogonella's stance on language and identity. This tends to happen in popular posts (i.e., posts with high engagement), as higher the engagement of a post the more chances for it to appear in the news-feeds of Facebook users, according to the social networking site algorithm.[65] On many occasions, these episodic users criticise neogonelles and announce that they will never again participate in these neogonella spaces. Other users participate in a few posts during a short period of time, like Natàlia, as if they want to show that they have verified the content and interactions on these Pages across more than one post. Finally, there are a few users taking *stances of language sameness* who participate very regularly on neogonella Pages for some months. They comment on most posts, as if they were trying to convince neogonella activists and supporters, to finally vanish after some time. On many occasions, they engage in very long discussions with neogonelles in fairly respectful terms.

These users taking *stances of language sameness* belittle posts and comments of neogonelles and their supporters writing derogatory, mocking, and ironical comments. People taking these "Catalanist" stances basically use a *discourse of science* and accuse neogonella activists and supporters of covertly promoting the interests of Hispanic nationalism.[66] On the one hand, regarding the *discourse of science*, they use

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[65]As mentioned in Chapter 4, it is important to keep in mind that people can comment posts of Facebook Pages even when they do not 'like' or follow them. In these cases, the social media's site algorithm determines user's exposure to that post.

[66]Whereas in a previous study focused on a Catalanist Facebook Page (Duane, 2017a) I identified that users taking *stances of language sameness* mainly used *discourses of science* and *integration*.

the prevalent and hegemonic academic and expert discourses of scholars to bolster their arguments and grant them an appearance of an irrefutable truth (Calaforra & Moranta, 2008; see also Duane, 2017a, p. 81). The above-mentioned critiques about neogonelles' inconsistency of not applying the same arguments onto varieties of Castilian, as well as arguments of mutual intelligibility between Catalan speakers of different regions and historical references to the Catalan colonisation of the 13th century, are part of these discourses of science (see 2017a, p. 81). This discourse sustains the widespread accusations of the manifested ignorance of neogonella activists and their supporters, given their neglect and opposition to academic discourse.

On the other hand, people holding "Catalanist" stances constantly accuse neogonelles of truly being interested in the consolidation of the Hispanic hegemony in the Balearic Islands—by ensuring the anonymity value of the Castilian language. They argue that neogonelles want to divide Catalan speakers across and within regions, as occurred in Valencia, to weaken the public, anonymous value of the Catalan language. They identify neogonelles' support of political parties that oppose Catalan normalisation and the use of Castilian by supporters as evidence of their "dishonest" care for Balearic varieties of Catalan.[67]

It is possible to consider that these users taking *stances of language sameness* perform as *trolls* in these spaces, as they constantly try to hinder the entextualisations that neogonelles advance. However, their discursive presence doesn't seem to be counter-productive for the interests of neogonellisme. Neogonella activists' control of these spaces allows them to jointly respond to 'Catalanist' comments, and thus supporters witness ways to confront arguments in interaction.

The responses of neogonella activists and supporters draw on the arguments that I have unpacked in previous pages. Succinctly, they use two discourses I previously identified (Duane, 2013, 2017a). First, they use a *discourse of Catalan imposition*, arguing that "the presence of the Catalan language at the institutional and linguistic levels constitutes a nationalistic intervention that undermines [Balearic] identity claims", while they enact performative expressions of Hispanic nationalism (Duane, 2017a, pp. 81–82). The entextualisation of *foraster* to designate Catalan, explained in previous pages, is part of this discourse. Second, they underpin their responses with a *discourse of linguistic history* (see Joseph, 1987), "identifying historical sources to justify and legitimise the estrangement of Balearic varieties and standard Catalan" (Duane, 2017a, p. 82), regardless of academic discourses, as I have explained earlier. Essentialist ideologies are the root of these two discourses. Finally, activists combine

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Their behaviour varies in the spaces of neogonellisme. Here, they rely more on the former.

[67]As we will see in the next chapter, interviewed language planners shared these same ideas.

these two discourses to argue that the perceived Catalanist imposition onto the whole of the Balearic people, together with the existence of certain legitimate historical evidences, grants the Balearic people with the "right to decide" their sociolinguistic status. This right, they claim, must politically translate into a referendum to decide between Balearic and Catalan as the official name for the autochthonous language of the Balearic Islands.

6.4   Summary

This chapter has described how neogonella language activists create an ethnolinguistic difference on Facebook. Neogonelles inhabit these interactional spaces to use the *representational control* they lack in other public domains to differentiate Balearic varieties from varieties of the Catalan language. To understand their actions, I used the notions of *iconisation*, *erasure*, and *fractal recursivity* that Irvine and Gal (2000) devised to explain how people represent and recognise linguistic difference. In addition, I also used Heinz Kloss's (1967) conceptualisations of *language abstand* and *ausbau* to make sense of the distancing process that neogonelles actively applied to Balearic varieties. The 'Model post' introduced at the beginning of the chapter aimed at presenting the data used in the analysis and at representing findings that followed in the rest of the chapter.

Neogonelles' controlled Facebook Pages function as spaces for meaning *entextualisation* (Silverstein & Urban, 1996) in which their administrative powers permit them to *entextualise authoritatively*. The control over these spaces allows them to engage in defining debates, stances and sociolinguistic categories, among others. The analysis of one of Toc·Toc's collages demonstrated how, on their Pages, neogonelles shape ongoing debates according to their interests. Using Facebook, they also display their *switching power* as they manage to connect themselves to, and appear in, regional media. The meaning redefinition neogonelles undertake targets terms such as 'Balearic', 'Catalan', and '*foraster*', all of which affect how individuals use these terms in these spaces. The *entextualisation* and *mediatisation* (Agha, 2011) of *stances of language difference* is highly important, as people taking these positions find a comfort and a meaning-making zone on the basis of their metalinguistic beliefs.

Simultaneously, for neogonelles, Facebook Pages are spaces for *language policing* (Blommaert et al., 2009). As "unregulated orthographic spaces" (Sebba, 2007, p. 44), neogonelles can control their public textual representation and praise and devalue language practices benefiting from their administrative powers on these Pages. Activists use posts in a top-down fashion to construct the authenticity-based

legitimacy conflict between Balearic and Catalan, as the *Sa Catalanada* post about a street light in Palma showed. The humorous tone of these posts attempts to counteract the low cultural capital of gonellisme. In any case, it is in comment fields where neogonella activists best exploit the language policing possibilities afforded by these spaces by intensively patrolling their posts' reception. Activists *perform as experts* on the linguistic doubts that users bring about in interactions, leading supporters to recognise their unfolding *authority.* Additionally, in these interactions, they identify and support *older adults as the legitimate participants and users of Balearic*, regardless of the norms and standard they may use. *Alternative linguistic norms sediment* from the participation of neogonella activists and supporters in these spaces which establish transgressive connections between language and identity, epitomised by the *salty article's indexicality of authentic Balearicness.* However, the fixation of the iconic salty article does not occur without opposition, as an interaction between Alberto and Dídac exemplified.

Indeed, not everything is under the neogonella activists' control on their Facebook Pages. The main obstacle they find is that *insularity* makes transparent the *recursions* (Gal, 2006) of the Balearic standard practices of activists. Regardless of their stance-taking, Facebook users recurrently detect insular frames in activists' textual practices that hinder the essential Balearic frame constructed in opposition to Catalan, even despite the precautions and preventions taken by neogonella activists. Additionally, opponents constantly point at how neogonelles do not consider the recursions of Castilian standardisation but they very much do so for those occurring in Catalan. A revealing finding was the identification of users who display a common trajectory towards neogonellisme, from *initial appealing to dislike* when faced with the continuous anti-Catalanism that these Pages tolerate and promote. Finally, I outlined the main discursive and interactional features of *opponents to neogonellisme* that participate on the Pages of the language activist movement, as well as the usual responses they receive by neogonella activists.

Chapter 7

The challenges of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands

What is the relationship between the institution of neogonella linguistic dissidence and the ongoing project of Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands? Whereas the last two chapters unpacked the emergence of neogonellisme and its exploitation of social media, this chapter moves its focus away from neogonella associations to address instead the perspectives of 11 public language planners in the archipelago and two Catalanist advocates. As explained in Chapter 4, I interviewed these actors to grasp how they policed the standard language regime of Catalan at the time when neogonellisme began to appear.

The aim of this chapter is to address the dynamics of the linguistic market in the Balearic Islands, taking into consideration the institution of neogonellisme. Bourdieu's (1977; 1991) metaphor of the *linguistic market* is an interpretative venue to reflect on how people's linguistic capital is subjected to a process of value fixation. Minority languages struggle in value accumulation in unified markets (Costa, 2015), such as the Spanish one, where the legitimate language, Castilian, holds the most symbolic power, that is, it is hegemonic (Woolard, 1985). Language planners implementing Catalan standardisation at different Balearic institutional levels are considered suitable actors to shed light on the challenges facing it in the linguistic market in the archipelago.

The chapter builds an argument about the existence of an untapped need in the market to connect standard practices with local identifications. Divided into three sections, the chapter explores different approaches to interview data. The first section

uses interview data to historicise the effects and implications of the Bauzá Law and of the emergence of neogonellisme. Additionally, I apply Fernàndez's (2008) analytical framework to a few extracts of interview data to reflect on how Catalan normalisation affects the valuing of Catalan linguistic repertoires. The second section draws on literature on the *standard language ideology* to contrast how language planners at different hierarchical levels in institutions explain and justify their standard language practices. Finally, the third section uses interview data to discover the interest of the local population in the flexibility offered by the Catalan standard to accept the vernacular. This was made possible by examining local language planner Xisca's innovative language promotion initiatives on Facebook.

7.1   The ideological hindrances of normalisation

Advancing Catalan normalisation is the work of all the interviewed language planners. All of them agreed on the critical need for linguistic normalisation in the Balearic Islands, understood as the role that institutions must play in defending the linguistic rights of Catalan speakers and extending the use and knowledge of Catalan among the population. In this section, however, I focus on the issues that these planners identified as hampering linguistic normalisation, taking into account that they benefit from having a unique vantage point regarding the ideological conditions of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, given their professional duties across different institutional levels. Interview data will be used to historicise, that is, to review the recent language ideological debates in the archipelago, as well as to assess some of the linguistic entailments of normalisation.

Before turning to these issues, I briefly present the three main inter-related phenomena that, according to language planners, characterise the current sociolinguistic context in the Balearic Islands. In the first place, most participants believed that recent migration is more responsible than massive tourism for the rapidly changing sociolinguistics of Balearic society (see Section 1.2.1, p. 10). Some of them lamented that current newcomers integrate by learning Castilian and not Catalan, unlike what they say happened with migrants from the rest of Spain during the last decades of the 20th century. They enacted *discourses of integration* (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998b, 1998a; Schmidt, 2007) where learning Catalan—a non-hegemonic language—plays a role in the social legitimacy of migrants, similarly to other contexts such as Luxembourg (Horner, 2009) and Catalonia (Pujolar, 2010).[1] Additionally,

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[1] A few participants identified some linguistic habits of Majorcan people as accountable for migrants' choice of Castilian, such as initiating conversation with strangers in Castilian. The

Majorcan interviewees perceived that their island is linguistically homogenising as a result of migrants' use of Castilian. They believed that the traditional distinction between 'Castilianised' Palma and the Catalan stronghold of the rest of the island is vanishing.

Second, participants were very concerned about the stagnation of Catalan use. As seen in the Introduction (p. 10), sociolinguistic surveys show that, although the knowledge of Catalan in Balearic society continuous to increase, its use decreases across most domains. Language planners from the regional government were very aware and worried about this negative evolution, and they listed possible factors that may explain it, such as the effects of the Bauzá Law, or that Catalan was losing attraction capacity for youngsters, topics which I soon will cover. Relatedly, participants from two locations where the use of Catalan is higher than the average were troubled because they perceived that young generations of speakers do not seem to worry about language shift and that middle-age speakers do not care about or police incorrect practices around them. Urla et al. (2017) report similar contemporary impressions from the Basque Country.

Finally, some Majorcan participants perceived an increasing division in Balearic society between those aligning with the Hispanicist cultural frame and those identifying themselves with the Catalan culture. The social and media presence of neogonellisme since the end of Bauzá's government relates to this perceived division.

7.1.1   The erosion of Catalan's legitimacy

As seen in Section 2.4.3 (p. 50), Bauzá's term in office was basically characterised by the language ideological debates around the Bauzá Law (see Bibiloni, 2014; Joan Melià, 2014) and the discourse of particularisation promoted by the regional government. From an ideological view, the discourses sustaining the Bauzá Law and the discourse of particularisation of Balearic varieties attempted to naturalise Castilian and to delegitimise Catalan by questioning its authenticity. Altogether, it was an attempt to secure the anonymous value of Castilian in the Balearic Islands (Duane, 2017a).

This section reviews how language planners correlated the Bauzá Law with the awakening of neogonellisme. Most planners felt an urge to talk about the multiple pervasive consequences of Bauzá's term in office. To them, it represented the hardest period for Catalan speakers since the dictatorship and so they referred to it in very negative terms, something to be expected considering that their professional role

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ideology of *interposition* explains these habits (see Pujolar, 2010).

is the promotion of Catalan. In contrast, a vast majority of planners felt apathy or dislike when asked about neogonellisme. For planners, both the Bauzá Law and the awakening of neogonellisme are expressions of one same chain of events that highlight the increasing obstacles to sustaining Catalan's legitimacy in the Balearic Islands. The notion that best explains these ideological consequences is sociolinguistic 'precariousness', as one regional planner summarised her sensations after Bauzá's term in office.

Sociolinguistic precariousness: the effects of the Bauzá Law

Across all interviews, one complaint describes well the main effect of the Bauzá Law. Regional planner Carla provided a term that accurately describes the state in which, now, not only language planners but Catalan speakers in general find themselves: "precariousness".[2] For Carla, *precariousness* expressed how it has become harder to justify the need for the promotion of, and positive legislation for, the Catalan language. The absence of any measure for the promotion of Catalan between 2011 and 2015 (a "desert", she called it), meant an argumentative "relaxation" of normalisation attitudes that were thought to have been consolidated in Balearic society. Carla believed that this precariousness manifests itself in an increasing questioning of Catalan language planning, while the Castilian language planning by the State remains opaque (see Woolard, 2016).[3] In all, sociolinguistic precariousness refers to the eroding of the legitimacy grounds for the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands as a result of the offensive represented by both the Bauzá Law and neogonellisme.[4]

Actors at the local level expressed themselves in similar ways and identified effects of this precarisation at their work places. Majorcan planner Guillem explained how the consensus with which the LNL was passed (1986; see p. 51) had sociological entailments: people were either involved in Catalan normalisation or that they respected it. That is, linguistic normalisation was socially legitimate. The Bauzá Law altered this, causing a new confrontation based on language affiliation, according to some language planners. Of all the measures of the Bauzá Law, the effects of the suppression of the Catalan language requirement for public jobs were particularly

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[2]"precarietat".

[3]As an evidence of the pro-Castilian planning by the Spanish State, Carla referred to the study "500 imposing dispositions of Castilian in our home" (Plataforma per la llengua, 2009) by the pro-Catalan civic group "Platform for the language".

[4]Sociolinguistic precariousness is more associated with the anti-normalisation measures of the Bauzá Law than with particularisation, though the attention to *neogonella* associations by certain regional media added an important diverting element, according to planners.

evident at the local level. In Eivissa and a Majorcan inland location, enrolments in Catalan courses decreased enormously (in the latter, from 100 to 10 students). Staff without any knowledge of the language joined one insular administration during the period when Catalan ceased to be a requirement, causing a "problem" since they still do not understand Catalan. Moreover, during Bauzá's office, the language policy for internal documentation at this local administration became "*carte blanche*" (neglecting the preferential use for Catalan that the LNL stipulates), which caused a mix of languages in official reports.

From all the accounts, the management of language edition in regional public media best represents the project of sociolinguistic precarisation during Bauzá's term in office. The interview with Caterina, a former language editor (*correctora lingüística*) at IB3 TV, provided a detailed account of labour and linguistic precarisation relative to the Catalan language that matches with media coverage about the process.

Caterina's was a language editor at IB3 when Bauzá was elected. According to her, as soon as the Bauzá administration came into power, it engaged with what Caterina calls "economic politics"[5] with language editors at IB3 Radio and TV.[6] While radio editors were directly suppressed, the process at TV was more complex and gradual. Editors were initially required to change their professional status from 'technicians' to interns. After one year, however, those who had accepted this change were fired, Caterina included. Two years later, as a result of constant complaints by the labour council and the journalists' union (see Diari de Balears, 2014), the government agreed to create again a language editing service, but it outsourced it to temporary employment agencies. These agencies tried to hire Caterina and other experienced language editors but were unsuccessful because the public tender had one linguistic requirement that these editors refused to accept. In all, during this process, the working conditions of language editors at public media seriously worsened.

Labour precarisation of language editors went in hand with linguistic precarisation. The internships and the following dismissals resulted in a *laissez faire* period for language practices at IB3 TV. Less editors meant less time to correct all the textual production of the TV channel or to assess journalists' practices, which resulted in register mixing and a decrease in language quality, according to Caterina.[7] Later,

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[5]"política econòmica".

[6]It is important to remember that the public TV and radio from the Council of Majorca, which broadcast in Catalan, were closed shortly after Bauzá's arrival to office in 2011. This left IB3 Radio and TV, the regional government's public media, as the only main media in Catalan in the region (see Section 2.4.3, p. 52).

[7]For instance, she recalled how texts of recipes in cooking programmes were broadcast with

when edition services were finally outsourced, language edition at IB3 took a *particularisation* shift. Editors had to respond to a superior, appointed by the government, who challenged professional correction criteria, reason why experienced editors such as Caterina refused to be rehired. This superior was Mariantònia Lladó (Pinya, 2014a), the linguist that in 2015 was responsible for the "adaptation" from Catalan to "Majorcan" of one the main Majorcan literary works from the 20th century, which the FJ3 endorsed (see p. 157). Lladó's correction criteria was, according to Caterina, consciously "dialectal", epitomised by the use of the salty article in newscasts, and a deconfiguration of the register system, to which the staff union at IB3 reacted with "complete disagreement" (Pinya, 2014b).[8]

The precarisation of Catalan caused by the Bauzá Law had, in turn, an expected side effect. Language planners perceived that Castilian had become more socially prominent, as the debates around Catalan during the period left Castilian's role and status in Balearic society unquestioned. Moreover, Castilian also obtained social visibility from the institutional desertion suffered by Catalan. Actors of language planning across institutional levels referred to this in similar terms. They explained that, since Bauzá, people that opposed Catalan normalisation summoned more courage to make themselves present.[9] They provided several examples of this novel encouragement. In Minorca, there had been an increase of demands for documents in Castilian.[10] Majorcan local planner Aina had the impression that people challenging normalisation were more visible. She showed me the example of the recent email, in Castilian, received at her institution that questioned the historical and cultural links between the Balearic Islands and Catalonia (which I referred to in Section 2.1, p. 32). Biel, a regional language planner with a long teaching experience, provided the example of parents' meetings in schools, explaining how currently there are

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spelling mistakes.

[8]As anticipated in Section 3.1.3 (p. 68), political party rotation has had effects on the role of public media as actors of Catalan standardisation. According to Caterina, the consequences of these precarisation decisions were still lasting at the time of our interview. At the time of writing, the pro-normalisation government maintains the outsourcing structure for language editors at IB3. Caterina also explained how journalists still confuse registers. She said that "it is easy not to believe in linguistic quality", and the linguistic decisions at IB3 affected this. Caterina concluded by asserting that these decisions had successfully "mined the process of linguistic normalisation". In our interaction, Caterina clearly linked the precarisation of Catalan in IB3 with *neogonellisme*. Additionally, the PP has already announced its intention to not use the standard variety of Catalan in public media once it is re-elected (Gelabert, 2017).

[9]"estalonats" or "envalentonats" are the original terms that planners used.

[10]By default, following the LNL, documents are provided in Catalan, though they are also available in Castilian on request.

parents who demand meetings to be held in Castilian.[11] He perceived an awakening of the attitude of "do me the favour of speaking Castilian",[12] an attitude he had not seen since Franco's times and which the Bauzá Law had prompted, he argued.

The "confusion ceremony" of neogonellisme

All language planners held extremely critical views on neogonellisme. Some of them even excused themselves for their heated reactions, and others found it a very weary and distressing subject to talk about.[13] This is somehow understandable, given that the planners' jobs relate to the normalisation of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, a process that neogonelles want institutions to drop.

According to the interviewed language planners, four main factors explain the awakening of neogonellisme. First, Bauzá's term in office meant an ideological endorsement of anti-Catalan beliefs, since these ideas suddenly moved from marginal actors to regional institutions. This invigorated the few people that organised themselves around these ideas. Second, planners saw neogonellisme as a Hispanicist-driven reaction to the political struggle for independence in Catalonia, for which the official status of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands is a potential source of similar national distress. One planner from a minor island asserted that it was increasingly difficult to be a Catalanist outside of Catalonia, as a result of the nationalist tensions of the political conflict between Spain and Catalonia.[14] Third, planners argued that some regional media have magnified the social prominence of neogonella associations in society due to political interests (related to the previous factor). Fourth, some planners discussed that neogonella activists effectively exploit people's emotional bonds with each island, something that can fit with anti-Catalanism.

Language planners agreed on who supports neogonellisme. In their view, in addition to the obvious support from conservative and Hispanicist political parties, hotel lobbies, other powerful economic groups, and traditional Majorcan nobility support neogonella associations. As we know, this doesn't seem to be a mistaken view. As for the supporters of neogonellisme, planners profiled them as older adults educated during Franco's regime and who use Castilian for literacy practices.

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[11]Before, he clarifies, such demands were also present but were addressed in small groups, asking for translation.

[12]"*hazme el favor de hablar castellano*".

[13]Thus, I was very careful with how to address neogonellisme during interviews. In a couple of cases, I felt it was better not to directly prompt participants and instead see if they would react to my findings from social media activity, which turned out to be a successful strategy.

[14]This participant stated that he was quoting very similar statements by the Valencian singer-songwriter Raimon from 2014 (see P. & Naciódigital, 2014).

According to regional planner Biel, the long-standing consensus and widespread social support for Catalan normalisation forced the PP to create new associations that, unlike the GAB, would not challenge the unity of the Catalan language but which would "torpedo" normalisation from within.

Extract 7.1: Interview with Biel (23:30–25:20).

B: Jo crec que això és una estratègia del govern Bauçà perquè, clar, el que no podia fer el Partit Popular era renegar d'una llei que havíen presentat i aprovat ells al parlament, com la Llei de Normalització Lingüística. Clar, si el Partit Popular ha aprovat tota la normativa i tots els desenvolupaments normatius del català durant 30 anys, ara el que no pot dir és que el català no existeix o que, o que la llengua de Balears no és el català, seria ((tongue click)) una contradicció massa gran per ells mateixos. Per tant, l'estratègia i quina era? Era, sense negar l'unitat de la llengua, perquè a més a nivell social (.) és una cosa bastant, molt acceptada, fins i tot entre el seu propi electorat, e: el que feien era intentar, (.) això, rebaixar el pes, intentar marcar les diferències. Clar, per això no li servien entitats que, que ((tongue click)) ja es definien com a fora de la Llei de Normalització o fora del marc legal. Per tant el que va fer va ser crear altres organismes que, situant-se teòricament dins la normativa, dins el marc legal, fessen la feina de dinamitar-ho des de dins, d'alguna manera.... Tenien tots els peròs, (.) s'ha de (fomentar) el català, ((emphasis)) però, és inacceptable que s'utilitzin formes del Principat aquí, (.) que, (.) però és inacceptable que s'obligui perquè estan a favor de la llibertat.... Volíen partir d'una aparença de: de seriositat.

B: I think that this is a strategy of Bauzá's government because, sure, what the Partit Popular ((PP)) could not do is to reject a law that they had presented and passed in the Parliament, such as the Linguistic Normalisation Law ((LNL)). Of course, if the Partit Popular has passed all the norms and all the normative developments about Catalan during 30 years, now what they can't say is that Catalan doesn't exist or that, or that the language of the Balearic ((Islands)) is not Catalan, it would be ((tongue click)) too much of a contradiction even for them. Therefore, what was the strategy? It was, without denying the unity of the language, because socially (.) it's a rather, much accepted thing, even among their own voters, e: what they did was to try to, (.) this, to reduce the weight, to try to set the differences. Sure, for these associations that ((tongue click)) defined themselves as outside the Normalisation Law or outside the legal framework were not useful to them. Therefore what they did was to create other associations that, theoretically situating themselves within the norms, within the legal framework, would do the job of torpedoing it from inside, somehow... They had all the buts, (.) Catalan must be (promoted), ((emphasis)) but it's unacceptable to use forms from Catalonia here, (.) that, (.) but it's unacceptable that it's imposed because they're in favour of free-

dom.... They wanted to begin with a serious
appearance.

In Biel's view, the PP, aware of the marginalisation of anti-Catalan secessionist associations and the widespread support of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, needed new associations to pursue their sociolinguistic objectives that could accumulate social and cultural capital. Just like Salva reflected in Extract 5.1 (p. 135), this could not be done, according to Biel, claiming that Balearic and Catalan are different languages. Thus, neogonella associations were created. Despite allegedly accepting Catalan normalisation, they would constantly hamper its consolidation on the basis of *authenticity* and *freedom* (see Chapter 5).[15]

Language planners, most of whom were trained linguists, strongly disqualified the linguistic proposals of neogonelles. Though most of them were aware of the existence of the FJ3's *Style Book* (the linguistic model for neogonelles' Balearic), only a few of them had glanced at it. Nevertheless, when I asked them about it, they were mostly capable of guessing the normative breaches of the neogonelles' model—most of all, the written usage of the salty article. Planners ruled out neogonelles' model on the basis of "ignorance", as many phrased it, comparing it to the work of academic authorities. Succinctly, in their view, neogonelles fail to understand diachronic and synchronic language change, the register system ruling Balearic varieties (in respect to the distribution of salty articles, for instance), and that they advance an unjustified reduction of the semantics and lexicon of Balearic varieties. Some planners discussed neogonelles' claims that their standard model can adapt to all Balearic varieties entails a "localisation" or "individualisation" of the standard that opposes the functions that standard varieties must perform. Some planners pointed out that neogonelles' claim that their 'Balearic' standard model can adapt to all Balearic varieties actually entails a "localisation" or "individualisation" of the standard that opposes the functions that standard varieties must perform.

When I shared with them findings from the analysis of neogonella social media activity, planners disputed neogonelles' appropriations of the speech of "grandparents" and their rejection of verbs, such as '*prémer*' in the street light, which they deem are also part of the repertoire of Balearic varieties.[16] When I told Sebastià, the member of the Catalanist association OCB, about how neogonelles mull over what speech labels such as Majorcan, Minorcan, Catalan, and the standard actually mean, he

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[15]A few planners also highlight the lack of interest of neogonelles to reach any kind of agreement with Catalan language planning institutions.

[16]For them, historical usages validate forms or meanings which may not be prevalent nowadays.

called it a "ceremony of confusion"[17] (interview with Sebastià, 01:39:31–01:39:43). This expression fitly encapsulates what the function of neogonellisme is in the eyes of interviewed language planners.

According to the language planners, neogonella activists have not accomplished any linguistic impact,[18] as society is well aware of the absurdity of their linguistic model and the dishonesty of their proposals.[19] However, the planners have different perspectives in terms of social impact. Two local planners considered that neogonelles have not accomplished anything, especially in smaller villages. Others, however, believed that they have been successful in two ways. First, neogonelles have contributed to the *precarious* situation where Catalan speakers find themselves after Bauzá's term in office, because they have eroded the legitimacy grounds for the language. Four local planners argued that there is more resistance to use the name 'Catalan' to designate the language, while a few associated neogonellisme with an increasing circulation of linguistic doubts and discrediting the work of schools. In addition, regional planner Biel believed that neogonelles substantially hinder the approach of potential new speakers to Catalan.

Second, the language planners believed that neogonella activists have been very successful in the use of social media, which in turn caused their magnification. Most of planners have visited neogonella spaces on Facebook, sometimes by mistake given the ambiguity of the stances and presentations of neogonella Pages, something apparently Natàlia also experienced (see Section 6.3.2, p. 214). However, when they realise it, they do not visit them again.[20] Planners believed neogonelles perform well maximising isolated cases that may support *stances of language difference*, such as the case of the mayor of Manacor who, in 2016, wrote press releases using salty articles (Riera, 2016). With regard to the iconic feature of the salty article, one local planner detected that people are increasingly using it in social media. Another one, local planner Rafel, prevented himself from using it in chats and social media to ensure not being identified as a gonella, which suggests that neogonelles' efforts of fixing the iconic value of this features are not fruitless.

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[17]"cerimònia de la confusió."

[18]One regional planner identified that perhaps they have only influenced a few older adults.

[19]Two planners argued that, in addition, people want to use what they have learnt in schools, that is, they want their capital to attain value.

[20]Three local planners were insulted and called "traitors" in these spaces.

7.1.2 The undesired effects of normalisation

In his essay about the 'malaise' in Catalan culture, Fernàndez (2008) extends the notion of normalisation to characterise the historical period of Catalan culture in Catalonia since the restoration of the Spanish monarchy (1976). He argues that 'cultural normalisation' is the expression of a typically post-modern crisis in Catalan culture. In Fernàndez's view (2008, pp. 98–99), normalisation is an *attempt to balance two contradictory models*: on the one hand, the completion of the historical project of an autonomous Catalan culture, and, on the other, the adaptation of Catalan culture to the logics of commodification and market creation —all of which are subject to the effects of the national, political, and cultural subordination to the Spanish frame. Although his essay explicitly focuses on Catalonia and not on the entire Catalan cultural area, some of his arguments pinpoint aspects of the ideological conditions for the project of the normalisation of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands.

Fernàndez (2008, pp. 100–103) argues that the above-mentioned mismatch of normalisation produces a *triple crisis of cultural models* that I believe is useful to understand some of the ideological challenges that the Catalan language faces in the Balearic Islands. First, there is a *malaise* towards normalisation as the legitimising grand narrative of Catalan culture, when commodification justifications dominate instead. Second, actors of the cultural field believe "that normalisation has led to a confusion of the valuation mechanisms within Catalan culture", a "belief that does not describe but *affects* negatively the prestige and the reproduction of Catalan culture" (2008, p. 102, emphasis in original).[21] Third, the *malaise* questioning of normalisation implies a crisis of Catalan identification where legitimation discourses do not function satisfactorily and even risk being counter-productive.

The identification of this triple crisis helps to understand some reflections by participants Biel and Ramon about the complex entailments of normalisation in regards to the Catalan language, its register system, and the linguistic market. It is possible to discern three inter-related issues that mirror Fernàndez's triple crisis.

In our interview, Biel, a high ranking language planner from the regional government, completely disregarded the importance of neogonellisme. Instead, he expanded on the need for updating linguistic normalisation, as it risks becoming stationary. Biel, a linguist by training with a long trajectory as a teacher and cultural agent, considers that the referents or principles organising normalisation should change to adapt to the current practices and communicative conditions of speakers.[22]

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[21]"la normalització ha conduït a una confusió dels mecanismes de valoració dintre de la cultura catalana. Aquesta creença no descriu sinó que *afecta* negativament el prestigi i la reporducció de la cultura catalana".

[22]For instance, Biel believes that corpus planning in the 1980s was very innovative and now

Biel believed that Catalan is losing attraction for young speakers because the language is currently associated with elderly people as a result of two factors. First, the lack of generational renovation of Catalan teachers in schools, as most of them simultaneously entered the schooling system in the 1980s. This now old generation of teachers has not updated pedagogically, he argued, for example, for the use of new technologies in classes, and the Catalan language is perceived in schools as old-fashioned.[23] The second factor contributing to this perception is the lack of digital content in Catalan, a tendency that he exemplified with the use of Castilian by Catalan speaking 'youtubers'. He believed that normalisation language planning referents must adapt and, instead of hanging posters in schools, language planners should think of how to stimulate the use of Catalan by 'youtubers' or to promote its use in Snapchat. Biel argued that identity is not any more the key determinant for the language choice of young 'youtubers' and even musicians (with exceptions), but audience maximisation: "it is this mentality of not self-limiting audience beyond the identity function".[24] These reflections relate to Fernàndez's first crisis, about the commodification of culture and the crisis of the legitimation discourses, in this case, for the Catalan language. Normalising arguments, in a global and digital context, seem to be not entirely effective for new generations of Catalan speakers. Further, the commodification of language relies on a market dimension that is highly problematic for Catalan, as the Castilian market ensures larger audiences and Catalan's minoritised position hampers its market creation.

A second issue that worried Biel, and which is very much related to the previous one, is that he considered that linguistic normalisation indirectly causes a pervasive corrective and purist pressure on practices. He believed this purism is understandable, given Catalan's ongoing minoritised status and that its normalisation is far from achieved. Nevertheless, the downside of these pressures can be observed in cultural production and in the use of Catalan by younger generations. Given that basically public institutions are the only actors that foster and sponsor popular culture in Catalan (music, theatre, TV production, literary works), these cultural products *are expected to function as linguistic models*, and that makes these products often out of sync with non-standard usages. Biel contrasted this with popular culture in Castilian or English, whose language has spaces where they can be perfectly incorrect. Catalan theatre pieces, instead, have to be correct and that makes characters look

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conversely it is conservative (for example, he misses some more normative discourse from the UIB).

[23]Students' massive response against the Bauzá Law seems to contradict this old consideration of Catalan, nevertheless.

[24]"és la mentalitat aquesta de no llevar-te audiència per damunt de la funció identitària" (interview with Biel, 46:48–46:54).

unrealistic. Additionally, according to Biel, these purist pressures disincentivise the use of Catalan, especially among youngsters, because whereas Castilian can be incorrect, Catalan cannot.[25] For Biel, this is extremely problematic as informal Catalan tends to be normatively incorrect as a result of the intense language contact with Castilian and what he calls the incipient "Latinisation" of Catalan, understood as the danger of "teaching a corpse", that is, teaching norms, such as the Catalan weak pronouns system, that do not correspond to users' practices.[26]

There are connections between these reflections by Biel and Fernàndez's second crisis about the dislocation of the infrastructure of selection determining high and mass Catalan culture, such as an effective literary canon and awards bestowed with symbolic capital. As a result, Fernàndez (2008) argues that value production for Catalan cultural products is dysfunctional. Value production requires three conditions: a) to be selected according to *known* criteria, b) that selecting institutions are *limited*, and c) that the value of texts and institutions be *recognised* (p. 175–177). Biel's thoughts imply that similar processes are affecting the Catalan language as a result of normalisation. The register system of a language functions as a selection mechanism that determines which practices are more or less valued in the market. Catalan's minoritised status and the prevalent role that public institutions assume in its promotion destabilise these mechanisms in the public representation of the language. Although institutions ensure that the value of the standard is known, it is used in many communicative practices whose register situation does not demand it, and this affects people's belief about the value of these communicative practices and the standard itself. This analysis matches with Frekko's (2009a) findings about the limited register variability that language professionals in Catalonia display.

The third crisis that Fernàndez identifies as a result of the normalisation of the Catalan culture is a crisis of Catalan identification, where the discourses defining what being Catalan is "enter into a process of fragmentation and redefinition" (p. 102). One reflection from Ramon, a local language planner, seems to mirror this argument in the interrelationship between Catalan varieties in normalisation. When I mentioned to Ramon that many supporters of neogonellisme sustain that standard Catalan

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[25]Biel believed that tolerating non-standard usages would precisely normalise the language, but he does not know how administrations could "promote incorrect Catalan" ("foment de polítiques del català incorrecte")—doing so would risk being called "an enemy of Catalan" ("un enemic del català").

[26]Similarly, Sebastià, the member of the Catalanist association OCB, referred to the danger of "museumising" Catalan (to know Catalan as people used to know Latin, he said). This fear relates to the use stagnation that sociolinguistic surveys suggest and to the increasing Castilianisation of Majorca, especially Palma.

is strange to them, he argued that, in the absence of consolidated linguistic norms (as a result of the minoritised status of Catalan), the vernacular becomes the rule, the linguistic anchor, for many speakers. The loss of linguistic features, such as the salty article, that neogonelles perceive is not due, according to Ramon, to linguistic norms, but to the constriction of social spaces—what Ramon calls "the street"—where Catalan is used informally. This is simultaneous to the intensive use of the standard by institutions. It seems as if many users perceive an over-representation of the standard variety in a context where the expected register flows do not easily operate, exposed as they are to the dominant presence and use of Castilian. In reaction, the comparison between the non-standard and standard repertoires erodes the authenticity of the standard variety—and, by extension, the legitimacy of Catalan.

This section has covered the main issues that language planners identify as hampering the normalisation of Catalan in the Balearic Islands. I have distinguished between the identified issues that arise from the opposition to normalisation and those that result from its implementation. To finish, I want to emphasise one last reflection from Fernàndez—who in turn takes it from Bourdieu (1991, p. 51). Research cannot stay at the surface of responsibilities, but must dig into causes to avoid reproducing symbolic violence, such as "accusing those who are in a dominated position of the effects of their own subordination", as Fernàndez (2008, p. 18) phrases it. This means that although the project, the process, and the discourses of linguistic normalisation may entail unwanted consequences, their existence stems from a condition of symbolic subordination.

7.2 Standard language across institutional levels

The linguistic normalisation of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, mainly oriented to ensure a legitimate status for the language, assumes Catalan standardisation—and thus advances it.[27] It should thus not come as a surprise that interviewed language planners unanimously adhere to the norms of Catalan and orient to the standard in all of their professional activities. However, their agreement does not prevent them from slightly differing in their standard orientations and practices. These minor deviations carry explanatory power of the discursive and ideological conditions of Catalan in the Balearic archipelago. To understand these distinct standard 'horizons' (see Purschke, 2015, p. 43), we need to delve into what a standard actually is.

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[27]Though Catalan normalisation and Catalan standardisation can be considered to be the same (Bibiloni, 1997).

While writing these lines, deeply inculcated beliefs on language are being mobilised. They involve believing that the shape I give to my communication aims must be uniform and recognisable by literate users of what is called 'English', particularly, 'British English'. They also involve believing that my word selection, which affects the reader's evaluation process, can aim at an ideal set of words that maximise the possible yields. These particular beliefs relate to *standard language ideology*, which "decrees that the standard is an idea in the mind—it is a clearly delimited, perfectly uniform and perfectly stable variety—a variety that is never perfectly and consistently realized in spoken use" (J. Milroy, 2001, p. 543), as I anticipated in the Introduction. In our standard language cultures (J. Milroy, 2001) or standard language regimes (Gal, 2006; Costa, 2017), all institutions promote and support the standard language, beginning with education, which inculcates in the population the value and authority of standard forms (see Cameron, 2003; Gal, 2006). The idea of the standard is so prevalent that people tend to explain it appealing to 'common sense' (see J. Milroy, 2001, pp. 535–536). This ideology explains the ubiquitous beliefs about the supposedly fixed and uniform shape of languages that hinder alternative models of language, such as Corsican's 'polynomy' (Jaffe, 2003).

James and Lesley Milroy (1999) exposed the ideological nature of standard languages. Standardisation, they argue, is a never-ending historical process for those languages that undergo it, as it is never accomplished in speech.[28] Focusing on the case of English, they explained how the process of language standardisation determined what is considered to be 'right' and 'correct' language by "the suppression of optional variability in language" (1999, p. 6). They elaborate as follows:

> Standardization aims to ensure fixed values for the counters in a system. In language, this means preventing variability in spelling and pronunciation by selecting fixed conventions uniquely regarded as 'correct', establishing 'correct' meanings of words (...), uniquely acceptable word-forms (...) and fixed conventions of sentence structure. The whole notion of standardization is bound up with the aim of functional efficiency of the language. Ultimately, the desideratum is that everyone should use and understand the language in the same way with the minimum of misunderstanding and the maximum of efficiency. (J. Milroy & Milroy, 1999, p. 19)

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[28]An appropriate metaphor to grasp this is an asymptote, "a line which approaches nearer and nearer to a curve as it is projected toward infinity, but never meets it" (Joseph, 1987, p. 161).

In short, the standard ideology "promotes uniformity at the expense of variety" (1999, p. 58), a uniformity that is institutionally promoted facing society's inherent linguistic variability. Standards strongly rely on a principle of invariance in writing, which makes deviations be deemed as 'incorrect'. The following reflections by Sebba around the debates that emerge in orthographic reforms apply to standards as well:

> *Invariance* (or, putting it another way, intolerance of alternatives) is seen by users as one course of authority. (...) It seems that few points are to be won in orthographic reforms, by being 'liberal' and offering more than one way of spelling particular words. In this case, prescription is much more popular than choice; people want to be told the *correct* way to spell. This is no doubt bound up on the one hand, with views of what means for a language to have authority (Jaffe 2000: 506) and on the other, with popular beliefs about what language *is.* (Sebba, 2007, 153–154; emphasis in original)

Sebba's words highlight how prescriptive optionality for linguistic conventions such as orthographies and standards is potentially problematic given the prevalence of certain popular beliefs about language uniformity and authority. These beliefs relate to the *standard language ideology.* Moreover, the acceptance of prescriptive variability tends to be more contentious in the case of minoritised languages, as speakers compare them with dominant languages that tend to be monolithically authoritative—or, at least, speakers perceive them in this way (Jaffe, 2000).

In summary, the standard exists as an idea in the minds of speakers, who imagine that it is the most correct form of their language (they might even metonymically equate the standard to the language). The idea of the standard completely relies on a belief of prescriptive uniformity. Thus, languages which foster standards that accept optional prescriptivism provide grounds for potential tensions around authority, authenticity, and ownership, especially in multilingual contexts where speakers can compare how different languages construct their authority (Jaffe, 2003).

As for the case of the Catalan language, Susan E. Frekko (2009a, 2009b) has shown that the ideology of the standard is strongly prevalent in Catalonia. This most likely also influences speakers in peripheral regions such as the Balearic Islands. Additionally, the standard of the Catalan language allows regional variation, as explained in the Introduction (p. 14), and so it is a language whose standard accepts prescriptive variability. Recapitulating, in the Balearic Islands, standard language practices can adapt to features from Balearic varieties that are normative, such as verbal morphology. When users or institutions do so, they orient to what is generally

called the 'restricted standard' (for restricted usages or of a restricted frame), instead of the 'general standard' (for general usages or of a general frame).[29]

This optionality explains why the standard language orientations of language planners slightly differ. They focus on different degrees of adaptation to Balearic varieties. We observe that language planners' standard orientations follow a distribution according to language planning levels: Maria, the planner from the normative regional authority orients to the general standard, while planers from insular and local levels orient to the restricted standard. As for regional planners, their interviews do not clarify standard orientations, though Biel constructed the restricted standard as unproblematic, similarly to Maria.[30] This section's focus on such a standard orientation distribution sheds light on the ideological dynamics in the linguistic market in the Balearic Islands. In any case, I need to emphasise that, for *all* language planners, Catalan standardisation, including the possibility of using certain Balearic normative features, *is not a controversial issue*, and that these minimal differing orientations do not put into question in any way the planners' support of Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands.

7.2.1   The general standard orientation at the UIB

During my interview with Maria, a professor of the UIB involved in the language planning duties assigned to the institution (see Table 4.3, p. 113), it became very clear that, in her view, it was best if standard language practices oriented to the general standard. Having started the block of questions about standard language, I mentioned to Maria how, in previous interviews, some local language planners expressed doubts on how to correctly spell the Balearic form of certain verbs' first person of the indicative present tense, such as *pujar* (to climb, go up)—a matter to which I will turn to in the next pages. Maria continued as follows in Extract 7.2:

Extract 7.2: Interview with Maria (25:48–26:58).

M: Sí, se pot consultar en aquest (.) en aquest llibre d'estil i se resol. Gabriel Bibiloni va donar també unes pautes l'any

M: Yes, it can be checked out in this (.) in this style book and it's solved. Gabriel Bibiloni also gave some guidelines donkey's

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[29]Hence, there is not such thing as a fixed regional 'Balearic standard' for Catalan (an absence that neogonellisme tries to complete, as we know).

[30]Biel argued that the restricted standard is not problematic and that it only implies "minimal" morphological and lexicon distinctions that "are not more important that those between the American standard and the British standard of the English language" ("no són més importants de les que hi pugui haver entre l'estàndard americà i l'estàndard anglès de la llengua anglesa", 19:45).

bfff de la picor, sobre com resoldre aquesta primera persona, això ja està=i a més entra com al paraestàndard, però (.) són petites variacions morfològiques... i bé de lèxic però el lèxic no entra com a variació lèxica, entra com a sinonímia hmh, petites variaciones morfològiques que ja estan recollides a l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans=evidentment i beneïdes, i: ja està vull dir no (.). La qual cosa no invalida que puguis mmm fer-t'ho fàcil i posar o per tot (.), que: (.) són molts els que ho fan ((laughs)) saps vull dir... Aquesta (.) primera persona en desinència zero, que és l'antiga=l'antiga=l'antiga, després ve la e, després ve la o, que seria que és la moderna no (.), aquesta desinència zero (.), si complica idò=i, o i ja està (.), hmh que per això hi ha l'estàndard, perquè és reductor, senzill, i: garantia de: (.) d'unitat.

years ago, about how to solve this first person, this is done=and moreover it belongs to the parastandard, but (.) they're small morphological variations... and well of vocabulary but vocabulary is not lexical variation, it is synonymy hmh, small morphological variations that are already recognised by the Catalan Studies Institute ((IEC))=obviously and blessed, and: that's it I mean no (.). This does not invalidate that you may mmm make things easier to yourself and put o everywhere (.), which: (.) many do it ((laughs)) you know I mean... This (.) first person with zero suffix, which is the old one=the old one=the old one, later comes the e, later comes the o, which would be the modern no (.), this zero suffix (.), if it makes it complicated then=and, o and that's it (.), hmh that's why there's the standard, because it's reductive, simple, and: a guarantee of: (.) of unity.

For Maria, the adaptation of Balearic verbal morphology to the standard is clearly a solved and unproblematic issue, as her recurrent "and that's it" suggested. As supporting evidences, in Extract 7.2 Maria mentions the UIB' Style Book (which we had discussed a few minutes before this extract), she provides the example of the guidelines provided by Majorcan scholar Gabriel Bibiloni (1981), and she stresses that the IEC "recognised" and "blessed" this morphological variation, which, additionally, belongs to "the parastandard". 'Parastandard' is the term that Maria used to refer to the restricted standard variety,[31] which according to her consists of synonymy and small morphological variations, mainly verbal.

This topic led Maria to discuss standard language practices and orientations. She argued that, despite the validity of Balearic forms, using the general standard made things "easier". Maria made a short digression on Catalan historical morphology (see Veny, 1983) to present the Balearic standard option as less modern than the general standard option. This modernity-based contrast paves the way to sustain that if the Balearic option makes things "complicated", "the standard" is available because

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[31]During our interview it became clear that to refer to the 'general' standard Maria used "the standard" (as in the end of Extract 7.2).

it is "reductive, simple, and a guarantee of unity". This last quality, guarantee of unity, has to be understood in the context of our interaction, since my contact letter had framed it as part of an investigation on neogonellisme and Maria was vigilant in regards to linguistic particularisation. The other two qualities, reductive and simple, respond to the "uniformity" feature envisioned for all standards, as seen above. Maria's standard language ideology makes her advocate for not taking the option of adapting standard language practices to Balearic morphological variation.[32]

Maria further elaborated on the orientation of her standard language practices. Without directly asking her, she told me that, when writing, she always uses "the general standard" option for first person verbal conjugations, and wondered who would do otherwise (31:40-31:59). Later, she selected a scientific article as an example of a text where it would not make sense to use Balearic morphology as the text addresses "the entire Catalan linguistic community",[33] a practice that requires the use of the general standard (32:10-32:40). In all, Maria's clear standard orientation foregrounds the uniformity and the efficiency of standards for the case of the Catalan language.

During our interview, I shared with Maria the uncertainties that I experienced relative to the "parastandard". I disclosed how, at the beginning of my research (in 2014), I searched for some sort of reference model, mistakenly thinking that the UIB would have published one. I told her, how, not finding it, I emailed Softcatalà,[34] a well-recognised association that promotes the use of Catalan online and in software. This association's website offers an online spelling and grammar checker with the option to orient correction to "general", "Valencian", or "Balearic" forms. When I asked on which normative document their "Balearic" forms were based, a member of Sofcatalà replied that, for his knowledge, there was no such thing. Instead, at Softcatalà they used verbal models similar to the ones available on Wiktionary.[35] He recognised that they would need texts written "in a Balearic reference model", and appreciated any contribution in this regard.

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[32]Shortly after this extract, Maria restated that this morphological variation "has never represented a problem for those who follow the standard" ("no ha representat mai així cap problema per el qui segueix l'estàndard" [30:26-30:34]), which is an obvious statement as the general standard escapes this verbal morphological variation.

[33]"a tota la comunitat lingüística catalana".

[34]See https://www.softcatala.org/

[35]Precisely, this member linked me to Wiktionary's entry on Catalan verbal conjugation, which is not too useful in regard to morphological variations. He also told me I could find more information in an IEC publication about the *oral* standard (IEC, Secció Filològica, 1992).

For Maria, Softcatalà's response was transparent in the sense that, indeed, such a reference model is "nonexistent" "because it is absurd"[36]—and also in the sense that it showed how uninformed I was. When I suggested if the UIB's Style Book (UIB, Servei Lingüístic, 2014) could function as such a reference model, Maria undervalued it by considering it a mere Style Book functioning as an "institutional brand",[37] just as the ones mass media have.[38] The inadequacy of the Style Book of the UIB—the linguistic authority in the archipelago—to function as 'restricted' reference model, at least to some extent, further confirms Maria's strong standard orientation towards the general model.

7.2.2 Bringing language closer at the local level

Maria, language planner at the normative linguistic authority of the Balearic Islands, the UIB, clearly orients to the general standard and encourages its use, while she presents the restricted standard as potentially more problematic. Differently, language planners working at the insular and local levels orient to the 'restricted' standard. At their work, all local participants do a careful adaptation of the standard to Balearic varieties (always avoiding linguistic "regionalism" and "secessionism",[39] as they phrase it). For them, this mainly involves adapting verbal morphology and using lexicon prevalent in their constituencies. In this section, I unpack the decisions underlying such adaptations, as well as the (minor) issues that arise in the process. By doing so, I am addressing the *agency* (Duranti, 2004) of individuals who work and perform as local actors of Catalan standardisation.[40]

Local language planners explain that, in their jobs, they must balance two aims of different scale. They are very aware that, on the one hand, their main duty is to advance Catalan normalisation and, on the other, that they respond to and work for their local constituencies. Nevertheless, local planners do not consider these two aims as contradictory. They believe that a way of matching both the larger and the minor-scale aims is by 'bringing language closer' to their constituencies, an idea that recurrently emerged throughout the interviews.[41] As just mentioned, this means

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[36]"és inexistent" "perquè és absurd" (31:02-32:08).

[37]"marca institucional".

[38]The UIB's Style Book prescribes verbal morphology for both the "standard" and the "substandard" (prescribing that it must follow Francesc de Borja Moll's [2008] orthographic model), without prioritising any particular one (2014, p. 40). Nevertheless, the chosen names for the two models—'standard' and 'substandard'—implies a hierarchical relationship.

[39]"regionalisme" and "secessionisme".

[40]As mentioned in Section 62 (p. 62), I encompass insular and local planners under the label 'local'.

[41]This idea appeared in several similar shapes, such as "choose the closest option" ("triar s'opció

adapting standard practices to normative Balearic forms, basically verbal morphology and lexicon, whenever possible. The reason why local planners want to approach standard practices to their constituencies' repertoires remained mostly implicit in the interviews, but some mentioned the "emotional bond" to certain linguistic features or the desire to not lose their ancestors' words—arguments that are very similar to the ones neogonella activists weave.

Before continuing, I want to emphasise, again, that local actors made very clear that adapting standard Catalan to Balearic varieties is *not* a contentious matter for them. They do, however, point to minor common issues that emerge from their standard language practices, mainly when I prompted them about the straightforwardness of their standard adaptation process. These issues can be grouped in two main linguistic aspects, the ones which Maria, in Extract 7.2 (p. 239), summarised as relevant for the standard adaptation: synonymy and morphological variation, mainly verbal.[42]

Regarding synonymy, local language planners always prioritise terms that speakers from their constituencies use, as long as they are authorised by sources seen as authoritative. Interestingly, however, the source of authorisation varies according to practices. For the correction of administrative texts, which represent most of the planners' workload, local actors rely on the usual *normative* corpus texts, such as the DIEC2.

Differently, for the production of promotion materials and the supervision of literary works, local language planners turn to the *DCVB*, which is a *descriptive but non-normative* corpus text of the Catalan language. As explained in Section 2.4.1 (p. 45), the *DCVB* compiled terms and variations from the local level,[43] many of which made it to normative corpus texts—but not all. Thus, local language planners bestow the highest authority to this descriptive dictionary for many promotion practices. They believe it authorises them to take minimal license to achieve closeness, that is, to select non-normative terms in virtue of the repertoires of the speakers from their constituencies.[44] Two local planners explained how their predecessors told them that if a word (or a pronunciation) appeared in the *DCVB*, they could use

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més propera", Xisca) and "to bring it a bit closer to the speaker, we would say" ("per apropar-ho una mica diríem al parlant", Rafel).

[42]Maria also mentions nominal morphology variation of Balearic varieties, but this aspect is not as salient in the data.

[43]As it was the personal life project of the Majorcan philologist Alcover, Majorcan vernaculars were very well represented in this work.

[44]With the only exception of words that scholarship has proven to be Castilian loaned words, even if they appear in the *DCVB*.

it. One of these planners had recently done so for one of her promotion materials, where instead of using the normative orthography for '*gambuix*' (woman's coif), she used the alternative spelling '*cambuix*', representative of Majorca's pronunciation and compiled in the *DCVB* though not in normative dictionaries. Again, bringing language closer to the people is *occasionally* most imperative for planners' promotion duties, even if sometimes this entails not strictly following norms.[45]

As for morphology, several local actors declared that the orthographic adaptation of the first person conjugation of the indicative present tense of a few verbs is not completely clear. They pointed out that people are also confused in this regard. As we know, Maria and other scholars from the UIB differ and state that this matter is completely resolved, as attested by several publications (Alomar et al., 1999; Alomar & Melià, 1999; Bibiloni, n.d.-a, 1981; F. Moll, 2008). But that several local actors consider this matter not completely clear is nevertheless noteworthy, and probably relates to the authority diffusion that such a diversity of sources implies. One of the language planners from the Pine Islands even uses as a model, in this regard, the work of the main poet from Eivissa (Villángomez Llobet, 1972/1978), whose norms are not essentially contradictory with the other publications. However, his selection of this poet being an authority stresses that local actors see these verbal conjugations as imprecise and that insular frames are highly important to them.

Verbal morphological variation emerges in the following ways in local language planners' training and correcting tasks. In training, local planners willingly orient to the general standard for similar reasons to the "reductive, simple, and guarantee of unity" rationales that Maria presented (they also stress that most teaching materials also use it).[46] Students thus learn the general standard verbal morphology, which allows them, a few planners mention, to escape a possible source of mistakes in tests, given the higher complexity of Balearic verbal morphology.[47] As for correction tasks, a couple of planners who correct the texts of local schools' literary awards noticed how students use the general standard verbal morphology, a matter that does not trouble them but which they indeed noticed. One of them considered that, in general, there was a need for more pedagogy of Balearic verbal forms.

The most recent language promotion campaign of the regional government, "Stories of Catalan" (*Històries del català*), indirectly illustrated the local importance of verbal

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[45]It is worth recalling here that the IEC nevertheless endorses the *DCVB*.

[46]In the language courses they teach, local planners explain to their students that they learn the standard variety of the Catalan language, which has many other varieties, such as the insular variety they are in touch with outside the class. Planners emphasise that this does not pose a problem for their students.

[47]In tests, verbal morphology adapted to the restricted standard is not sanctioned, however.

morphological variation. This campaign, which shares the positive experiences of new speakers of Catalan across the archipelago, was an initiative of the language planner from Formentera. After successfully being replicated in Eivissan municipalities, the regional government fostered its expansion across Majorca and Minorca, respecting the local approach of the campaign: municipalities were responsible of finding new speakers and producing their own promotion materials (posters and video clips). Municipalities assigned the task to their own local language planners, such as the ones I interviewed. All the campaign's written materials, such as posters, use Balearic verbal morphology, which suggests, again, the significance that this variation has from a local perspective.

While in Formentera, I noticed that rubbish bins had a sign that included a logo and a slogan of the island's Insular Council (see Figure 7.1). The slogan was "formentera**neta**/naturalment,/gràcies a valtros" (formentera**clean**/naturally,/ thanks to you) and included an example of a nominal morphological variation of Balearic varieties: the plural pronoun 'you' is written in a non-standard way (*valtros*), following the prevalent pronunciation in the island, instead of the normative '*vosaltres*'.[48]
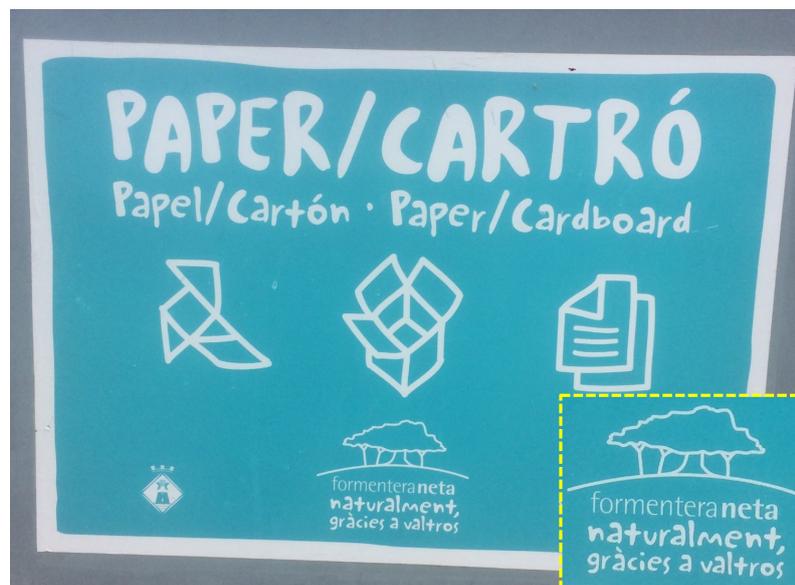
Figure 7.1: Picture of rubbish bin sign from Formentera
(slogan thumbnail in lower right corner).

I did not have the chance to ask Formentera's local language planner about this variation, as I had already conducted his interview when I noticed these signs. Although, I did share it with Maria, the UIB's planner, in the context of our exchange

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[48]The descriptive *DCVB* includes this regional variation, while normative dictionaries do not.

about some local actors' doubts about a few Balearic verbal conjugations. Maria reacted disqualifying such a use of '*valtros*' as an example of "linguistic secessionism", thus equating this practice with the proposals of neogonellisme. However, Formentera's local planner, probably responsible for that sign, clearly defends a *stance of language sameness*, as the name he chose for his promotion campaign, "Stories of *Catalan*", exemplifies. Furthermore, he is extremely critical with neogonellisme. However, he probably sees no harm nor challenge to the unity of the language in the use of such "dialectalism", as Maria also condescendingly called it. In sum, the appropriation and flexibility of the standard variety of Catalan is experienced differently at the top and the bottom of the Catalan standardisation planning levels.

"We can't get everywhere"

As already mentioned, in interviews with language planners, I shared findings from the analysis of neogonella social media activity. The responses of local planners to neogonelles' symbolic exploitation of Palma's street lights (see p. 197) strengthens the argument unfolding in this section.

Local planners agreed for once with neogonelles that, if asked, they would have also used the verb '*pitjar*' instead of '*prémer*' and adapted the imperative form to Balearic verbal morphology (*esperau*, instead of *espereu*). They justified their agreement in that the offered alternatives are normative and because they achieve the closeness rationales unpacked in this section.[49] Local planners were aware that these views were aligned with the ones held by neogonelles, but they stressed that by no means very specific cases such as this one justify any re-standardisation, as neogonelles defend. They also stressed that, nevertheless, the original forms in the sign are by no means incorrect, as synonymy is part of any language—concerning the pitting of '*pitjar*' against '*prémer*'—and as the verbal morphology of the general standard is absolutely valid as well—in what concerns the *espereu/esperau* variation. But, if they could have chosen, they would have selected the *normative* prevalent terms and forms in Majorca.

This common response brings us to local language planners' limitations. As a few phrase it, they "can't get everywhere".[50] That is, local actors say that it is unfeasible to review all the linguistic productions of their administrations, and thus, many language practices come to public light without them checking on them.

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[49]As explained on the occasion of the street light *Sa Catalanada* post (p. 197), neogonelles no longer show this moderation.

[50]"No arribam a tot", as Ramon said. One of the local language planners approximately quantified that she only revised 10% of the textual production at her municipality.

For example, the local planner from Palma had never seen the street light that neogonelles posted, despite it being allegedly located in his municipality. Antònia, explained a similar case from the "normalisation of traffic signs" (01:00:45–01:01:55). Following her criteria, the first normalised 'Give Way' signs in her location included the text '*deixau passar*' underneath them, where the verb is adapted to Balearic verbal morphology. However, once the local police ordered additional signs, someone preferred instead '*cediu el pas*', which is a correct literal translation of the common Castilian '*ceda el paso*' but which uses a verb that does not vary in Balearic varieties. Thus, her "closer option" became lost in the procurement process in detriment of another correct option whose morphology matches with the general standard—and which, perhaps, was seen as *less riskier* than Antònia's.

This vignette sets the focus on the spread of knowledge of Catalan's standard flexibility. First, we must remember that many people working at public administrations never had any training in standard Catalan, hence arises the need of language technicians in municipalities as part of Catalan normalisation (see Section 3.1.2, p. 65). Second, we must also take into account that, according to local planners, people perceive normative Balearic verbal morphology as more difficult than general forms.[51] Caterina, the former language editor at IB3, told me about another related case. An acquaintance, called Margalida, wanted to call her pharmacy after her name. In order to apply for the subsidy for using Catalan in businesses labels, she named it, however, Margarida, mistakenly thinking that the Majorcan form of the name would have prevented her from receiving the subsidy. This points, again, to the uncertainty about the normativity and validity of widespread Balearic forms which minimally diverge from the general standard variety.

To sum up, this section showed how institutional actors of Catalan standardisation from the Balearic Islands relate to the standard's prescriptive optionality following a vertical distribution. The language planner working at the authority level of the UIB orients to the general standard, while those working at the local level orient to the restricted version, sometimes taking minimal normative license in promotion materials to achieve closeness. Local actors, additionally, identify some *uncertainty* regarding the normativity of a few forms of Balearic varieties and consider that *people hesitate about them*. Moreover, local actors struggle to cope with all the

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[51] This is why, in September 2017, the SAL of the Insular Council of Minorca posted on its Facebook Page a list of correct "Balearic verbal morphology" of certain verbs, followed by the invitation "These verbal forms are correct and acceptable within the standard. Therefore, if you feel more comfortable using them and writing them, go on!" ("Aquestes formes verbals són correctes i admissibles dins l'estàndard. Per tant, si us sentiu més còmodes emprant-les i escrivint-les, endavant!").

textual production of their institutions, which implies that other speakers, who might also see the adaptation to Balearic forms as unclear, make choices for institutional linguistic practices. Some readers might consider that the standard-orientation distribution can be seen, to some extent, as following an expectable pattern, given the constrained scope of local bodies. In any case, I argue that local planners doing "frontline work" (Smith, 2001) are certain that achieving closeness is key for the valuation of Catalan standard practices in the linguistic market. The next section explores the—apparently—limited reach of local institutional actors of Catalan standardisation.

7.3   Xisca's "Language questions"

Whereas all interviewed local language planners have similar duties and similar standard orientations, what distinguishes them most is their outreach. A majority of local actors do not consider presence in social media nor regional media as necessary, especially because these planners focus on correction and training tasks. For them, having a website with contact information is enough, sometimes with some promotion materials available to download.[52] Differently, the local planners from Minorca and, especially, Manacor, extend their language promotion tasks to social media.[53]

This section brings together the local language planners' aim of achieving closeness via standard practices and language policing via Facebook Pages. I will look at a promotion initiative by Xisca, the local planner from the Linguistic Service of Manacor, the main city of inland Majorca and which has already appeared a couple of times in this thesis. Differently from other similar services, the Linguistic Service of Manacor focuses just on language correction and promotion tasks, since a sister body organises Catalan training. This allows Xisca to dedicate more time to linguistic promotion. As part of her work, she attended a social media course where she learnt that receiving feedback from users is essential to properly exploit these platforms. Thus, besides using a Facebook Page[54] to regularly inform about the Linguistic Services' courses and activities, Xisca found specific ways to engage with users, such as an initiative called "Language questions" (*Qüestions de llengua*). The

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[52]The small island of Formentera is a special case, because the local planner relies on the widely-listened to local public radio *Ràdio Illa* to reach the population.

[53]At the time of the interview, the local planner from Minorca had recently begun using Facebook and Twitter not only to spread news and activities from the Linguistic Service, but also to regularly post content about place names and language policing (see, for example, footnote 51, p. 247).

[54]The Facebook Page of the Linguistic Service of Manacor was created in September 2013, at the same time the FJ3 and Foment created theirs.

engagement that this initiative received carries explanatory power on language-ideological dynamics in the Balearic Islands, as it helps to discern an existing need in the linguistic market.

There is an interesting story behind Xisca's 'Language questions'. During her corrections of internal documents from Manacor's city council, Xisca found that some mistakes were common. To help her colleagues, in mid-2012 she began emailing a 'Language question' on a weekly basis, addressing these common mistakes. Emails were so well received by the staff that they were compiled and published in a book called *100 Qüestions de Llengua* (100 Language Questions). Eventually, Xisca also decided to share the 'Language questions' on Facebook. She adapted each one of them to a picture format, aware of the importance of images in social media, where she addressed a common mistake on a weekly basis.[55]

In the press release on the occasion of the launching of the compiling book, Xisca defined 'Language questions' as "dissemination microspaces"[56] and reflected how "we all are language models"[57] (Ajuntament de Manacor, n.d.), meaning that the language practices of each one of us has effects on others. During our interview, Xisca explained that the aim of 'Language questions' was to grab people's attention to reflect about language use, a matter that recurrently surfaced in our interaction. Xisca expressed unease when faced with certain linguistic behaviours, for instance, when observing how her Catalan speaking friends do not correct their children's mistakes or Castilian loaned words when speaking Catalan. For Xisca, besides formal training and media exposure, social contact can also play a role in the collective endeavour of language policing, a view that she wanted more people to be aware of and which frames the purpose of her 'Language questions'.

7.3.1 Addressing local language practices

In my interview with Xisca, she disclosed that there was a moment when the 'Language questions' began attracting much more attention from Facebook users.[58] Xisca argued that the 'Language questions' that captured more attention were "the most Majorcan ones",[59] meaning those that addressed Majorcan varieties or cultural dimensions of the island, instead of mistakes unrelated to the specificities of Majorca

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[55]Xisca emphasised correct usage in the design, and thus avoided showing the mistake or any theoretical explanation whenever possible.

[56]"microespais de divulgació".

[57]"tots nosaltres som models de llengua".

[58]Xisca is the administrator of the Linguistic Service's Facebook Page, so she can access data on visualisations and engagements for each post.

[59]"ses més mallorquines".

varieties or culture. This set of 'Majorcan questions' dates between January and February 2016. Of the eight 'language questions' posted during these two months, *six of them* covered linguistic aspects especially relevant in Majorca and were precisely the ones whose engagement indicators were drastically higher than average questions.

The following Figure 7.2 shows 'language question' number 97, which can be considered the first of the six 'Majorcan questions' that Xisca posted on Facebook. This 'question' makes an orthographic distinction between an homonymous pair, the noun 'wish' (*desig*) and the first person from the indicative present tense, in its Balearic form, of the verb 'to wish' ([*jo*] *desitj*, [I] wish).[60] One example sentence for each term appears in the composition. Most of these 'Majorcan questions', which are issued by an *official* actor of Catalan standardisation, implicitly publicise the normativity of certain forms of Balearic varieties. For instance, this question implicitly clarifies *how to normatively write a Balearic verbal form*, '*(jo) desitj*', which is different from the general standard form "*(jo) desitjo*".[61]

Figure 7.2: Example of a Facebook formatted 'language question' (number 97).

The second 'Majorcan question' defines a capital letter distinction between the reference to a saint ('sant Antoni', Saint Anthony) and its associated celebration ('Sant Antoni', around January 17th), which is one of the most important traditional

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[60] As mentioned in the Introduction (p. 14), this form of Balearic verbal morphology does not have a suffix.

[61] The spelling of the verb *desitjar* (to wish) in its normative Balearic form is an example of the doubts of local actors that I covered in the last section. Xisca, in this question, addresses this issue. It is worth mentioning that her proposal differs from the one we can find in Bibiloni (n.d.-a, 1981), who prescribes for '*(jo) desig*'. Hence the uncertainty of these matters.

festivities across Catalan speaking areas, particularly in Majorca. The third question displays correct ways of greeting in Catalan while it explicitly identifies as incorrect the Majorcan prevalent '*bones tardes*' (good afternoon, in plural), an adaptation of the Castilian *buenas tardes*. The fourth 'question' shows three normative synonyms for the noun 'costume', two of which are mainly prevalent in Majorcan varieties. As for the fifth 'question', it shows the correctness of a prevalent form of saying 'the day before yesterday' in Majorca, '*despús-ahir*', aside of the more commonly used in the standard variety '*abans d'ahir*'. Finally, the sixth 'question' prescribes that official place names that require an article are to be written without using capital letters for the article, as for example, la Savina (Formentera's main harbour). It provides many examples, some of which use the literary article, while others the salty article. Thus, implicitly, the 'question' assumes that place names *can use the salty article*, which still is a matter of discussion in the Balearic Islands.

The degree of interest caused by the 'Majorcan questions' (97–103) can be seen in the following charts about the number of visualisations and engagement (likes and shares) of all 'language questions' until October 2016 (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4).[62]
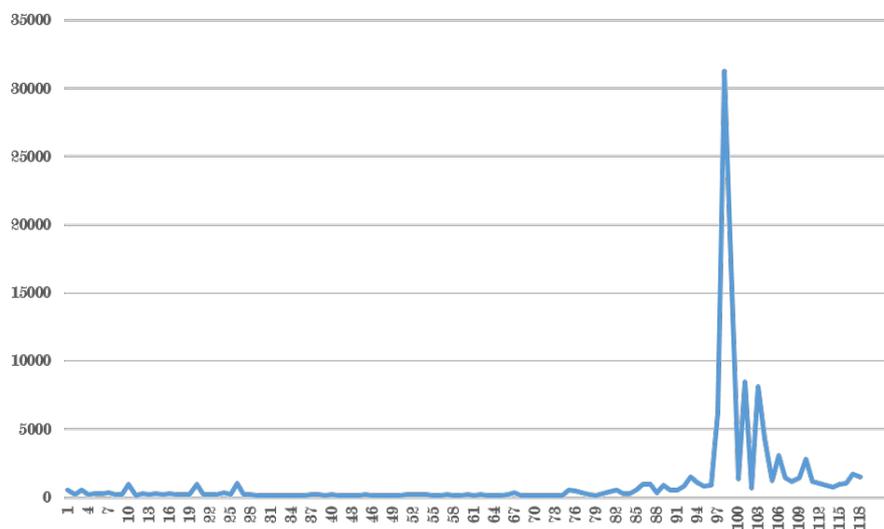
Figure 7.3: Number of visualisations of Xisca's 'Language questions' on Facebook.

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[62]Xisca kindly shared with me the engagement record for each 'Language question', since as administrator of the Service's Facebook Page she has access to this data.
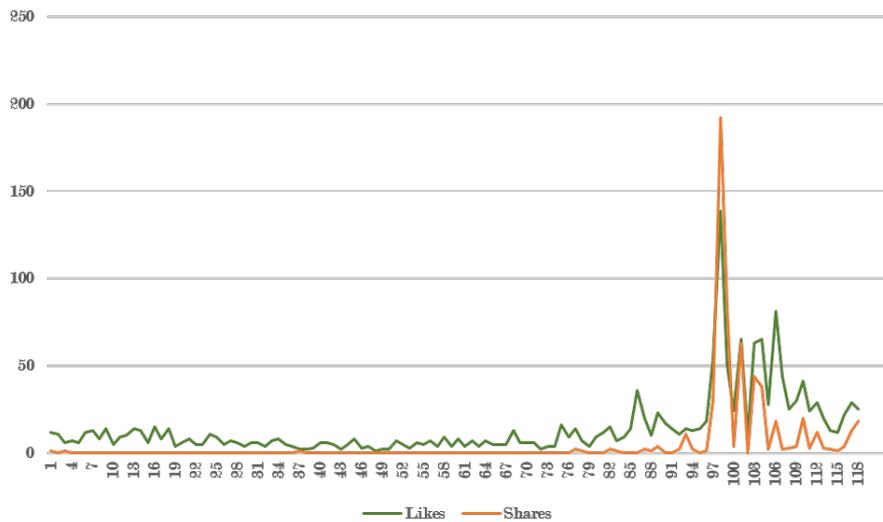
Figure 7.4: Evolution of likes and shares on Facebook of Xisca's 'Language questions'.

Both charts show why Xisca remarked these questions. Their outreach is impressive and the three indicators (visualisations, likes, and shares) reveal a similar pattern. The 'language question' in Figure 7.2 was the first of the series, reaching more than 6,000 visualisations (previously, the maximum number of visualisations for a 'language question' had been 1,500 visualisations). The second 'question', about saint Anthony, tops all rankings (e.g., over 31,000 people visualised it).[63] It is worth mentioning that the population of Manacor, Xisca's institutional scope, is slightly over 40,000 inhabitants and that the Facebook page of the Linguistic Service did not even reach 1,500 followers by February 2nd 2017, one year after these 'questions' were posted. The outreach of Xisca's 'Language questions' was indeed impressive.

In my interview with Xisca, she elaborated on why these 'Majorcan questions' attracted so much interest, as shown in Extract 7.3:

Extract 7.3: Interview with Xisca (44:08–46:29).

X: Però va arribar un punt, que, de cop, 500 persones, 700 persones i: ses questions que cridaven més s'atenció eren precisament ses més mmm, locals no, ses més: (.) mallorquines, no sé com dir-ho. ((70 seconds

X: But there was a moment, that, suddenly, 500 people, 700 people, and: the questions that grabbed most the attention were precisely the most mmm, not local, the most: (.) Majorcan, I don't know how to say it.

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[63]This question was posted a few days before Saint Anthony's festivities, which most likely explains its success. Something similar happened with the fourth 'Majorcan question' (about synonyms for 'costume'), which was posted a few days before Carnival.

omission)) Jo vec que aqueixes questions (.) són ses que criden mes s'atenció perquè, sense entrar en folklorismes ni en ses modalitats, però, intentam (.) divulgar sa llengua catalana, però, jo vec que sa gent no sap si aqueixa paraula, o expressió, o forma verbal, que: que la deim, que és mallorquina, no saben si és normativa, i si és normativa no saben com s'ha d'escriure, i sa gent té molt de dubtes amb aquest sentit, i jo crec que això és molt negatiu, ((lowering voice, as in private)) això afavoreix molt ((short tongue click)) es gonellisme que deim, ((back to normal pitch)) aqueixa ignorànci((a)). Si tu saps que pots escriure cant i: que és normatiu i amb quin contextes ho pots escriure, dius, (.) això és sa llengua catalana però en sa meva, sa forma verbal així com jo la dic, ((emphasis)) és normativa, és totalment correcte.

((70 seconds omission)) I see that these questions (.) are those that grab most the attention because, without entering into folklorisms nor in the ((island linguistic)) modalities, but, we try (.) to spread the Catalan language, but, I see that people don't know if this word, or expression, or verbal form, that: that we say it, which is Majorcan, they don't know if it's normative, and if it's normative they don't know how to write it, and people have many doubts in this regard, and I believe that this is very negative, ((lowering voice, as in private)) this favours a lot ((short tongue click)) the gonellisme that we comment, ((back to normal pitch)) this ignorance. If you know that you can write cant (([I] sing, Balearic form)) and: that it's normative and in which contexts you can write it, you say, (.) this is the Catalan language but with my, the verbal form the way I say it, ((emphasis)) it is normative, it's totally correct.

In this Extract, Xisca brings together many of the arguments I have been developing in the last sections. We have previously encountered the "negative" aspect that she identified among speakers, about how, in general, people are unaware or have doubts about the normativity and the orthography of parts of their Majorcan repertoires. According to Xisca, this unawareness is potentially problematic in the sense that it can favour "gonellisme", which she had described minutes before as a kind of "ignorance" about the Catalan language. Xisca believes that a way to tackle this situation is to make people know more about the possibility of adapting standard practices to Balearic varieties. She builds on what by now should be a familiar example to the reader, the conjugation of the first person of the present tense, in this case, of the verb '*cantar*' (to sing), which can be adapted to Balearic verbal morphology and take the form '*jo cant*' for the standard, instead of the general form '*jo canto*'. Xisca argues that realising and knowing how to normatively use these forms leads speakers to understand that this is the Catalan language, adapted to insular forms. This is what her 'Majorcan questions' do: they disseminate the Catalan normativity of Majorcan repertoires, though escaping from what Xisca calls

"folklorisms" and "the modalities", which is be the name she gives to neogonellisme's linguistic proposals.

I set the focus on Xisca's 'Majorcan questions' for several reasons. For the moment, it allows one to reflect on how a local institutional actor of Catalan standardisation, making use of her agency (Duranti, 2004), takes decisions to bring the Catalan language closer to the people in Manacor and to make them reflect on their language behaviours. Benefiting from the quantitative assessment afforded by the medium Xisca chose for her promotion actions, we learn that some people especially appreciated when she addressed, in a simple way, the linguistic routines of their daily life.[64] These practices are precisely the ones that Xisca believed must be addressed, from an adapting normative perspective, to disarm the discourses of neogonellisme.

7.3.2 Aligning with local language practices

An obvious insight from Xisca's 'Majorcan questions', but which is worth discussing, is that lots of people took notice of them. In a context where linguistic dissidence attempts to make Catalan standardisation a topic of language debates on the basis of authenticity, who were these people attracted to the normative writing of Majorcan linguistic capital that Xisca furthered? This section explores who these people were, or, to be more accurate, where these people were situated in the ideological spectrum concerning Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands. I undertake this exploration using networking traces to conduct a participation overlapping analysis, similarly to the one I conducted in Chapter 5.

Participation overlapping with Xisca's 'Majorcan questions'

Here, I analyse the participation overlapping of the 'Majorcan questions' with a selection of Facebook Pages representative of the different stances about Catalan in the Balearic Islands. The findings show that the people who engaged with Xisca's 'Majorcan questions' tended to also participate with Pages that promote Catalan normalisation and that take *stances of language sameness*. The following superimposition of data supports this finding.

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[64]Xisca phrased this last sentence in similar terms during our interview: "people are interested in this, that you address their daily life" ("sa gent l'interessa això, que li toquis sa seva vida quotidiana", 47:09).

The sampling of Facebook Pages I juxtaposed with the 'Majorcan questions' followed the prevalent stance-taking about Catalan in the Balearic Islands.[65] On the one hand, and to represent *stances of language difference*, I selected the Pages of our three neogonella associations. On the other, to represent *stances of language sameness*, I selected the Page of the OCB (see p. 78) and of the regional media *Diari de Balears* (see p. 75). I included the *Diari de Balears* for validity purposes, that is, to have more than one organisation which clearly takes a *stances of language sameness* with which to explore overlapping. Additionally, I also included two salient Pages from Manacor to examine the scope of Xisca's posts (remember that she is the local language planner *from Manacor*). These two Pages are the ones of Manacor's City Hall, which posts in Catalan, and the main local media, *Cent per Cent*, which publishes on a weekly basis and also uses Catalan.

The following Table 7.1 shows the Facebook activity of the sample of Pages (including the 'Majorcan questions') during January and February 2016 (the two months when Xisca posted her 'Majorcan questions'). All the Pages issued a similar number of posts, except for the higher posting of the regional media *Diari de Balears*.[66] As in the participation analysis in Chapter 5, the dimension of the activity of these Pages, as indicated by the engagement they received, is comparable in terms of social media dimensions and fitted for a participation overlapping analysis.

Table 7.1: Activity in the 'Majorcan questions' and a sample of Facebook Pages during January and February 2016.

| Page	Posts	Unique users	Engagement[*]
'Majorcan questions'[67]	6	304	919
Toc·Toc	40	303	1,253
FJ3	53	606	3,628
Foment	64	489	2,517
OCB	64	1,653	5,021
Diari de Balears	331	1,243	5,667
Manacor City Hall	60	1,073	3,343
Cent per Cent	74	637	1,647

[*] Total engagement for all the posts of each Page.

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[65]The following explorative analysis was undertaken with several samples of Pages, always providing similar results. The selection of this final sample responds to clarity purposes.

[66] The activity of the Linguistic Service of Manacor was filtered to only explore Xisca's six 'Majorcan questions'.

The number of unique users is the attribute on which participation overlapping analysis is based, as it tells us how many different people engaged with a Page. Table 7.2 shows which percentage of the unique users of the 'Majorcan questions' also participated in each of the Pages of the sample.

Table 7.2: Percentage of 'Majorcan questions' participants engaging with sample Pages.

	Toc-Toc	FJ3	Foment	OCB	Diari de Balears	Manacor City Hall	Cent per Cent
'Majorcan questions' participants (n=304)	0	0.3	0	22.4	13.8	15.1	18.1

The insights from Table 7.2 are very illustrative. People who participated in Xisca's 'Majorcan questions', who can also be called their 'active audience', basically did not engage with neogonella Pages. In stark contrast, 22.4% of them also participated in OCB's Page, the main association promoting Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands, and 13.8% with the *Diari de Balears*. These are very significant numbers that suggest that people who engaged with the 'Majorcan questions' support Catalan normalisation. In relation to scope, a significant number of participants in the 'Majorcan questions' also participated in the two Pages from Manacor. This suggests that Xisca managed to attract the attention of her constituency, Manacor, to an important degree.

Table 7.2 shows how participation overlapping between any two Pages can be quantified. However, Table 7.2 does not show if the active audience of the 'Majorcan questions' engaged with more than one Page of the sample, that is, if the users who engaged with the 'Majorcan questions' and OCB also did so with, let's say, the Manacor City Hall. A representation of the overlapping addresses this limitation and provides another layer of data useful for analytical purposes. Figure 7.5 is a network representation of the explored Pages, whose posts are merged into a single coloured node, and the users who engaged with these Pages, represented with dark grey nodes (thus, it represents data from Table 7.1). Figure 7.5 is a representation of Facebook networking traces data generated using the same conventions and algorithm as Figure 5.6 on page 170.

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[67]As explained in footnote 66, 'Majorcan questions' is not a Page, but a selection of a specific part of the activity in the Page of the Linguistic Service of Manacor.
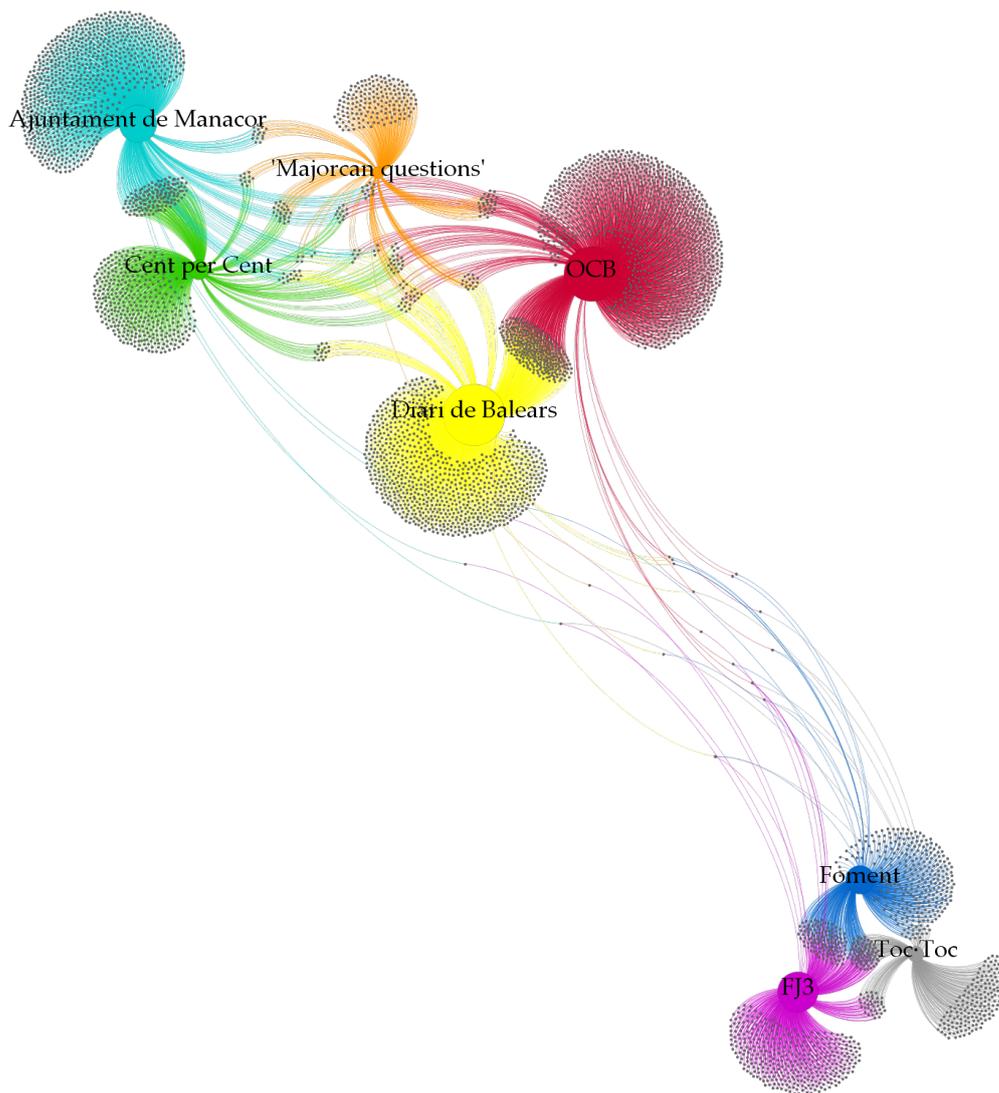
Figure 7.5: Graph of the Facebook activity on the 'Majorcan questions' and a sample of Facebook Pages. All posts from each Page are merged into one. Node size relates to engagement.

This network brings several aspects to the foreground. First, the location of the 'Majorcan questions'—between the Manacor and the Catalanist Pages, but very distant from the neogonella ones—is a fair representation of how people who engaged with them tended to inhabit spaces that support Catalan normalisation. Second, the location of the neogonella cluster indicates that their participants do not tend to engage with Catalanist Pages (nor the selected Pages from Manacor). There is a lot of participation overlapping between the neogonella Pages, however, suggesting that supporters of this activist movement engage with other similar Pages. Something similar can be observed with the overlapping between OCB and the *Diari*

de Balears. This suggests that people tend to interact more with Pages with whom they ideologically align, and validates the possibility of inferring the stance of people who engaged with the 'Majorcan questions'.

This section has examined the 'Language questions' that Xisca posted on Facebook as part of her Catalan promotion tasks as a local language planner from Manacor. Precisely, we have examined one set of these 'questions', the ones that amazed Xisca for their unexpected resonance across this social networking site. These were the most 'Majorcan questions', because they addressed doubts on the normative writing of the—local—linguistic routines of Majorcan speakers of Catalan. Thus, it was a way for Xisca to "bring language closer to people" (including standard language practices, as exemplified by the *desig/(jo) desitj* 'question'), something that local actors of language policing deem very important. Finally, a participation overlapping analysis strongly suggests that people who liked these questions do not take *stances of language difference*, but instead align with Catalan normalisation. Thus, people taking *stances of language sameness* seem to appreciate knowing more about standard language practices that take into account Balearic varieties. In a sociolinguistic context where Balearic language planners consider that the project of normalisation increasingly finds different sorts of obstacles, this suggests that the prescriptive flexibility of Catalan poses an opportunity to advance its normalisation in the Balearic Islands.

7.4   Summary

Moving its focus from neogonella associations to pro-Catalan language planners and advocates, this chapter has examined the challenges of Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands. Capitalising on the recent institution of Balearist linguistic dissidence, the chapter was taken as an opportunity to address the dynamics of the linguistic market in the archipelago. This focus ultimately led to the identification of an untapped need in the market.

The chapter began reviewing the ideological obstacles that the process of Catalan normalisation finds in the Balearic context, a context which participants believe to be characterised by migration. In the first place, interview data was used to *historicise* the most recent language-related developments. Advocates and language planners argued that the Bauzá Law eroded the legitimacy grounds of the Catalan language. I used regional planner Carla's term of "precariousness" to describe this process and IB3 editor Caterina's account to represent it. Participants linked this *precarisation* with

the emergence of neogonellisme, as it launched a "confusion ceremony" concerning Catalan, as OCB activist Sebastià called it. In all, they considered the Bauzá Law and neogonellisme as part of one same chain of events aimed at *securing the anonymity of the Castilian language*. In second place, interview data was used to identify the obstacles *stemming from normalisation itself*, drawing on the *triple crisis of cultural models* that Fernàndez (2008) identified for the project of normalisation in Catalonia. Thus, this first section of the chapter addressed the valuation problems of the linguistic capital of speakers of vernacular in the Balearic Islands.

An analysis of the relation of institutional language planners with the Catalan standard language regime found a *distribution of standard orientations*. I drew on literature about the standard language ideology and its relationship with flexibility (Costa et al., 2017; Jaffe, 2000; J. Milroy, 2001; Sebba, 2007), a matter highly relevant for the Catalan case given that its standard variety allows for regional variation. The language planner at the UIB, the normative authority in the archipelago, as well as one of the regional planners, *orient to the general standard* and advise users to follow this model instead of the restricted standard, which they nevertheless see as a resolved matter. In contrast, local language planners consider that there are a few details of this restricted standard which are not completely clear and believe that speakers share this impression. Additionally, they orient to the restricted standard because they believe that '*bringing language closer to the people*' is highly necessary. However, local planners cannot supervise all the textual production at their administrations. In all, the standard language orientations and practices of institutional actors of Catalan standardisation slightly differ according to the institutional level at which they work. Nevertheless, the local planners' experience in 'bringing language closer to the people' suggests that identification has significant value in the Balearic linguistic market.

The final section of this chapter brought together a local language planners' aim of achieving closeness via standard practices and language policing via Facebook. The local planner from Manacor, Xisca, undertook a Catalan promotion initiative called "*Language Questions*" that addressed common mistakes in the language and which she posted on a local institutional Facebook Page. From all the 'questions', a small set that addressed local language practices from Majorca had an enormous resonance on Facebook. These six '*Majorcan questions*' included the normative spelling of Balearic verbal morphology, the official use of salty articles in place names, and some terms very prevalent in Majorcan vernaculars, among others. Xisca argued that the success of these 'Majorcan questions' resulted from *people's normative uncertainties about their linguistic capital*, an impression that other local planners shared. Finally,

a participation overlapping analysis of the 'Majorcan questions' and a sample of Pages that included sites promoting divergent stances about vernacular varieties was revealing. It showed that people who engaged with the 'Majorcan questions' *also inhabited Pages in favour of Catalan normalisation*, such as the OCB's, and not neogonella Pages. This finding suggests that in the linguistic market of the Balearic Islands *there is an untapped need to match local identifications with the standard*.

Chapter 8

Discussion

The previous chapters presented the findings from the analysis of orientations to the competing standard models in the Balearic Islands. These findings compose a privileged picture of the current situation of the linguistic market in the Balearic archipelago, as well as of the processes of legitimation and opposition to standards and to minoritised language standardisation. Now, to bring the previous analytical chapters together, I want to advance three arguments. These arguments refer to a) the neogonella activists' deceptive adoption of the standard language regime, b) the existence of an identification need in the Catalan linguistic market, and c) the role of minoritisation on standardisation.

8.1 The deceptive nature of the 'Balearic' standard language regime

We have seen that neogonelles promote an alternative standard variety for Balearic vernaculars. As such, their case sheds light on current processes of legitimation and contention of standard varieties. In this regard, it is productive to reflect on the way neogonelles embrace the *standard language regime* for their Balearic model. As a reminder, a language regime "can be understood as a set of individually internalized rules of conduct as well as the myriad actions and ideas that govern linguistic usages" (Costa, 2017, p. 48). Neogonelles' standard language regime for both their 'Balearic' linguistic model and Castilian shows the paradoxical relationship between their activist claims and aims. Collaterally, my argument concerning this deceptive nature of the 'Balearic' standard language regime will also lead us to the role of social media for language activism.

The strategies that neogonelles use for their Balearic legitimation mission are very familiar. Like most social movements, these include activist practices such as street stands, lobbying efforts such as meetings with politicians, and networking practices such as the creation of social media sites. The same can be said for their linguistic workings. Neogonelles mirror the ways of regimenting language they see used for Catalan and Castilian and adapt them in their attempt to create a standard language regime for 'Balearic', which explains their linguistic legitimation strategies. They devise a standard variety in the form of a *Style Book* (building on but also breaching standard Catalan), organise literary contests to develop it, publish literary works that use it, and create an online translation tool to spread it (via standard Castilian). Thus, neogonelles' contestation of standard Catalan uses many of the same tools chosen by Catalan advocates, the ones that a standard language regime regularly relies on. Drawing on Blommaert (2008) and Costa (2017), I will first reflect on how neogonelles underpin the Balearic standard language regime to then turn to its function.

According to Costa (2017), "standards serve as organizational principles among people" (p. 49), shaping linguistic practices and expectations. The implicit social contract of standards is sustained by legitimate knowledge, or a shared belief about it. In the case of Catalan, standardisation went in hand with the production of academic knowledge that legitimated the aim and the decisions made by Fabra and the IEC. This academic knowledge underpins the Catalan standard's implicit contract constituting the social relations of speakers (see Costa, 2017, p. 58). Without this recognising knowledge, the standard cannot function. How do neogonelles produce knowledge for their Balearic model's standard regime? In a context where hegemonic academic knowledge firmly sustains the legitimate vision of Catalan, social media becomes instrumental for neogonelles' knowledge production.

Chapter 6 showed how neogonella activists use the representational control that social media licenses to maximise their agency (Duranti, 2004), allowing them to entextualise and police language in top-down conditions that transform them into experts in their supporters' eyes. Taking a step back, entextualisation and policing are part of the knowledge production abilities that social media sites enable for activists, an understanding that I draw from Blommaert's *Grassroots literacy* (2008).

In this book, Blommaert writes an ethnography about three historiographic texts by grassroots writers from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These 'ineffective' texts, which reflect their authors' literacy regime, are "polyphonic complexes" (2008, p. 162) made out of everything the authors get access to. Blommaert asserts that people not fully inserted into elite knowledge economies "belong to a *particular type*

of knowledge economy, one in which access to the resources required for the genre they try to perform is restricted. [They] *write an elite genre with non-elite resources*" (2008, p. 176, emphasis in original). This explanation focuses on how available sources of information are converted into semiotic products devised for a particular genre, something that neogonelles also do. From all sorts of sources, neogonelles compose a regular flow of posts and comments about history, identity, language, and politics, as Chapters 5 and 6 showed. These sources become semiotic products that always advance a Balearist vision. They *voice* activists' ideologies, understanding voice as "the capacity to make oneself understood in one's own terms, to produce meanings under conditions of empowerment" (2008, p. 17). From this view, neogonella activists use their sites to produce an unfolding and particular economy of knowledge about certain topics—one which confronts the hegemonic one.

The difference between the knowledge economy of Blommaert's grassroots historians and neogonella activists is that the activists choose and assemble sources according to their *activist interest*, which drives their *archontic power*. Blommaert (2008), drawing on Derrida, defines archontic power as "the power to construct an archive and to decide what belongs to it and what not. (...) [It] also means the power to define what are or are not facts. It thus becomes a regime of Truth" (p. 86). Neogonelles use controlled social media sites to enable their interest-oriented archontic power that manifests itself in a succession of posts and comments that authenticate neogonellisme. For people gathering in these *interest networks* (Nahon & Hemsley, 2013), knowledge gradually sediments from the coherent succession of resources about this activism that neogonella make available, as the effect of any sign-use "is maximal when the producer and the consumer of such signs are fully competent, so to speak, and familiar with the historical (intertextual) affordances of the sign, with the cultural codes and frames that make sign use understandable" (Blommaert, 2008, p. 42). In addition to the corpus materials and their activist practices, social media sites enable supporters to build familiarity, which, in our case, transforms resources into knowledge that sustains the Balearist standard (and its associated identity).

Having clarified how neogonelles produce knowledge for their standard language regime, let us turn to what they want this regime for. It is important to keep in mind that, for neogonelles, the standard regime of Castilian is legitimate and available for formal and standard language practices. However, *their adoption of a standard regime for 'Balearic' is strategic overall*, as I will now argue. Since the times of Pep Gonella, dialectalist gonelles inhabited a non-standard language regime for their vernaculars and did not show interest in doing otherwise, as Calaforra and Moranta

(2005) explained (see quote on p. 156). More than 40 years later, neogonelles see this non-standard regime as an unproductive way to achieve their political goals. Consequently, they produce a model for users to recognise the standard language regime that people are already familiar with via Catalan, Castilian, and others.[1]

Neogonelles' acceptance of the standard regime, however, is deceptive. If indeed a standard language regime for Balearic existed, one would expect that neogonelles' linguistic behaviour would be governed by the rules of the standard. However, this is not entirely the case. In standard language regimes, "the source of linguistic authority is supposed to rest outside the individual or the situation of communication" (Costa, 2017, p. 49). Neogonelles, instead, identify certain aged speakers as the sources of linguistic authority. For activists, native speakers possess enough authority to decide on what stands as legitimate vernacular writing, regardless of their compliance to their standard model. It seems plausible to suggest that, actually, *neogonelles aim for a non-standard language regime for Balearic vernaculars* where nativeness governs the rules of conduct and the logics of action of language. To succeed, however, they know they must play with the rules that standards impose in our "standard language cultures" (J. Milroy, 2001), and hence adapt their claim to the standard regime.

This regime-based mismatch between claim and aim may appear paradoxical, but it helps to make sense of many of neogonelles' actions and decisions. It explains: a) why the recent collaboration between the FJ3 and the GAB has not resulted to date in an agreement on the standard to use; b) why both the chosen entity for the ruling association of neogonellisme (the FJ3), a 'foundation', and the chosen name for neogonelles' linguistic model, a 'Style Book', are legitimation strategies that avoid claims of linguistic authority; and, c) why in online debates over linguistic options, activists proclaim that most supporters' options are correct, even when they are self-contradictory—unless of course they match with standard Catalan. We also see how this regime-based mismatch has led both online opponents and interviewed language planners to perceive activists as promoting 'individuation' of the standard or a 'free spelling reign'. Hence, activists distribute among certain speakers the linguistic authority that they gradually accrue from performing as experts on interactions. Lack of institutionalisation or widespread support may partly account for this conduct by neogonelles towards the vernacular, but neogonelles' reverence towards supporters' options continues to date, some years after the publication of the *Style Book*.

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[1]As mentioned in Chapter 5, such transition to the standard regime is controversial for many secessionist gonelles.

This explanation based on language regimes is consistent with neogonelles' ascription of linguistic value. Costa (2017) explains that the non-standard language regime of Scots "makes the use of Scots tied to who the user is, and to where they originate—socially as well as geographically" (p. 62). Hence, uses of Scots revolve around issues of ownership and markedness. These issues come to the foreground as a result of the unstable implementation of the neogonelles' standard and their moderation in debates. Supporters' uses, regardless of their Balearic standardness, become recognised and justified against the backdrop of their biography and origin. Origin also becomes an issue for opponents. For example, activist Salva's response to an opponent in the Model post highlighted the Castilian origin of the opponents' last name (p. 177, comments 08 and 13).[2] This is a recurrent way activists point at a non-native origin of opponents to prevent them from rightfully participating in the debates about the vernacular. Thus, this non-standard regime explanation further suggests that neogonelles aim at bringing the language back to natural authenticity, as elaborated in Section 5.1.2. In parallel, considering a non-standard language regime for the vernacular instead of standard Catalan accommodates neogonelles' valuing of Castilian as the legitimate language. Castilian thus becomes the standard language regime that grants anonymity or a "voice from nowhere" (Woolard, 2016) to proponents of neogonelles' Balearic 'standard'.

8.2 An identification need in the linguistic market

The second argument I want to advance revolves around the linguistic market, bringing together different analytical insights to argue for the existence of an identification need in the linguistic market of the Balearic Islands. I will elaborate it in two stages. Firstly, I focus on the relationship of neogonellisme with the linguistic market. Part of the argument will involve a historicisation effort that will provide a first hint into the mentioned need. Secondly, I will reflect on Xisca's case, as her actions seem to address what neogonelles also target.

It is important to begin by addressing the timing of neogonellisme's emergence. In the Introduction, I advanced an argument about an identification crisis going on in the Balearic Islands resulting from long-standing societal developments, such as the

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[2]Precisely, Salva transforms the original name of the opposer, 'Francesc Lopez', to 'PACO LÓPEZ'. Noticing the Castilian last name, Salva changes Francesc's name for the nickname of the equivalent Castilian name. He also adds the accent mark that Castilian's norm demand on 'López'. What is more relevant is that he writes these modifications using capital letters, in order to emphasise the indexicalities of the original and his transformation. As said in the body of the text, this type of allusions to the non-Majorcan name of opponents is recurrent.

state-driven monoculture of mass tourism, the demographic and linguistic changes resulting from migration, and the institutional project of Catalan normalisation. I presented three signs of this identification crisis: the sociopolitical contention around Bauzá's offensive against Catalan, the scholarly attention to Majorcan identity, and the cultural success of the *Acorar* theatrical work. The establishment of neogonellisme in the linguistic market bears relationship to this crisis.

Neogonellisme is a *response* to the identification crisis that Balearic society and culture is going through. Amidst the fragmenting discourses about Majorcan and other insular identities that circulate across Balearic society, neogonelles offer an apparently straightforward answer in the form of Balearism. This identity option, which encompasses insular identities, presents itself as resolving both the political *identity* of the Balearic Islands, presenting it at as an unproblematic Spanish region, and its *representation*, offering new collective symbols as the sling-shooter, and, most importantly, a self-centred linguistic model but which accepts many loaned words from Castilian. Neogonelles ascribe only authenticity value to their Balearic linguistic model and abstain from weaving it into any anonymity competition, paving the way for Castilian's concentration of anonymous value. Neogonella activists perceive an opportunity in the identification crisis to advance their political interests. In fact, the Balearism that neogonelles promote fitly aligns with the regionalist political vision described in the Introduction, which has historically used local culture to facilitate the assumption of the Spanish frame. The ties of the FJ3 with the economic and political Majorcan elites, the traditional proponents of this regional identity, strongly suggest that neogonellisme is a *regionalist response* to the identification crisis. But why have regionalist actors actively fostered neogonellisme *now*? After all, the hegemony of the Catalan belief about vernaculars continuous to be firmly-established in Balearic society.

The main reason is Catalan normalisation, as it advances an alternative cultural and linguistic market across Spanish regions that these elites consider a threatening political factor to the status-quo from which they benefit. Over 30 years of normalisation have effectively extended the knowledge of Catalan among the younger cohorts of the population and, although active use is a different matter, these new speakers most likely are prepared to shift to Catalan when needed (see Pujolar & Gonzàlez, 2013). Normalisation has also arrested language-shift among first-language speakers and within families (see EUIB2014). As in Catalonia, Balearic institutions have tried to cultivate the value of Catalan within parameters of identity formation, moving it away from naturalistic understandings of authenticity.[3] In the Balearic

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[3]This 'project authenticity' (Woolard, 2016) may well explain the "attraction capacity" that

Islands, Catalan has stabilised its acute minoritisation from Franco's times and is in a position of constituting alternative symbolic markets for people.

These sociolinguistic developments are troublesome for dominant economic and political actors who, in turn, promote neogonellisme in an attempt to secure the ideological frameworks and cultural markets that underpin their position. Another development that contributes to this resistance against Catalan normalisation is the struggle for political independence in Catalonia, which is seen as a potential destabilising political factor for the islands, insofar they are part of the Catalan culture. Faced with the repositioning of Catalan and the prospect of a disruptive national frame, regionalist actors, spearheaded by Zaforteza himself, promoted neogonellisme. The ultimate aim of neogonelles is impeding the constitution of an alternative symbolic common market with other Catalan-speaking areas, for which the standard is instrumental. This also explains neogonelles' ambiguities—on some occasions Balearic is as an alternative standard, and on others, a different language—, as they want to assemble all possible resistance against normalisation. In all, neogonellisme can be considered an unexpected *outcome* of the successes of Catalan normalisation in the Balearic Islands.

This agenda explains why only the two main anti-Catalanist and Hispaniscist political parties have recognised, to a different extent, the neogonella linguistic model of the FJ3. Cs has directly adopted it and uses it in the regional chamber, while the PP has announced its intentions of collaborating with the FJ3 once it is re-elected. In the meantime, existing local PP politicians already foster this position (e.g., the major of Manacor's decision to use the salty article in texts). For these parties, defending the Balearic linguistic model is a way to advance the value of Castilian. These developments carry one relevant consequence for the linguistic market: the standard variety of Catalan becomes politised. Using the minoritised language becomes politically indexical according to the used norms. The resulting alignment between political stances with linguistic models *marks* the language, pushing Catalan into the realms of the pragmatic functions of language (the *who*) and away from the referential ones (the *what*) (Woolard, 2016, pp. 23–26). This explains why, for instance, Rafel chooses not to use salty articles in WhatsApp, as he fears that this would identify him as a gonella.[4] The eventual election of a Hispanicist regional government will further intensify the political character of the linguistic market.

Up to this point, I have related the linguistic market with the emergence and the

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surveys detect for the language.

[4]As such, the emerging political markedness of the linguistic market is the sociopolitical example of the fixation of the iconic value of the salty article seen in Section 6.2.3 (p. 204).

institution of Balearist linguistic dissidence. Using this approach, it was possible to understand that neogonelles try to give a linguistic response to an identification crisis. The kind of response that neogonelles offer, foregrounding the authenticity value of standard language practices, is ideologically not so different to how local language planners in favour of Catalan normalisation consider that it is very important to bring the language closer to the people via standard practices.

As we have seen, whenever the register allows it, local planners *in the field* apply Catalan standard language to index local practices. Local actors appear to be more "speaker-centred" than language policies and linguistic authorities, which are rather more "language-centred" (see Urla et al., 2017, p. 33). Costa et al. (2017) argue that minoritised language speakers may have a dual stance towards the standard, where, in addition to having an instrumental relationship to it, they also associate it "with open-ended projects of identity and groupness" (p. 16). It seems that these local planners across the Balearic Islands customise their "dual stance" towards the standard to make it account for local daily experiences. The Formentera rubbish bin sign is a fitting example of their associated practices (Figure 7.1, p. 245).

The social media resonance of Xisca's language questions suggests that this dual stance is not misleading in relation to the linguistic market: it was users of Catalanist sites who showed interest on how normative linguistic practices could be Majorcan or account for Majorcanness, and not active users of neogonella sites. Altogether, the experiences of neogonelles, Xisca, and users like Natàlia (who display a waning belief in neogonellisme, see Section 6.3.2, p. 214) are signs that, in the Catalan linguistic market in the Balearic Islands, there seems to be *an untapped need to address local or vernacular identities via standard language practices*. In other words, it seems plausible to argue that people in the Balearic Islands perceive a demand for conveying local and vernacular ways of being via formal uses of language.

The existence of this need bears relationship to the ongoing identification crisis in Balearic society, but it cannot be seen as limited to this geography, given that similar processes can be identified in other minoritised language contexts. For instance, speakers currently invest vernaculars with symbolic importance in the Basque Country (Urla et al., 2017) and Catalonia (Woolard, 2016). In the case of the Balearic Islands, this need is not necessarily at odds with a willingness for normativity, as Xisca's questions and people like Natàlia suggest. But both neogonelles and local planners are sensitive to this need and try to satisfy it with the distinct standard varieties they further. While neogonelles try to exploit this need to hamper the constitution of a Catalan linguistic market, local "normalising" planners try to fit it within the confines of Catalan standardisation.

8.3 The role of minoritisation in standardisation

The third and last argument discusses the role of minoritisation in standardisation, looking at the case of Catalan in the Balearic Islands. I will do so by engaging with the way that Urla et al. (2017) examine Basque standardisation. As explained in the Introduction, these authors argue that minoritised language standardisation may produce paradoxical effects. Research on these processes demands taking into account additional factors to the ones normally shaping the process for dominant languages. The findings from this thesis suggest that the Balearic case questions the determination foreseen in standardisation processes, thus requiring more nuanced explanations that I now advance. Before, however, I briefly describe the dynamics of Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands that fit under traditional theories of standardisation.

Part of the dynamics of value and authority that Catalan standardisation has unchained among vernacular repertoires can be explained with Bordieu's (1991) theory about the production and reproduction of the legitimate language—that is, the standard. In Catalonia, Frekko (2009a, 2009b) has shown how the process of linguistic normalisation has made people over-emphasise Catalan norms and standard. In the Balearic Islands, standard Catalan holds a leading authoritative position as a result of its use by public administrations and its spread in schooling. Several insights from this study point to the ideological prominence of the standard. All Catalan advocates and language planners I interviewed agree on the fundamental value of the standard, similarly to what opponents to neogonellisme always do in online debates. It is also revealing that local planners intervene *on the standard* to bring the language closer to speakers.[5] Even neogonelles' strategic adoption of the standard language regime speaks for the high value of the standard in the market.

In addition, Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands has entailed hierarchisation effects among speakers' repertoires (see Gal, 2006). In this regard, the evaluations that opponents of neogonellisme direct to dissident activists and their supporters are also revealing. These opponents who take *stances of languages sameness* vastly foreground the worth of the standard in comparison to the vernacular, by arguing that the standard is the most prestigious and needed register, as in "any other language", that it encapsulates their insular varieties, and that it is promoted by academia and used by institutions, including schools. There is however, one hier-

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[5]The high prestige of the standard is not contradictory to the parallel development, described in the last section, where the vernacular increasingly concentrates an identification value. I will come back to this matter in a few lines.

archising consequence that can only be explained considering Catalan's minoritised status, which I soon address.

Urla et al. (2017) argue that analyses of minority language standardisation should also take into account factors such as the evolution of the linguistic market and the social history of praxis. Both of these factors are insightful for the Balearic case. On the one hand, to understand the institution of linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands, we need to take into account the history of Catalan language politics, the political peripherality of the archipelago across history, the project of linguistic normalisation, the current identification crisis in the Balearic Islands, and the following development related to the evolution of the linguistic market. Balearic institutions use and reproduce the standard variety of Catalan, but this occurs *after a historical period where institutions repressed the Catalan repertoires of today's aged speakers.* In this situation, the spread of Catalan literacy unchains tensions between old and new speakers of Balearic varieties, on the basis of the values that institutions ascribe to the standard. As we know, neogonella activists exploit these tensions on the grounds of identity. The current communicative possibilities have maximised a few individuals' agency to intervene in standardisation, specifically, by exploiting one aspect of the hierarchising effects of standardisation that stem from the minoritised condition of Catalan. Faced with the anonymous and prestigious value of the standard repertoires of new speakers of Catalan, neogonelles move the standard into an authenticity-based competition against the vernaculars of certain aged speakers.[6]

On the other hand, how can we explain finding the existence of an untapped need in the market to build connections between the standard and local daily experience? One of the factors that Urla et al. (2017) propose to understand the non-hegemonic role of standard Basque vis-a-vis Basque vernaculars is *political praxis*, understood as "the sociopolitical processes by which language reforms are enacted" (2017, p. 25). This perspective sheds light on the mentioned finding.[7]

The unaddressed identification need in the linguistic market *indirectly responds to*

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[6]This is an attempt to contend the hierarchisation or linguistic value redistribution that standardisation has entailed which also recasts Catalan away from the anonymity-based competition against Castilian that Catalan advocates try to further.

[7]I also want to stress that many people in the Balearic Islands are very attached to their islands and their associated insular and local identities. The vernacular mediates much of this experience of locality, as explained by the very high currency of insular descriptions of speech. This feature is not contradictory with Catalan normalisation, but, in the context of the identification crisis, it explains why many speakers resort to language as a way of reflecting these identities. For the similar centrality of vernaculars and place in Basque, Urla et al. (2017, p. 39) suggest that this "should be understood as a feature of marginalization, not simply a "cultural trait"".

a standardisation process implemented under the hazard of fragmentation. Proponents of the Catalan language across all regions are very aware of how Hispanicist actors can exploit Catalan standardisation and particularisation for political purposes, the obvious epitome of this being the Valencian precedent (see p. 17). Consequently, the dystopia of linguistic divergence resulting from the language's minoritised condition has affected the praxis of standardisation in the Balearic Islands by inhibiting the consolidation of Catalan's *licensed variation* (Sebba, 2007), that is, the possibility of adapting the standard to normative Balearic regional variation. Speakers know that Catalan standard practices are *flexible* and can potentially index Balearic locality, but they are uncertain of how to competently achieve it. This offers additional explanations to the existing identification need in the Balearic linguistic market.

There is no question that many social actors in the Balearic Islands promote the restricted standard (for instance, the current regional government and the OCB), but there are signs that the restricted standard is not as socially consolidated as the general one. Several insights from this thesis suggest that the way Catalan standardisation is being enacted and implemented in the Balearic Islands does not fully profit from the language's licensed variation. Local language planners agree that speakers are far from normatively mastering the 'restricted standard'. In other words, they perceive that many speakers do not know how to adapt the standard variety to Balearic normative features. The fact that even some planners assert that some verbal conjugations of the 'restricted standard' are still normatively unclear, unlike the 'general standard', is very revealing in this regard (in fact, one of them advocates for an alternative spelling for some verbs). It is worth remembering how the local planner Ramon, in his teaching courses to adults, fosters the general standard variety of Catalan for "practical" reasons, such as tests, textbooks, and the "easiness" that Maria also mentioned. The attention that Xisca's questions received from people who engaged with Catalanist sites seems to provide additional support to this argument, as the questions included guidelines on how to normatively write the 'restricted standard'.

The relevance of the general standard can be understood, among other factors, as a self-defensive reaction by Catalan advocates from the Balearic Islands, given the recent history of Catalan language politics. As we know, the project of normalisation aims for a common Catalan cultural market across regions that some social actors from the Balearic Islands seem to have been trying to further secure via standardisation. Additionally, the promotion of the general standard variety probably explains, to some extent, the strong authority value that the standard has in the archipelago, as argued above. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that authenticity expectations

of the Catalan language, similar to other minoritised languages, may be setting additional authenticity pressure on the standard variety. Faced with the crisis of identification in society, the identification need in the linguistic market, and the eventual implementation of a Balearist dissident agenda, it is certain that ideologies of authenticity—driving how 'to bring language closer to people'—will continue to condition Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The research question driving this thesis was '*how has linguistic dissidence become established in the Balearic Islands and what does this process tells us about the current ideological dynamics of Catalan standardisation?*' To address it, I based my study on three reconstructing exercises: the presentation of the context of the Balearic Islands and its ongoing identification crisis, the unpacking of the historical events needed to understand the claims and origins of neogonella linguistic dissidence, and the mapping of the current actors involved in Catalan standardisation in the Balearic Islands. I then turned to explain the ethnographic approach of my research, detailing the different materials collected for the analysis.

Consequently, I described the institution of Balearist linguistic dissidence in the Balearic Islands by analysing the social media activity of the three neogonella associations, the interviews with three neogonella activists, and the participation in a highly symbolic event of neogonellisme. I showed how actions by neogonella dissidents constitute a struggle for recognition to legitimate an alternative standard for Balearic vernaculars. On the one hand, their struggle involved undermining Baléà and Catalan as the already existing beliefs about the nature of vernaculars. On the other, it involved attempting to accumulate symbolic capital by constructing a new identity movement, Balearism, that would authorise both activists and their 'Balearic' linguistic model. This symbolic capital accumulation attempt also involved carrying out different activist and language lobbying practices. In parallel, neogonelles promote and secure the natural and anonymous value of Castilian in the archipelago by exclusively discussing the value of Balearic varieties in terms of vernacular authenticity.

The representational control granted by social media has been instrumental for neogonella activists to articulate and set all these discursive workings in motion. Their

controlled sites on a mainstream social media network offered a space for activists'
guided entextualisations of ongoing debates and sociolinguistic meanings classifying
the linguistic field, particularly the meaning of *stances of language difference* of
Balearic varieties. Additionally, their controlled sites were spaces for language
policing on the grounds of orthographic practices and lexical choices. Via posting
practices that take a top-down form, activists were able to construct, influence, and
continuously nourish a legitimacy conflict between Balearic varieties and Catalan.
In the multi-authored comments responding to these practices, activists performed
as experts in the eyes of supporters. Simultaneously, they also scattered linguistic
authority as they identified aged speakers as the legitimate speakers, regardless of
the orthographic practices of these type of participants. The intriguing mediation of
activists in these spaces results in a linguistic order where, paradoxically, new norms
settle as activists and supporters essentially attach certain linguistic practices to
Balearic identities. The epitome of this gradual process is the fixation of the iconic
value of the salty article.

Nevertheless, the representational control of activists in these spaces does not
occur without obstacles and opposition. The main obstacle they encounter is that
their 'Balearic' standard practices at times come to be seen as arbitrary by both
supporters and opponents as a result of the differences that exist between insular
Balearic vernaculars. Additionally, there is another profile of users whose interest
on neogonella Pages diminishes as they learn how activists tolerate and foster
anti-Catalanism. Opponents to neogonellisme, in turn, belittle and mock activists
and supporters using discourses of science and accusing them of being "dishonest"
Hispanicists not truly aiming for any functional standardisation of the vernacular.

These findings addressed the first part of my research question, namely, how
linguistic dissidence has become established in the Balearic Islands. Additionally,
neogonelles' legitimation struggle for their standard model was taken as an opportu-
nity to examine Catalan standardisation and the linguistic market in the archipelago.
A set of interviews with 11 language planners from various institutional levels and
islands and two advocates for the Catalan language provided accounts on the ways
institutional actors and Catalanist activists inhabit the Catalan standard language
regime. First, their accounts outlined the main obstacles for the project of Catalan
normalisation in the Balearic Islands. I distinguished those stemming from sociopo-
litical opposition to normalisation, represented in their accounts of the Bauzá Law
and the emergence of neogonellisme, as well as from the effects of the implementation
of normalisation on the registers of Catalan. Second, I discerned how language
planners showed different standard orientations according to their institutional level.

Especially relevant is that local language planners deemed as fundamental 'bringing language closer to the people' via official language practices. Finally, I paid special attention to a set of social media practices by a local planner, Xisca, given their explanatory potential of the workings of the linguistic market in the Balearic Islands.

Taking into consideration the different insights gathered from such a range of social actors, I finally advanced three main arguments. First, I argued that neogonelles' public adoption of a standard language regime for their linguistic model is strategic, as nativeness, origin, and ownership rule how activists relate to the vernacular. Second, I argued for the existence of an identification need in the linguistic market. Third, I discussed how the precedents of political exploitation of Catalan standardisation may have exerted some influence of the praxis of standardisation in the Balearic Islands.

The key contributions of this study are three. The first one is from the perspective of Catalan sociolinguistics and relates to the description of an identification need in the Balearic linguistic market. Some actors are perceiving and responding to this need. On the one hand, neogonelles offer a centrifugal response in the form of their divergent 'Balearic' model, which disrupts the Catalan linguistic market and whose natural authenticity grounds disregard the extension of the language to new speakers and new social domains. On the other hand, local language planners offer not a centripetal, but a convergent response, one which, while maintaining and considering the Catalan linguistic market, also capitalises on the space provided by Catalan's flexible norms.

The second contribution is that this study illuminates processes of legitimisation and confrontation of standard varieties. The processes analysed here all relate more to symbolic capital accumulation than to the properties of linguistic models. It is in the arena of delegated authorisation where recognition to impose the legitimate vision over language takes place. At times, this authorisation can be delegated by legitimate academic knowledge or by access to true and natural authenticity. In this regard, Bourdieu's (1977; 1991) work lays bare what happens in these processes and Woolard's (2016) how actors navigate the struggle. Additionally, this case also shows how the acceptance of the standard language regime (Costa, 2017; Gal, 2006) by some actors can be a strategic movement devised to weaken that of other actors.

The third contribution is methodological. This thesis has shown the explanatory potential of sustained and detailed observation of social media data. Many of the insights from this dissertation derive from close readings of interactions over a period of time and not only from looking at what happens at the peaks of activity charts. For instance, neogonella activists master ways to argue for their Balearic standard as a separate language without resorting to the expected ways of saying this. Only a

familiarity with the knowledge economies in the given interest network allows one to understand these meanings. Using discourse analysis, I found users changing their stances towards neogonellisme as they participated across posts, including in posts with very low engagement. Additionally, these close readings provided venues to explore available engagement metrics, such as the networking traces of Xisca's 'Majorcan questions', which occur in the background of interactions on social media.

Linguistic dissidence has become established in the Balearic Islands in the form of Balearism. From now onwards, the institution of linguistic dissidence in the archipelago will undoubtedly be added as a key event in the politicisation of Catalan standardisation, which the Spanish political establishment planted, Pep Gonella watered, and now, neogonelles, in collaboration with Hispanicist political parties, begin to harvest. Future events will be determined by the degree to which the linguistic market in the Balearic Islands becomes politically marked and the way identification needs are addressed. The extent to which the public defence of Catalan is able to maintain a post-natural authenticity as a way to compete for anonymity with Castilian (Woolard, 2016, see Section 5.1.2, p. 139) will be crucial for the struggle to reposition Catalan in the Balearic Islands. Nevertheless, it seems that Catalanist activists and policymakers will also need to add insular identifications to the equation.

In Section 4.3.3, I explained how in my interview with Antoni, he implicitly warned me that my thesis would probably "backfire" on me similarly to what occurred to Francesc de Borja Moll with Pep Gonella, when his intention of mocking Pep Gonella turned out to benefit linguistic dissidence (see p. 121). I do not know if this will eventually happen, and it is out of my control. In any case, I hope that the linguistic aims and political interests of Balearist linguistic dissidence have become more transparent with this dissertation. I also hope that this work somehow helps actors of Catalan standardisation to accommodate the authenticity aspirations of speakers like Javier and Natàlia.

Appendix A

The interview script

The following interview script for the interview with the local language planner from Minorca exemplifies the interview model of all interviews. Table A.1 includes the translated version into English and Table A.2 the original in Catalan.

Table A.1: Interview script for the Minorcan language planner (translation).

Personal information	Age
	Professional trajectory
Sociolinguistic trajectory of the BI	We are celebrating this year the 30th anniversary of the Linguistic Normalisation Law. In your opinion what has the sociolinguistic history (background/evolution) in the Balearic Islands been like?
Minorca	Does Minorca have sociolinguistic features that are different from the ones in Majorca? Are there different speeches within Minorca? [inter- and intra-variation]
History, description, and outreach of the institution	Could you tell about the SAL's history and its functions?
	Being a linguistic local reference point, how does the SAL reach and interact with people?
	How does the SAL try to be present in the local and regional mass media. What about the social networks?
Promotion function	Can you tell me about the "*Píndules de llengua*" language promotion campaign? How has it been disseminated?

Correction function	What kind of people use the Advisory and Correction Service? With what type of texts? Have you noticed any significant evolution/progress?
Linguistic orientations	Bearing in mind that your training and your linguistic support service can be based on either the general or the restricted standard model, when and how do you choose one or the other? For example, in relation to verbal morphology.
	From your point of view, how do language users view such variety of opinions?
	Which consultative sources do you use when you edit a text? In which cases would you use the IEC grammar—which one—or the DCVB, for instance?
UIB	The UIB adapts the Catalan standard variety to Balearic varieties. How do you apply its version or its rulings? [Do you follow its recommendations?]
Coordination and decision-making	We can find other SALs at the local and insular levels. Are all these actors coordinated, for example, with regards to linguistic edition? [do all the actors make the same decisions?] [Diversity of registers in promotion campaign *Històries del Català*, and place names?]
Modifications	On a personal basis, would you recommend any changes in the coordination efforts with the UIB or other SALs?
	What about the standard or its adaptation to Balearic varieties?
Arise of neogonellisme	As you most probably know, several associations, like the FJ3 or Foment, that defend the creation of a Balearic linguistic standard have been created since 2013. I would like to talk about them. Why do you think they have recently emerged? Which aims do they follow, according to you?
	Who supports these organisations, according to you?
	Are you familiar with their standard model?

	What do you think about their proposals?
	Do their practices have any impact? [revalorisation of Balearic varieties, linguistic categories, linguistic doubts]
Online social networking	And finally, I'd like to talk about social media. Do you use them? Do you use Facebook, for example?
	Have you ever encountered "neogonella" content or people while in social media?
	I am asking this because the mentioned associations use Facebook in order to promote their linguistic proposals. For example, they advice people on how to spell. Do you think this is relevant?
	Within the framework of my research, I have analysed the contents of these associations' spaces on Facebook. I'd like to tell you about some of my findings so that we can discuss them, if you want...

Table A.2: Interview script for Minorcan language planner (original version).

Personal information	Age
	Professional trajectory
Sociolinguistic trajectory of the BI	Enguany es celebra el 30è aniversari de la Llei de Normalització Lingüística. Al teu parer, quina ha sigut la història sociolingüística de les Illes Balears?
Minorca	Menorca té característiques sociolingüístiques diferents a les de Mallorca? I dins Menorca, hi ha parles diferents? [inter- and intra-variation]
History, description, and outreach of institution	Em podries explicar la història i les funcions del SAL?
	Com a punt d'atenció lingüístic, com es comunica el SAL amb la gent?
	El SAL intenta ser present als mitjans de comunicació locals i regionals, així com a les xarxes socials?
Promotion function	Em pots explicar en què consisteix la campanya "Píndoles de llengua" i com es divulga?
Correction function	Pel que fa al Secció d'Assessorament i Correcció, quina mena de gent el fa servir, i amb quina de textos, i quina evolució històrica hi ha hagut?
Linguistic orientations	Tenint em compte que hi ha la possibilitat de basar la formació i l'assessorament lingüístic en el model estàndard general i en el restringit, quan esculls l'un i l'altre, per exemple, en relació a la morfologia verbal?
	Des de la teva perspectiva, com veuen els usuaris de la llengua aquesta varietat d'opcions?
	Quan revises un text, quines fonts consultives fas servir? [En quins casos faries servir la gramàtica de l'IEC—quina?—o el DCVB?]
UIB	La UIB adapta la varietat estàndard del català a les varietats balears. Com hi accedeixes, a la seva adaptació o a les seves decisions? [Segueixes les seves recomanacions?]

Coordination and decision-making	Hi ha altres SALs a nivell local, així com a nivell insular. Tots aquests actors, estan coordinats, per exemple, pel que fa a la correcció lingüística? [tots els actors prenen les mateixes decisions?] [diversitat de registres a la campanya Històries del Català, o toponímia?]
Modifications	A nivell personal, que suggeriries fer cap modificació sobre la coordinació amb la UIB o altres SALs?
	I sobre l'estàndard o sobre la seva adaptació a les varietats balears?
Arise of neogonellisme	Com segur que saps, des del 2013 s'han creat diverses associacions, com la FJ3 o Foment, que defensen la creació d'un estàndard lingüístic balear diferenciat de l'actual model. Voldria que en parléssim una mica. Per què creus que han sorgit recentment? Quins fins persegueixen segons tu aquestes associacions?
	Segons tu, qui fa costat a aquestes associacions?
	Coneixes el seu model estàndard?
	Que en penses dels seus arguments?
	Quin impacte creus que tenen les seves activitats? [revalorització varietats balears, categories lingüístiques, dubtes lingüístics]
Online social networking	Per acabar, m'agradaria parlar una mica de les xarxes socials. Què les fas servir, tu? Facebook, per exemple?
	T'has trobat amb cap contingut o persona "neogonella" a les xarxes?
	T'ho pregunto perquè les associacions que t'he esmentat abans fan servir Facebook per promocionar les seves propostes lingüístiques, per exemple per donar consell a la gent sobre com escriure. Creus que això és rellevant?
	En el marc de la meva recerca he analitzat el contingut dels espais d'aquestes associacions a Facebook. Et voldria esmentar algunes troballes que m'he anat trobant, per si vols que en xerrem: (...)

Appendix B

Foment's Invitation Letter

Foment's Invitation Letter is no longer accesible online, as the association closed down its website after its merger with the FJ3. Appendix B is a screen capture showing Foment's Invitation Letter as it used to appear online.

Carta de convit - Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears
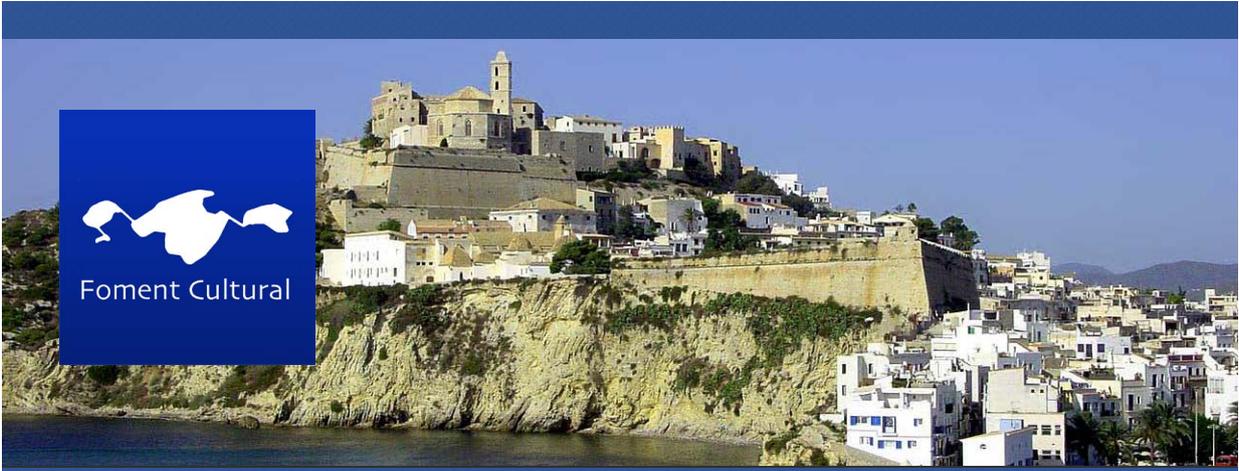
Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears

Carta de convit

Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears és una entitat cultural, oberta i plural que neix an es mateix temps a totes ses illes. I neix perquè cada vegada som més es mallorquins, menorquins, eivissencs i formenterencs que estam preocupats per sa supervivència de ses nostres modalitats lingüístiques insulars, que són sa llengua de ca nostra, es nostro mallorquí, menorquí, eivissenc i formenterenc. Es legat cultural que mos varen deixar es nostros antepassats està perdent força dins sa nostra societat balear: sa nostra llengua i sa nostra identitat se troben en perill d'extinció.

D'ençà de sa implantació de s'Estatut d'Autonomia, ja fa més de trenta anys, sa nostra personalitat lingüística ha anat minvant, començant així un procés de substitució des mallorquí, es menorquí i s'eivissenc/formenterenc a favor d'un català central que no reflecteix sa realitat sociocultural de cadascuna de ses Balears. A la vegada, sa llengua castellana ha tengut uns usos exclusius i prioritaris a ca nostra, i tot això en conjunt ha conduït a un procés de postergació des parlar secular de Balears i a una reclusió de ses formes autòctones, condemnades a poc més que formes vulgars i folklòriques que oficialment no existeixen, no s'usen públicament i no s'ensenyen an es nostros al·lots. Així idò, som conscients des perill que suposa per s'identitat de ses nostres illes tant sa castellanisació com sa substitució de ses nostres modalitats per un català estàndard que

sentim ortopèdic.

No dubtam de s'unitat que forma es sistema lingüístic balear, català i valencià. Per açò mateix, entenem que ses relacions entre ses nostres varietats lingüístiques han d'esser d'igualtat, mai d'imposició o d'uniformisació, com ha estat fins ara. Es valencià està protegit i reconegut a través des seu Estatut d'Autonomia, i té un òrgan lingüístic propi que fa feina per sa seua normalisació. S'alguerès també compta amb aquest reconeixement estatutari. Per què es nostro mallorquí, menorquí, eivissenc i formenterenc no, si tenim gramàtiques, diccionaris, vocabularis i ortografies pròpies, on apareix, inclús, sa denominació de llengua mallorquina i/o menorquina, sense prejudici de dita unitat lingüística? Ses nostres modalitats insulars estan prou avalades des d'un punt de vista lingüístic, filològic, històric i cultural, com per no haver d'estar sotmesos a un català estàndard que substitueix i acaba amb sa protecció que, en teoria, exigeix es nostro estatut d'autonomia.

Així anam perdent es mallorquí, menorquí i eivissenc

Per mor des català estàndard central que s'ensenya a ses escoles, es parlar des jovent és una clara mostra de dita substitució lingüística. Es més joves ja no davallen, sinó que baixen. Ja no els hi surten mostatxos, sinó bigotis. Ja no tenen bufetes, ni bofigues, sinó ampolles. Ja no fan coses de servici, sinó de servei. Per tots sants ja no van as cementeri, van as cementiri. En s'estiu no frueixen de vacacions, ni vacàncies a Menorca, ara només tenen vacances. Tampoc practiquen deport, sinó esport. Pràcticament ja cap jove diu jo som, sinó jo sóc. I no en parlem des registre escrit: ens enlloc de mos, nosaltres en lloc de noltros/naltros, marginament i ús incorrecte de s'article baleàric (salat i lalat), i inclús ja se substitueixen ses formes cantam, cantau per cantem, canteu. Perdem sintaxi pròpia, expressions, pronoms i se substitueixen ses flexions verbals balears i clàssiques: si jo estudiàs, si tu estudiassis, per estudiés o estudiessis, etc.

Gràcies a s'Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, tenim més exemples de paraules menorquines que són substituïdes per ses catalanes a s'educació: arena per sorra, ca per gos, calça per mitja, clotell per clatell, coa per cua, d'ença o d'ensians per des de, dur per portar, enguany per aquest any, ensalada per amanida, espenyar per espatllar, escurar per rentar plats, idò per doncs, llenegar per relliscar, llinatge per cognom, siular per xiular, vesí o veïnat per veí, etc. Es llistat, per desgràcia, és inacabable, i si no hi posam remei prest serà definitiu.

Sa nostra finalitat: salvar i protegir es menorquí, mallorquí, eivissenc i formenterenc

Es Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears neix amb s'intenció de crear un nou clima de pluralisme i diversitat d'opinió, mos volem aproximar a tots aquells ciutadans de Balears que vulguin participar en sa defensa activa des nostros drets lingüístics i des nostros signes d'identitat.

Carta de convit - Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears

Obrim ses portes a filòlegs, lingüistes, historiadors i a tothom qui vulgui col·laborar amb aquest projecte i aportar es seu granet d'arena per preservar sa nostra cultura. Volem promoure un moviment social i causar una reacció a sa societat perquè ses autoritats se'n entemin que hi ha un important sector de sa població que no està dispost a veure com se mor es nostro autèntic i legítim parlar, rallar o xerrar.

Així idò, volem sensibilisar sa població i ses institucions que s'eivissenc, es mallorquí i es menorquí s'han d'emprar a Balears, perquè sinó perdrem aquesta llengua nostra que mos identifica, i si perdem sa llengua perdrem ses nostres arrels. Amb sa voluntat de donar un gir an aquesta situació i acabar amb s'imposició d'un estàndard artificial que no mos representa, reivindicam que a Balears s'escrigui i se parli emprant ses nostres paraules, formes i expressions pròpies, i que es mallorquí, es menorquí i s'eivissenc sia reconegut, respectat i ensenyat.

Es nostros objectius

Fins a dia d'avui, ses institucions de Balears no han respectat es nostro patrimoni històric i lingüístic, sinó que han fomentat sa substitució cultural i lingüística a sa nostra terra. Per mor d'això, es Foment Cultural Balear comença aquest projecte cultural, plural i obert a tots es ciutadans i institucions interessats en estudiar, protegir i fomentar sa nostra història, llengua i cultura balear, amb uns objectius clars i contundents:

- Impulsar i col·laborar en es reconeixement i sa creació d'un estàndard balear oficial, basat en sa gramàtica i ortografies balears del 1931 i 1960 d'en Francesc de Borja Moll i Don Llorenç Vidal. I tenint com a referent d'ús consultiu es Diccionari català-valencià-balear de Mossèn Alcover.
- Exigir s'autonomia lingüística que mos pertoca com a Comunitat Autònoma amb sa seua llengua i modalitats insulars pròpies. Això suposaria sa creació d'un òrgan institucional encarregat de fomentar i regular s'ús i s'aplicació de ses nostres modalitats en ets àmbits formals de sa nostra societat: escoles, instituts, universitat, medis de comunicació i administració pública.
- Es compliment de s'article 35 de s'Estatut d'Autonomia de sa CAIB, des qual emana que *"D'acord amb sa tradició literària autòctona, ses modalitats insulars des català, de Mallorca, Menorca, Eivissa i Formentera, seran objecte d'estudi i protecció, sense perjudici de s'unitat de sa llengua"*. A més a més, és necessària sa revisió de s'actual Estatut per tal de protegir, reconèixer i prestigiar sa nostra llengua i cultura balear.

Carta de convit - Foment Cultural de ses Illes Balears

Una crida an es poble

Mallorquins, menorquins, eivissencs i formenterencs: ara és sa nostra. Ha arribat s'hora de dir prou, de reivindicar es nostros drets lingüístics i viure en pau a Mallorca en mallorquí, a Menorca en pla, i a Eivissa i Formentera en eivissenc i formenterenc. Volem fer des Foment Cultural s'altaveu de sa societat illenca, un moviment social i de sa ciutadania, plural i obert a tot aquell que, independentment de sa seua ideologia o creença, estigui d'acord en lluitar per sa nostra llengua i cultura. Un moviment que promogui i aconseguesqui d'una vegada per totes sa dignificació com a llengua de ses nostres modalitats insulars i sa seua protecció i reconeixement oficial. Una victòria de i per es poble. Pes qui ja no hi són, i pes qui vendran.

Feis-vos socis des Foment Cultural, i unireu sa vostra veu i sa vostra força a sa nostra. Junts ho aconseguirem. Illencs, siau qui sou!

http://www.fomentbalear.org
http://www.facebook.com/FCIBalears
http://www.twitter.com/FCIBalears

Foment Cultural Illes Balears

Voleu formar part d'aquest projecte?

Apuntau-vos!

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