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Collective Language Self-Management

Agentive Responses to the Minoritisation of Catalan on Facebook

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PhD Linguistics and English Language
The University of Edinburgh
September 2024

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Agentive Responses to the Minoritisation of Catalan on Facebook

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Abstract

In recent years, the field of Language Policy and Planning has increasingly shifted focus away from the decision-making processes of traditional, powerful organisations and institutions and towards the actions of "ordinary" individuals, and the various means by which they exercise their agency within the language policy process. Much has been written about the role of individuals and groups at the grassroots level of society reacting to, or influencing, the implementation of higher order policies (e.g. Johnson and Freeman, 2010, Johnson and Johnson, 2014), or creating policies for their immediate local context (e.g. Baldauf, 2006, Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008, Drackley, 2019) – including studies of language advocacy and activism (e.g. Sallabank, 2005, Hatoss, 2006, 2019, De Korne, 2021). Comparatively less, however, has been written about the agency of individuals over their own linguistic repertoire – a concept referred to by Spolsky (2019b, 2021) as *self-management* – and its deployment as an "agentive response" (Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021) in resistance to higher order language management. Moreover, Spolsky (2021)'s assertion that such individual self-transformative processes could be collectivised to greater net effect is yet to be explored.

This thesis builds on Spolsky's assertions by introducing the concept of *Collective Language Self-Management*: proposed as a mechanism by which individuals lacking the power and authority of traditional language policymakers can nevertheless engage in language policy processes and activities, and tackle more wide-ranging issues, most commonly associated with the macro-level.

It draws on a case study of two focal Catalan-language groups on Facebook, who share a belief in the decline and decay of the (authentic) Catalan language as a result of Castilianisation, and who are united in a concerted effort to collectively raise awareness of perceived Castilian interference and to eliminate it from the speech of each member. The movitations for doing so stem from a belief in the mismanagement (and even disdain) of the language and culture by French, Spanish and Catalan authorities, and a general misuse by contemporary Catalan speakers: all of which engender a need for "corrective" action. Utilising a combination of netnographic methods, and an analytical framework incorporating

social movement framing theory, critical discourse analysis and positioning theory, this study examines the activities carried out by group members to redefine ideological and linguistic standards, to be adopted by each member. Through these activities, these groups are able to bypass the need to appeal to the authority of official language managers – such as national and local governments – and, by growing their membership base, can aim to achieve wider language change from the centre out, one individual at a time.

This study contributes to the growing literature base on agency in language policy and planning, and acts as a response to the call for consideration of both structural and agentive forces (Johnson and Ricento, 2013) through its analysis of the interface between collective action and individual linguistic choices. It also contributes to Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018: 735)'s request for further study of the affordances of new and social media: specifically their ability to allow "ordinary" people to "serve as policy practitioners and as policy analysts, in some cases replacing official actors". Finally, the thesis offers an expansion of one of Spolsky's latter theories relating to the collectivisation of *self-management* (Spolsky, 2021), while also challenging his assertion that language advocates lack the power and authority to influence language change directly (ibid., 2019b).

Lay Summary

This thesis can be characterised as a study of language policy and planning: in other words, how people try to control the way that languages are practised or viewed within a particular context. Usually, we associate language policy with governments and other similarly influential organisations, who have more power and resources than ordinary people. Recently, however there has been a greater amount of research looking at what "ordinary" people are able to do to influence the way languages are spoken or perceived within the contexts in which they use them.

In spite of this, there has, to date, been relatively little work looking specifically at the way in which individuals can try to change the way that people think about or speak their languages by first exerting control over the way that they *themselves* do so: a process known as *self-management*. Furthermore, a subject which has yet to be explored and described in more detail is how a group of people can collaborate to combine their efforts in order to change the way that each member of the group perceives or speaks a language. By doing so, they could theoretically effect changes to the language which organically ripple outwards, rather than being imposed on others. In this way, groups of individuals like these might be able to bring about language changes without the need to rely on the authority of governments or other powerful figures.

This collective-individual process is called *Collective Language Self-Management* in this thesis, and it is this concept that the thesis tries to explore and define.

It does this by looking at a specific case study of two Catalan-language groups on Facebook (and one of these in particular) who believe that the Catalan language is in danger because of the amount of Castilian words and structures that people are borrowing into the language, and because of an increasing tendency for people to choose Castilian over Spanish in conversation. In addition, these groups believe that the organisations responsible for "maintaining" the language, such as the Catalan government, many linguists, and the mainstream media, cannot be relied upon to save it from these threats. As a result, members of these groups have taken it upon themselves to "purify" the language autonomously by consistently identifying and rooting out instances of "inauthentic"

language. By doing so, they hope to create a new model of Catalan for people to use which will replace the “impure” version that is currently being spoken and spread.

I hope that this work will help to shed more light on the ways in which “ordinary” people can participate in changing their languages by themselves, without relying on more traditionally powerful organisations.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Background and Research Question

Arguably one of the most ubiquitous components of our social world, underpinning our entire existence within – and navigation through – society, is language. Language is the raw clay we shape and mould in order to express our inner thoughts, desires, fears and objectives. It is also the tool with which we interact with, and structure, the world around us, through the connections and relationships we build with other human beings.

And, like human beings, language abounds in its variety and diversity. Ethnologue (2024) recognises 7,165 language varieties currently in use throughout the world today, to which can be added almost infinite variation due to geography, age, sex, social status, ethnicity, and countless other factors. Moreover, this variation is not static: centuries of sociolinguistic research have demonstrated that language evolution is almost inevitable. Simply as a product of their daily usage by speakers[1] in different manners and situations over time, languages change – sometimes significantly – and take on new shapes, new forms.

Yet, for many, for whom languages represent more than a communicative and transactional tool, and form an integral part of their local, cultural, community, or national identity, the fact of language evolution can be perceived as distressing or threatening. As Michael Krauss (1992) has claimed in his now famous and widely cited article *Endangered Language - The World's Languages in Crisis*, of the more than 7,000 languages currently in existence, only approximately 10% may survive the next century. Indeed, Ethnologue (2024) notes that, despite the high level of linguistic diversity that characterises the world today, 50% of the global population is accounted for by only twenty-three of the total number of languages, while almost 40% of the latter have 1000 speakers or fewer. A major cause of this disparity, many have posited, is the increasing and sustained dominance of a handful of major languages, such as English, Mandarin, and Spanish, pushing smaller, less powerful languages into endangerment (Romaine, 2017).

[1] As well as signers, and users of others forms of languages that are not spoken or signed.

Attempting to redress this state of affairs, then, and to exert influence on the evolution of local, national or global language ecologies, is one of the main motivations for human intervention into language: referred to as *language policy and planning,* or *language management*.

The field of language policy and planning (LPP) has its roots in the study of state-level management of linguistic diversity in post-colonial and emerging nations, and, as such, the focus of much early work rested upon the decisions and decision-making processes of people with power, authority and influence within society. Yet, progressively, the spotlight has increasingly moved away from the manipulation of language through legislative and political means and towards the everyday actions of "ordinary people" and speakers of languages themselves. This has comprised, for example, the decisions and efforts made by parents and family members to influence the language practices of children (e.g. Catedral and Djuraeva, 2018, Coetzee, 2018, Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, Curdt-Christiansen and Wang, 2018); the actions of teachers and education officials in making space (or not) for other languages in their schools and classrooms (e.g. Johnson and Freeman, 2010, Flors-Mas, 2018, Harrison, 2019, Tsang, 2021); and the corporate language directives governing employee-employee and employee-client interactions, and the navigation of these directives (e.g. Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006, Lønsmann, 2017, Barakos, 2020).

This research has focussed largely on understanding the nature and scope of the agency held by individual (official or unofficial) language practitioners as they navigate the constraints of the legislative, administrative or ideological framework(s) in which they operate, in order to (re)create policy which responds to local needs.

An alternative strain of LPP research has focussed more specifically on the efforts of individuals to interact with "official" language policymaking, often in order to resist it. This phenomenon might be referred to using the term *agentive response* used by Vennela and Kandharaja (2021) and Ng (2018). Such studies frequently examine cases in which "ordinary" people voice their opinions in favour of, or against, higher-order policy measures, as a democratic means of involving themselves in the top-down policymaking process. This is often facilitated by the increased transparency and participation offered by new media, such as social media platforms, on which specific language-related regulations, which otherwise might have previously been devised and implemented away from the public eye, are now

often much more open to public scrutiny and criticism (e.g. Vessey, 2016, Willans, 2017, Drackley, 2019). Meanwhile, other studies lend focus to the contrary or consenting views of individuals in offline spaces, viewing these simple acts of expression as a deployment of agency within given LPP processes (e.g. Costa, 2014, Lee, 2009, Hatoss, 2018, Drackley, 2020, Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021).

Another adjacent, and increasingly prominent, area of academic interest is that of *language advocacy* or *language activism*. Work in this area has often shed light on contexts of minority (or minoritised) and endangered language communities, and the efforts of individuals and groups within these communities to protect their linguistic varieties from obsolescence, or to restore its status and usage within its native environment (e.g. Jaffe, 1999, Blackwood, 2008, De Korne, 2021). While arguably still an emerging area of study in its own right, a wealth of research can be found on these topics under the category of *language revitalisation* or *reversing language shift* (e.g. Fishman, 1991, 2000, Fishman, 2012, Grenoble and Whaley, 2005, Sallabank, 2013, Sallabank, 2019a, Zuckermann, 2020). These studies often focus on grassroots initiatives such as the establishment of minority language-medium schools and education streams (e.g. May and Hill, 2005, Boyer, 2006, Peix, 2013, Heidemann, 2014, Coronel-Molina and McCarty,, 2016, Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby, 2018), or the activities of local (language-based) organisations, in order to promote and encourage greater use of an endangered or lesser used variety (e.g. Sallabank, 2005, Moriarty and Pietikäinen, 2011, Kasstan, 2019, Broadbridge and Marley, 2019, De Korne, 2021, Puchowski, 2023).

In sum, the above areas of study represent the emergence of an “empirical turn” in the field of LPP, which has directed attention towards the agency of individuals within a given language policy context (Johnson and Stephens, 2018: 811).

Yet, what arguably unites much of the work above is the depiction of a qualitative difference between the language policy-related activities at the grassroots, “micro-level”, and those of more traditionally powerful “macro-level” structures. Despite recognising and underscoring the non-passivity and agency of grassroots actors in shaping their own language ecologies, there appears to persist a view that the scale, scope and potential of their work is necessarily

restricted – while reliance on larger authoritative bodies is seemingly inevitable for achieving more widespread, legitimate and lasting change[2].

Spolsky (2019a: 326, emphasis added), for example, incorporating the concept of "language advocates" into his existing theory of language policy, explicitly distinguishes them from "language managers", claiming:

> The first [modification to my theory] is to add advocates to the management component, individuals or groups who lack the authority of managers but still wish to change its practices. Language activists such as writers or grammarians, may wish to revive a variety (one thinks of those responsible for the efforts to restore Irish or Hebrew or Maori or Basque as vital vernaculars), **but until they obtain power (as happened with with each of these languages), they remain ineffective**) [sic] (Spolsky 2018c).

Spolsky (2021: 127, emphasis added) builds upon this definition, further claiming:

> I will focus on a distinction between managers who do have authority (parents in a family or school boards and education ministers, for instance) and advocates and advocacy groups without authority**, who must rely on persuasion. Lacking authority, advocates need to convince members of the relevant speech community or adopt a proposed policy and implement it**. Individual managers at the state level are dictators or prime ministers. At other levels, they are those who can control others – a grandfather in a family, a priest or religious leader, the owner of a business, the head of a hospital, a teacher in a classroom. **At the level of the nation state, the most obvious managing agency is the government; the most common advocacy groups are supporters of a specific language variety.**

Through this distinction, Spolsky seemingly concretises the need for top-down, recognisable (and recognised) authority over others in order to enact desired changes to a given language. To influence family language practices, this means recourse to particularly dominant family members; for changes to workplace language practices, this means appealing to an executive officer or owner; for changes in the use of languages in schools, it means invoking the head teacher; and for more widespread change throughout society, it means appealing to societal authorities, such as politicians and government ministers. This, in turn, suggests two related conclusions:

- Language advocates, themselves, can achieve only limited success in making changes to the way that languages are used within society
- Individuals at the micro-, grassroots level of society can only have influence over micro-level language policy issues. They cannot impact upon macro-level issues,

[2] Johnson and Stephens (2018) comment on a tendency to equate "macro" with structure and "micro" with individual agency – a misconception which reinforces this still very top-heavy view of language policy.

except to appeal to the power, authority and resources of traditional macro-level bodies.

Yet, a small but growing number of studies have highlighted the potential for individuals at the grassroots level of society to utilise the resources that they have available to them to engage in more traditional and wide-reaching language planning activity. Lenihan (2011, 2014), for example, highlights the work of a community of Irish-speaking Facebook users who utilise the translation tools offered by the programme to localise, in democratic fashion, and according to their perceptions of the language, the social media platform for all users wishing to access it through the Irish language. Indeed, Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018: 735) have called for further research into the affordances given by such platforms to allow individuals to transform into policy analysts and practitioners in their own right, with the potential even to supersede the work of traditional language managers.

Concurrently, Spolsky (2019a, b, 2021) himself has emphasised the understated power of the individual to choose to allow themselves to be influenced by or, crucially, to exert influence upon their linguistic environment by taking ownership of their own linguistic repertoire and language choices: a phenomenon he refers to as *self-management.* By engaging in this process of self-reflection and self-transformation, Spolsky claims, individuals can either better prepare themselves to operate in a current or future linguistic environment, or can resist the external pressures on their language practices, thereby operating according to how they *believe* or *desire* those linguistic environments to be (Spolsky, 2019b).

Moreover, as will be considered in greater detail throughout this work, in his final works, Spolsky (2021) points to the significant social transformative potential to be unlocked through collectivisation of these self-management efforts.

It is this hidden potential, at the interface of individual and collective agency, which the current thesis intends to explore. Building on emerging research regarding the agency of individuals in language policy and planning, this work will consider the following question:

> *How can micro-level language advocates, without the associated power, authority and resources, assume the role of macro-level language managers, and attempt to influence macro-level language policy issues, and thereby become policymakers in their own right?*

In responding to this question, and in an attempt to contribute to the work started by the late Bernard Spolsky, this thesis introduces and explores the concept of *Collective Language Self-Management.* Through the examination of a specific case study of Catalan-speaking Facebook users, whose dissatisfaction with the Castilianisation of the Catalan language, and perceived mismanagement and misuse by governments, the media and society more broadly, this thesis will explore the potential of this process of collectively co-ordinated self-transformation as a means by which "ordinary individuals" can attempt to reshape their linguistic environment from the centre out – and without direct recourse to more "authoritative" entities.

In the case examined, in which the Catalan language is perceived to be assailed by institutionally-sanctioned interference and decay as a result of the Castilian (and to lesser degrees French and English) languages, a group of particularly active and concerned individuals can be seen to make use of the tools offered by Facebook in order to collaborate in the identification and elimination of this interference, and the restoration and reconstruction of a more "authentic" variant of the language. Described in a recent volume by Catalan journalist and academic Pau Vidal as a "sect" (Vidal, 2020), members of the group have become somewhat notorious within online Catalan-language communities for their steadfast (and often belligerent) commitment to enforcing "authentic" Catalan around the internet. Though controversial, the efforts of the group to co-ordinate reforms to their own language beliefs and practices, and then to spread their mission to others, could constitute a unique form of policymaking that may provide a path to achieving more widespread changes to the language aligning with their beliefs without appealing to official policymakers; simply by assuming the tasks of policy design, creation, implementation and dissemination autonomously.

It is hoped that this work will contribute to an understanding of agency in language policy processes, and particularly the potential of disempowered individuals to take these processes entirely into their own hands, using resources available to them. As such, it will shed further light on the unhelpful nature of the "macro" vs. "micro" and "top-down" vs. "bottom-up" dichotomies, which are increasingly problematised by the academic community, and provide an example of the connection between "structure" and "agency" in language policy processes. This study will also provide an insight into language management in a new media

environment – itself an ever-emerging area, given the constant evolution of the technologies that provide them.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it will proffer an expansion and development of the initial ideas relating to collectivising self-management, presented in the final work of Bernard Spolsky, and provide a helpful case study of the phenomenon in action.

1.2 Overview of thesis contents

Chapter 2 begins by laying out the relevant previous research underpinning the current work, drawing on relevant theories and frameworks from the fields of language policy and planning, language maintenance and revitalisation, language activism, and sociolinguistics more broadly. The objective is to demonstrate the theoretical roots of the contemporary focus of the field on the agency of individuals, and their potential to assume the role of language policy analysts and policymakers in their own right (Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018). Moreover, this section will expound on the Spolskyan theory of language policy, exploring each of its three components – *language beliefs, language practices,* and *language management* – and propose how each could be understood at the level of the individual, and related to *self-management*.

This chapter also presents a number of sociological theories and concepts – in particular those related to agency, social movements and lifestyle movements – which will enhance understanding of the practice of *self-management* on the part of the reader. In addition, this work will provide insight into the mechanisms and potentially transformative power of the collectivisation of these *self-management* acts.

The ultimate aim of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for the theory of *Collective Language Self-management* to be proposed.

Chapter 3 introduces the background to the sociolinguistic case study presented in this thesis – that of the wider Catalan nation, both north and south of the Pyrenees. It presents an overview of the recent history of governmental language policy campaigns, as well as contemporary beliefs and fears extant within the Catalan-speaking community: especially

those of language decay and substitution, and the concomitant struggle to assert and defend the distinctiveness of a unique Catalan language and identity. In particular, the chapter sheds light on an increasingly pervading discourse within the sociolinguistic community which defers the responsibility for saving the Catalan language from these bleak fates to individual Catalan speakers themselves : a discourse which would seem to underpin the form of language management in which the groups studied in this work can be seen to participate.

In **Chapter 4**, the focus turns to the specific case study to be presented, and begins by introducing the two focal groups on which the current work is based – *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* and *Jo parli català rossellonès*. Both groups are based on Facebook, and are populated and administered by many of the same users, and exhibit many of the same beliefs and activities. However, given its more explicit linguistic mission, as well as space constraints of the current work, focus will primarily be given to data emerging from the first group, with data from the second included where necessary to add further perspective and nuance to analyses.

The chapter then proceeds to introduce the ethnographic and (critical) discursive data collection and analytical methods employed in chapters 6-8, synthesising approaches from several disciplines including: netnography (Kozinets, 1998, Kozinets, 2020, Addeo et al., 2019), social movement framing theory (Snow et al., 1986, Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow, 2004b, Benford and Snow, 2000), grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), positioning theory (Harré, 2012, Harré and Langenhove, 1991, Kayı-Aydar, 2019), and critical discourse analysis (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Having laid the theoretical, contextual, and methodological foundations of this study, **Chapter 5** serves as a bridge to the case studies to be presented by setting forth, in simple and explicit terms, the nature of the theory of *Collective language self-management* proposed in this thesis. It reiterates some of the core theoretical underpinnings of the theory – particularly the Spolskyan framework of language policy and planning – and provides a tentative, working definition.

The positioning of this chapter prior to the data analysis chapters is intentional, allowing for the core elements of the theory to be introduced to the reader before being directly exemplified through analyses of the data in the following chapters. This layout is intended

only to enhance the understanding of the reader, but does not reflect the analytical process which, in line with ethnographic and grounded theoretical principles, was conducted in – to the extent possible – a bottom-up, data driven fashion.

Chapters 6, 7 and **8** then proceed to apply the *Collective language self-management* (CLSM) lens to each of Spolsky (2004)'s three components of language policy. **Chapter 6** (CLSM of Beliefs) examines the actions of members of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* to collectively (re)construct, disseminate and internalise a set of beliefs and discourses related to the perceived threats facing the Catalan language, the need for group members themselves to take action to counter these threats, and the methods for doing so.

Chapter 7 (CLSM of Practices) zooms in on these prescribed methods, examining the principal activities of the group in collectively identifying and correcting "unacceptable" ("inauthentic") language, suggesting more "acceptable" equivalents, and committing to incorporate this "corrected" language into their own language use. This chapter points to the similarities between this grassroots process and the traditional language planning activities carried out by macro-level authorities, including the resemblance of group activities to a form of restandardisation.

Finally, **Chapter 8** (CLSM of Management), focusses specifically on the assertion by Spolsky that language management acts require those undertaking them to possess, or claim, a position of authority over those whose language is being managed. This chapter claims that, given that defined roles of power do not exist within the groups under study, authority in the other-corrective acts conducted cannot be assumed. It therefore contends that in order for CLSM to function as desired, authority to attempt to manage the beliefs and practices of other members must be negotiated, and proceeds to explore such negotiations within the groups under study. The chapter presents the criteria that are applied by users to claim, grant or deny authority to those attempting to police the language use of members.

The final chapter, **Chapter 9**, closes the thesis by recapitulating the theory of *Collective language self-management* presented in Chapter 5, summarising the main findings that have emerged from the case study, and suggesting directions for future research to develop further the theory presented here.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

This study is motivated by a desire to understand how "ordinary" individuals and communities can take an active role in the management of their own linguistic varieties.

It might be argued that language policy is frequently associated with the politics, processes and machinations of institutions, and with the questions of "officiality" (e.g. Shohamy, 2006). Discussions surrounding language policy in the media, for example, most often seem to focus on matters regarding the creation or enforcement of language acts – such as debates surrounding the creation of an Irish Language Act in Northern Ireland (BBC News, 2017), or the penalisation of companies for infringing on the French Loi Toubon (Darriulat, 2006). Alternatively, focus might be given to matters surrounding the role of – or provision for – minority languages in the education system (Menguy and Poirot, 2021), or to the (often heated) debates surrounding governmental support for these languages (Beacom, 2018).

Within academia too, as will be discussed further within this chapter, language policy and planning has traditionally been considered a primarily "official" phenomenon: involving powerful institutions, organisations and decision-makers, or individuals acting in relation to them in some way (see e.g. chapters in Gazzola et al., 2024 for a contemporary example). And, while government officials, company bosses, education administrators and teachers play an obvious role in determining language development (particularly minority language development), it is also true that their role is ultimately to act in the service of communities – and therefore individual speakers – themselves. Through their responses to language policies within their environment, or targeted at them, and through their own linguistic choices, individual language speakers arguably have significant control over how their languages grow and develop – or do not, as the case may be.

It is from this area of growing research interest that the current study emerges. Aligning with researchers who propose to consider language policy as a mundane, sociocultural phenomenon, this thesis examines the agency of "powerless" individuals within language policy (Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021), builds on research related to individual and collective action and advocacy within language policy processes and, in particular, considers and posits one mechanism by which groups of individuals may synthesise their individual efforts in order to seize responsibility for planning their own languages, and become alternative language

policymakers in their own right. This mechanism is referred to as *Collective Language Self-Management* (CLSM). As a concept, it pertains to the collective co-ordination and negotiation of changes to individuals' own linguistic repertoires – a process which, it is argued here, could potentiate direct grassroots language change, circumventing the need to appeal to the power and influence of more traditional language regulatory institutions (cf. Spolsky, 2019b).

This concept builds and expands upon the notion of self-management proposed by Bernard Spolsky (2021, 2019b), which recognised the crucial role of individual decision-making in the acquiescence (or resistance) to external language management and advocacy. While Spolsky (2021) does suggest that self-management can be collectivised, he does so almost in passing, and leaves open the door for further theorisation and empirical exploration: an objective which the current study sets out to achieve.

Before proceeding to a more in-depth exploration of this concept, and providing examples of its manifestation within the following case study, this section provides an overview of the broad base of previous theoretical and empirical research from which the current study emerges. The chapter begins with some of the fundamental sociolinguistic theories and concepts which underpin the current study, including those of discourse, ideology and identity. This opening section also lays the groundwork for an introduction to the field of language policy and planning. While a more general overview is given, focus within this earlier section is given to the interface between language policy and discourse, beliefs and ideologies, and identities, foreshadowing the thematic focus of the first data chapter. The following section then places greater emphasis on the management of practices, and relevant conceptual frameworks for observing this phenomenon. Finally, the last section explores the notion of power and authority in language policy and planning, and the potential for its negotiation at the grassroots level. Throughout, discussions of agency, both individual and collective, in language policy and planning are also interspersed.

2.2 More than Words: Language and Discourse, Ideology and Identity

2.2.1 Languages as communicative tools and cultural objects

There are two fundamental, interrelated principles of sociolinguistic research, which particularly mark its departure from more formal linguistic disciplines. The first of these

dictates that languages cannot be fully understood and appreciated when divorced from their contexts of use. Hymes (1972, 1968) is perhaps held as one of the most prominent proponents of this perspective: rejecting the Chomskyan preoccupation with uncovering the core building blocks of language, unencumbered by external influences, and underlining the centrality of these external, sociocultural influences to a holistic linguistic analysis. Perfect linguistic competence, for Hymes, was insufficient for true command of a language, and children who acquired their mother tongue(s) learned not only how to form grammatical sentences, but also implicit rules, conventions, values and attitudes surrounding *appropriate* and *adequate* language use within their communities (1972: 72). From this premise emerged Hymes's *ethnography of speaking* approach, which has been of significant influence to a wealth of sociolinguistic and sociology of language studies that have followed:

> […] this is a question of what a child internalizes about speaking, beyond rules of grammar and a dictionary, while becoming a full-fledged member of its speech community. Or, it is a question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's verbal behavior in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities. The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right. (Hymes, 1968: 101)

Similar views are espoused by Silverstein (1985, see also: Wortham, 2008), who characterised the true object of study of the field of linguistics as the *total linguistic fact*: a term used to denote the linguistic form, and the contextual, sociocultural, political and ideological environments in which it is used, from which Silverstein asserted that the linguistic form could not be extricated. Wortham (2008) divides these into four categories – form, use, ideology and domain – which, he argues, form the bases of linguistic anthropological study.

Schiffman (1996, 2006), writing in relation to language policy, employs the term *linguistic culture* to evoke a similar concept, subsuming all cultural phenomena with the potential to mediate language behaviours within a society:

> I define [linguistic culture] as the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all the other cultural "baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture. (2006: 112)

Language is therefore more than simply its linguistic structure: it is a sociocultural phenomenon. A salient point, implied in this description is also that languages are not only *subject* to the influence of external beliefs, values and ideas, but are also the *object* of these

judgements. In other words, these ideational and cultural phenomena not only affect the language behaviour of a speaker, but also impinge upon behaviour *towards* the language in question (Fishman, 1971). Indeed, specific languages can possess different significances – or *mojos* (Joseph, 2014) – for their speakers, due, for example, to their associations with the cultural heritage of a given community, their links to wider socio-political struggles or their ties to modernity and socioeconomic benefits (ibid.). Such associations have the potential to affect whether languages are learned, maintained, and revitalised, or scorned, ignored and left to decline. They are also intimately connected with the concepts of *ideology* and *identity,* which are explained in greater detail below.

As the assertions of Schiffman, Hymes, Silverstein, Joseph and many others demonstrate, a plethora of language-external factors exist that have the potential to affect the way that human beings interact – both with others and with languages themselves. Consequently, these factors are also of relevance to study within the scope of linguistic and language sociological research – and particularly language policy research, as will be later explored.

2.2.2 Languages as social action

The second, related, fundamental principle that is noteworthy to mention here pertains to the functional versatility of language. While communication – by which might be understood the delivery and reception of ideas and information – is a primary function of language, research within recent decades has illuminated the wider spectrum of functions fulfilled by speakers in and through language use. That is to say that language can fulfil different roles and achieve different ends for different speakers in different contexts.

The work of Halliday has been especially revelatory and influential in demonstrating this principle. For Halliday (1975, 1978), language – as a key tool of socialisation – essentially constitutes a vehicle for the transmission and reception of culture. Speaking particularly of child language acquisition, he identifies seven different functions that languages serve in early stages of language development – many of which are arguably still relevant to adult language use (Halliday, 2004 (1969)). These include using language for the purposes of achieving tasks or affecting behaviour, and for conveying information about – and relating to – the outside world (ibid.). In addition, language allows the child to construct and express their inner self –

their unique personality, thoughts and feelings – as well as to construct and define social relations with others, and to exercise creativity in the construction of imaginary worlds and elements therein (ibid.). These functions also loosely map to the metafunctions of language identified by Halliday (1978). These are designated the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, respectively serving to encode the individual's experience of the surrounding culture as perceived both internally and externally, to establish and describe relations and exert influence within the culture, and to make language meaningful to the situational and temporal contexts in which it is used (ibid.: 112-113).

In sum, Halliday's work focusses less on the structure of language *per se*, and more on what this structure allows speakers to *do* through language.

2.2.2.1 Discourse

It is perhaps unsurprising then that his *Systemic-Functional Grammar* approach to analysing language use served as a significant influence on the development of the field of discourse studies – and particularly *critical* discourse studies, a field which more explicitly considers the instrumental and constructive capacities of language use. While the term has been variously interpreted across the applied linguistic and social scientific fields, perhaps one of the most relevant (and influential) definitions that have been proposed is that discourse is, first and foremost, the use of language as a form of social practice[3]: a tool through which to construct, or at the very least "construe", the social world (Fairclough, 2013: 4-5, see also: Fairclough et al., 2011).

An illustrative example of the latter point is provided by Hajer (1993) in his analysis of discourses surrounding acid rain in Great Britain. Hajer posits that dead trees, while not socially constructed phenomena in themselves, can be portrayed in a variety of ways depending on the perspective of the observer, leading to the existence of "many possible realities" (ibid.: 44). For example, one could perceive dead trees to represent the remnants of natural disasters such as forest fires or poor weather conditions, in which case their death might be viewed as inevitable. Or they might be depicted as preventable casualties of toxic

[3] Or "social action" (Fairclough et al., 2011: n.p.).

emissions and contaminants, in which case, Hajer claims, they are construed as a political problem to be solved. This interpretation can also serve as the starting point for a wider narrative about the deleterious human influence on climate change, the attribution of blame and responsibility, and the promotion of a particular solution. As such, Hajer contends, discourses do not merely describe and represent the world, they *create* it (ibid.: 44). They are also dialectic in nature, both shaping and being themselves shaped by society and culture, which Fairclough et al. (2011) refer to as the principle of being *mutually constitutive*.

2.2.2.2 Ideology

As part of its constructive property, discourse also serves as a vector for the (re-)creation, transmission and expression of *ideologies and identities.* Like discourse itself, the term "ideology" has also been variously interpreted over the decades of its employment in social scientific research. Freeden (1998: n.p.) suggests the following broad definition:

> An ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, consciously or unconsciously held, which reflects or shapes understandings or misconceptions of the social and political world.

Althusser (1965, cited in Maître and Matthey, 2007: 78) provides a similar definition, although emphasising the fact that ideology need not be grounded in reality and may possess a "mythical" quality:

> …une idéologie est un système (possédant sa logique et sa rigeuer propres) de representations (images, mythes, idées ou concepts selon le cas) doué d'une existence et d'un role historiques au sein d'une société donnée.

Ideologies need not be negative, as Freeden later underlines. However a critical interpretation of the term – and perhaps one that underlies its understanding outwith academic circles – places emphasis on their potential to create, represent or perpetuate unequal distributions of power and domination throughout society (Fairclough et al., 2011, Fairclough, 2013). Indeed, many such ideologies – such as those related to nationalism, immigration, or gender roles – achieve such a level of hegemony as to be considered merely "common sense" (Van Dijk, 2006: 117), leading to their functional invisibility and, arguably, increased perniciousness. Regardless, as scholars such as Gal and Irvine (2019) make clear, whenever language is used, ideology is in some way engaged – whether expressed, invoked, or constructed.

Language ideologies[4] more specifically, may be thought of as an ensemble of beliefs, ideas or rationales about how languages are, or should be, structured and used, and what they represent within a given society (e.g. Silverstein, 1979, Woolard, 2016). Woolard (1998: 3) defines them as:

> Representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world…

They are based on social, moral, cultural and political premises (Woolard, 2016), and, more widely understood, could be viewed as relating either directly to linguistic forms, or to languages as sociocultural phenomena, and by extension to those who speak them – their associated speakers and communities (cf. Irvine, 1989, Irvine and Gal, 2000, Gal and Irvine, 2019). While often considered to be held unconsciously, and to have an invisible influence on language behaviours[5], language ideologies can also be elevated to the level of conscious beliefs – particularly as a result of conflict – and made manifest in discourse (Woolard, 2016: 7). Some examples of language ideologies might include:

- a belief that certain languages are "more important" than others within a particular language ecology, due to their association with a national identity or their comparatively larger speaker base (e.g. McPhee, 1980, Hornsby, 2016, Atkinson, 2018)
- a preference for "standardised" and "authentic" forms of language, and a disdain or rejection of non-standard variants or neologisms (e.g. Langer and Nesse, 2012, Cushing, 2019)
- an association of a particular variety with an enemy or undesirable social, geographical, religious, ethnic or cultural group (e.g. Zeydanlioglu, 2012, Charalambous et al., 2017)

As will be discussed further below, ideologies such as these can influence not only language practices, as well as non-linguistic behaviours, but also language management decisions.

[4] Or "linguistic ideologies" (e.g. Irvine and Gal, 2000).
[5] As well as behaviours *towards* language, as discussed previously.

2.2.2.3 Identity

Intimately related to ideology, a second phenomenon that is expressed and constructed in and through discourse is that of identity. Indeed, for Bucholtz and Hall (2005), who adopt a sociocultural approach[6] to the study of identity, rather than a static and pre-existing internal structure, identity is an intentional, performative act, assembled discursively in interaction. This constructive process involves the positioning and alignment of the self and others with respect to larger-scale social categories, or smaller scale ethnographically- or interactionally-relevant roles, the invocation or indexing of extant ideological structures, and the critical comparison of the self with the other. The latter process of *relationality* relates to the augmentation or minimisation of similarities with others, and judgements on the authenticity and legitimacy of identity claims – a process which will prove particularly relevant in the case study presented below.

Finally, Bucholtz and Hall (ibid.) assert that identities are only ever *partial*, representing only a fraction of all possible forms of identities that an individual could construct (or that could be constructed for them). Wodak (2001) refers to this form of partial representation as *synecdoche,* and contends that it can constitute a strategic discursive device, deployed in line with the agenda and ideologies held by the person constructing the representation. Ager (2005), too, makes a similar claim with regard to constructing an *image* of a given linguistic identity, where identity itself is viewed as a factual, static phenomenon, and the external *perception* of this phenomenon is considered malleable – a fact on which he claims that language planners capitalise in order to encourage certain language behaviours. This point will be explored in further detail below.

A final point of note regarding Bucholtz and Hall's conceptualisation of identity is that the process of construction can be carried out either individually or jointly with others – a process they term *distributed agency* (2005: 606). This concept builds on theories of *distributed cognition* (Hutchins, 1996), and of the co-construction (or joint construction) of meaning (e.g. Goodwin, 1995, Ochs and Capps, 2002), and has gained traction in a number of studies

[6] Defined by the authors as a "broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 586).

focussing on processes of collective identity construction (e.g. Watson and Drew, 2015, Everri and Sterponi, 2017, Hikida, 2018, Gjesdal, 2021). The notion of *distributed agency* is particularly relevant in describing the collective, iterative manner in which self- and other-identities are crafted in the following case study.

To summarise, languages are much more than words and structure, and can accomplish much more than conveying information. Languages are intimately connected to, and influenced by, the social world around them, and are imbued with the beliefs, values, traditions, identities and power struggles characterising their surrounding cultures. In turn, in and through language as discourse, these cultural elements are not only expressed, but constructed, construed, and reconstructed.

Given the mutually influential and constitutive connection between these sociocultural elements and language varieties themselves, it is perhaps little wonder that discourses, ideologies, and identities are also phenomena of particular interest to those involved in the diverse processes of language policy.

2.2.2.4 Authenticity

According to Kathryn Woolard (2016), a particularly important factor which influences whether or not the identity of a speaker, and the language they use, will be perceived as legitimate is the degree and type of linguistic authority that they command. As alluded to in the description of Buscholtz and Hall's theory above, one type of linguistic authority is rooted in the ideological notion of *authenticity.*

Wollard (ibid.) contends that languages and speakers are perceived as authentic when they can be seen as a true vehicle or manifestation of the core, defining characteristics of a specific community. Authentically spoken languages and their speakers can be easily traced to a specific geographical location, cultural context, or time in history with which they are associated, and thereby foster their connection to it. It is in the "local", therefore, that such speakers and language varieties gain their significance and, by contrast, in the distance from this locality that its value diminishes (ibid.).

In an increasingly globalised world, concerns around authenticity are increasingly prevalent, and surface in particular in relation to debates surrounding the (mis)use of minority and

endangered languages by new speakers (see e.g. Darquennes and Soler, 2019, O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013, Kasstan, 2019). As Woolard (2016) notes, the degree and quality of perceived authenticity of a language variety acts as a determinant of the "belongingness" of a given speaker, with that which is viewed as more traditional, and "uncorrupted" by external influences, perceived as superior.

Indeed, Woolard (ibid.) observes that such a degree of "realness" can often be viewed as unlearnable: open only to those who have possessed it since birth. This goes some way to explaining the inherent conflict facing new speakers opting to learn endangered languages in order to maintain the threatened culture, while simultaneously being rejected by that community for lacking the rootedness that its "authentic" members possess. And, indeed, Woolard (ibid.) comments that, after a time, the ideology of authenticity can serve to constrain the expansion of a language community, whose membership is restricted on the grounds of legitimacy of roots rather than being open to numerical growth.

In the current case study, perceived authenticity is clearly vital to participants: both in the quality of the language spoken (indexed by the degree of Castilianisation exhibited), and in the background of group members (with the suggestions of those perceived to have more "Catalan" roots often trusted to a greater extent.)

2.2.2.5 Purism

A related concept to "authenticity" is that of language purism. As a concept, it refers to the degree to which a given language variety is viewed as linguistically "intact": that is to say, the extent to which is can be viewed as free from interference on corruption from external influence, whether other languages, or other dialects of the same language, and whether on a lexical, grammatical, orthographical or prosodic level (e.g. Thomas, 1991).

As Brunstad (2003) notes, however, "purity", from a strictly linguistic perspective, does not exist. Given the inherent overlaps and mixing between languages as a result of borrowings and language contact over time, it is impossible to state definitively that a specific form of language that can be deemed "pure" by objective standards (ibid.). Nevertheless, the degree of purity exhibited by given linguistic forms remains a powerful ideological tool wielded by

speakers and language planners alike, often in the attempt to (re)construct an authentic language and community.

And, indeed, Thomas (1991) notes that the formation and maintenance of standard languages is closely connected to the ideology of purism. A purist approach to language planning separates linguistic forms into those which are "authentic", "native" or "traditional" and those which are "deviant", "intrusive" or "foreign". The motivation underpinning these divisions is context-dependent, and may be based on political, cultural, racial or other prejudices – all of which serve to influence that which is considered "pure" and that which is considered "contamination" (Brunstad, 2003, Jernudd, 1989, see also examples in Davies and Langer, 2003).

The attempt to divide "pure" from "interference" is especially common to many language communities who perceive their variety to be under threat (see e.g. Sallabank, 2018, Tebaldi, 2020, Cru, 2016), including the speakers of Catalan studied in this thesis.

2.3 Language policy and planning

As stated above, this study pertains to the ways in which individuals attempt to regulate how they themselves, as well as others, use, think about, or experience their language. As such, it falls within the scope of the expanding field of language policy and planning research. As a term, "language policy" is imperfect, in that it seems to denote – and, in much research, continues to be interpreted as – a text containing a set of rules about how one should or should not speak, or about which languages should be used in specific circumstances. Yet, despite reservations over the expanding semantic valence of the term (e.g. Johnson, 2013a), "language policy" has become a theoretical and analytical lens in the study of a plethora of sociolinguistic phenomena.

2.3.1 A brief overview of the field

2.3.1.1 Planning, policy, management… a working operationalisation

Firstly, it is important first to clarify how the term *language policy* is understood and employed through this thesis. Admittedly, given its etymological trajectory, the term is somewhat imperfect. According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Hoad, 2003), the term "policy" has long been associated with "government" and "administration" on the one hand, and with official documentation on the other.[7] In addition, the term is used inconsistently within studies in language policy and planning, and a plethora of other terms are used alongside it, often interchangeably, including: language planning, language ordering, language engineering, language management, language policing…

For the purposes of clarity, this thesis primarily adopts the definition of language policy proposed by Bernard Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2021). For Spolsky, language policy comprises three distinct but interrelated components:

[7] A second historical definition provided, however, seems more appropriate for the current purposes: "course of action deemed expedient" (Hoad, 2003). This more general definition seems to mirror the wider connotation of policy espoused here.

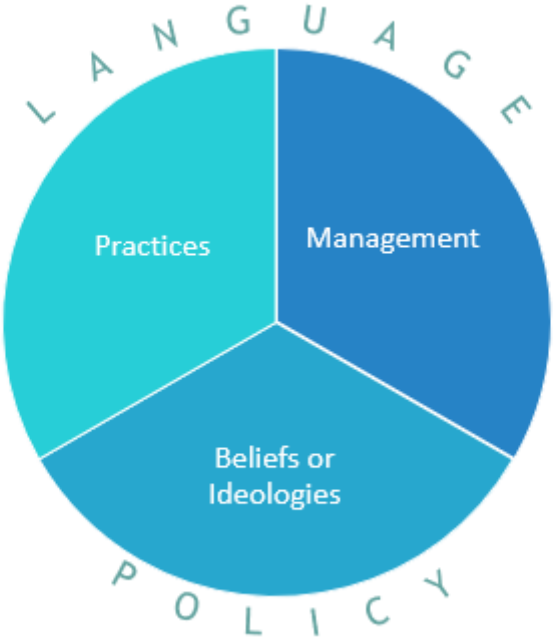

Figure 2.1: Diagram depicting Spolsky (2004)'s tripartite model of language policy.

- Language practices, which refers to the language behaviours that speakers exhibit, governed by unconscious conventions and regular patterns
- Language beliefs and ideologies, or the set of implicit or explicit values and judgements attributed to languages, their uses and their users that impact upon the way in which individuals themselves speak, or encourage others to speak
- Language management, or the observable efforts of one entity to alter the language practices or beliefs of others, (or one's own, in the case of self-management)

Furthermore, Spolsky posits that language policies are present, under these guises, across all domains of society: from supranational organisations such as the United Nations and the African Union, to individual families and social and institutional groupings. A domain is identifiable as a result of its own unique forms of language policy, as well as the specific combinations of locations and people germane to it (Spolsky, 2004, 2009).

Language policy, then, is multifaceted and goes beyond merely formal documents written by governmental or corporate policymakers. Indeed, it is precisely this multifaceted and omnipresent nature of language policy that, in Spolsky's view, renders almost impossible the

task of creating and enforcing official (multi-)state language legislation, as was commonly assumed feasible at the inception of the field (Spolsky, 2018, see also Ricento, 2000).

Subsequent theorists have emphasised this more "everyday" conceptualisation of language policy, as a sociocultural phenomenon that can be found at any level or layer of society, and at any scale from informal conversations to parliamentary sessions. Blommaert et al. (2009), for example, propose the more verbally active term *policing* as an alternative to "policy" precisely to emphasise the dynamic, variable and multi-actor nature of bringing "order" through regulatory language behaviours, and underline their polycentricity (i.e. the fact that the norms to which these behaviours orient are changeable, and may be unconnected to "official" language policies). McCarty (2011b: 2), too, proposing an ethnographic approach to its study, views language policy as "processual, dynamic and in motion", characterising it as "a sociocultural process: that is, as modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power" (McCarty, 2004: 72). Broadly speaking, then, this definition may be thought of as relating to the discursive construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of (il)legitimate ways of speaking, and the discussions, exchanges, statements, debates and decisions made that both engender and ensue from these discourses: "it constitutes and is constituted by the practices each of us engages in every day" (ibid.). It is this broader view of language policy as a discursive, value-laden regulatory phenomenon, potentially involving any given person or group at any given moment, and with either (or both) small-scale or large-scale implications, that this thesis adopts.

Nevertheless, as even this very brief description has revealed, language policy is inherently linked to issues of power and authority, and the struggle to achieve and assert them. To understand this crucial topic in context, as well as to gain a better understanding of the above operationalisation of language policy more generally, it is appropriate now to zoom out and present a summary of the development of the LPP field.

2.3.1.2 The emergence of a field

As a distinct subfield of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, language policy and planning (LPP) is a relatively young academic discipline. This is in spite of the fact that the object of its fascination – the management of languages and their surrounding contexts and communities – is arguably a naturally occurring phenomenon that has existed as long as languages

themselves. Yet, in its short history, the LPP field has undergone a number of conceptual, epistemological and methodological evolutions that have greatly informed the direction of the current study, and which will be summarised here. Excellent overviews are provided by Ricento (2000), Johnson and Ricento (2013) and Johnson and Stephens (2018), in which the development of the field is split into approximately four distinct, but overlapping phases. These reviews will serve as the basis for the following summary.

According to these, language policy and planning initially became the focus of scholarly interest in the middle of the 20th century, coinciding with processes of decolonisation and nation building in developing countries across the world. Research during this era focussed on exploring and suggesting governmental solutions to the "problem" of societal multilingualism: most commonly the creation of standardised, national languages, that were seen as tools that would facilitate intercultural communication, and galvanise a shared sentiment of nationhood (e.g. Haugen, 1959, Fishman et al., 1968, Fodor, 1966).

Through the work of Einar Haugen (1966, 1959), built upon by Heinz Kloss (1968), this activity of "language planning" came to be subdivided into "status planning" and "corpus planning" – referring respectively to assigning the functions to be performed by the language within society, and to its linguistic preparation and elaboration (lexical, grammatical, orthographic etc.) to enable it to fulfil these functions. Haugen (1983, see also Johnson, 2013a: 28) further separated the process into a four-step procedure involving "selection" of a specific variety, "codification" of that variety to produce a standard, authoritative form, "implementation" - or dissemination - of the variety within the desired social contexts, and then the continual re-evaluation and updating ("elaboration") of the variety to ensure that it continues to serve the functions to which it has been put. The product of these technical processes was the production of an official strategy or language policy, usually in the form of a piece of legislation or set of guidelines, the implementation of which would engender the linguistic – and thereby social – changes desired.

Haugen's (1966, 1959, 1983) and Kloss (1968)'s framework was (and remains) extremely influential, and has been consistently developed in subsequent years. Over the next two decades, however, Ricento (2000) observes, many researchers sought to challenge the underlying epistemological and philosophical assumptions on which it was based. Ruíz (1984), for example, underlines the fact that, until that point, multilingualism had predominantly

been conceived of as a problem to be solved through language planning – with languages reduced to serving only as a tool of communication, and planning focussing on ensuring its ease. Within the domain of education, this belief translates to the problematisation of bilingualism and bilingual education, and their (erroneous) association with social and cognitive disadvantage:

> The orientation that language is a social problem to be identified operationally and resolved through treatments like transitional bilingual education may be more pervasive than we think. Whether the orientation is represented by malicious attitudes resolving to eradicate, invalidate, quarantine, or inoculate, or comparatively benign ones concerned with remediation and "improvement," the central activity remains that of problem-solving. (ibid.: 21).

Viewing language planning as an important element of social planning, Ruiz argued that viewing language as a problem was merely one possible orientation that could be taken, and that instead, one could adopt a "language as a right" or a "language as a resource" orientation. The former, he argued, was inferior to the latter, given that it implied wielding legislative and regulatory power to assign rights to minority language community speakers, and enforce their compliance – risking, he claimed, widespread resistance and increased divisions. Alternatively, he asserted that portraying languages as resources could redress imbalance between "world standard" and "little" languages (ibid.: 27), yielding benefits such as widening intercultural awareness and empathy, and fostering positive attitudes towards disadvantaged and underprivileged groups. Ruiz's contribution, therefore, began to encourage reflexivity on the part of language planners and LPP scholars regarding the motivations and potential effects of their actions.

Robert Cooper (1989) took this one one step further by proposing his diagnostic framework of: "Who plans what for whom and how?" or, in more detail: "What actors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?" (ibid.: 98). By posing this series of analytical questions, Cooper begins to encourage scrutiny over the mechanisms, motivations and morality underlying language planning. Indeed, more than simply a tool to remedy communication problems, he likens it to just one of many weapons in a planner's arsenal to wage social warfare:

> Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of nonlinguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the

> creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. In any war, one uses all the ammunition at hand. If the modification of a language, or its use, or the promotion of its acquisition is perceived as ammunition, such ammunition is likely to be fired. (ibid.: 35)

While not fully departing from core theoretical underpinnings of his predecessors' models, Cooper's work nevertheless heralds the beginning of a more critical view of language policy and planning, and the rejection of its traditional depiction as a purely neutral, technical and seemingly benevolent activity, which treated language as separable from its social, political and cultural contexts (ibid.; Ricento, 2000). This critical perspective – the third wave of LPP research, according to Ricento (2000) – was characterised by a view of policy as a social construction which, far from being neutral, emerges from, reifies and ultimately preserves pre-existing societal structures of dominance and subordination (e.g. Tollefson, 1991, 2006, Shohamy, 2006, Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, 1996, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995, Phillipson, 1992, 2009)

Tollefson's (1991) aptly named work *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* is one of the most notable criticisms of what he refers to as the "neoclassical approach" to LPP. For Tollefson, such foundational frameworks attributed an excessive amount of freedom to individuals in their language choices, at the expense of considering the historical social, political, economic and ideological factors which constrain their capacity to make free linguistic choices.[8] Even seemingly conscious and voluntary decisions to embrace majority languages could be understood as a form of "spontaneous" or "manufactured consent" (see also Hough and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005, Fishman, 1988) – the product of hegemonic language ideology, resistance to which would result in perceived justifiable sanctions by state authorities.

He viewed language policy as a tool of the state to exert and retain the dominance and power of social elites, and to regulate group membership and access to labour. In particular, he aligns

[8] This clash between a neoclassical and critical view of linguistic agency is also vividly exemplified by two competing position papers – the first by Ladefoged (1992) and a published response by Dorian (1993) – on appropriate responses to minority language speakers' choices of dominant, more "economically viable" languages. While Ladefoged questions the entitlement of linguists to dissuade such speakers from making linguistic choices that will result in the betterment of their social position, Dorian adopts a similar stance to Tollefson, arguing that such apparent exertion of free will is merely illusory.

with Bourdieu (1991) in identifying the national education system of a country as the major site of an individual's baptism into the extant linguistic hegemony, with children taught from a young age to accept as natural the need to learn certain languages to achieve professional success. As a solution to this, Tollefson advocated a *historical-structural approach* to LPP research – one that closely examines the historically-rooted and often invisible forces which underpin language policies, and which compel speakers to make certain language choices.

A similar perspective to Tollefson is espoused by Shohamy (2006) whose audacious volume *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*

> …calls for a critical view of language policy to show how it leads to actual practices promoting political ideologies of the nation-state that perpetuate language purity, create language hierarchies, marginalize and exclude groups, and thus lead to the violation of personal rights and undemocratic practices. (ibid.:xvii)

Similarly to other proponents of the *Critical Language Policy* approach (Tollefson, 2006), Shohamy perceives language policy to be a "mechanism" employed by powerful and authoritative bodies for the purposes of "exercising control over the language space" (Shohamy, 2006: xv) in order to "dictate, regulate and create set orders of hierarchies in the name of classifying and categorizing those who use the language in 'the right way' in relation to those who do not." She defines language policy as "official" formal documents such as state legislation, regulations and rules, but posits that such documents constitute only one method through which societal language behaviour is manipulated by powerful figures in line with a set agenda.

In consonance with Schiffman (1996) – and later, to an extent, McCarty (2011b) – she contends that beyond these overt, "declared" forms, language policies exist also in a covert or "de facto" form. These comprise unconscious or hidden language practices which are driven by ideology, and reinforced by "policy devices" such as language in education policy, language testing, propagated myth and legend (such as narratives of nationhood), and the linguistic landscape (through public signage). It is these policy mechanisms combined that, regardless of whatever positive rhetoric is produced in relation to minoritised languages and linguistic diversity in general, represent and reproduce the *real* policy of the state: one which perpetuates unequal power relationships by linguistic means, and serves the interests of ruling societal groups.

2.3.2 Language policy: a mechanism for social change

Like languages themselves, as alluded to above, language policies are inextricably linked with the "linguistic culture" – and its related ideas, beliefs, values and myths – from which they emerge (Schiffman, 1996, 2006, see also: Hult, 2015b). Given that it involves taking stances on, and making decisions regarding, the way that languages are structured, used, taught or perceived, language management is an inherently ideological phenomenon, representing the set of beliefs and values held by policy makers or practitioners (e.g. Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2021, Shohamy, 2006, Hornberger and Johnson, 2007). In this way, language policy documents can also be thought of as intrinsically discursive phenomena, representing one particular way of understanding, orienting to, and behaving within the language ecology for which they are designed (Ball, 1993). Indeed, language policy is increasingly considered to be a *primarily* discursive phenomenon, which can – but need not – be entextualised within explicit documents (Hult, 2015a). And, even when such explicit documents do exist, these frequently have less effect than perceptions, beliefs or opinions about what the language policy *is* or *should be* in the specific situation in question (Schiffman, 2006).

However, while language policies constitute ideological and discursive products, representing the beliefs and values of those involved in their creation, dissemination and implementation (as well as of society more widely), a frequently key objective of language management is engendering changes to these societal beliefs, ideologies and discourses, and constructing them anew (Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2021, Lo Bianco, 2005, Ager, 2005).

Ball (1993: 14), in his conceptualisation of social policy as both *text* and *discourse,* draws on a Foucauldian interpretation of the latter, defining it as being:

> …about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed. Words are ordered and combined in particular ways and other combinations are displaced or excluded.

Social policy, therefore, defines and establishes ideational and ideological boundaries to what is "thinkable" about a particular social issue. This, indeed, links to a salient point of concordance between the work of Tollefson and Shohamy, mentioned above: the classical

notion of language planning as a problem-solving activity is, in itself, problematic, since the conceptualisation of a particular phenomenon as a "problem" is grounded in the opinions, beliefs and motivations of the conceiver. Planners who identify a specific linguistic or communication issue as a "problem" do so in line with their own worldview, values and biases, all of which, the authors underline, are the product of a historical process of unequal social structuring in their favour.

Indeed, this view is built upon by Lo Bianco (2005, 2010), who advocates for the inclusion of *discourse planning* as a distinct activity carried out by language planners, alongside more traditional status and corpus planning work. Discourse planning, for Lo Bianco, involves the strategic shaping and manipulation by planners of discourses surrounding language varieties, and surrounding the language planning process itself. He likens the process, at its extreme, to a form of brainwashing: a means of persuading the uptake and embodiment of the vision of reality presented by the policy itself.

In particular, Lo Bianco contends that through discourse planning, language planners can define certain language behaviours (and by extension, certain language speakers and speech communities) as problematic, as opposed to more "correct", socially acceptable forms. In so doing, policymakers can also galvanise support for the measures put forward to "rectify" these problems.

An example of discourse planning in action cited by Lo Bianco (2005) includes the "official English" (or English-Only) movement in the United States (see also Wiley, 2004, Wiley, 2012, Johnson, 2011, Darder, 2011, Lawton, 2016). Fuelled by ideologies regarding the greater importance of English acquisition on the part of US students, and concomitant prejudices against immigrant languages and cultures, the various organisations involved in the movement lobby for the granting of official status to English throughout all fifty US states (Lawton, 2016). In order to achieve this objective, and to garner popular and economic support, these groups construct and disseminate discourses which position immigrant languages and cultures as divisive, and a threat to the US national identity (ibid.) – a discourse similar to that adopted by successive French governments to justify the suppression or marginalisation of its indigenous minority languages (see e.g. Calvet, 1987, Judge, 2007, Kremnitz et al., 2013, McNulty, 2023). Moreover, as Darder (2011) poignantly notes, these discourses were often accompanied by a demonisation of bilingual education, including

portraying it as a form of state-supported child abuse. Thus, by deploying these strategic discourses – rooted, as they are, in xenophobic and racist stances – the English Only movement attempts to persuade and pressure the public, policymakers and education practitioners and administrators to adopt their view of linguistic diversity within the US, and to take action to regulate it. And, testifying to the power of discourse planning, Yamagami (2012) charts the elevation of these discourses to the political sphere in the state of Arizona, influencing the educational priorities of the state government.

Similar to the concept of discourse planning is that of *image planning*, proposed by Ager (2005, see also Ager, 1999). As stated briefly above, Ager adopts an antithetical perspective on the nature of identity. Rather than viewing identity as the dynamic product of discursive construction in interaction, the author views the identity of language communities as consisting of a collection of primarily immutable facts (Ager, 2005). These include factors such as its history[9], its demographics and its political structure, as well as social phenomena such as myths, taboos, and relationship dynamics among community members and with other societal minority or majority language groups (ibid.). On the other hand, *image* refers to the *perception* of this identity by others: the mental representation that community members themselves, or outsiders, possess of the community and its language. While identity is factual, and therefore neutral, image is evaluative: languages can possess positive images (e.g. connoting modernity, unity, and diplomacy) or negative images (e.g. connoting division, heresy or a lack of belonging). Furthermore, while identity is reasonably fixed, according to Ager (2005: 26), image is mutable, and subject to *image manipulation.*

Language planners engaging in image manipulation may do so in order to foster favourable or hostile views of particular language varieties. The French example is once again relevant here, and the portrayal of French as a language of intellect, moral superiority, democracy, human rights and high culture is cited by the author as a classic example of image planning (see also Ager, 1996, 1999). Added to this, Ager (2005) explains how two Welsh language groups, advocating the increased status of the language in Wales, utilised image planning campaigns as a means to achieve their contrasting objectives, based on their different

[9] The notion that history is "factual" is somewhat problematic, given that past events can be interpreted variously, depending on the person interpreting.

political visions. The more unionist-leaning Welsh Language Board, on the one hand, attempted to portray Wales as a truly bilingual country, in which Welsh and English held equal importance and status to the language ecology. On the other hand, the independence-leaning Welsh Language Society, favouring eventual secession of the country from the United Kingdom, disseminated an image of Welsh as the only true language of Wales – with English effectively depicted as unnatural and externally imposed (Ager, 2005), similar to the depiction of Spanish within Catalonia by certain sectors of Catalan society. As a result, while the actual structure of the language, as well as the reality of its usage within the Welsh-speaking community, was identical in both cases, two competing images of the language could be strategically cultivated simultaneously, in consonance with, and furthering, the political inclinations of the respective planners.

Whether identity itself is viewed as the primary phenomenon that is discursively constructed in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), or identity is viewed as static and it is its *perception* (its image) that is malleable (Ager, 2005), the effect is arguably the same. The manner in which languages, speakers, communities and even language management itself are viewed (broadly speaking) is open to modification through persuasive, discursive means, and according to the ideologies (political, social or otherwise) of the modifiers.

This notion of the malleability of perceptions regarding languages and their speakers, as alluded to above, finds echo in the core theory of language policy on which the current work is based. As Sallabank (2019b) elucidates in her discussion of Spolsky's (2004, 2009) model, the components of language beliefs – a term which might reasonably be expanded to include any form of *perception* about language, including discourses, ideologies or images – and language management are connected in a recursive, mutually influential loop. That is to say, while beliefs about languages, and appropriate language practices and identities, influence the language management measures employed, these beliefs may constitute the *object* of language management in their own right (Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2021): a point which is frequently overlooked in analyses of language policy (Sallabank, 2019b). This management of beliefs could conceivably be conducted for its own ends, however as the theories of Lo Bianco (2005) and Ager (2005) highlight, it is likely to possess an ulterior motive, such as to encourage an organic change in language practices, or to prompt support or compliance with a specific language management measure.

2.3.3 Agency in Language Policy and Planning

This discussion of the theories of discourse and image planning could be argued to imply that language policy and planning is a predominantly top-down activity, conducted by official, power-wielding bodies. And, indeed, a further point of apparent agreement between Critical Language Policy researchers, and a point on which the CLP approach has been criticised (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, see also Johnson and Ricento, 2013), relates to its purported disempowerment of individuals and communities. Given that the critical paradigm equates language policy with power that is disproportionately held at the governmental and institutional level, "ordinary" individuals are portrayed as having greatly limited capacity to act in their own interests, short of somehow seizing control of the policy apparatus:

> …Policies are made by, and reflect the interests of, those who dominate the state policy-making apparatus. Thus individuals confronting language problems without having access to policy-making organs must try to take effective action within social systems in which they have few options. (Tollefson, 1991: 204)

> True, one can observe some bottom-up initiatives by various groups, especially those creating their own LEPs [Language in Education Policies] and practices often in contradiction to the declared and official language policies […] Yet, these acts represent a relatively small number of cases, while in most situations, central authorities introduce LPs in a top-down manner. (Shohamy, 2006: 140)

Yet, as both allude to, an acknowledgement and appreciation of so-called "bottom-up" action was already present within earlier literature. Cooper (1989: 31), for example, while still viewing language planning as an activity conducted primarily by "elites and counterelites", argues that "to restrict language planning to the work of authoritative institutions is to be too restrictive." Indeed, he contends, that grassroots pressure can serve as the precursor and impetus for top-down language planning, and that resistance from those whom language planning measures are intended to influence can have a significant impact upon their "success" (ibid.: 31, 185).

Moreover, this belief in the importance of considering and seeking the compliance of policy targets is shared by Haarmann (1990), who argues for the incorporation of *prestige planning* – a concept which inspired the work of Ager (2005) – into traditional language planning practices. His primary assertion is that researchers and practitioners should be concerned with not only the *production* of language planning measures, but also their *reception*: whether they are ultimately accepted or rejected by their intended recipients. Successful planning

measures, he contends, require an appreciation of the social, cultural and economic knowledge of individual speakers, and a positive evaluation on their part of both the language variety in question (and proposed changes thereto), and of those making the proposals. Building on Cooper, Haarmann (1990: 123) suggests the following as a framework: "Who accepts what planning provisions from whom and under what conditions?".

These early signs of recognition regarding the non-passivity of language speakers and communities themselves arguably represent the foundations of a growing contemporary interest in understanding the nature of agency in language policy processes – a theme which greatly underpins the current work.

2.3.3.1 Defining agency

As Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech (2021) observe, the definition of agency is somewhat slippery and, for the avoidance of confusion, must be clarified on each occasion that the term is used.

Agency is a sociological concept that is synonymous with "action" of individual or groups of people within society (King, 2005). It refers to what human beings are capable of doing at any given moment in their lives, and the degree to which they are able to exercise their own free will (Duncan, 2019). While individuals clearly possess the ability to make their own choices, it is generally accepted within social theory that free will is not absolute, and is subject to various types of limitations and privileges external to one's own life. These external factors are collectively referred to as *structure*, and can take the form of actual and perceived rules, norms, beliefs, habits, and expectations, as well as circumstantial factors such as an individual's position within their social, cultural or institutional context, and aspects of their identity such as their race, religion or gender (ibid.). One of the primary goals, thus, of social scientific research has been to understand the interplay between *agency* and *structure*: between an individual's ability to make choices that will affect their own life, and the exterior forces that serve to render certain choices more or less likely, possible or desirable. The degree and scope of originality, creativity, constraint and predetermination of individual actions is of perennial interest to scholars across the field, as well as across the social sciences more generally.

With regard to language policy and planning, as alluded to above, traditional conceptualisations depict a process that is entirely – or predominantly – *top-down*. Per Haugen (1983)'s model, state authorities are responsible for making executive decisions regarding the functions and forms of societal language use, as well as its continued adaptation to modern requirements. The role of individuals and communities in the process is limited either to implementing the decisions of planners, or simply abiding by them in one's quotidian language choices. Focus is therefore overwhelmingly placed on language policy as structure.

Yet, as can be inferred from the citations above, from relatively early in the history of the field, this assumption of unidirectionality was challenged, and numerous frameworks have since been proposed to explore the nature and effects of individual action - or agency - within the LPP process.

2.3.3.2 Situating agency

Key scholars such as Hornberger (1997), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), Baldauf (2006), Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) and Kheng and Baldauf (2011), have continuously propounded an extremely influential model which views LPP as occurring at both *macro* and *micro* levels of society. Language planning at the macro level is often understood as consisting of structured and systematic activities, such as those carried out by official organisations and institutions including supranational organisations, state education authorities, language regulatory departments and bodies, as well as large corporations (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, Kheng and Baldauf, 2011). "Macro" is also frequently employed to refer to wider societal structures that serve to constrain or enable language choices (Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006).

Micro-language planning, on the other hand, typically refers to smaller-scale, local activities, such as the work of community groups and organisations, local businesses and authorities, and schools (Kheng and Baldauf, 2011). When counterposed with macro-language planning, micro-language planning is also frequently interpreted as agentive action (Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006): for example, within a company, the former may be understood as official policy documents produced by management, while the latter refers to the actual choices of employees. In addition to these two levels, others have been added. These include: the *meso-level*, referring to "middle man" action occurring at an intermediate level between the macro

and the micro (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997); the *supra-macro-level,* designating either national (Kheng and Baldauf, 2011) or international bodies (Lee et al., 2022), depending on the theorist; and the *infra-micro level* denoting the actions of individuals, small groups and communities (Kheng and Baldauf, 2011)[10]. While the terms *macro* and *micro* are widely used within past and present studies within the LPP field, however, the others have received comparatively less usage and attention.

Still, in spite of the popularity of *macro* and *micro*, the terms have received criticism for their potential ambiguity in usage. Johnson (2013a), for example, points out that, depending on the perspective taken, a single person could act as *macro* to someone else, while also being *micro* to another entity. A head teacher, for instance, could be considered *macro-level* to a classroom teacher, given their authority over school policy[11], while also acting as *micro* to state educational authorities, who set objectives for individual schools. Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008), themselves, emphasise that the macro-micro distinction is useful only insofar as it establishes scope for a particular study. They state that they cannot truly be separated into independent phenomena, and instead argue that each pole very often functions in interaction with the other. Moreover, Johnson and Stephens (2018) highlight the temptation to make simplistic associations between macro-language planning and the processes and procedures of official, legal and administrative structures, and between micro-language planning and real human interactions between individuals in a given language community. Yet, they note that the reality is of significantly greater complexity, with substantial overlap common: with both structural forces and individual action possible in any given language policy activity, regardless of where it occurs within society (ibid.). The distinction between macro- and micro-level language policy will be returned to below.

An alternative model depicting the multilayered nature of LPP processes is proposed by Ricento and Hornberger (1996), who describe the functioning of language policy within the education system as akin to an onion, with each layer representing a different force or actor, including: “legislation and political process”, “states and supranational agencies”,

[10] An alternative formulation is proposed by van den Akker, Fasoglio and Mulder (2008), including the levels of: *supra, macro, meso, micro and nano.*

[11] The notion of authority in language is considered in greater detail below.

"institutions" and "classroom practitioners" – each with potential impact upon the policy's creation or implementation. As a result of this structure, this model would seem to concur with Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008: 11)'s later assertion that "No macro-level policy is transmitted directly and unmodified to a local context.", as the interpretations and beliefs of individuals throughout each layer impact upon the final enactment of the original policy. Ricento and Hornberger (1996)'s model has achieved similar popularity, and was arguably instrumental in setting in motion the "ethnographic" (Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018, Williams, 2019) and "empirical turn[s]" (Johnson and Stephens, 2018) in LPP, which shifts focus to the actions of agents throughout LPP processes.

Another approach to studying both the interaction between structure and agency in language policy-related decisions, as well as accounting for the multidimensional and multisited nature of the process, is that proposed by Francis Hult (2010a, 2015b). Drawing on the work of media scholars Scollon and Scollon (2004), as well as sociolinguist Jan Blommaert (2007), Hult contends that social actions – in this case, those related to the LPP process – emerge as a result of an agent's interaction with three intersecting forms of discourse:

- *Discourses in place:* extant discourses surrounding the specific issue touched upon by the language planning process, or those related to the relationship between language varieties within the relevant "language ecology"
- *Interaction order:* the "situated norms and expectations for interaction in a particular setting or among particular individuals" (Hult, 2010a: 11)
- *Historical body:* similar to Bourdieu (1977)'s concept of "habitus", the experiences, memories, beliefs, habits and practices ingrained in the actor

These three discursive forces converge on the individual actor, and serve to influence the nature of the action taken. Their analysis in order to find the root of the latter is known as *nexus analysis.* However, a crucial point of Hult's proposition is that such structures do not happen in isolation, and are instead connected to various similar contexts within a particular policy chain – called a *nexus of practice* – which interact in a "fluid and dynamic" manner (ibid.: 14). Also distancing himself from the "macro-micro" continuum, as well as the "layers" metaphor introduced by Ricento and Hornberger (1996, see also Hornberger and Johnson, 2007), Hult proposes adopting the Blommaertian concept of "scale", which views all language

policy activities as being "situated within nested scales of space and time" (ibid.: 14). By metaphorically zooming in and out, one can gain perspective on the connections between different language policy discourses as they move across either time or space, and affect the decisions and actions of others at different magnifications. Crucially, where the macro-micro dichotomy suggests an inherent hierarchy of effect and influence, Hult (ibid.: 18) maintains that his proposed approach allows language policy activities to be viewed as occurring on the "same plane of existence": that is to say, not arbitrarily detached or disconnected, but functioning in relation to one another.

A similar goal is arguably achieved by the model suggested by Bernard Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2019b, 2007, 2012, 2018, 2021), which was described earlier in this chapter. His seminal volume *Language Policy* (2004) was one of the first works to reconsider and reconceptualise even the terminology used in the field. For Spolsky, *language policy* could be understood as a superordinate concept which incorporates – but is not restricted to – the traditional notion of more formal *language planning*. Moreover, this latter term he replaces with *language management*, to designate this more conscious and active component of language policy, compared with the more abstract policies arising from language practices, beliefs and ideologies. Spolsky (2018) explains this decision by positing that, while the former term conjures up an image of an architectural design being drawn up and handed on to be made into a real building (p. 304), "a management model assum[es] a range of managers and various levels working to modify the language practices of various members of the community" (p. 305). The notion of language management, thus, implies continuous processes being conducted by a diversity of actors all across society. Parallels can also be drawn between Hult's suggestions of analysing the policy across societal scales and Sposlky's segmenting of society into various interlocking domains, as described earlier – each representing its own unique "polity", but both influencing and being influenced by others.

Finally, language *management* is a term also preferred by scholars of *Language Management Theory* (LMT) (e.g. Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987, Neustupný and Nekvapil, 2003, Neustupný, 2003, Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006, Nekvapil, 2016, Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015, Fairbrother et al., 2018, Sherman and Švelch, 2015). According to Nekvapil and Nekula (2006), LMT – previously referred to as the "correction model" (Neustupný, 1983) – departs from classical language policy frameworks in that it directs its focus primarily at speaker agency (i.e. the

formation and management of speaker-to-speaker interactions). Language management of this type is referred to as *discourse-based* or *simple language management,* while the opposite of this would be *institutional, trans-interactional* or *organised language management,* which Nekvapil ascribes to the work of institutions, usually at the traditional "macro" level (see also Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987). Somewhat akin to the concept of "repair" in conversation analysis (e.g. Schegloff et al., 1977), simple language management refers to a cycle in which interactants first note in their own, or others', speech, a deviation from some form of expectation. This deviation may be linguistic in nature (relating to lexis, syntax, pronunciation, accent or even the language variety chosen), or it may relate to non-linguistic features such as content, setting, or interactants themselves (Nekvapil, 2016: 16). Having noted this deviation, speakers may then evaluate the original language use (negatively or positively), and may suggest an alternative (an *adjustment design* and *implementation*). This then may or may not be noted and evaluated in turn, and the cycle may continue (ibid.). And, as organised language management is often seen as setting the stage for simple language management (Sherman and Švelch, 2015), LMT makes it possible both to witness the nature of structural forces (such as norms, rules and ideology) acting upon interactants, but also, crucially, to zoom in on and magnify the exact way that these structural forces are agentively handled in actual communicative episodes. LMT may therefore be perceived to be a variation of Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) macro-micro dichotomy, but stresses a focus on the micro, as well as on the interface between the two.

2.3.4 Language Self-management

It can be argued that language policy and planning is generally presented as a phenomenon involving at least two parties, with one attempting to modify the behaviour of the other. Language legislation written by government is intended to direct the actions of businesses, schools and citizens; corporate language regulations written by HR departments affect employees; and even the work of language activists attempts to exhort changes either to local linguistic practices or to legislation itself.

In his latter work, however, Spolsky recognises the individual language speaker as a separate and distinct domain of language policy in its own right (see also Sallabank, 2013: 133). *Language self-management,* as outlined by Spolsky (2019b, 2021), pertains to an individual's

assessment and modification of their *own* linguistic repertoire. In more traditional terms, it positions individual speakers as policy creators, implementers, receivers and evaluators simultaneously. According to Spolsky (2019b), individuals engage in a process of self-management in two primary ways. The first of these is through the processes of acquisition and socialisation, in which children first develop competency in the language(s) with which they have contact in their environment, and as they grow, continually accommodate (or not) to the speech around them (Spolsky, 2019b: 326-327).

The second, he argues, occurs through the deliberate decisions that individuals make to modify their language behaviours, based on their perceived incompatibility with a given linguistic environment (ibid.: 327). For example, an immigrant to France might decide that it would be economically advantageous to learn French in order to improve their employment prospects. Another example might be a parent making the decision to abstain from swearing in front of their children, so as to prevent them from emulating this behaviour in the future.

Another, particularly empowering, point made by Spolsky is that this form of self-management is prompted not only by speakers wishing to adapt to the requirements of their actual environment, but also through a desire to modify their language practices according to *how they wish that environment could be* (ibid.). An example might include the choice by an individual to learn and use an endangered language in order to contribute to its maintenance – such as an adult deciding to learn Scottish Gaelic in the Scottish lowlands, despite arguably possessing more limited opportunities to use it in daily life than elsewhere in the country.

Such situations exemplify the inextricable link between self-management and individual language beliefs and ideologies (Spolsky, 2021), and highlight the potentially socially transformative nature of the practice. Indeed, in addition to noting that language self-management may be prompted by external language management or advocacy activities, Spolsky (2019b) further emphasises that it may also be a mechanism whereby such activities may be either explicitly endorsed or resisted – a point which reinforces the agentive nature of the act.

In his last published volume, Spolsky (2021) posited that self-management could be *collectivised* to greater overall effect. As an example, he suggests that such a collectivised force could be exploited to compel public education systems to improve their teaching

provision related to the language in question: such as English in Asian countries, and Asian languages in Australia (ibid.: 13).

However, it is notable that Spolsky did not elaborate on the possible mechanisms of this form of self-management, nor provide a worked example of the practice in action. This, therefore, is the aim of the current work: to build and expand upon the initial theory, suggested by Spolsky, and propose possible definitions, characteristics and examples for the process of *Collective Language Self-Management*.

From this brief overview of some of the most salient frameworks of language policy that have emerged over the last few decades, it is clear to see the extent to which the very nature, operation and distribution of language policy have come to be scrutinised and reconceptualised. While neoclassical and critical researchers largely viewed language policy and planning as solely a concern of nation-states, with individuals at the receiving end either portrayed as inconsequential, as victims, or being simply overlooked entirely, focus has slowly shifted. Research has begun to consider language policy almost as a naturally occurring phenomenon, taking diverse forms, occurring across all segments and sectors of society both synchronically and diachronically, and involving the actions, interactions, beliefs and co-ordinations of an array of people, many of whom have no relation to official "macro-level" bodies.

Spolsky's (2004, 2009) concept of *language management* is particularly apt in this respect – inherently stressing the mundanity (and often potential spontaneity) of the regulation of language practices and beliefs, as opposed to the more formal, exact and peremptory language *planning* (Spolsky, 2018) – as is his tripartite depiction of language *policy*, which additionally stresses the omnipresence and multifacetedness of the phenomenon.

This variability in the nature and location of language policy also serves to underline the potential for agency – as well as structure – to emerge at any level, layer or scale of society. Having established this understanding of the operations and distributions of language policy, and traced its focus on the individual, the question remains: what is the nature of agency within language policy? What are individuals – particularly those who do not occupy positions of power traditionally associated with language policy – actually capable of doing?

2.4 Language advocacy and activism: changing discourses at the grassroots level

The work of a number of scholars has highlighted the activities of grassroots level groups and organisations who are involved in changing the prestige or attractiveness of, especially minoritised, language varieties. Sallabank (2005, 2007, 2013, 2014, 2019b), for example, has written extensively about the importance of prestige planning (see Haarmann, 1984, 1990, Ager, 2005), and documented instances of its use both at the official and community levels.

A significant volume of her research pertains to the processes of language revitalisation occurring throughout the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man: British Crown Dependencies which, while neither formally part of the United Kingdom, nor independent sovereign states, are administered by the UK Government. Despite the latter fact, Sallabank notes that support for language revitalisation from the national government has been either absent or slow in forthcoming, leaving a space to be filled by local level official and unofficial initiatives (Sallabank, 2013).

Of particular import, she notes, has been the efforts of grassroots "voluntary organisations", such as special language-interest groups, language activist groups, and other cultural organisations, whose contributions to raising awareness and interest in the Guernésiais language have been critical in paving the way for its revival (Sallabank, 2005, 2010, 2013). Indeed, the work of such groups – including activities such as writing current affairs articles in the language for the local press, organising festivals, and publishing cartoons – has aided in engendering an *attitude shift* towards the language: reforming its image as a moribund language, and affording it greater relevance to modern life on Guernsey (Sallabank, 2010). While Sallabank (2005, 2013) notes that these efforts are likely to be insufficient for complete restoration of the language, she contends that they have nonetheless been crucial in engaging the local community, and in stimulating interest in implementing more formal language planning measures.

On the other hand, other researchers have drawn attention to the actions of grassroots and community groups in resisting, reclaiming and transforming discourses imposed upon them by external sources, such as governments, businesses and the media. In particular, many such studies highlight the affordances of social media platforms in this regard: with these platforms constituting virtual, creative "spaces" for dissent, growth, and the (re)construction of ideological and identity-related discourses (e.g. Cru, 2015, Cru, 2018, Belmar and Glass, 2019,

Selvi, 2020, Phyak, 2015, Lillehaugen, 2019, Mpofu and Salawu, 2018, Yazan, 2015, Willans, 2017, see also Salem, 2014, Biró, 2018).

Yazan (2015), for example, demonstrates how advocates of "Ottoman Turkish" (OT), opposed to the increased Latinisation of the language by state-level authorities in a bid to lend Turkish a more "Western" image, utilised Facebook groups in order to maintain the OT language and identity. These activists did so through activities such as sharing and challenging news stories related to language reforms; constructing a shared repository of "cultural artifacts" (media written in OT) for users to engage with; and facilitating discovery and discussion of – and thereby opposition to – the perceived issues (ibid.). In this way, Yazan (2015: 354) claims, members of the group counter top-down interventions into the corpus and image of the Turkish language, and thus engage in a continual process of ideological and identity (re)construction.

Selvi (2020)'s work, also within the Turkish context, presents a similar case, focussing on "digital grassroots activism" deployed through the medium of Facebook groups in resistance to the perceived threat of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) education in Turkey. Similar to the backlash against moves to Westernise the Turkish language itself, Selvi highlights the increasingly controversial nature of EMI teaching within the country, with the spread and growing incorporation of English into the Turkish education system being viewed by some as harmful to the national language, culture and identity (ibid.). While more formal, official offline activism has been deployed against this perceived threat, the author sheds light on the affordances of Facebook, which, like other Social Networking Sites (SNS), have come to be considered:

> as powerful spaces where discourses surrounding linguistic practice, language policy and ideologies are practiced maintained, negotiated, and reproduced.

Observing the textual and visual artefacts produced within four focal groups, Selvi demonstrates how members of the group collectively forge discourses which position English as a contaminant to the purity of the Turkish language and national identity. Through the use of group names, descriptions and ideologically-charged images (of flags, and famous Turkish figures) shared within the groups, members depict Turkish society – its education system, its language and its unique identity – as being threatened by Western cultures, particularly those

of the US and UK. In so doing, they also effectively reframe what it truly means to be Turkish: to reject these foreign influences, and preserve, maintain and give privilege to the linguistic and cultural resources proper to one's own country.

As such, Selvi (ibid.) argues, the groups members were able to creatively recontextualise discourses surrounding the English language, and EMI education in Turkey, within discussions related to national identity, thereby problematising – and expressing resistance to – this form of language-in-education policy. Indeed, drawing on Blommaert et al. (2009)'s notion of *language policing*[12], Selvi describes the actions of these groups as representing a form of *language-in-education policing* – serving to reject and reconstruct macro-level policies and discourses surrounding language teaching at the grassroots level (Selvi, 2020).

Finally, the work of Cru (2018, see also Cru, 2015) serves as a particularly stark example of how activities traditionally associated with macro-level language planning are not exclusive to more official, organised domains – and can be identified even in the actions of grassroots actors. As in the above articles, he again observes the instrumentalisation of an SNS – in this case, YouTube – for the purposes of micro-level language planning. His discourse-centred online ethnographic data consists of comments left by viewers of two rap videos performed in Yucatec Maya and Mapudungun. In particular, as alluded to above, similar to the other articles mentioned in this section, Cru characterises the continuous dialogic[13] engagements of users, within the YouTube comments sections he observes, as generative of a "discursive space": effectively establishing ideological parameters regarding appropriate ways of thinking or speaking (about) the Yucatec Maya and Mapudungun languages and cultures (Cru, 2018).

Moreover, these spaces, Cru contends, serve as arenas for language ideological debates, where hegemonic, institutional discourses, which predominantly folklorise these minoritised varieties, can be dismantled and redrawn by users (ibid.: 448). For example, Cru highlights one user who requests Spanish subtitles of one video, and expresses shame at their inability to use Maya, despite their Yucatecan origin – a sentiment which subverts the institutionally-promoted discourse that lacking proficiency in Spanish (the national language) is the only

[12] Which will be explored later in this chapter.
[13] See Kelly-Holmes (2015) for a discussion on the distinction between "monologic" and "dialogic" web.

cause for shame (ibid.). Elsewhere, users detract from institutional ideals of language purity and prescriptivism by embracing code-mixing practices and non-standard orthographies – reflecting, Cru argues, the true "oral" nature of the language (ibid.). More generally, however, many comments serve simply to positively position the Mayan and Mapudungun languages, to foster a sense of increased community and shared identity amongst its members, and to assert its existence as a living, modern language – in contrast to one which is considered moribund or obsolete, as is the frequent depiction of indigenous minoritised languages (ibid.).

Of particular note within this work is that, beyond simply viewing the construction of this discursive, counter-hegemonic space by individual YouTube users as an isolated, inconsequential phenomenon – bearing equivalence to an opinion forum – Cru argues that users are instead engaging in a form of micro-level *discourse, image* or *prestige planning* (Cru, 2018: 438).

Arguably in the same way as the participants of Yazan's and Selvi's studies above, the YouTube commenters in Cru's study are taking advantage of the agentive latitude and limited resources at their disposal to engage in a form of competitive policymaking: taking the official discourses surrounding their language into their own hands and transforming them according to their own beliefs.

2.4.1 At the interface of individual and collective agency

All of the foregoing examples thus demonstrate the manner in which the key process of beliefs management – whether referred to as discourse planning, image or prestige planning, language policing of discourses, or simply awareness raising – can be assumed by grassroots, micro-level actors.

Yet, a subtle, but important, nuance between the cases presented by Yazan and Cru, in particular, can be inferred. While Cru's work focusses on the latent discourse construction process that emerges from the comments left by users, Yazan also draws attention to the concomitant process of *persuasion* that the sharing of OT-related posts serves within the groups he observes (Yazan, 2015). That is to say: that the act of continually posting material that is ideologically consistent with discursive boundaries established by the group – i.e. opposing Latinisation and favouring OT – fulfils two simultaneous functions. On the one hand,

it contributes to the reinforcement of the counter-discourse to which members ascribe – that the purity of OT must be preserved and its usage maintained. And, on the other, it performs a galvanising function of "convincing [individual] members" of the validity of, and of the need to adopt and engage with, this shared set of goals and values (Yazan, 2015).

Put another way, posts made by individuals within the group not only contribute to this joint project of constructing and transforming macro-level discourses surrounding OT, but also serve the function of fostering the internalisation by group members of a common vision of the language, culture and identity, of the issues and threats facing these, and of the mitigating actions they should take. This latter process is referred to within classical social movement theory as *consensus mobilization,* and – not unlike discourse planning (Lo Bianco, 2005) or image planning (Ager, 2005) themselves, as stated above – is perceived to be a vital precursor to encouraging direct participation in collective action (Klandermans, 1984).

2.5 CLSM of Beliefs: A preliminary summary

It is this bilateral individual-collective process which forms the basis of the beliefs component of *Collective Language Self-Management.* Individual participants of CLSM engage in a twofold process of:

1. Contributing to the collaborative construction of a shared discursive "frame" (or "space"): establishing a shared vision of a given language, culture, identity and language ecology, which effectively resembles a form of micro-level discourse planning, potentially serving to challenge dominant discourses; and
2. Drawing on the ideational and ideological resources of this discursive frame to guide their own, individual processes of self-management: their own personal ways of conceptualising and talking about their language, culture, identity and language ecology. Like the processes of image or discourse planning, this management of one's own "beliefs" may be an end in itself, but it often serves as the rationale and motivation for future action: whether future engagement in collaborative action, or the self-management of practices.

Crucially, the difference between traditional image or discourse planning and CLSM of Beliefs is that, while the former attempts to persuade *others* to accept a given worldview, the latter

is self-directed: it is the continual creation and propagation of a worldview *by* a collective, *for* the individuals of that collective. In this way, CLSM practitioners act as both policy *creators* and *implementers*.

This mechanisms of this process of CLSM of Beliefs can be elucidated through the incorporation of two additional concepts from research of social movements: framing, and lifestyle movements.

2.6 Social Movements and Framing

2.6.1 Social Movements

In 1991, Joshua Fishman noted that groups and communities involved in Reversing Language Shift – itself arguably a form of *language management* – could be studied as social movements, but lamented the lack of interest in doing so among social movement scholars of the time (Fishman, 1991).

The exact definition of what constitutes a social movement is a matter of contention within the academic literature on the phenomenon, with different conceptualisations focussing on different emergent features (Staggenborg, 2016). A general description is proposed by Flacks (2005: 5), which depicts social movements as:

> collective efforts, of some duration and organization, using noninstitutionalized methods to bring about social change.

In other words, social movements involve the assembly and co-ordinated collaboration of people, over an extended period, and engagement in a series of non-official activities – such as marches, sit-ins or petitions – to effect desired change to a perceived problem in society. The target of such activities is predominantly a power-wielding entity or structure, such as a government or related institution, which possesses the resources to enact the changes desired by the movement (Snow, 2004b, Tilly et al., 2019).[14] The objective, therefore, is to

[14] Indeed, for this reason Staggenborg (2016: 6) notes that many social movements also employ "institutionalized methods" of activism, such as lobbying legislators directly.

put pressure on decision- or policy-making bodies to acknowledge and respond to the demands of the movement, and ultimately to persuade society to adapt accordingly.

Prominent examples of social movements include the women's and civil rights movements (e.g. Isaac and Christiansen, 2002), the peace movement (e.g. Snow et al., 1986), and latterly the LGBT rights movement (e.g. Ghaziani et al., 2016), the Black Lives Matter movement (e.g. Clayton, 2018) and the #MeToo movement (e.g. Myers, 2020). Of particular note from this short, non-exhaustive list is the evolution of the nature and reach of social movements in recent history as a result of the development of information technology. While movements such as the peace movement of the 1960s relied on mailshots and physical rallies to grow and function (Snow et al., 1986), the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements evolved as international conversations by virtue of the internet, and social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram in particular (Myers, 2020, Clayton, 2018). Indeed, Shaked Spier (2017: 174) concludes that social media platforms, used correctly, have become "another tool in the collective action/social movement toolkit", allowing for the widespread and rapid galvanization of support, the centralisation (and reframing) of information, the allocation of resources and the co-ordination of offline social action (see also: Muqsith et al., 2019). Moreover, such platforms also allow for the free and democratic flow of relevant information, unhindered by access issues and hierarchical structures that characterise other types of organisations (Spier, 2017).

Social movements, themselves, can possess differing degrees of internal structure and hierarchy. Indeed, researchers such as McCarthy and Zald (1977) make a distinction between *social movements* (which they define as merely structures of beliefs, opinions or preferences regarding wider social change) and *social movement organisations* (SMO), which are more formal, established units that may emerge from, and aim to act on, these beliefs[15]. This distinction is key to the *resource mobilisation* theory, and underlines the fact that social

[15] Although the wording of McCarthy and Zald's article suggests that *social movements* may develop a high degree of internal organisation without actually evolving into an SMO *per se*:
"Social movements whose related populations are highly organized internally (either communally or associationally) are more likely than are others to spawn organized forms." (1977: 1218)

movements can, but need not, mobilise – that is to say, take tangible, collective action – and may remain restricted to the pooling of shared visions and opinions (ibid.).

2.6.2 Framing

Indeed, this points to another core feature of social movements – and one which has been of particular interest to researchers operating within the research paradigm of *New Social Movements*[16] –their engagement in the joint negotiation, construction, dissemination and manipulation of meaning (Sádaba, 2021). A key vector for this is the process of *framing*. Framing theory in social movements emerges from the more general theory of frames, framing and frame analysis advanced by Erving Goffman (1986). For Goffman, framing pertains to the way in which human beings make sense of their experiences: how they interpret and understand what is going on around them at any given time (ibid.). While individuals possess their own "natural", default frames, of which they may not even be aware due to their semblance of normality and objectivity, reality can also be viewed through other social frames of external construction (ibid. , see also Shaw, 2013). In essence, this assertion is similar to that put forward above by Hajer (1993), in that, like discourse, different frames potentiate different conceptualisations of reality, depending on the goals of the frame-setter. For example, a car could be framed as a luxurious commodity, a necessary means of conveyance, or a major contributor to global climate change, depending on the frame one adopts, or wishes to propagate.

It is precisely this strategic use of framing to manipulate perceptions according to specific goals of reality that is of interest to social movement scholars. For David Snow, one of the pioneers of the social movement framing theory approach, framing refers to:

> the intragroup discursive processes that functioned to align prospective members' biographic understandings with the movement's perspective or informing point of view. (Snow et al., 2014: 24)

[16] The distinction between traditional and so-called "New" social movements, as an academic concept, is summarised by Cherry (2018: 615, see also Melucci, 1988, 1994). She notes that, while the former paradigm focusses on collective action inspired by tensions between social classes (thus being technically more "political" in nature), the latter pertains more to the establishment of a collective identity, vision and values (thus rendering it more "cultural" in nature). However, recognising the significant overlap between the concepts, she also proposes subsuming them under the category of "cultural movement".

It pertains essentially to the creation of an interpretative lens through which the world can be understood according to the beliefs, ideals and values of a given movement (Snow and Benford, 1988). This is created for the purpose of strategically moulding the beliefs of potential adherents, centring and reinforcing those of existing participants, and of intellectually disarming potential detractors (ibid.). As such, Snow and Benford (1988: 198) posit, it is a bi-directional process: it both structures and orders the beliefs of individual proponents of the movement – "aligning" them with its own – and disseminates these externally to be consumed by others, including other potential converts.

Moreover, framing assumes a process of continuous identity assemblage, both of group members – collectively and individually – as well as outsiders (Hunt et al., 1994)[17]. The purpose of doing so is to galvanise new and existing participants to act in accordance with the objectives of the movement, by means of establishing a common vision of the world and the issues at hand – or, in other words, *frame alignment* (Snow et al., 1986, Snow and Benford, 1988).

A prominent, contemporary example of framing processes in action is that of the Black Lives Matter movement. In her article, Teresa Sádaba (2021) sheds light on the attempts of this movement to push against the often narrow framing attributed to it by mainstream and social media. These include a reduction of the movement to being solely one of resistance to specific instances of police brutality against black people[18] – such as the deaths of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor in 2020[19] - or making consistent comparisons of BLM to protest styles of the civil rights movement of past generations. Instead, Sádaba argues, the founders of BLM wished to draw attention to the various contributions of the black community throughout the history of US society, to highlight the intersectionality of the black identity itself with other marginalised and minoritised groups, and to elucidate the numerous other forms of oppression endured by black people in the US beyond physical violence. Thus, through such

[17] The focus on issues of identity, culture and ideology as bases of movement building is another defining feature of New Social Movements, according to Sádaba (2021).
[18] Though this remained, of course, an extremely important issue.
[19] These are only two examples from a tragically extensive list of known deaths from police brutality among the Black community in the United States. A fuller list can be found at: https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2020/know-their-names/index.html. May these and all victims of police brutality rest in peace, and find justice for their deaths in our own lifetime.

discursive (re)framing (including frame bridging, transformations and amplification), the BLM movement was able to "[abandon] old black frames and [create] new ones" (Sádaba, 2021: 11): i.e. to clarify its own personality and objectives, and galvanise relevant contemporary support and social action.

The activity of "framing" and "frame alignment", germane to the functioning of social movement organisations, is particularly helpful in illustrating the collective-individual process of belief management posited to inhere in the proposed theory of CLSM.

2.6.2.1 Framing Tasks

Snow et al. (1986) provide a highly detailed taxonomy of methods used by social movement organisations to galvanise support for their causes, including linking movement discourses to wider, more popular discourses; focussing on specific, relatable aspects of a cause that might better motivate participation; or encouraging total transformation of the existing interpretative frames held by potential adherents. In their later paper, however – and perhaps more relevant for present purposes –Snow and Benford (1988: 219) specify three core "framing tasks" which are essential to effective "consensus mobilisation" and "action mobilisation"[20]: in other words, respectively inculcating the discourses of the movement into individual adherents, and motivating them to act in accordance with the aims and agenda of the organisation. In essence, these "tasks" describe three interrelated types of frames that social movements must craft, namely[21]:

1. A **diagnostic frame**: Constructing a common perspective on the world, and the specific social ill(s) of interest to the movement itself. This frame identifies the nature and source of the problem faced, and underscores its existing or potential deleterious effects on society.
2. A **prognostic frame**: Having established the problem, a solution is now constructed – making clear what actions need to be taken to mitigate the social ill identified.

[20] That is to say, establishing a common perspective and inciting action. These stages are based on Klandermans' (1984) theory.
[21] The foregoing points are adapted from Snow and Benford (1988: 200-204).

3. A **motivational frame**: Finally, having demonstrated that a solution does exist to the problems presented, the *need* to act is then emphasised. Participants are now not only convinced that action is possible, but that it is *necessary,* and that they personally must take it.

Furthermore, Hunt et al. (1994) underline that this process is dynamic, iterative and interactional: frames are created between participants in interaction and, themselves, provide the groundwork for future frame building.

2.6.3 Framing and Identity Construction

Through the construction of these frames, Hunt et al. (1994) also highlight the identity construction activities which inevitably inhere in diagnosing problems and prescribing solutions. In characterising a societal ill, it is almost inevitable that one or more antagonists, who are responsible for causing or aggravating the problematic situation are identified and described, as well as those who suffer its effects. Similarly, when advancing a solution or galvanising support for direct action, it seems natural a movement would endeavour to define itself, justifying its own need, capacity, and right to act, as well as identifying and aligning itself with other external supporters. Hunt et al. (1994) summarise these acts of self- and other-identification as the construction of "identity fields", of which they list three: *protagonist, antagonist* and *audience*. These denote, respectively, the attributes and characterisations of those in favour of the movement ideals, those working against them, and those perceived to be "neutral" bystanders (such as the media, or political figures, who have the potential to work either *for* or *against* the movement) (ibid.).

The process of frame construction within social movements would thus appear tantamount to the penning of an ongoing narrative, complete with heroes, villains, complications, resolutions and the journey towards a "happy" ending. It bears some striking resemblances to the theories of identity construction-in-interaction put forward by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), as well as the language planning activities of discourse (Lo Bianco, 2005) and image planning (Ager, 2005), both of which also imply a similar process of moulding beliefs and ideologies through storytelling. And, indeed, De Korne (2021) asserts that one of the most fundamental weapons in the arsenal of language activists is this process of "strategic representing": the

reclamation of a language community's own stories about itself, its language and the issues facing them.

2.6.4 Lifestyle movements

While social movements may vary in their organisational makeup, their motivations or their objectives, as has been alluded to above, a characteristic arguably common to virtually all is the *directionality* of their social action, and thereby the provenance of the desired social change. More specifically, social movements direct their collective actions *outwards* towards external powers, such as legislators, influencers, or other types of authorities, or towards society itself, in an attempt to *persuade others to make changes* (e.g. Gheihman, 2021)[22].

Lifestyle movements, on the other hand, while sharing many similarities with more traditional social movements, differ in this respect. For adherents of such causes, social change is achieved not through appeals to external agencies, but through recourse to one's own agency: by adjusting one's behaviours, and way of life at an individual level, in solidarity with other like-minded people (Haenfler et al., 2012). As such, adherents view themselves not as appellants for social change, but as *vehicles* for that change. Haenfler et al. (ibid.: 15) summarise this process in poetic fashion:

> LMs assert themselves as moral vehicles where 'life politics' can become part of a collective challenge as participants seek to 'be the change that they wish to see in the world.'

Through the cultivation of a desired lifestyle, inspired by a more loosely-bound network of other individuals who possess the same beliefs, values and intentions, individuals can therefore manifest social change directly, beginning with themselves, without the need for external agency (ibid.). Additionally, in this way, as Haenfler et al. (2012: 12) highlight, lifestyle movements can act as a form of "prefigurative politics", whereby adherents can effectively trial solutions to more complex and far-reaching political issues on a more controllable scale, prior to – or in the hope of – its subsequent implementation on a wider political or societal

[22] This description bears resemblance to the concept of "language advocates" within Spolsky's (2019, 2021) theory of language policy, who are described as being restricted to engaging in *persuasion*, lacking the authority – held by language managers – to actually compel changes in language practices or beliefs.

scale. As such, lifestyle movements can serve as either an alternative, or as a precursor, to social movement collective action.

Two examples are particularly helpful in illustrating the features and functioning of lifestyle movements. The first of these is the global veganism movement (Cherry, 2006, 2015, Bertuzzi, 2017, Gheihman, 2021). While the exact motivations and objectives may differ from person to person, veganism is typically driven by concern regarding the treatment and welfare of animals in the food production, and wider consumer industries (Gheihman, 2021). As such, vegans often eliminate animal-based products from their lives: embracing a uniquely plant-based diet, as well as eschewing animal-based products, such as those made of leather or fur (ibid.). They may also choose not to engage in activities which involve the exploitation of animals, such as visiting zoos or safari parks, or going horse-riding or hunting (ibid.). In these ways, generally speaking, vegans construct for themselves a lifestyle that respects and values the rights of animals, in the hope that harm to the latter is reduced by their actions, and by those adherents who choose to do the same.

A second example is that of climate change activism, Zero-Waste lifestyles or "green living" (Spiteri, 2020, Haenfler et al., 2012, Spiteri, 2021, Lorenzen, 2012, Büchs et al., 2015). Individuals identifying with such movements are typically concerned about the global effects of climate change, such as increasing waste production, rising sea levels and pollution (Lorenzen, 2012). In light of these concerns, they make changes to their everyday habits, including: recycling, composting, thrifting and shopping locally, all of which is geared towards constructing a more anti-consumerist and ecologically-responsible lifestyle (Spiteri, 2021).

Underlying both movements is the hope that by making these small changes to the life of each individual, the cumulative effort will engender greater social change: such as wider societal respect for animal rights, or an improvement in the global climate (Haenfler et al., 2012). In this way, those who desire these changes become, themselves, changemakers – and this change can be amplified simply by convincing others to embrace the way of life (and thereby the fundamental ideals) promoted. Unlike social movements, whose focus is on galvanising collective beliefs and a shared identity, and only with a view to facilitating collective action, lifestyle movements – as a type of *Cultural Movement* – give priority to individual cultural transformation, and view this as an end *per se* (Cherry, 2018).

While it has been noted above that internal organisation and hierarchical structures need not necessarily be present within social movements (particularly *New Social Movements*), Haenfler et al. (2012) argue that, in lifestyle movements, the networks in which adherents are involved tend to be even looser, lacking a defined central point of leadership. Their endeavours are frequently more participative, and guided (if at all) by *cultural entrepreneurs,* whose work or contributions serve as a model for the ideological structuring of the movement – establishing perimeters and resources for their own work (ibid.)[23].

Such a perspective arguably attributes a great deal of agency to individual adherents, to take ownership of their own portion of the collective social change. As highlighted by Haenfler et al. (2012: 15), lifestyle movements provide their adherents with structure in the form of an "ideological framework", comprising content shared by other adherents, a "loose collective identity" and a general movement discourse. It is the individual adherents, themselves, however, who must utilise and assemble these ideational and ideological resources in ways that they deem appropriate, in order to "craft a different world" (ibid.: 16).

Social media platforms, in particular – such as YouTube channels, Twitter feeds, or Facebook pages – provide the ideal gathering point for lifestyle movement participants, permitting interaction and the sharing and centralisation of relevant content (ibid.). In this way, such platforms can serve the same structural and binding function as formal social movement organisations otherwise do (ibid.).

This ability to engage and interact with like-minded individuals, and to share cultural resources and tools – or what Kennedy (2011) refers to as a *virtuous circle* – plays a crucial role in the recruitment and continued motivation of lifestyle movement adherents, according to Cherry (2015). This may include, for example sharing tips on maintaining the desired lifestyle, success stories and other information to encourage and motivate participation (ibid., Haenfler et al., 2012). Moreover, Haenfler et al. (2012) note that more organised clusters and groupings can serve to define, clarify and negotiate the ideological underpinnings of the

[23] This goes some way to explain that, while some members of the group in the case study to be presented are perhaps more vocal than others, they should not inevitably be considered "authorities" in the formal sense, but still as one (albeit particularly active) participant in the process of frame construction. This will be reiterated further below.

movement as a whole, as well as construct and hone its collective identity[24]. Indeed, Haenfler et al. (2012: 5) underline the centrality of collective and personal identity construction to the functioning of lifestyle movements:

> LM adherents engage in identity work, focusing particularly on cultivating a morally coherent, personally meaningful identity in the context of a collective identity. Personal identity is a site of social change.

Thus, following a process of collaborative deliberation and negotiation, as well as personal reflection, the approximation of one's individual identity to the established beliefs, values and behaviours of the collective is itself viewed as more of a key mechanism for social change than direct collective action (Cherry, 2015, Haenfler et al., 2012).

In the following sections, it will be argued that the activities of *Collective Language Self-Management* carried out by the groups under study within this thesis lie at the interface of social and lifestyle movements: combining elements of collaborative frame construction and alignment with the self-directed mechanism of achieving wider change.

2.6.5 Agency and Reflexivity in Language Choices

As has been mentioned in previous chapters, language policy research has long struggled with the tension of reconciling structural forces – whether in the form of explicit legal restrictions, or simply more abstract societal pressures – with the (seemingly free) choices of individual language speakers. As mentioned above, a common criticism of research emerging from what has often been referred to as the "critical" phase of language policy scholarship is that such work frequently underestimated (or, indeed, entirely overlooked) the agency of minority language speakers, viewing them essentially as being at the mercy of the decisions of repressive mechanisms and structures (e.g. Johnson and Stephens, 2018). However, without denying the (sometimes insurmountable) pressures affecting speakers of minority or endangered languages in their language behaviour, more recent research increasingly focusses greater attention on their agentive decision-making processes (e.g. Bouchard and

[24] It is worth noting, however, that some researchers – such as Büchs et al. (2015) – view these kinds of activities as belonging more to the realm of New Social Movements. However, Haenfler et al.'s (2012) theory can arguably still be interpreted as incorporating such collaborative acts, particularly given that the theory remains under-examined and underdeveloped.

Glasgow, 2019a, b, Cheng and Wei, 2021, Curdt-Christiansen and Wang, 2018, Flors-Mas, 2018, Flowerdew and Miller, 2008, Lee, 2009).

Indeed, many researchers have attempted to adopt a more holistic approach, by considering structural and cultural forces as serving to define the parameters in which speakers can exercise agency over their language choices (whether for themselves, or for others, such as a child, pupil or employee) (Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019a). Bouchard and Glasgow (2019a), (see also Mirvahedi, 2019), for example, propose a theoretical model of agency based upon the work of Archer (e.g., 2003), which posits that the forces of structure, culture and agency are mediated through a reflexive process that the latter refers to as the *internal conversation.* In simple terms, the authors contend that language speakers are inevitably subject to the constraints and enablements of structural forces – among which, the authors include external language management – and the privileges and responsibilities of their own cultural background (Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019a). When individuals make language-related decisions, they engage in a reflexive process which takes these external conditions into account, and assesses them against their own "agentive projects": that which they intend to achieve through their own resources, and according to their own agendas (ibid.)[25]. The result of this assessment forms the basis of their decisions, whether it is one of "morphostasis" (continuity) or "morphogenesis" (change) (ibid.).

This reflexive process, while not always visible due to its internal, subjective nature, has been explored and asserted in a number of case studies, from various sociolinguistic contexts. Beck and Lam (2008), for example, testify to the decisions of Totonac speakers in the Sierra Norte de Puebla region of Mexica not to transmit their native language to their children as being representative of a realistic (rather than fatalistic) assessment of the social and economic benefits inherent in shifting to a more widely spoken language, such as Spanish. Hatoss (2018), too, through the use of linguistic life history methods, provides insight into the reflexive processes which underpinned the moment-to-moment language choices of Hungarian immigrants, managing the macro-level pressures to socially and linguistically assimilate into late 20th century Australian culture. Finally, Dołowy-Rybińska (2016)

[25] It should be noted that this process is not necessarily carried out consciously.

showcases reflections of current and former students of Breton-immersion (*Diwan*) schools in Brittany, France, pertaining to how their own perspectives on the Breton language, as well as their commitment to advocating for its revitalisation, were influenced by the discourses circulating within the establishments in which they were educated. The latter research provides crucial insight into what McNulty (2023) refers to as "received policy": that is to say, the beliefs and stances retained by individuals as a result of their exposure to, and distillation of, the plethora of (often contradictory) language-related discourses circulating within their sociolinguistic environment.

2.6.6 Self-Management of Language Beliefs

This practice of reflexivity – of surveying the sociolinguistic environment in which one finds oneself, and responding according to this assessment – finds echo in Spolsky's (2019b) conceptualisation of *language self-management*. In practical terms, as Spolsky asserts, an individual may choose to modify their own *language behaviour* based on their perceptions of their actual or desirable sociolinguistic environments. However, prior to taking such actions (or indeed independently of action, in many cases), it is possible to infer a process of evaluating the beliefs, ideologies, values, etc. that compose one's real or ideal linguistic culture – alongside one's previous experiences within that culture – and deciding whether one's own set of beliefs about a given language, its speakers or culture, or issues pertaining to these, require modification.

Indeed, as stated above, Hult (2015b, see also Hult, 2010a) asserts that language policy actions are simultaneously mediated by the prior experiences, memories and personal beliefs of the individuals involved; the norms relating to interaction within the context in question; and circulating discourses within the context relating to the language(s) in question.

One might posit, therefore, at this meeting point between the past experiences of the individual, and their pre-existing beliefs, biases and dispositions, and the external discursive landscape surrounding them within the local context, a logical emergent *policy action* may be the simple reflection upon, re-evaluation and rearrangement of the former. In this way, individual speakers would assess and reflect upon the various beliefs surrounding a specific linguistic or sociolinguistic phenomenon, and (re)form or retain their own beliefs accordingly.

In Spolskyan terms, this hypothetical process could be labelled *self-management of language beliefs* (cf. Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2019b), and would either serve as the basis and motivation for *self-management of language practices*, already theorised by Spolsky (2019b, 2021), or be performed as an agentive act in and of itself.

2.6.7 Putting it all together: the C in CLSM of beliefs

The collectivisation of this process of managing one's own language beliefs builds on all of the research mentioned thus far. It involves a process whereby a group of individuals engage collaboratively in the negotiation, and continual, iterative construction of a common discursive space (or frame), in which beliefs about a given language, its speakers, its culture and associated identities and the issues facing these are shared, expressed and (re-)affirmed. This collaborative process may be likened to a form of *linguistic landscaping*, to use a term coined by Hovens (2021): a process in which language policy is continuously constructed, in an ongoing, layered fashion.

In turn, the constructed frame serves as discursive backdrop for individual members' own re-evaluations and reorganisations of their own beliefs. In simple terms, participants are *helping each other to see things in the "right" way*, with the knowledge that the strength of their initiative lies in their collective embodiment of this vision, for its own sake, and also as a precursor to the management of practices.

2.7 Managing language practices: corpus planning and language policing

The foregoing sections have focussed more specifically on the (collective and individual) management of language beliefs. The following section turns now to considering prominent theories pertinent to the management of language practices more specifically.

Intervention in the *form* of a given variety – that is to say, its actual linguistic makeup rather than the purposes to which it is used by speakers – is perhaps the most prototypical, and most epitomic aspect of language policy and planning. This activity, termed *corpus planning*, is one of two interconnected procedures identified within traditional language planning theory, alongside *status planning* (Kloss, 1969, Haugen, 1983) . Corpus planning is typically

understood as the process of attempting to introduce modifications to the lexicon, syntax or orthography of a language (Haugen, 1983, see also Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997).

The motivations underlying the process of corpus planning are summarised effectively within Hornberger (2006)'s integrated framework. To simplify slightly[26], the model suggests five broad objectives that may motivate the undertaking of corpus planning:

- *Standardization*: the establishment of an official, reference variant of a given linguistic variety (e.g. Standard Southern British English, or Scottish Standard English). Corpus planning, like other forms of language planning, has traditionally been considered as an activity promoting the formation of a standard language within developing and emergent nations (Haugen, 1959, Fishman et al., 1968, Jernudd and Rubin, 1971).
- *Graphization*: the establishment of a writing system for a given language
- *Modernization and Renovation*[27]*:* the creation of new linguistic forms which permit the language to be used within new domains, or evolving pre-existing domains
- *Simplification:* modifying the language in order to remove perceived difficulties posed by existing orthographic, stylistic or lexical conventions, or the harmonisation of terminology across societal domains.
- *Purification*[28]*:* the restoration of "authenticity" to a given variety through the purging of perceived foreign elements

Inherent in the above list is an interconnection between the *forms* and *functions* of language – in other words, that the linguistic makeup of a given variety is subjected to modification not simply *per se,* but in order that it may serve a specific purpose.

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[26] Several categories have been combined, given that they arguably refer to similar processes. The term "reform" has been omitted, for example, as any of the above processes could conceivably be described as a language "reform". In addition, a number of theorists – such as Cooper (1989) – would appear to use "reform" as a catch-all term, rather than a separate, definable process.

[27] Cooper (1989: 154) proposes the term "Renovation" (in contrast to "modernisation") to describe the general process of modifying existing language norms and conventions for reasons unrelated to expanding communicative capacity, such as: "the legitimation of new elites, the discrediting of old ones, the mobilization of political support, or the raising of consciousness".

[28] Notably, Cooper (1989) refers to this process as "restandardisation", alluding to its challenge to the established standard. This is particularly relevant to the activity of CLSM in question.

Moreover, this assertion pre-supposes a preconceived intentionality, itself implying a certain ideological and political worldview, on the part of the language planner (Fishman, 2006a). As Fishman (ibid.) underlines, that which constitutes "modernisation" or "purification" may differ according to the perceptions – and, more importantly, self-interests – of the stakeholders involved or affected.

Corpus planning is inevitably enmeshed, as with all forms of language planning, in questions of power, hegemony and privilege – with those occupying more powerful societal positions better able to influence the dissemination of their desired linguistic and social changes (Tollefson, 1991, 2006, Shohamy, 2006, Fishman, 2006a).

Some of the most famous examples of this include the work of Cardinal Richelieu to establish the *Académie française*, in a bid to bring order to the French language. Through harmonisation and prescription of the language used by the aristocracy, and supplanting of Latin as the language of status, Richelieu envisaged the unification of the then somewhat divided French people under royal and divine control (Cooper, 1989, Spolsky, 2004). A more modern, related example of corpus planning in France can be found in the various campaigns undertaken by the French Government to oust, and prohibit the use of, Anglicisms within the French language, which were viewed as a direct threat to the vitality of the latter (see McNulty, 2015 for an overview). These campaigns included the creation of a publicly-accessible database that provides authentic French equivalents to English-origin lexis (Ministère de la Culture, 2023), and the publication of a series of booklets similarly raising awareness of French equivalents to common English terminology used within various sectors of French industry (entitled *Vous pouvez le dire en français!* [You can say it in French!], see Figure 2.2) (Ministère de la Culture, 2007-2016).

Figure 2.2: The cover of the first edition of *Vous pouvez le dire en français*, published by the department of the French Culture Ministry responsible for the oversight of the French language and languages of France (Délégation française à la langue française et aux langues de France [DGLFLF], 2007).

Another prominent example of governmental corpus planning campaigns includes that of the Turkish Language Reform, spearheaded by the leader of the new Turkish nation Kemal Atatürk, following the fall of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004, Fishman, 2006a, Yazan, 2015, Yazan and Üzüm, 2017). Similarly to France, the Turkish reform was founded upon a view of language as the vehicle and expression of nationhood (Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004). It was also based on a strong desire to move away from oriental, and towards occidental, influences: culturally, socio-politically and linguistically (ibid.). In view of these goals, the significant volume of Persian and Arabic influences on the language at the time, as well as the Ottoman-style orthography used by the language, were deemed incompatible and in need of modification (ibid.). Thus began a concerted project of Westernisation, whereby the Ottoman Turkish script was retired in favour of the Latin alphabet, and loan words of (Middle-)Eastern origin were purged in favour of alternatives deemed to better represent the true cultural identity of the nation (ibid., Fishman, 2006a). Looking to the motivations mentioned above, this extensive corpus planning campaign was driven by a longing for modernisation, but also, concomitantly, an ultimate striving for perceived authenticity and purity (Fishman, 2006a, Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004). Indeed, as Doğançay-Aktuna (2004: 8) asserts:

> These events opened the way for the language reform whose goal was ‘‘to liberate the Turkish language from the domination of foreign languages and to raise its status to a level it deserved among world languages.’’

While relating to a different context, and a different societal layer, it is somewhat uncanny to note how closely these words resemble those of the declared mission statement of the principal focal group of this study, *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*.

A final renowned example of corpus planning in action pertains to the Canadian province of Québec, the sole region of the country in which French is the only official language. As is outlined in McNulty (2015) the sociolinguistic histories of France and Québec exhibit many similarities, principal among them a fear of Anglicisms as constituting a threat to the vitality of the French language – itself extant within the region since its colonisation by France in 1608 (Ouahnon, 2021, see also d'Anglejan, 1984, Etiemble, 1964, Walsh, 2016). In the case of Québec, however, this fear has been exacerbated by the perceived encroachment of the English language into the domains of life in the region hitherto occupied by French, threatening imminent shift. It reached a peak in the latter half of the twentieth century, culminating in a series of policy measures (including language planning measures), intended to redress the perceived Anglophone-Francophone socioeconomic imbalance: a period of history that has come to be known as the *Révolution Tranquille* (Quiet Revolution). During this time, a suite of language legislation was passed – including the now-famous *Charte de la langue française* (*Loi 101)* – which severely restricted the public usage of English within the province across various domains, including education and commerce, and legally established the primacy of French (Levine, 1991, May, 2012, Oakes, 2017).

A significant component of this legislation was the delegation to the *Office québécois de la langue française* (Québec Office of the French Language) of the authority to establish official French terminology, which organisations – both public and private – would be legally obliged to adopt in their communications, and to ensure compliance (May, 2012). The corpus planning objective was one of *francization* (May, 2012)*:* a radical form of “purification” that sought to prevent, impede and reverse the flow of Anglicisms into *québécois* French. This was to be achieved through their replacement either by equivalent lexis in traditional French, or modern Québec-specific parlance, or by the creation of new lexis where alternatives did not yet exist (Oakes, 2017). The result was the effective

emergence, at least at an official level, of a standardised variety of Québec French, which eschewed English borrowing to an even greater extent than in France itself (Oakes, 2017).

Some more contemporary corpus planning concerns arising in Québec today include debates surrounding convergence or divergence from European French, and motivations thereof (Oakes, 2017); perceived instances of overreach of language authorities and backlash from some Quebeckers (Vessey, 2016); and creative subversion of the strict commercial language regulations imposed by the Province, such as those observed by Lamarre (2014).

The three contexts cited above serve as examples of some of the most prominent official corpus planning activities that have been analysed within the literature on language policy and planning since its inception – each informed by their own specific contextually-bound factors, but sharing a number of motivations, methods and objectives in common with the others.

2.7.1 The objective of corpus planning

Before continuing, it is timely to note a few points at this stage. The first pertains to the object of corpus planning. While it is conceivable that many language planners would hope to exert influence on spoken language – and indeed, in more coercive and oppressive contexts, speakers may be given little choice but to comply with top-down measures (Fishman, 1980) –Fishman (2006a) notes that the most common target of corpus planning is, in fact, written language. The reason for this, Fishman asserts, is that, unlike speech in most cases, the written language is less spontaneous, and more deliberate, and thereby more amenable to scrutiny, manipulation and, ultimately, standardisation (ibid.). Moreover, given the historical connection between literacy and societal elites, it is the written variety which achieves a level of prestige that can aid in fomenting more widespread language change, including to spoken varieties of the language through its dissemination in education (ibid.).

Secondly, again drawing on assertions by Fishman (2006a), implicit in the above examples is the fact that corpus planning was conducted not primarily with linguistic ends in mind, but to foster wider societal transformations (see also e.g. Cooper, 1989, Kaplan and Baldauf,

1997, Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2021). Modification of linguistic forms, then, was viewed as the *vehicle* through which to achieve these ends, rather than (solely) an end in and of itself. As such, Fishman (2006a, see also Spolsky, 2004: 11) asserts that the difference between corpus and status planning is somewhat illusory. Fishman (1980: 12) makes this argument in customary poetic fashion:

> Thus, status planning without concomitant corpus planning runs into a blind alley. Conversely, corpus planning without status planning is a linguistic game, a technical exercise without social consequence.

Languages, therefore, are manipulated by planners such that they may better serve the purposes envisaged of them. It is also partly for this reason that, while the activities conducted by the members of the focal group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* are targeted predominantly at, or concern, the *corpus* of the Catalan language, the intended *reach* of their actions is wider. While they arguably lack the traditional power and means to decide what societal functions their "authentic" variant of the Catalan language will fulfil, neither do they appear to view the activities in which they engage as some inconsequential game of words. Instead, their redressing of the corpus of Catalan is arguably conducted with the underlying status-related aspiration – and perhaps eventual expectation – of challenging, and ultimately replacing, the existing standard and the functions currently occupied by it. This point will be revisited below.

Finally, both due to these and other overlaps that can be identified between the various forms of "language planning", and for consistency throughout the current work, following the example of Spolsky (2004, 2009), corpus planning (like status and image planning) is here considered to be a subtype of *language management* at the microlinguistic level. *Language practices,* therefore, can be understood either at the more macroscopic level of the choice to use specific varieties – or the performance of certain functions (such as praying, reading, singing etc.) through those varieties –, or at the microscopic level of using specific linguistic variants – all of which may be subjected to *language management* (Spolsky, 2004: Chapter 1).

2.8 Unofficial Management of Language Practices

All of the examples presented thus far have referred to governmental corpus planning campaigns, most often for the purposes of fostering modifications to language usage throughout society, particularly in its most important and influential domains – e.g. employment and business, education, and public services. As argued above, given the direct power, authority and resources of such governmental bodies to render obligatory the use of certain terminology over others in these domains – effectively to restandardise a variety in use – one might be forgiven for considering the capacity to intervene in, and manipulate, societal language practices to be one possessed uniquely (or mostly) by such bodies. Yet, insofar as it refers to the intervention of one entity to attempt to modify the language usage of another, studies in recent decades have revealed that corpus planning (like other forms of language management) can occur across all domains of society (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, Baldauf, 2005, Spolsky, 2004, 2009, Blackwood, 2008, De Korne, 2021). As Fishman (2006a: 21) states:

> And yet, there is hardly a human aggregate that does not engage in corpus planning at one time or another…

Corpus planning-like activities, involving managing language usage, outside of "official" spheres might include (but are not limited to):

- the management by parents of certain forms of language – such as "slang" or swearing – used by their children (work usually referred to as Family Language Policy[29] (e.g. Coetzee, 2018, Ice, 2019, see also King et al., 2008)
- the proscription or encouragement of certain language forms or practices within a classroom by a class teacher (e.g. Cushing, 2019, Gynne, 2019)
- the creation of new reference or pedagogical material in, for example, a minoritised language or endangered variety by an NGO or local language activist group (e.g. Liddicoat, 2005, Trinick and May, 2013, Amery, 2016)

In all cases, these activities involve an attempt by an "ordinary" ("powerless") individual or grouping to make changes to the makeup of a particular linguistic variety practised in a given locus – i.e. acceptable family or classroom language.

[29] Or "Family Language Planning".

2.8.1 Macro-level vs. Micro-level: a closer look at terminology and frameworks

These activities may be considered as examples of "micro language planning" – that is to say language planning that takes place at a "micro" societal level (Baldauf, 2006, 2005, Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, Kheng and Baldauf, 2011, Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). As noted above, the distinction between "macro" and "micro" in language planning is ambiguous, and often considered unhelpful (e.g. Blommaert et al., 2009, Johnson, 2013a, Johnson and Johnson, 2014).

For simplicity, the degree to which a particular activity might be considered "macro" or "micro" might be inferred from its positioning across three spectra: *scope, reach* (intended and real), and *directionality*. Language management at a micro level tends to be characterised by its action within a local context (Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). This might be in the form of implementation of a higher-order policy measure within a target context, with possible modifications thereof to adapt to the specific needs of policy targets (e.g. the enactment of a specific language pedagogical measure by a school or classroom teacher (see Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, Hornberger and Johnson, 2007)). Alternatively, it may refer to the creation of a bespoke policy for a specific context (e.g. for a particular company, family or geographical area). Baldauf (2006) uses the terms "micro-implementation of macro policy" and "micro policy" respectively to refer to these subtypes of language planning at the micro level[30]

Building on the assertions of Baldauf and colleagues (Baldauf, 2006, Kheng and Baldauf, 2011), both these types of micro-language planning are arguably linked by their limited scope and (intended) reach. In other words, such activities involve a (relatively) small cluster of actors and resources (e.g. teachers, parents, local administrators) whose action is targeted at – and has the potential to affect – a (relatively) small population (e.g. pupils, children, local communities). This is in contrast to the activities traditionally associated with macro-level language management, which normally involve the mobilisation of a large

[30] Even this distinction is not uncomplicated, as the adaptation of higher order policies for local contexts may, in itself, be thought of as generative of micro-policy (Baldauf, 2006). The difference, Baldauf (ibid.) asserts, is the location of agency in the process – whether it is retained by higher-order "elites" (policymakers), or whether it is assumed or seized by lower-order practitioners (policy implementers).

network of powerful actors, with a more extensive range of material and immaterial resources, and with the capacity (and intent) to affect a wider array of people (Baldauf, 2006, Kaplan, 2011).

Put another way, micro-language planning arguably connotes small-scale solutions to deal with local issues which affect a limited number of people, while macro-language planning usually tackles larger issues, using more systematic, structural and broader process (Kheng and Baldauf, 2011, Kaplan, 2011).

2.8.1.1 Top-down or bottom-up?

With regard to *directionality*, language management at the macro-level often appears to be conflated with *top-down* policy flow, while at the micro-level it is frequently associated with *bottom-up* activity. Nekvapil and Sherman (2015: 2) describe the terms as follows:

> "The metaphors 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' refer primarily to the direction of the planned change (more precisely – to its starting and end points), but […] they also refer to the initiators of the change or the actors in it."

The apparent implications of these terms would be such that "official" policy action always seeks to effect changes at the grassroots level, while action at the latter level seeks to influence policy changes to come to complete fruition.

Yet, LPP researchers have consistently contended that this is not universally true (Baldauf, 2006, Kheng and Baldauf, 2011). Indeed, as Baldauf (2006) states, it is perfectly possible that language planning at the micro level be entirely divorced from any higher-order policy measures, for example in policies that manage specifically local issues, or which fill real or perceived lacunae (or "ideological or implementation spaces", to use terminology by Hornberger and Johnson (2007)) in existing measures.

Family language policies, for example, while subject to the influence of the language ideologies and discourses of other societal domains, such as education and employment, are predominantly self-contained, with no direct link to macro-level language planning measures. Such may be the case in situations of language maintenance or revitalisation, in which parents make deliberate language choices in order to ensure the preservation of their native language(s) by their children while living in a majority language context (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, Danjo, 2018, Gharibi and Seals, 2019).

Similarly, in the domain of education, Källkvist and Hult (2016) provide one example of self-contained language management at the level of an individual university in Sweden. Their research provides insight into the decision-making process undertaken by this organisation, in which those tasked with policy creation were faced with the challenge of balancing governmental demands to privilege the use of Swedish with the pressures of globalisation and international trends in student mobility favouring the provision of English language education.

Still within education, ambiguity or imprecision in higher order policies – as well as differing backgrounds, beliefs and experiences of policy implementers – has been revealed to potentiate interpretations by ground-level practitioners themselves; effectively transforming an act of policy implementation into policy recreation (e.g. Johnson and Freeman, 2010, Johnson, 2011, 2013b). Thus Mohamed (2021) observed different approaches to the implementation of changes in Medium of Instruction policy from English to Dhihevi across two Maldivian preschools, depending on the perception of teachers regarding the place of the local and global languages within the education system, and of their own degree of agency within the process. Johnson (2013b), too, revealed that differing interpretations of educational policy by successive Philadelphia School District administrators led to variation in the amount of autonomy devolved to classroom teachers to tolerate (or promote) bilingualism within their pedagogical strategies. Such creative implementation of higher order measures has come to be referred to as *appropriation* (Johnson and Freeman, 2010, Johnson and Johnson, 2014).

While the above contexts might be labelled properly as micro-policy in the fullest sense, in terms of *directionality,* none can realistically be considered bottom-*up,* given that they represent measures (planned or improvised) to manage lower-order (more microscopic) contexts (e.g. classroom participants, children). They do not represent any attempt to lobby for changes to higher-order language policies, as seems to be implied in the *"-up"* particle of "bottom-up". As such, they serve to underline the theory that micro-level language management may be conducted autonomously, without (immediate) recourse to macro-level authorities (that they may be "micro" but not necessarily "bottom-up").

Yet, as will be argued with respect to the data presented in this thesis, these metaphorical distinctions between *scope, reach, and directionality* across the macro- and micro-levels of

society, while typical, are indeed fluid and context-dependent. In other words, it is possible for variances in the scope, reach and directionality that is typically associated with both types of language management, an example of which will be presented through the current case study.

2.8.2 Language policing as a form of language management: a little terminological housekeeping

One of the primary language management activities in which participants will be seen to engage to manage language practices within this thesis, and which, it is contended here, form a key component of the currently studied process of CLSM, might be described as *language policing.* This concept appears to have acquired a degree of polysemy within the literature on language policy and policing, which it is appropriate to address at this point for the avoidance of ambiguity.

Drawing on theorisations by Foucault (2007 [1978]) on the nature and evolution of "police" – as a term and an institution related to the maintenance of order by the state - Blommaert et al. (2009: 203) define language policing as

> the production of ''order''—normatively organised and policed conduct—which is infinitely detailed and regulated by a variety of actors.

As also alluded to in the above discussion, Blommaert and colleagues posit that traditional conceptualisations of language policy, characterised by linear top-down or bottom-up models (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) and overt and covert operations (Shohamy, 2006), are ill-suited to describing the diverse, sporadic and often unpredictable language regulatory phenomena that occur, particularly within the realm of multilingual new media (Blommaert et al., 2009). The very term "policy", with its traditional associations of "state-managed language legislation", is also believed to be overly constraining when attempting to describe the myriad ways in which a variety of actors – many of whom often have nothing to do with government – *do* language policy (ibid.). The term language *policing*[31]*,* therefore, is proposed as a replacement: a means of capturing this dynamic and active aspect of

[31] The term "policying" might be more apt, given that this connotation of *policing* seems to emphasise policy as an action rather than as a tangible object.

language policy, as a mundane phenomenon that is "shaped and reshaped by discursive practices" (Blommaert et al., 2009: 207).

On the one hand, Blommaert et al.'s conceptualisation of *language policing* offers significant conceptual breadth (De Bres, 2015), and rightly emphasises the omnipresence, non-linearity and complexity of the normative process that constitutes contemporary understandings of language policy and planning, alluded to above: a point also borne out by its varied deployment within studies of the same issue of *Language Policy*[32] in which it was introduced. In these, *language policing* was described as manifested in phenomena as diverse as language policy documents, phrase books, training documents and language-related decisions made by televisual and journalistic organisations (Kelly-Holmes et al., 2009); "citizen categorisation" by macro-level terminological agencies (Lane, 2009); strategies used by organisations to market their English learning programmes through the commodification of native-sounding accents online to foreign learners (Blommaert, 2009); and the negotiation of norms for the performance and reproduction of video-game identities during live game-play, and on fanfiction websites (Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009). Indeed, Lane (2009) explicitly positions language policing as a hypernymous term, incorporating both informal practices of "language ordering" in small-scale interactions on the one hand, and Spolsky's (2004, 2009) *language management* on the other, which she interprets in its narrowest sense as the more macro-level creation of a formal language plan.

Yet, at times elsewhere, both within and outwith academia, language policing appears to be interpreted as a *hypo*nym rather than a catch-all term for all policy-èsque language regulatory decisions and actions. Such work draws from the more literal definition of policing, as a force that "deal[s] with conflict, aggression, violence and disruptive non-conformity" (Villiers, 2009: 15) and is responsible for "prevent[ing] crime" (usually in the form of causing offence to others) and "pursu[ing] and bring[ing] to justice those who break the law" (Sheehy et al., 1993: 51).

[32] The term is taken up once again in number of papers from a later issue of *Language Policy* concerning language policies on Facebook. These will be considered in more detail in a later section.

Ravitch (2003), for example, employs the term to refer – with some acrimony – to what she perceived to be the excessive censorship imposed by an overseeing committee on the choices of literature, made by her team, to appear in a proposed new series of federal exams in the US. In this case, literature that was found to contain terminology or content that had the potential to offend or otherwise alienate young examinees was recommended for replacement or redaction. Similar connotations of the term are frequently to be found in journalistic articles, often used as a criticism of perceived excessive "correction" of language that is considered politically "incorrect" (e.g. Gray et al., 1992, Peterson, 2020, Price, 2020).

Finally, within the field of language education, *language policing* is similarly portrayed as a corrective mechanism, whereby deviations from the established classroom language policy are rectified by the teacher (or other students) (Amir and Musk, 2013, Cushing, 2019). Indeed, Cushing (2019)'s study presents perhaps the most stark example of *language policing* resembling civil policing, in its detailing of teachers' creation of a mock Orwellian atmosphere, in which students' language use is maintained under constant surveillance, and non-standard English is both proactively and reactively punished as a "crime". Furthermore, he proceeds to characterise the phenomenon as potentially damaging to the wellbeing of students:

> Language policing in educational contexts has various consequences, from negatively affecting students' confidence, motivation, and desire to participate in classroom activities through to the stigmatisation of young people's ways of using language (e.g. Trudgill 1975; Cheshire 1982; MacRuairc 2011a, b; Snell 2013)

What unites these interpretations is that *language policing* is presented as a negative*,* rather than a neutral phenomenon. While Blommaert et al. (2009) and contemporaries appear to portray *language policing* as denoting any form of *policy-ing* of the language – an active equivalent to the perceived static notion of "policy" – for the latter studies, *language policing* is primarily a corrective strategy, through which desired language behaviours are

restored. While the former is *generative* of norms, the latter is *corrective* according to them. The term, thus, appears to have gained a somewhat unhelpful polyvalence[33].

Sherman and Švelch (2015), for example, in their analysis of the actions of Czech-language "Grammar Nazis" on Facebook, interpret the concept as an extension of *simple language management* (e.g. Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987, Neustupný and Nekvapil, 2003, Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015)[34]. As such they offer the following definition:

> [Language policing is the] negative evaluation of noted deviations from language norms from a position of power, and the design and potential implementation of adjustments in the form of sanctions (Sherman and Švelch, 2015: 319)

As Mwaniki (2011) similarly observes about the theory of *simple language management*, this definition bears resemblance to the concept of *other-repair* within the terminology of Conversation Analysis – that is to say, the restoration by one communicant of a perceived communicative breakdown, which may or may not be based on objective error (Schegloff et al., 1977). It may be understood as an act of "correcting" one's interlocutor (although the notion of "correctness" may be subjective, or relative to the interactional context (ibid.)). Thus the interpretation of *language policing* employed by Sherman and Švelch (2015) also implies a *corrective* strategy.

Finally, Spolsky (2009: 230-231), himself, in his discussion of *language policing* as applied to the *Office québécois de la langue française* – the Québec-based governmental organisation mentioned above, whose task it is to monitor and mandate adherence to the official language policy of the Province – would appear to espouse the latter interpretation. For Spolsky, like for Sherman and Švelch (2015), it would appear that *language policing,* rather than being a synonym or hypernym of *language management* – as apparently proposed by Lane (2009) – should be considered as one particular manifestation of it. As implied by De Bres and Belling (2015), the Spolskyan concept of *language management* – and *language*

[33] This is not to mention the fact that, despite Blommaert et al.'s (2009) intention that *language policing* should aid in transcending perceived archaic "top-down" and "bottom-up" dichotomies, and should replace the term "policy" (and its analogues, such as "planning"), all four terms continue to be used concurrently. Indeed Selvi (2020) implies in his article's discussion that language policing is reserved to micro-level activists, while "planning" constitutes a more formal, governmental activity – a dichotomy that Blommaert et al. (2009) seem to advocate against.

[34] See below for a fuller description of Language Management Theory, which – somewhat unhelpfully – differs from the Spolskyan theory of the same name.

policy itself – arguably already invokes a high degree of conceptual breadth, accounting for the principles of dynamicity, polycentricity and multifacetedness that underpin the concept of *language policing* advanced by Blommaert et al. (2009, see also Lenihan, 2014). That is to say, "language policy" itself need not be a formal or fixed phenomenon: individuals all throughout society can engage in the management of language practices of beliefs, with or without associated prior formal planning, and within any domain of social life. Indeed, as Spolsky (2004, 2009) highlights, it is precisely this multiplexity and multifariousness of language policy that often impinges upon the success of official governmental language management.

For these reasons, in the current work, rather than adopting the broader interpretation of the concept proposed by Blommaert (2009), *language policing* will be operationalised as a distinct subtype of Spolskyan language management, akin to the interpretations of Amir and Musk (2013), Sherman and Švelch (2015), De Bres and Belling (2015) and Cushing (2019). It is understood as any attempt by an entity to directly and manifestly intervene in, with a view to altering the language practices of another, according to formal or informal rules, norms or beliefs regarding "correctness" or "appropriacy" in a given context.

2.9 Language management and social media

2.9.1 Resisting the "macro"

A steadily increasing body of literature is now accumulating which emphasises the increasingly clear interactions between language policy and social media platforms.

This is perhaps most obviously demonstrated in the role played by popular sites such as Facebook and Twitter in allowing users to gain increased involvement in the democratic process and facilitating collective action (e.g. Jeffares, 2014, Spier, 2017). With respect to language, these sites can serve as a meeting point for macro- and micro- level language politics: a locus of resistance to macro-level language management, through the provision of a space for debate, expression of dissatisfaction and desire for change (e.g. Vessey, 2016, Willans, 2017).

Drackley (2019), for example, reveals the manner in which Twitter became a forum for debate over a set of contentious modifications made to standard French by official

governmental regulatory bodies, the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* and the *Académie française*. The changes related to an attempt to align the orthography of standard French with its evolving pronunciation, as well as to simplify it through, for example, the retirement of the circumflex over letters whose pronunciation or meaning it did not alter. While adopted officially in the early 1990s, a decision to implement these modifications into school textbooks and dictionaries, announced in 2015, brought the issue to the attention of the public, prompting many to take to Twitter to express their opposition to the reform. Drackley notes that approximately 69% of tweets analysed revealed such sentiments, with many utilising the hashtag *#Jesuiscirconflexe*[35] and associating the changes with an affront to the French culture and identity itself, and others questioning the need for orthographic modifications among other priorities.

Resistance to orthographic reform is a theme that is also highly prominent in the data presented by Yazan (2015), whose study was introduced above. Yazan's virtual ethnographic study focussed on the activities of seven Turkish-language Facebook groups to collectively contest the Latinisation of the language, which he characterises as *"bottom-up micro counter language policing*"[36] (ibid.: 337). Selvi's (2020) study, mentioned above, presents a similar example, in which users can creatively voice opposition to increasing English as a Medium of Instruction policies in Turkey. In both cases, users of Facebook are effectively able to take advantage of the "breathing space" offered to them by social media (Belmar and Glass, 2019), in order to transcend governmental language policy, at least within this domain.

Finally, Willans (2017: 371) contends that, in the context of Vanuatu, Facebook serves as a democratising tool which allows citizens the opportunity to challenge the hitherto "unquestioned authority" of macro-level language managers. Following a change to educational policy which aimed to incorporate the Bislama language (the home language of a large majority of the country's school pupils) into the classroom as a medium of

[35] "I am circumflex": A marker of solidarity with the diacritic, and a nod to a previous movement of solidarity with the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* following a terrorist attack on their headquarters in Paris in January 2015, which resulted in the popularisation of the hashtag *#Jesuischarlie* (as well as later variations for different real and satirical causes).

[36] Or, a form of competing language management in Spolskyan terms.

instruction at initial stages, the author reveals the manner in which one Facebook group provided a platform for the public – obvious key stakeholders in the policy – to critically engage in its creation through open debate. In this way, Willans advocates consideration of such social media sites as "think tanks", in which consultation with the public can take place in an honest and transparent fashion.

2.9.2 Situated policymaking

Of course, besides their instrumentality in resisting higher-order language management, and as is also inherent in the aforementioned studies, social media platforms also serve as sites of situated language policy generation and negotiation (e.g. Kelly-Holmes, 2015, Blommaert et al., 2009, Moriarty and Pietikäinen, 2011, Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018, Cunliffe, 2019). On one hand, social and new media have been simultaneously recognised as virtual release valves for minority and endangered languages, allowing an escape from the pressures imposed upon them by perceived oppressive offline language ecologies, and the freedom to be used, revalorised and developed in dedicated, often translocal and translingual, spaces (e.g. Blommaert et al., 2009, Eisenlohr, 2004, Stern, 2017, Belmar and Glass, 2019, Cru, 2015). Yet, on the other, despite the relative absence of official and societal pressures, and in spite of the relatively unchecked linguistic freedom offered by the platforms, several studies have noted the pervasiveness of localised normative practices which revolve around discourses of uniformity, conformity, authenticity and linguistic essentialism (e.g. Blommaert et al., 2009, Blommaert, 2009).

In his study of a Nepalese Facebook group created to examine discussions surrounding political issues in the country, Phyak (2015: 381) argues that language policing on Facebook should be considered as

> a contested *ideospace* in which language ideologies concerning both diversity and homogeneity are discursively constructed.

Metalinguistic and metapragmatic discussions and debates within the group are observed to exhibit competing ideologies regarding the appropriate media of interaction (whether English or Nepali) in light of their perceived relevance to authentic Nepalese national, and local, ethnic identities, and the demands of an increasingly globalised economy, indexed by the platform itself. Through these language ideological debates (Blommaert, 1999), multiple

users engage in the continuous negotiation of a language policy that stresses stability and uniformity of language use – whichever it is – over linguistic plurality and hybridity (see Blommaert et al., 2009).

Linguistic purism and its relation to claims of authentic, legitimate or desirable identities is also a recurrent theme within the literature on social media and language policing: with the perceived "correctness" of users' language practices being scrutinised by others as a proxy for intelligence, group membership, and commitment to causes and social movements. Drawing on Bucholtz and Hall (2005), both Karimzad and Sibgatullina (2018) and Røyneland (2018) reveal the manner in which linguistic ideologies of purity and correctness are employed in the judgement of posts and comments made by users. In the former case, for example, the authors reveal how perceived "foreign" linguistic influences – at the orthographic, lexical and metalinguistic level – within Facebook groups are targeted by users in order to preserve the authenticity of the Tatar and Azerbaijani languages and resist assimilation to the Russian and Persian languages and cultures. More than a specifically linguistic process, Karimzad and Sibgatullina argue that the policing of language in the name of expelling "foreignness" should be considered primarily as identity work – in this case, as a mechanism for distancing from perceived undesirable national identities, and for approximating more desirable, Tatar and Turkic identities.

Røyneland's work similarly reveals how instances of language policing within social media – in this case, YouTube – are motivated by beliefs surrounding immigration and the perceived (in)admissiveness of possessing multiple simultaneous identities. Focussing on one YouTube video by a rapper of mixed Norwegian, Chilean and Peruvian descent, and its associated comments section, she found that many commenters approved or denied the artist's claim to a Norwegian identity on the basis of their beliefs regarding linguistic essentialism. While some users position the rapper as Other, based on a belief that a genuine Norwegian identity cannot be claimed by non-native/non first language speakers, others – rightly – adopt the opposite stance and underline the obvious danger of these beliefs, as emblematic of racism. Debates between users then ensue, in which standard vs. dialectal features and degree of typographical accuracy are construed as a measure of linguistic competence by opponents on either side of the argument, and therefore of their right to claim Norwegian

identity. More accurate, “pure” and standard language usage in comments is used as the yardstick by which users measure the legitimacy of each others’ claims to Norwegianness.

Finally, in perhaps a somewhat more facetious context, Sherman and Švelch (2015)’s study focussed on two Facebook groups of self-styled “Grammar Nazis” created for the express purpose of explicitly policing Czech-language use on the Internet. As alluded to above, the authors operationalise language policing as an (often incomplete) variant of *simple language management*. While not always “correcting” others (through the implementation of “adjustment designs” in LMT terms), users of these groups engage in noting deviations from expected language use of group-external content (particularly that posted by public figures), and negatively evaluate them, often through the medium of humour. Users would deploy hyperbolic metaphors of Nazism, crime, conflict and pain in a jocular fashion in order to draw attention to, and express disapproval of, perceived problematic language use, which according to the authors, serves the purpose of constructing a position of superiority of the corrector, as well as an affinity for the Czech language.

2.10 Negotiating authority in language management

Two particularly striking conclusions from Sherman and Švelch (2015)’s paper should be brought to the fore at this stage. The authors note that

> Users typically do not have the power (or even the desire) to design or implement adjustments, and most deviation contexts remain unregulated orthographic spaces. (ibid.: 332)

and that Facebook allows

> the opportunity for self-appointment to the role of language manager. Though this is also possible offline, the anonymous and ephemeral nature of online environments enables users, including administrators, to act as language “experts” without actually being them. (ibid.: 331)

The context explored in this study was characterised by an element of satire, which permeated all of the policing activity observed and, as the authors note, may have made palatable activity that would otherwise have been considered face-threatening. Perhaps it is as a result of the light-hearted flippancy of the corrective activity, and the fact that users rarely proceed to the point of imposing their corrections on others, that their second conclusion can be reached in this case.

However, as studies such as Røyneland's above suggest, language policing carried out in more "serious" contexts, in which the perceived deviations from expected language practices of one user are explicitly and unironically highlighted and corrected by another, may yield different reactions and results (as was classically observed by Schegloff et al., 1977). Given Spolsky's (2004, 2009) assertion that engagement in language management entails the (actual or perceived) authority of one entity to direct the language practices or beliefs of another, such actions may be predicted to prompt conflict, during which the right of the user(s) carrying out the act of language policing is likely to be assessed by the user(s) corrected.

De Bres (2015) and Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018) highlight the need for further research regarding the nature and mechanisms of language management and language policing on social media platforms, with a specific emphasis on the ways in which individuals assume and perform the role of policymakers, or language managers, in their own right. In particular, few studies to date have afforded specific attention to the abovementioned process by which individual users of social media claim and justify their authority to act as language managers, or acknowledge or dispute the claims of others. In the context of collective norm negotiation and enforcement which constitutes the proposed theory of *Collective Language Self-Management,* therefore, this process merits further investigation.

2.10.1 Language policy, power and authority

Issues of power and authority are of inherent relevance to any study of language management. As alluded to above, Spolsky (2009: 4) states:

> The third component of policy is language management, the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that *has or claims authority* over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs. (emphasis added)

Though frequently used interchangeably, the concepts of *power* and *authority* are employed slightly differently within much social theoretical literature. According to Maximilian Weber (1964: 153), the term "power" relates to an entity's *ability* to "impose his will in a given situation", given the correct personal and circumstantial conditions, and adequate access to resources. Authority, on the other hand, pertains to the *right* of one entity to exert influence on another; the *legitimacy* of which is, in turn, dependent on the fulfilment by the

former of certain structural, situational or personal conditions, as assessed by the latter (Paterson, 1967, Weber, 1964, Bourdieu, 1991)[37]. Therefore, that one may possess *power* in a given situation does not necessarily signify the possession of the requisite *authority* to ensure that one's commands will be met.[38]

In language policy terms, this difference could be understood thus: while traditional sources of power, such as governments, institutions and large commercial and non-governmental organisations may have an obvious *stake* in language policy, and plentiful resources with which to engage in language management (e.g. Shohamy, 2006), their actual impact on the targets of their efforts is not guaranteed, and is dependent on the assent of the latter (Bourdieu, 1991, Drackley, 2020)[39]. This proposition, which is evident in Spolsky's use of the formulation "has or *claims* authority" above, has been perhaps one of the most significant motivators for the shift within the LPP field from a focus on language *planning* by macro-level structures, to more multisited and holistic approaches (see e.g. Hornberger and Johnson, 2007, Hult, 2010a, McCarty, 2011a, Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019b, Glasgow and Bouchard, 2018).

As was noted above, Haarmann (1990) was perhaps one of the first to theorise that the "success" of language planning measures was at least partly dependent on the attitudes of their recipients, thereby concluding that *prestige planning* should accompany traditional status and corpus planning. In addition, he emphasised – as subsequent literature has maintained (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, Hult, 2010a, Johnson, 2009) – that *language planning* should be thought of as a multi-layered phenomenon, involving institutional, advocacy and individual actors, each of which possesses an influence over the ultimate success of a specific policy measure. Zhao (2011) and Zhao and Baldauf (2012) went one step further by attempting to establish a typology of individuals able to assume the role of language policy actor, according to the source of their

[37] Paterson's theory of authority will be expanded upon in a following section.
[38] It is worth noting that Cooper (1989) highlights that, in the absence of legitimacy, authority can be seized by force. For the case in question in this paper, however, this form of authority is not relevant.
[39] It should be noted that a separate strand of language ideological research, spearheaded by Kathryn Woolard (e.g. 2016), examines "linguistic authority" in terms of the legitimacy associated specific languages and linguistic variants in and of themselves (whether due to their perceived "authenticity" or "anonymity"), as opposed to the authority of language managers.

impact (in other words, their authority). These include *people with power, people with expertise, people with influence* and *people with interest* – respectively, people occupying legally-granted positions of power, scholars and other experts whose opinions are trusted, respected public figures and celebrities whose language behaviour serves as a model for others, and individuals and groups at the grassroots level with a vested interest in language management, and whose collective action may impact its ultimate implementation and reception[40]. These studies reinforce the notion that *authority* is not automatically assigned, and is subject to conditions appropriate to a given context, culminating in gaining the consent of the receivers of policy measures.

David Cassels Johnson and Eric J. Johnson, too, in their elaboration of the term "language policy arbiter", underline that the process from creation to implementation of language-in-education policies is "neither linear nor predictable" (Johnson, 2013b: 117), as a result of certain individuals within the process possessing "a disproportionate amount of impact on language policy and educational programs" (Johnson and Johnson, 2014: 222). Importantly, they highlight that this impact stems not from the power wielded by the individual as a result of their institutional role within the language policy chain, but is instead acquired as a result of the *positioning* of others.

This assertion points to the notion that authority may be discursively claimed or ascribed within the course of an interaction – a conclusion shared by a number of other studies. Lawrence (2010: 4), for example, states that:

> authority is a social creation. By definition, authority is about power to act: power taken; power given or afforded; power rejected […]
>
> I suggest that acts of power between persons in conversation fall into two types: those that involve positive and negative claims and grants to the other regarding rights and respect, and those that impart to the other, or admit one's own, state of powerlessness or insecurity

Drawing on positioning theory (Harré, 2012, Harré and Langenhove, 1991, Harré et al., 2009, Kayı-Aydar, 2019), he employs the term *micro-authority* to these "claims and grants" of (non-)authoritative positions claimed or assigned in interactions between parents and children. He concludes that authority in interactional contexts, unlike that held by societies

[40] It is interesting to note the similarities between Zhao and Zhao and Baldauf's taxonomy of individual actors in language policy, and Paterson's (1967) typology of authority in management.

and institutions, must be negotiated. An analogous claim is made by Pace and Hemmings (2007, 2006) with respect to the ongoing classroom relationship between teachers and students.

Finally, Drackley's (2020) research makes a similar, but more expansive, claim. His study focuses its analysis on a television debate on the subject of the implementation of an orthographic reform to the French language by the Hollande administration, between a middle-school teacher and union member and a then-member of parliament for the *Parti socialiste*: the former representing the micro-level, and the latter representing the macro-level (and its associated language policing institutions). Throughout the programme, Drackley argues that, while the *power* held by macro-level institutions is not questioned, the debate constitutes a negotiation over the rightful holder of authority over the form and use of the French language. Given the level of grassroots opposition and resistance to the government-led reform, which originated in governmental organisations whose explicit, official mandate is the documentation, safeguarding and modernisation of the French language, he concludes:

> The question of authority is certainly a highly complex one; however, what this interaction shows is that authority is not necessarily something that we can simply assume lies with a specific individual or organization. Rather, authority is constantly negotiated, with different parties making claims and rejecting others' claims.

Rather than a stable element that is possessed *a priori*, or obtained once and retained, therefore, these studies demonstrate that authority may be understood as a dynamic phenomenon: a privilege that can be claimed or ascribed differently according to the specific circumstances in question, and which is subject to both negotiation and renewal in and through discourse.

With this in mind, a final important modification to the theoretical framework used in the foregoing analyses should be made here. Previously, it was noted that this paper draws on Spolsky's (2009) domain-based conceptualisation of language policy: namely, that society may be broken down into multiple domains, each of which is characterised by its own unique forms of language policy, typical loci, and participant **roles**. Yet, as Kayı-Aydar (2019) alludes to in her discussion of the applicability of positioning theory to the field of applied linguistics, the concept of *role* – deriving from the work of Goffman (1969) – implies a stable, prescribed and pre-determined set of behaviours and responsibilities. As discussed

above, *power* is associated with specific roles within language policy processes (e.g. government officials, business managers etc.), which are recognised as having the *ability* and resources with which to engage in language management. However, given the assertion that *authority* is subject to negotiation through interaction, and can be claimed by individuals who do not wield recognisable power, an investigation of the role relations which characterise specific domains may provide only a partial picture of which individuals have the most tangible control over the language behaviour of others at a given time. Given the fluidity implied by the concept of *position*, as

> situation specific, disputed, challenged, changing, and shifting (Harré & Slocum, 2003; Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) (Kayı-Aydar, 2019: 16)

it might be suggested that a fuller examination of a language policy domain should include an analysis of the manner in which members within that domain continually negotiate *positions* of authority in interaction. Such is consonant with the Blommaertian theory of "language policing" described above, of which a key concept is that of "polycentricity": the notion that the source of normativity is both mobile and changing (Blommaert et al., 2009).

This is of particular importance to the current study, given that, while much research (particularly those adopting an Ethnography of Language Policy approach) tends to examine the distribution of authority across layers and scales of society, *Collective Language Self-Management,* by definition, implies a co-operative process of negotiation between "ordinary" individuals, of which none possesses a pre-ordained right to direct the beliefs or practices of others.

The same is true of groups on social media platforms such as Facebook, macro-micro distinctions have little relevance, and there would appear to be no "obvious" hierarchy of power relations analogous to those that exist within offline domains (Lenihan, 2014, De Bres and Belling, 2015). As a result, members of this domain – such as those considered within the case study of this thesis – may seem to operate on an apparent level playing field, and particularly with respect to language management, it may not be clear who – if anyone – has the *right* to police the language of fellow members.

Continual negotiation of authority, therefore – or what could be referred to as the *management of management* – is hypothesised to be an especially prominent feature of *Collective Language Self-Management*, and in the domain of Facebook groups even more

so, based on the findings of the case study to be presented below.

2.10.2 Authority in language management on social media

Studies which specifically examine the process of claiming, ascribing or denying authority in language management within social media are scarce.

Heuman (2020)'s study observes the manner in which language policy is created and practised in everyday interactions on the application *Jodel* among speakers of Swedish. Drawing on Cameron (2012)'s work on *verbal hygiene*, she observes the strategies that jodelers employ to (de)legitimise each other's language use through metalinguistic discussion. As part of this, users are observed to draw authority in their (primarily orthographical) language policing from the perceived sole correctness of the standard form of the language – a belief that licenses the corrective strategies of "exposed correction", "humour" and "repetition" documented. While providing important insight into the justifications for language policing, this paper – in consonance with other research, such as that of Kathryn Woolard (2005, 2016) – focuses on the authority commanded by specific language use, rather than that of language managers themselves. Indeed, Heuman notes that she observed an "almost complete absence of resistance to verbal hygiene – possibly due to its commonsensical nature" (ibid.: 10). Thus, in this case, due to the perception that the language used has objectively deviated from the accepted standard, language policing is viewed as justified, and the *right* of specific users to engage in correction goes unexamined as a result. However, it is the latter examination – of why certain individuals are licensed to take on the role of language police within this domain – which remains largely absent from the literature.

Lenihan's (2014, 2011) research considered the Facebook translations application as a site of *de facto* language policy creation, through an examination of users' collective corpus planning of the Irish language for use in the user interface of the platform. She observes that the design of the application permitted translators to perform "bottom-up" and "top-down" roles interchangeably depending on the context of the discussion, through proposing translations of lexical items, voting for the best translations and resisting those that were believed to be less appropriate (even when these were the most popular choices). Thus, she concludes that the conception of "top-down" and "bottom-up" directionalities as a

dichotomy may not be appropriate. Of note, also, is her finding that a sub-community of users within the application position themselves (and are supported in doing so by others) as "senior translators", given the volume of their activity and their position on the application leader board. From this, Lenihan notes, these users derive a sense of authority with which to exert influence on the choices of translations. This position is also somewhat formalised by Facebook itself, which rewards these senior translators with access to edit the more formal *style guides* of the applications, also overseen by professional translators. While not the focus of the current study, Lenihan's research provides some insight into the authority negotiation process in which Facebook users – as individuals with an equal degree of *de jure* power – participate when involved in language management.

Finally, De Bres and Belling (2015)'s study focusses on the case of a Luxembourg-based Facebook group created to allow users to exchange used goods freely with each other. Their research draws on Blommaert et al. (2009)'s theory of language policing and actor- and action-focussed approach to studying language policy, and like others, supports the notion of policy as a *process* rather than an *outcome*. As such, they claim that:

> If 'policing' is seen as a social practice with no set source of authority and a wide range of linguistic targets, it can be undertaken by anyone (ibid.: 360)

In this respect, the authors concur with Sherman and Švelch (2015) in suggesting that, given the relative freedom of Facebook from *roles* traditionally associated with *power*, any user *can* assume the role of language manager. Yet, as mentioned previously, the ability to engage in language policing does not automatically entail a *right* to partake in it, nor that this will be recognised and validated by other users. Authority claims must be established and verified, and it this process which deserves further attention.

In spite of this, the authors recognise the administrators of the group under study as the "official policymakers", who set and oversee an unofficial official group language policy, established through the use of English for the group's name, and in the "About" section: setting the lingua franca of the group to English, and then encouraging users to post in multiple languages and ask for translations where necessary (De Bres and Belling, 2015: 364). This policy, the authors contend, was drafted by the administrators following a gradual shift from English to Luxembourgish monolingual posts, which, they feared, would impede comprehensibility of the group's content. Yet, users' adherence to this is far from absolute,

and the authors demonstrate that the success of language management carried out by administrators – and thereby the scope of their authority over the language management processes of their group – is limited. Regulating the language practices of the group becomes less a responsibility of specific individuals, and more an ongoing matter of collective concern, with multiple users expressing their opinions regarding the group's language policy, and some successfully effecting changes to others' language use. Through continual, language ideological exchanges, the group's language "policy" is challenged and redefined. The authors conclude by stating that:

> There is scope for more research on the specific techniques used in these activities of policing and consideration of their effects. (ibid.: 374)

These techniques worthy of further examination, it could be argued, include a more thorough investigation of the means by which individuals claim the authority needed to police the language of their fellow users, the nature of the authority claimed, and its limitations and conditions.

2.11 Concluding summary

The preceding sections have laid out the theoretical foundations underlying the main thesis of the current work. The evolution of language policy has been traced from a formal planning process, conducted by powerful institutions and targeted at passive recipients, to a quotidian normative phenomenon in which anyone – whether formally or not – can partake, and in various forms and venues. Moreover, the differing degrees of agency held by "ordinary" individuals within given language policy processes has also been considered, along with the notion that "powerless" grassroots, "micro-level" actors are limited in the *scope, reach* and *directionality* of their attempts to manage the language beliefs and practices of others.

It has also been contended that one of the most fundamental forms of agency possessed by individuals is that over their own linguistic repertoire and perspectives – that is to say how they themselves speak languages, or what they think or believe about them. As such, it has also been contended that the authority of any external entity to the latter imposed by others must be recognised, or – failing this – negotiated. Harnessing this reflective, self-transformative process, however, has been argued to provide a vector for a more powerful

agentive response (Spolsky, 2021), and mechanisms and theoretical apparatus for achieving this have been suggested in the form of social and lifestyle movements.

This theoretical framework underpins the proposed theory of Collective Language Self-Management, and in Chapter 4, following an introduction to the sociolinguistic context of this study, a more explicit outline will be given, before its manifestation within the chosen case study is examined.

Chapter 3: Sociolinguistic Background

Contemporary Language Policy in (Northern) Catalonia

Introduction

The sociolinguistic context from which the data presented in this work is taken is that of Catalonia. The purpose of the current section is to provide the reader with sufficient understanding of the extant discourses and politics within Catalonia – as well as their historical roots – which have a bearing on the Catalan language today, in order to permit a richer and more profound understanding of the issues to be discussed subsequently in the case study.

That said, simply conducting so-called "background research" for this chapter has demonstrated that an entire doctoral dissertation could be (and, indeed many have been) written on this subject alone, and a short disclaimer is thus warranted. While the sociolinguistics of Catalonia is truly fascinating, particularly from the perspective of language policy and language revitalisation, the account given here must regrettably be summary, and readers are highly encouraged to follow up with references provided in order to obtain a more profound understanding of the complex language- and identity-related questions germane to this context.

3.1 Introducing Catalonia: a history of tumultuous (language) politics

3.1.1 Defining "Catalonia"

3.1.1.1 A note on terminology used

Before proceding to present the sociolinguistic context in detail, it is appropriate here to draw the reader's attention to the terminology used throughout the following chapters. In line with the principles of Grounded Theory (e.g. Charmaz, 2006), this thesis has favoured the frames of reference used by participants to understand and talk about the world. That is to say, while certain concepts – such as the names of geographical areas – may seem to be objectively definable, or may have commonly accepted definitionx within popular or academic literatures, these may not coincide with the understandings held by the communities in question, or, by extension, those adopted here. Thus, this short subsection will attempt to demystify some of the geographical and cultural nomenclature employed here.

The term Catalonia (or *Catalunya*) is used in various ways throughout the thesis. It is usually used to refer to the Catalan-speaking region of southern France (also referred to as Northern Catalonia or *Catalunya (del) Nord*) combined with the Spanish Autonomous Community of Catalonia (or *Catalunya del Sud,* Southern Catalonia, or the *Principat*). It is also sometimes used by participants to refer to the collection of geographical areas which historically formed the extent of the Catalan-speaking kingdom (including, for example, Mallorca and L'Alguer), however the term *Països Catalans* is sometimes used to denote this.

Països Catalans is often employed to connote a form of cultural diaspora, akin to the *Francophonie*. In French, however, *pays catalans,* is usually employed to refer to the Catalan-speaking areas of Southern France specifically (see e.g. de la Viera, 2025), being also used in this way by official organisations in France (Pyrénées-Orientales Tourisme, 2018).

More details are provided in the sections to follow, and the reader is also encouraged to consult the website of author Joan Becat (Becat, n.d.) for more in-depth discussion.

3.1.1.2 Geopolitics, Culture and Identity

The toponym "Catalonia", itself can denote various different geographical areas depending on the context in which it is invoked. In a strictly legal, technical sense, Catalonia refers to the *Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña* (Autonomous Community of Catalonia)*:* one of seventeen administrative regions of the Kingdom of Spain established by the country's Constitution, and by individual Statutes of Autonomy. By virtue of this status, the region enjoys a status of semi-autonomy, possessing its own governing body – *Generalitat de Catalunya* – which has the power to legislate on a number of issues pertaining to regional affairs, as well as its own unique institutions. Within the autonomous community, Catalan has the status of co-official language, alongside Castilian[41], and is spoken by an estimated 81.2% of the population (5,187,117 speakers), according to a 2018 survey (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

[41] This is in spite of attempts by the *Generalitat* to give privilege to the Catalan language through the establishment of a legal requirement for the learning of only Catalan by citizens in its 2006 Statute of Autonomy; a stipulation that was later deemed unconstitutional and abrogated by the Spanish Constitutional Court in a 2010 ruling (Marí, 2022).

While the Autonomous Community is the only legally recognised entity bearing the official name “Catalonia”, as Minder (2017: 33) aptly notes, the “true” borders and boundary lines implied by the term are “hazy”. Frequently, the term is applied – not uncontroversially (ibid.) – in a wider sense to a more expansive Catalan nation, incorporating a number of territories which belonged to historical polities which existed prior to their annexation by France and Spain. One of the most notable of these includes the region today known unofficially as *Catalunya del Nord* (Northern Catalonia) or the *Pays Catalans* (Catalan countries), an area situated to the north of the Autonomous Community, within the modern-day administrative region of *Occitanie* in France. Ceded to France from the Kingdom of Aragon in the 1659 *Tractat dels Pirineus* (Treaty of the Pyrenees), the region is today home to approximately 131,000 speakers of Catalan (approx. 35.4% of the population), according to a 2015 survey (Generalitat de Catalunya et al., 2015). Unlike in its neighbouring region, Catalan has no officially recognised status in Northern Catalonia, designated only as a *langue régionale* or *langue de France* by French state language policy, and receiving limited support.

Taken together, the territory represented by Northern and Southern Catalonia represents much of what is contemporaneously considered to constitute historical Catalonia, and the birthplace of modern Catalan – comprising the Carolingian vassal counties collectively called the *Marca Hispànica*, the Kingdom of Mallorca, and the Principality of Catalonia, as part of the Kingdom of Aragón (Ferrando Francés and Nicolás Amorós, 2011, Hawkey, 2018). This disjunct between the semi-mythical roots of a once intact Catalan nation, and the socio-political reality of modern-day Catalonia divided between France and Spain has led Catalonia to be described as a “stateless nation” by scholars such as Keating (1997), and to be experienced by many participants within the current study as an “occupied nation”.

Beyond Northern and Southern Catalonia, the linguistic and cultural borders of Catalonia are represented by the *Països Catalans* (Catalan countries): a constellation of countries andregions throughout Europe in which Catalan is spoken (Minder, 2017). These include those mentioned above, as well as the country of Andorra, *Alghero* in Italy, and the Spanish areas of *La Franja* in Aragón, *Carxe* in Murcia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. While lacking the same formal institutional structure, the *Països Catalans* are reminiscent of other cultural diasporic organisations, such as the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*. Dowling

(2019) notes that use of the term had gained particular traction following the end of the Francoist dictatorship, galvanising a collective cultural and political identity centred around the Catalan language. The political indexicality of the term has since diminished somewhat – although controversies persist, as is the case with many attempts to assert and establish a Catalan-based identity – yet its continued use to appeal to a shared linguistic and cultural patrimony remains evident today (ibid.). Examples include in televised news and weather forecasts for the *Països Catalans* on TV3 (Minder, 2017: 33), or within the current dataset, in a map depicting the timelines for easement of lockdown restrictions across the various territories.

Figure 3.1: Map showing the phases of Covid-19 lockdown easements across the Països Catalans
JPCR/226/P012 – "Phases of deconfinement in the Catalan Countries"
Original source: Vilaweb (2020)

The mere invocation and assertion of a Catalan origin or identity, therefore, has many possible meanings and layers of significance which imply a navigation and assemblage of various geographical, social, political, cultural, linguistic and ideological issues. In other words, the question of what it means to "be Catalan" in a given context, is a pertinent research question, and indeed appears to be experienced differently throughout the dataset presented here.

3.1.2 A brief overview of language policy in Catalonia

3.1.2.1 The dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975)

In his groundbreaking 1991 volume *Reversing Language Shift*, Joshua Fishman (1991) lists Catalonia as one of few examples of successful language revitalisation through language policy. Indeed, its success is particularly noteworthy given Spain's still fairly recent history of systematic oppression of its cultural and linguistic minorities during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975) – a history that has arguably played a significant role in the formation of the modern-day Catalan identity.

Riera (1998) provides a succinct, if distressing, account of this period in Catalan history. As in many other contexts (e.g. Shohamy, 2006, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995), a linguistic hierarchy was officially established, with Castilian Spanish afforded the status of *idioma nacional* and sole official language throughout the entire Spanish state, and Catalan reduced to the status of "dialect spoken in Spain", spoken by only a small number of families and lacking the linguistic richness and utility of Castilian (Benet, 1995 cited in Riera, 1998, Fishman, 1991). Oppositionality was thereby effectively created between "being Spanish" and "being Catalan", with those who asserted the latter identity labelled as "enemies of Spain" even in books for children (ibid.: 72). This oppositionality was bolstered by the regime's frequent recourse to the myth of a singular, pure and historically-rooted Spanish and Christian identity, dating back to the *Reconquista* of the Catholic monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand and their almost mythical forging of a unified nation, expunged of alien influences (Richards, 1996). Restoration and preservation of this unity, therefore, particularly through the enforcement of one common language and culture, was the ultimate stated objective of the Francoist dictatorship, and served as its legitimate basis for the repression of anything perceived to threaten it, including Catalan itself.

While private usage of Catalan was – at least according to official discourse – tolerated, public usage of the language in official functions, in schools, in advertising, in the media and in events was expressly criminalised, with fines imposed on offenders (Ferrer i Gironés, 1985 cited in Riera, 1998: 78-79). Indeed, official documentation printed in languages other than Castilian that could not be reprinted due to lack of funds or resources were required to have non-Castilian text struck out and overwritten in red ink with the now notorious Francoist phrase

"¡Arriba España!" ("Up with Spain!") (ibid.: 78). Moreover, Labanyi (1995) notes that simple borrowings from Catalan were described as "barbarisms" – in similar manner to revolutionary Bertrand Barère's description of the French regional languages some two centuries earlier (Barère, 1794) – and were proscribed in public documents. Infringement of such regulations could be considered tantamount to rebellion against the regime itself, the punishment for which could be severe, including imprisonment, corporal punishment, torture, and even execution (Coca, 1996 cited in Riera, 1998: 29). In addition to this, the economic prosperity of the Catalunya in the mid-20th Century prompted an unprecedented influx of immigrant workers from other regions of Spain, many of whom had little need, desire or possibility, to learn the stigmatised autochthonous language[42]– leading to further minoritisation and marginalisation of Catalan (Fishman, 1991, May, 2012).

Catalan language policy under the Francoist dictatorship might be described as a project of Active Linguicide (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995, Hassanpour et al., 2012), with the objective not only of policing the use of the language within public life, but also the inculcation and hegemonisation of linguicidal ideologies that would foster its gradual decline through attitude shifts and subsequent linguistic suicide by speakers (see e.g. McNulty, 2018, 2023). Indeed, Mar-Molinero (2000: 80) notes that, while intergenerational transmission of the language did continue, this was accompanied by transmission of associations of guilt and inferiority which, when combined with the absence of formal language teaching in schools, hindered its full acquisition. Riera (1998), too, notes that instances of reported "hatred" of Catalan's usage within public domains in decades following Franco's death serve as evidence of the ideological success of the regime.

Yet, in spite of the Francoist campaign of persistent attacks on the prestige and status of the language, and the concomitant strengthening of Castilian's foothold in the region, Catalan nevertheless continued to be spoken within the home (Boada, 2015), and retained much of its prior prestige among higher social classes (ibid.; Fishman, 1991). Moreover, Mar-Molinero (2000: 80) highlights an ironic side-effect of this constant state-sponsored vilification: that, for those who continued to speak it, the Catalan language was effectively transformed into

[42] However, Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015) do note that, in spite of cultural differences, most incoming migrants did share a disdain for the regime itself.

an “icon of resistance” to the regime (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015: 286), and served as a common force to galvanise opposition against it. And its ability to outlive the dictatorship, and survive into the restoration of democracy in Spain, served only to reinforce this indexicality – or “resistance mojo” (Joseph, 2014) – of the Catalan language and identity (Riera Gil, 2011, Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

3.1.2.2 Restoring the language

With the death of Franco in 1975, Spain began its transition back to democracy, with the ratification of a new Constitution in 1978 legally establishing the Autonomous Communities, and recognising the co-official status of the languages spoken within them. The *Generalitat de Catalunya* was also effectively restored, along with its competency to legislate in matters of regional language policy through its 1979 Statute of Autonomy (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1979). Following decades of repression, the priority of the Catalan government was to nurture and capitalise on the narrative of resilience, endurance and resistance surrounding the Catalan language, culture and identity, and to recover the lost ground that it had lost to Castilian: to “re-Catalanise Catalunya” (Riera Gil, 2011: 158, see also Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

Initial prestige planning campaigns launched by the *Generalitat* centred around the objective of *normalisation*: a term attributed to Pompeu Fabra, expanded to denote not only the solidification of linguistic norms, but also the rendering unmarked (“normal”) of the usage of Catalan throughout Catalonian society (Riera Gil, 2011). These included sector-specific campaigns targeting usage of the language in domains such as the workplace and in hospitality settings, adopting slogans such as *El català: eina de feina* (“Catalan: a tool for work”) and *El català et serveix* (“Catalan serves you”[43]).

[43] A play on words, given the campaign relates to using Catalan in the context of waiter-diner interactions, and the joint meanings of the verb *servir* as “serves” and “is helpful to”.

Figure 3.2: Images from sector-specific linguistic normalisation campaigns in Catalonia. Source: Generalitat de Catalunya (n.d.) (left), Todocoleccion (2024) (right).

In 1982, in the midst of deliberations over the official *Llei de Normalització Llingüística* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation), a broader awareness-raising campaign was launched, known as *El català, cosa de tots* ("Catalan, everybody's business"[44]). This multimedia campaign, which included short video clips, comic strips and posters, featured as its mascot a precocious young girl – cleverly named Norma (short for "Normalització") – who could be seen encouraging various individuals to choose to speak Catalan wherever possible, even in situations where either the speaker or their interlocutor may be native speakers of Spanish (Secretaria de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 2021, 2012). In addition, Norma could also be observed correcting errors in both Catalan and Castilian, as well as policing borrowings from the latter into the former (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

The campaign, and the wider *Normalisation* project from which it emerged, rested upon the belief that policies of the previous four decades had deprived the language of its natural and rightful place in Catalan society. Restoration of democratic principles thereby equated with the restitution of the right of Catalonian inhabitants to use Catalan in their day-to-day lives – "per retornar a la llengua catalana el lloc que li corresponia" (Secretaria de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 2021, see also Riera Gil, 2011: 158). Or, in the words of Newman and Trenchs-Parera (2015: 291):

[44] Approximate translation. Literally: "Catalan, thing of everyone".

> …the policy assumed a standard language ideology and aimed at rectifying the "abnormal" imposition of Spanish on an imagined national Catalan community.

This belief is enshrined in the concept of *llengua pròpia* – a legal term attributed to Catalan through the *Estatut d'Autonomia,* which, while conceding the official status of both Catalan and Castilian, designated the former as the region's unique defining element (ibid.). Riera Gil (2011: 158), an employee of the *Secretaria de Política Lingüística*, provides the following description:

> El català es considera la *llengua pròpia* de Catalunya, i hi és oficial al costat del castellà, que és oficial a tot l'Estat. Aquesta formulació ha tingut uns efectes jurídics molt rellevants, que han permès prioritzar l'ús del català en certs àmbits. Es basa en la idea que la llengua catalana és la que identifica el territori i la comunitat des d'un punt de vista històric i distintiu.
>
> *Catalan is considered the "own language" of Catalonia, and is official there alongside Castilian, which is official in the whole state. This formulation has had very important juridical effects which have allowed the use of Catalan in certain domains to be given priority. It is based on the idea that the Catalan language is that which identifies the territory and the community from a distinctive, historical perspective.*

In her influential work on the topic of linguistic authority within Catalonia, Kathryn Woolard (2016, see also Woolard, 2005) describes the ideology underpinning post-Franco normalisation language policies as one of "authenticity". Such an ideology, she holds, posits that the value of a language derives from its capacity "not just to point to but additionally to depict, to be an image (or icon) of the essence of the person" (ibid.: 22-23). In other words, one's ability to speak the language (well) serves as evidence and verification of their belongingness within a particular community – such that *what* is said (referential function) becomes less important than *how* it is said (indexical function) (ibid.). In the case of Catalonia, therefore, policies related to normalisation reinforced this indexical connection between nation (Catalonia), language (Catalan) and identity (resident of Catalonia), and emphasised the importance of all Catalan people to learn their own language, and learn to speak it "correctly".

This ideology, Woolard holds, served Catalan well in a situation of repression (Woolard, 2005). It allowed members of the Catalan community to isolate, hold on to, and ultimately restore that which made them unique – and that which prevented their total absorption by a "foreign" culture. Yet, in more contemporary times, this same authenticity value would become a hindrance to the expansion of the language:

> For better and worse, as a *llengua pròpia* Catalan was obviously someone's own language, a marked and private voice indexing a particular kind of person, perhaps with a particular political agenda, rather

> than focused on communicating a referential message. Catalan's status as a signifier of valued Catalan identity made it difficult for non-native speakers to assume [it] as their own (Woolard, 2016: 67).

The construction of a Catalan national identity based firmly upon a high level of proficiency in the Catalan language – and moreover, a "pure" variety of it, unmarred by Castilian borrowings (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015) – effectively set the requirements for acceptance extremely high for those residents of Catalonia for whom Catalan was not a native language. And, indeed, while the use of Catalan became ideologically-charged, in contrast, the Castilian language – spoken in the region, and all throughout the wider Spanish state, and in many other countries throughout the world – gained an appearance of "neutrality" and "objectivity" (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Unlike Catalan, the value of which derived from its capacity to represent and index the imagined and re-emerging Catalan nation, Castilian (or Spanish, to use an even more ideologically-loaded term[45]) had achieved a level of hegemony akin to other "universal languages", such that its value was tied not to its link to a certain people or culture, but was perceived to be inherent in the language itself (Woolard, 2016). In other words, Woolard (2016) asserts, Castilian's linguistic authority derives from an ideology of "anonymity". Benefiting from a concept described by Bourdieu (1991) as "misrecognition" – a process whereby the origins and social hierarchies and circumstances that lead to the ascendance and dominance of a language become unclear and uncontested – Castilian had become a "public language": varieties "able to represent and be used equally by everyone precisely because they belong to no one in particular" (Woolard, 2016: 25).

Faced with this fact, Catalan language policies of normalisation posed the risk of alienating new and potential speakers of the language, thereby hampering its expansion and prolonging its marginalisation. In addition, the normalisation project garnered significant degrees of

[45] While considered by many – particularly speakers of English – to be synonymous, the terms Castilian and Spanish can connote different ideological standpoints. As Mar-Molinero (2000) explains, post-Francoist policymakers sought to avoid using the term "Spanish" to refer to the Castilian language, opining that the former implied that Castilian was the *only* language of Spain (much as the Francoist government had desired it would be), rather than one (albeit dominant) variety. Yet, she notes that this decision faced opposition from politicians who view Castilian to represent a single shared national identity: therefore truly *Spanish* (ibid.) These assertions evince the dominant status of the language, and its hegemonic, anonymity-based ideology of linguistic authority to which Woolard (2016) alludes. (Similar claims to these could be made of the "French" language)
The choice between terms among Catalan speakers is thus expectedly ideologically-charged, and in the current study some participants were observed to reject the term *espanyol*, claiming that it is a political construction rather than an actual concept.

political opposition from Spanish political parties based in Catalonia, who claimed that it constituted an attempt to make it impossible to live one's life through Castilian in the region (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). In order to prevent the reversal of progress made, therefore, a change in language planning priorities proved to be necessary (Woolard, 2016)

3.1.2.3 Building (discursive and linguistic) bridges

At the beginning of the 21st century, faced with further waves of migration from outside of Spain, and the growing pressures of globalisation and an increasingly dominant English language, the *Generalitat* was confronted with the challenge of preserving the culture it represented, while fostering societal cohesion and harmony (Riera Gil, 2011). Its response was to de-emphasise discourses which portrayed Catalan as *llengua pròpia* and instead to cultivate the image of Catalan as a *llengua comuna* ("common language"): one which would be defined not by its "ethnonationalist" associations, but by its "cosmopolitanism", universality and egalitarianism (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015: 492, see also Woolard and Frekko, 2013). These values were enshrined in a 2004 policy entitled *Pla per la Llengua i La Cohesió Social* ("Plan for the Language and Social Cohesion"). As part of this, a series of educational initiatives for both children and adults were launched, including opening intensive reception classes for new non-Catalanophone pupils, and establishing language exchange schemes between native and non-native speakers (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015). The *Pla* also facilitated the formation of a highly prevalent organisation – *Voluntariat per la llengua* – with an objective of encouraging spontaneous use of the language, particularly within local-immigrant interactions, in which Catalan speakers were found increasingly to favour the use of Castilian as a *lingua franca* (Trenchs-Parera and Newman, 2015).

Rather than depicting Catalan as the unique route of entry into full belongingness within Catalonia, the language was portrayed as a helpful language – one which made daily life in the region easier (Woolard, 2005). In addition to this, public campaigns around this time also visibly relaxed expectations surrounding Catalan competency and "correctness". This is

particularly evident in the campaign *Dòna corda al català* ("Wind up your Catalan"[46]), whose official slogans encouraged the use of Catalan by everyone and in all possible situations, regardless of its level of perfection:

> Els tres lemes de "Dóna corda al català" eren "Parla sense vergonya", "Parla amb llibertat" i "Per començar, parla en català". Parla sense vergonya, perquè no passa res si ens equivoquem i perquè el que compta és la nostra voluntat. Parla amb llibertat, perquè cadascú decideix com expressar-se. I per començar, parla en català, perquè és important que convidem els altres a parlar en català. (Secretaria de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 2021)
>
> *The three slogans of "Wind up your Catalan" were "Speak without embarrassment", "Speak freely" and "To begin with, speak in Catalan". Speak without embarrassment, because it doesn't matter if we make a mistake and because what counts is our willingness. Speak freely, because each person decides how to express themselves. And to begin with, speak in Catalan, because it's important that we invite others to speak in Catalan.*

Indeed, the charge of inflexibility regarding the standardisation of Catalan, and the implication of agreed standards, had been a charge levied at the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute of Catalan Studies) [IEC], the organisation legally charged with establishing the normative variety of the language (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). One of the most noteworthy sources of this criticism came in the form of an incendiary volume entitled *Verinosa Llengua* ("Poisonous Tongue") by writer, philologist and former politician Xavier Pericay and writer Ferran Toutain.

Among the principal arguments of their work was that the standard promoted by the IEC, which was based on a strict adherence to that developed by its most prominent early philologist Pompeu Fabra, was anachronistic to the point of lacking any resemblance to the actual usage of the language by Catalan speakers in conversation, and of being inaccessible to speakers of Spanish learning Catalan (Kailuweit, 2002, Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Instead of this more literary variety, they proposed a new standard – which would come to be known as *català light* in contrast to the *català heavy* standard promoted by the IEC – based, descriptively, on oral language used in Barcelona at the time, and embracing neologisms and Castilianisms rather than policing them (Kailuweit, 2002).

While this proposal was met with significant backlash, and incited debate which continues to this day – and which will be expanded upon below – there are nevertheless claims that the

[46] A name which corresponded with the mascot of the campaign, *la Queta*, which resembled a pair of teeth with eyes and legs, and which could move and jump when wound up by the user.

IEC has indeed adopted an increasingly descriptivist, "flexible" approach to its corpus planning (e.g. Cros, 2017, Badia i Pujol, 2018), which would seem to coincide with the *Generalitat*'s manifest desire to increase the accessibility and identifiableness of the Catalan language and culture, as asserted by Woolard (2005, 2016).

3.1.3 Persistent fears

Almost a half century since the death of Francisco Franco, and the subsequent public restoration of Catalunya's own autonomy, institutions and culture, the Catalan language – on paper, at least – would appear to be in a relatively "healthy" condition. It is the ninth most spoken language in the European Union (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013b)[47], and has the 8th highest internet penetration rate of any language (as well as being one of the most highly used languages for content published on the internet) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013a). Moreover, despite Krauss (1992)'s famed, apocalyptic predictions for the fate of ninety percent of the world's languages, experts such as Marí (2022) have expressed optimism that Catalan will be among those that survive the cull.

Yet, belief in the endangerment of Catalan remains strong in numerous academic, journalistic and social circles today. Indeed, somewhat ironically, Vestit i Villegas (2022) observes that the consistent recourse by the Catalan government to public campaigns in order to encourage use of the language itself raises questions regarding its actual linguistic vitality. A number of fears, which can be inferred from the history of macro-level language policymaking in Catalonia, persist in contemporary discourse today. These include a fear of wholesale shift from Catalan to Spanish on the part of society, and a fear of language decay (referred to respectively by Prats et al. (1990) as "direct" and "indirect" threats") (see also Strubell, 2001). In addition, a more contemporary fear pertaining to the trustworthiness of Catalan language institutions also seems to be emerging.

[47] Despite possessing no official status within the EU.

3.1.3.1 Fear of language shift

As is evident above, much language legislation and campaigning in Catalonia in recent decades – and particularly in the wake of the dictatorship – has been based on a commitment to prevent the Catalan language and culture suffering the fate desired for it by the Francoist regime: that is to say, its substitution by a nationalised language-identity package in the form of "Spanish". However, despite redressing the top-down inequalities between the two varieties, and attempts to reclaim Catalan as Catalonia's "own language", evidence suggests that these macro-level aspirations have not yet been reflected in micro-level reality. According to the 2018 language survey cited above – *The Language Uses of the Population of Catalonia* – while more than 80% of the 9000 respondents surveyed claimed to be able to speak Catalan, only 31.5% of respondents claimed it as their "first language", with 36.1% reporting using Catalan for at least half of their daily interactions (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018: 12). By contrast, 48.5% of the surveyed sample claimed to use Catalan 30% of the time or less, and 23.6% of respondents claimed never to use the language (ibid.). Meanwhile, the proportion of respondents who claimed to use Castilian 51% of the time or more was 45.2% (ibid.).

In comparison to the positive discourses surrounding Catalan – particularly within government publications – these figures paint, for some, a rather more concerning picture regarding the stability of bilingualism in Catalonia. Indeed, the concept of "bilingualism" itself has proved controversial in the Catalan context, with many dismissing the idea of stable bilingualism between Castilian and Catalan as a myth, or equating it to merely a prequel to eventual substitution of the latter by the former (Junyent, 2020, Woolard, 2020, Prats et al., 1990 cited in Strubell, 2001). This unstable form of bilingualism is reminiscent of that described by Fishman (1967: 36) as "bilingualism without diglossia": a situation which he claims is characterised by the co-existence in a society of two varieties which lack clearly defined and unique functions within society, and which frequently results in the hybridisation of the two languages, or the gradual displacement of the less "fortunate" language. In Catalonia, a lack of any domains specifically reserved to Catalan has indeed been highlighted (e.g. Prats et al., 1990 cited in Strubell, 2001: 266).

Moreover, of particular concern to many is a strong tendency among speakers to utilise Castilian as a *lingua franca* in private domains, when addressing unknown interlocutors, or to

accommodate to their interlocutor if their original address in Catalan is responded to in Castilian (Marí, 2022, Junyent, 2020, Ràdio Calella Televisió, 2022). Practices such as these are believed by some to stem from an internalised inferiority complex regarding the Catalan language in social interactions, and a belief that to use or switch to Castilian is a sign of courtesy: a trend which allegedly points to the situation of linguistic subordination in which the language exists (Marí, 2022, see also Ràdio Calella Televisió, 2022). Junyent (2020: 40), one of several harbingers of the forthcoming demise of Catalan, summarises this position in a direct address to speakers themselves:

> *How many times have we found ourselves in a situation like this one: you, a Catalan speaker, have to address an interlocutor, often unknown, and, faced with the unknown of whether they speak Catalan, of whether they understand it, you opt to speak to them directly in Castilian. That's to say, you opt for the unmarked language because it is the language you know – that you presume – will not give you any problems. If you speak to them in Catalan, who knows what they will think of you, or maybe they'll say they don't understand you; if you speak in Castilian, nothing will happen probably. Nothing will happen, but you are giving up being who you are. It's the phenomenon called "norm of convergence", a very common linguistic behaviour among speakers of subordinated languages: it makes us never expect that someone we don't know will use our language and, because of this, we opt for the dominant language, which is the one that will save us from potential problems.*

Despite a transition away from an authenticity-based discourse of linguistic authority at the macro-level – itself motivated by a fear that the Catalan language and culture would be streamrolled by its more powerful Castilian counterparts – the threat of progressive linguistic (and thereby identity) substitution in Catalonia thus remains a prevalent concern among various sectors of society.

3.1.3.2 Fear of language decay

Added to the fear of unstable bilingualism and wholesale societal language shift from Catalan to Castilian, another fear which pervades the language community (albeit perhaps a smaller subset of it) pertains to the "quality" of the language actually used today (Strubell, 2001). Bearing some reflection in the normalisation campaigns of the post-Franco era, such as *Català, cosa de tots* mentioned above, this fear is based on the premise that speakers are not only increasingly resorting to the use of Castilian in interaction, but also making copious use of Castilian lexical, syntactic and phonetic borrowings and calques in their Catalan (ibid.).

While such cross-linguistic transfers are relatively common and expected sociolinguistic phenomena – particularly within bilingual communities – the implication in the case of

Catalan is that these transfers are more pernicious. According to Junyent (2020), the perceived unstable form of bilingualism which exists in Catalonia leads to an imbalance between the two languages spoken, and thus a disproportionate amount of transfers to the subordinate language. Added to this, she asserts that the close linguistic similarities between Castilian and Catalan may lead to borrowings occurring invisibly where they may have otherwise been checked and corrected by speakers (as might be the case, for example, with borrowings from English[48]), thus leading to their eventual fossilisation (ibid.).

Rather than simply "borrowings", "transfers" or "code-mixing", therefore, the presence of Castilianisms within Catalan are often referred to more negatively as "interference" (Junyent, 2020, Pla Nualart, 2015, Bibiloni, 1999) or even "linguistic contamination" (Vallverdú, 2002). The anticipated consequence of such interference is the effective disintegration of Catalan as a distinct language (and, by extension, culture and identity), in a process described by Sasse (1992) as "language decay". Strubell (2001: 277), in his assessment of Reversing Language Shift efforts in Catalonia, succinctly illustrates this feared outcome:

> There is a danger of the specific features of Catalan, in phonetics, in grammar and syntax, and in lexicon, gradually being lost, and of Catalan becoming, in effect, a mere dialect of another language (Spanish).

Among those who espouse a belief in the decay of Catalan, the pejorative term *catanyol* is frequently employed to refer to varieties of Catalan that are heavily influenced by Castilian (Vidal, 2018, Camats, 2019, Garolera, 2014, Pla Nualart, 2015). Vidal's 2018 (Vidal, 2018) volume – entitled *Catanyol.es: el catanyol es cura: intereferències castellà-català* ("*Catanyol* speakers: *Catanyol* can be cured: Castilian-Catalan interferences") – is a prominent example, compiling, in dictionary-like format, a list of the most common "problematic" borrowings from Castilian used by Catalan speakers today.

An alternative term that has gained some traction, and which has been briefly mentioned above, is that of *català light*. The term, along with its *heavy* counterpart, emerges from a

[48] This assertion is rather problematic, as it is based on the somewhat questionable premise that speakers, given the choice, would not wish to borrow linguistic forms from other varieties. Yet, research on numerous language communities has shown that such borrowings and codeswitching – particularly from English – often have functional or prestige value to speakers, and that their use constitutes a conscious communicative choice (e.g. Li and Tse, 2002).

longstanding and embittered debate between opponents (*light*) and proponents (*heavy*) of prescriptivism- and purism-oriented corpus planning for Catalan. To many advocates of *català light*, the "authentic" Catalan language envisaged by governmental language planning bears little resemblance to the Catalan actually spoken – which, they believe, should be the ultimate guide for language standards – and represents merely a nostalgic, almost religious and anti-democratic effort to restore the unsalvageable (Toutain, 1990). This belief is succinctly captured in the title of Iván Tubau's 1990 volume *Paraula viva contra llengua normativa* ("Living Word vs. Normative Language") (Pazos, 2007). Thus the only linguistic choices left open to speakers of Catalan are either to use a highly Castilianised form of the language, or Castilian itself – an assertion that reflects not a pessimistic assessment of the situation, but a recognition of sociolinguistic reality, according to *light*-ists (Tubau, 1990 cited in Pazos, 2007: Location 157). Indeed, Toutain (1990), at the time of writing, claimed that the majority of Catalan language practitioners (such as teachers, writers, etc.) were "half illiterate", and that the preferable option for a language with which speakers manifestly no longer identify would be linguistic euthanasia.

For Pazos (2007) and other proponents of normative Catalan, *català light* is less an example of euthanasia, and more a case of attempted linguicide (see also Lladonet, 2016). Contrary to claims by Toutain that embracing Castilian influence on the Catalan language in practice would represent the only democratic approach to language management, Pazos (2007: Location 105) instead asserts that the very presence of this influence on the language transforms it into a "linguistic colony" of Castilian, and thereby *ipso facto* inhibits democracy:

> No s'adonen que els catalans encara no ens hem posat a règim lingüístic, perquè fa molt poc temps que podem tastar lliurement la nostra llengua a la plaça pública de la història, i no volem que la contaminin […] amb colorants aliens que ens saben a traïció.
>
> *They do not realise that the Catalan people have not yet adopted a linguistic regime, because it has only been a very short time since we have been able to freely taste our language in the public square of history, and we do not want it to be contaminated* […]*with alien dyes that taste like betrayal.*

She goes on to assert that democracy in language is instead derived from the formation of a consensus about which linguistic signs should be considered valid, acceptable and properly "Catalan" by speakers themselves (ibid.); not in the "everything goes" attitude, exhibited by Pericay, Toutain, Tubau and other *light*-ists, which privileges spontaneity (Pericay and Toutain, 1986, Toutain, 1990, Tubau, 1990). Indeed, while the *heavy* form of Catalan is held to be based on extensive, rigorous and objective scientific research, Pazos (2007) depicts

català light as a neo-colonial tool – wielded by "sectarian, partisan" groups with a vested interest in Castilianising Catalan – with which to limit reflection, foster the alleged "illiteracy" of Catalan speakers, sow linguistic disorder and communicative barriers, and thereby maintain dominance of the Spanish language and culture, and accelerate shift.

The fear surrounding *catanyol*, therefore, relates to more than simply a concern regarding the "correctness" of the language, and is linked to a wider preoccupation with the (intentional) displacement and absorption of all that is uniquely Catalan, in a similar (albeit more subtle and surreptitious) way to the Francoist regime several decades earlier.

3.1.3.3 Institutional complicity (?)

As is alluded to above, the fear of language decay is inextricably linked to sociopolitical tensions within Catalonia.

Atkinson (2018) claims that no simple correlation exists between views on language policy within the region and support for Catalan independence – a movement that has grown significantly in popularity over the last few decades (e.g. Woolard, 2016). Yet in his article criticising the corpus planning approach of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* – while denying support for both Catalan and Spanish patriotism – Ferran Toutain simultaneously expresses scepticism towards growing nationalist sentiment and calls for independence in Catalonia (Toutain, 1990). Moreover, it is worth noting that the three main proponents of *català light* mentioned previously – Toutain, co-author of *Verinosa Llengua* Xavier Pericay, and author of *Paraula viva contra Llengua normativa,* Ivan Tubau – were active players in the formation of the centrist political party *Ciudadanos* (Ciudadanos, n.d.). Indeed Pericay served as member of, and spokesperson for, the Balaeric Islands parliament, as well as head of education for the Executive Committee of *Ciudadano*s.

These facts are particularly significant given that the party *Ciudadanos* has often been characterised as critical of policies which appear to favour the strengthening of the Catalan language, culture and nationalist politics, to the perceived disadvantage of Castilian (Rodríguez Teruel and Barrio, 2016: 590). Indeed, Rodríguez Teruel and Barrio (2016) note that much of *Ciudadanos*'s initial campaign discourse relates primarily to issues of language

and identity rather than other political issues, and that electoral demographics reveal that their supporters are almost entirely predominant speakers of Castilian.

Given these political affiliations, and Catalonia's history of cultural repression by the Spanish state, it is perhaps of little surprise that *català light* (and *catanyol* more generally) is viewed with such misgivings. Where previous regimes failed to quash the Catalan language and culture directly through oppressive legal and political means, the encroachment (and promotion) of Castilianisms may be perceived as a more subtle sign of (intentional) erosion of the language from the inside out.

Further exacerbating these fears is an apparent belief, particularly in some academic and journalistic circles, that the institutions and organisations tasked with the management and defence of the language (or "language guardians" to use Milroy and Milroy's term (Milroy and Milroy, 2012)), can no longer be trusted to prevent language decay (or, indeed, are even complicit in its promotion). Garolera (2014), for example, opines that one of the most prolific disseminators of *catanyol* is the public mass media, including press journalism and radio and television broadcasting. Professionals – and particularly those of a younger age – working in these areas allegedly have a strong proclivity to use a "poor standard Catalan", containing many lexical, phonetic and syntactic features not sanctioned in the normative variety, and increasingly resembling calques from Castilian (ibid.). Vidal (2018), too, asserts that the explosion of traditional and new media in recent years has led to a surge in Castilian influences on the language.

Indeed, so prevalent is the perception of this problem that the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans,* in collaboration with the *Observatori de la Neologia* ("Observatory of Neology") of Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, created an online, publicly accessible database of neologisms present in radio programmes, newspapers and magazines between 2010 and 2016 (Institut d'Estudis Catalans and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, n.d.). The database contains 14,124 entries, and includes sources such as *Diari Ara*, *La Vanguardia, Avui, El País* and *Catalunya Ràdio*. Moreover, in 2021, the *Institut* announced the creation of an *Observatori de la Qualitat Lingüística* ("Observatory of Linguistic Quality"), with a mission to evaluate and improve public language usage standards in domains such as the mass media and schools (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2021).

Given the perceived instrumental role of broadcasters and the media in influencing the language behaviours and values of those who consume them (e.g. Hult, 2010b, Cormack, 2007, Stuart-Smith et al., 2013, Spolsky, 2021), these fears associated with the portrayal and dissemination of "sub-standard" Catalan directly to thousands of current and potential speakers of the language are perhaps understandable. In addition to this, a number of the figures associated with the *català light* movement have, in recent years, worked as linguistic advisors and assessors within these industries. Ferran Toutain, for example, served as Head of Linguistic Orientation at TV3, the main public television station in Catalonia; while Xavier Pericay worked as Head of Linguistics at the newspaper *El Diari de Barcelona* (Kailuweit, 2002). While this fact, in itself, is certainly not proof of any concerted effort to promote widespread Castilian dominance and Castilianisation of Catalan, it seems nonetheless possible to comprehend the concern among those supporting normalisation efforts, such as Pazos (2007), that the media could conceivably be utilised as a vector for such action.

It is also worth noting that, despite its manifest concerns regarding the quality of Catalan used in the public and private spheres, trust in the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* itself is not absolute or universal. Across online traditional and social media, it is possible to observe the ringing of digital alarm bells over a perceived decline in the standards of the institution, and an increased – and excessive – tolerance of Castilianisms and *catanyol.*

Figure 3.3: Tweets from Twitter account *El català com cal* ("Catalan how it should be"). In the first tweet, it is possible to see a reference to "the Castilianisiation of Catalan that the IEC is carrying out", as well as suspected links to advocates of català light. Source: El Català Com Cal (2019).

Much of this anxiety may partly be linked to linguistic reforms that have been announced by the *Secció Flilògica* ("Philology Department") (SF) of the IEC, particularly those intended to spotlight the vitality, "flexibility" and "modernity" of the language (Badia i Pujol, 2018), and many of which have provoked a great degree of controversy (e.g. Carles et al., 2015). One example is an update to the prescribed orthographic conventions of Catalan, made by the SF in 2016, which drastically reduced the number of words requiring a diacritic to only fifteen, with a view to simplifying the process of writing, and particularly learning to write, Catalan (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2016, Nació Catalunya Editorial Team, 2016, Montagut, 2021). This reform, similar to cases of orthographic reform in French (Ousselin, 2004, Drackley, 2019) was met with significant backlash, with critics perceiving the changes made as evidence of institutional sanctioning of language decay (La Santa Espina Editorial Team, 2020, Badia i Pujol, 2018). Indeed, Jordi Badia, Catalan philologist and author of the 2021 title *Salvem els*

mots (“Save the words”) – a book which catalogues a number of Catalan phrases believed to be “endangered” due to “pressure” by the Castilian language – describes these orthographic reforms as evincing a decision by the SF to pander to external Castilianising pressures and adapt normative Catalan accordingly, rather than to resist (Badia i Pujol, 2018).

Similarly to above, an additional source of anxiety and suspicion also arises from the composition of the SF itself, given that it, too, recently enlisted another founder of *Ciudadanos* and former member of the *Grup d’Estudis Catalans,* – a *català light*-orientated organisation formed by figures such as Toutain and Pericay, to rival the institutional dominance and linguistic authority of the IEC (Kailuweit, 2002) – Oriol Camps, into its own ranks. This decision, for numerous commentators online, served as a sign of the infiltration of Castilianisation into the IEC, and a motivating factor behind the increased acceptance (and indeed embracing) of *catanyol* within recent corpus planning activity, and within the media which this activity influenced (El Català Com Cal, 2019, Soldat, 2017).

Coupled with the increasing prevalence of Castilian and Castilianisms within society more generally, and forces within society which appear to promote their retention and expansion, the potential for institutional collusion in the advancement of *catanyol* serves only to exacerbate fears of language degradation and decay that have troubled academics, journalists, politicians and language professionals for decades.

3.1.4 Collective and individual responsibility

> —
>
> — In this struggle for existence, which has become so acute these months, we all have something to do, a function to perform and, inevitably, there are no more neutral roles left to distribute. Do we believe that all languages are necessary and that we must act to prevent their disappearance? If so, it is not enough to agree. You need to act. Who knows whether by luck or misfortune, the future of Catalan (and of the thousands of threatened languages around the world) now more than ever depends on you. (Junyent, 2020: 6)
>
> Carme Junyent

The title of Carme Junyent’s 2021 work – *El futur del català depèn de tu* (“The future of Catalan depends on you”[49]) – unambiguously expresses a message which cuts across the discourses

[49] “Tu”, the Catalan personal pronoun used in the original title, is the second person singular form of “you”.

of governmental language policy, academic work and journalistic commentary, regardless of language ideological leanings: that the fate of the Catalan language rests in the hands of – and will ultimately be decided upon by – Catalan speakers themselves. This is true of advocates of *català light*, whose proposed model for corpus planning is grounded ostensibly in a belief in the language community as the ultimate possessor of language sovereignty (Toutain, 1990, Pazos, 2007). But it is even more evident in the campaigns and "calls to action" of supporters of linguistic normalisation and purification.

Riera Gil (2011: 163) observes that a "common denominator" of successive awareness raising campaigns spearheaded by the *Generalitat* – such as *Tu ets mestre* ("You are master", 2003), *El català va amb tu* ("Catalan goes with you", 2006) and *Encomana el català* ("Pass Catalan on", 2009) is a direct address to individuals, encouraging them to take initiative in incorporating Catalan into their own private lives, rather than simply relying on the work of the government (see also Flaquer, 1996 in Strubell, 2001: 272).

Indeed, the unambiguous statement of individual responsibility which Junyent adopts as the title of her work can also be seen echoed in another campaign from 1985-86 entitled *Que aquí es parli català… depèn de vostè/tu*[50] ("For Catalan to be spoken here… it depends on you") (Secretaria de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 2021). Advertisements from this campaign presented viewers with clips of various environments from daily social life in which they would inevitably have to make language choices – many of which constituted domains that language legislation would be unable to directly affect – and effectively devolved to them directly the responsibility for establishing Catalan as a medium of interaction within them (Aymà Aubeyzon, 2012).

The desire underpinning programmes such as these, Riera Gil (2011: 158) opines, was a desire

> that the whole population combined would make the objective of linguistic normalisation their own, that it would be perceived as legitimate and even as a collective moral obligation.

While concurring with this sentiment, Marí (2022) expands upon it to call for collective, concerted action across all scales of society – be it small collectives, academic networks and

[50] Alternate pronouns, both second person singular, were used, with the more familiar form *tu* apparently addressed to children, and the more formal *vostè* targeted at adults.

consortia, formal and informal organisations, or institutions themselves – in order to ensure widespread and lasting change that can help secure the fate of Catalan:

> Depèn de la nostra intervenció col·lectiva i sistemàtica sobre les tendències evolutives actuals. La pregunta no és «què passarà amb el català?», sinó «què volem que passi amb el català?, què hem de fer perquè això passi?». El futur del català no és inexorable ni depèn només de cadascun de nosaltres; el construïm tots nosaltres en conjunt. (p. 139)
>
> *It depends on our collective and systematic intervention on the current evolutionary trends. The question is not "what will happen to Catalan?" but "what do we want to happen to Catalan? What do we have to do for that to happen?". The future of Catalan is not inexorable, nor does it depend only on each one of us: all of us build it together.*

Individual action – in the form of sociolinguistic reflexivity, and modification of one's linguistic practices – is thus deemed essential, however, as is reflected in the title of the initial 1982 normalisation campaign, for the language to thrive, it must be made a collective priority for society as a whole (Marí, 2022).

Beyond the general responsibilisation of individuals and collectives for the prevention of language shift, for those concerned with language decay, an additional task of language purification is assigned. One of the most prominent examples of this can be seen in the work of linguist Gabriel Bibiloni. In a 1999 presentation, Bibiloni asserted that Catalan had for so long suffered under linguistic and cultural subordination to the Spanish language that even historical records are unlikely to yield a correct testimony of its true lexical and syntactic character (Bibiloni, 1999). As a result, Catalan is prevented from reaching its true status as a literary language – like any other – and as "l'instrument de comunicació ple i normal de la nació catalana" *(the full and normal instrument of communication of the Catalan nation*) (ibid.: n.p.). The remedy for this, he contends, is the task already begun by Pompeu Fabra: that of *depuració* (purification), or "Descobrir un per un tots els castellanismes que infesten la nostra llengua" (*discover[ing] one by one all of the Castilianisms that infest our language")* (Fabra, n.d. in Bibiloni, 1999: n.p.). In the concluding lines of his presentation, therefore, he calls (albeit somewhat indirectly) on Catalan speakers to continue with this work in Fabra's stead:

> *Fabra had studied the language deeply, had discovered many Hispanicisms and had proposed alternative solutions. He wanted others to continue the research and that when someone was able to demonstrate that this or that word or form was due to interference from Spanish, it was the moment to find a substitute for it. This is the message of continuity. […]*
>
> *Some of us have made the choice which we proclaim unambiguously: what the Catalan language needs in order to become the instrument of normal communication and utmost symbol of national identity for the Catalan people is a new [form of] language planning oriented towards the suppression*

> *of interference, the promotion of our own [linguistic] resources and the search for a harmony between Catalan and the other European languages, especially the Romance languages.* (ibid.: n.p.)

This call to action is reiterated more directly two decades later in a post by Bibiloni on Twitter:

> *Onwards lovers, users, promoters and studiers of the optimum Catalan, the Catalan de-Castilianised as much as possible. And do as Fabra did: rigorous work, good manners and let the detractors say what they like.* (Bibiloni, 2019)

While, as demonstrated above, Bibiloni's abhorrence of Castilian interference, and concern with the quality of the language spoken, is certainly shared by many (Garolera, 2014, Strubell, 2001, Pla Nualart, 2015, Vidal, 2018, Junyent, 2020 inter alia), his latter remarks are indicative of the existence of opposition to the "corrective" attitude that he promotes. Junyent (2020) and Vidal (2020), in particular, caution against the dangers of indiscriminate, unqualified and unrestrained language policing, particularly on social media platforms such as Facebook, which has the potential to interfere with and demotivate normal communication. Indeed, Vidal (2020) dedicates several chapters of his volume to spotlight one of the groups used as a case study in the current work – *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* – as an example of a "'linguistic pressure' group" (p. 11), whose corrective practices, he argues, have the potential to engender low linguistic self-confidence (ironically, given their salvific intentions).

Yet, countering what Vidal (2020: 11) refers to as "the hegemony of the sector formerly known as *light* in the official spheres (administration, academia and [the] media)", the acts of *depuració* and policing have gained popularity, even to the point of becoming a commercialised practice, as evinced by the existence of products and services of companies such as *La Incorrecta*.

Figure 3.4: Photographs of products sold by proofreading and translation company *La Incorrecta.* The first image depicts a t-shirt bearing the inscription "Every time that you say 'tinc que'[51], 15 philologists die", emphasising the perceived shamefulness of this calque. The second t-shirt features the sentence *No em 'donis' petons. Fes-me'n.* This relates to the incorrect colligation of *dónar petons* (to give kisses), which is a calque from Spanish and, the t-shirt implies, is dispreferred to the more authentic *fer petons* (lit. "to make kisses"). Finally, the third picture shows a facemask, bearing the sentence "Fucking speak correctly!". The very existence of these items as commercial products speaks to the prevalence of purism and language policing within the wider society. Source: La Incorrecta (n.d.).

This extends, too, to the groups under study in this work, and later chapters will demonstrate the manners in which their activities respond to Bibiloni's exhortation, as well as other calls to individual-collection action, and indeed constitute "a new [form of] language planning oriented towards the suppression of interference" (Bibiloni, 1999: n.p.).

3.2 Northern Catalonia

While the issues mentioned thus far in this section are of relevance to the wider Catalan-speaking world today as a whole, a portion of the data that will be presented in later chapters

[51] This construction is a calque from the Castilian expression *tengo que*, meaning "I have to".

pertains specifically to the context of Northern Catalonia (Catalunya del Nord): a region where the Catalan language faces additional, unique concerns.

As stated above, Catalunya del Nord is located immediately north of the Autonomous Community, within the French state, having been given by King Philip IV of Spain to King Louis XIV of France at the conclusion of the Franco-Spanish War in 1659. This seemingly distant, historical territorial exchange remains vivid in the cultural memory of the Northern Catalan community, and is commemorated through public demonstrations to this day as the date of the partitioning of Catalonia (ACN, 2022) and as the beginning of French repression of the Catalan culture in the region. This simple fact alone is a testament of the complexity of the existence and survival of the Catalan language and culture within France, both historically and contemporaneously.

3.2.1 A history of repression

The sociolinguistic context of *Catalunya del Nord* remains somewhat underexamined (e.g. Hawkey, 2009: 36, Baylac-Ferrer, 2013). A recent large-scale quantitative study undertaken by the *Generalitat*, in co-operation with the *Institut Franco-Català Transfronterer* (Franco-Catalan Cross-border Institute) at the University of Perpignan, and the Pyrénées-Orientales local authorities, revealed that approximately 61%, 35%, 39% and 14% of the area's population could, respectively, understand, speak, read and write in Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya et al., 2015: 4). Moreover it was found that approximately 82.5% of Catalan speakers in France live in Perpignan and its surrounding areas, with the further 17.5% living in the neighbouring cross-border area of Cerdagne/Cerdanya (Baylac-Ferrer, 2017).

9.2% of respondents stated that Catalan was their "first language", and 3.5% stated that both French and Catalan were collectively their "first languages", while 1.3% and 4.4% respectively used Catalan and Catalan AND French "habitually" (Baylac-Ferrer, 2017). 15% of speakers reported using Catalan at home, or with friends and neighbours, 11.5% with work colleagues, 10% with acquaintances and less than 5% in other forms of communication. Among these, 4.6% of young people use Catalan (and/or French) when speaking to their friends. In addition

to these figures, Broadbridge and Marley (2019) report anecdotal evidence that intergenerational transmission rates within the region are extremely low.

Baylac-Ferrer (2017) concludes from these analyses that *Catalunya del Nord* very much falls under the category of a diglossic society[52], and its spontaneous use by speakers is further inhibited by their fears that they will not be understood by others even if they were to use Catalan. Interestingly, however, he notes that 35% of those surveyed used Catalan (alone or in combination with another language), when visiting the Autonomous Community. Such self-censorship is evidence, he claims, of the "negative conditioning" of the French social and legislative framework (ibid.).

Indeed, one of the principal reasons for the low level of Catalan spoken in *Catalunya del Nord* today, according to Baylac-Ferrer (2017), includes the continuing prohibition of its use in official domains. Analogously to the situation of the country's other "regional languages" (see e.g. Judge, 2007, Kremnitz et al., 2013), *Catalunya del Nord*, since its annexation by France, underwent a rigorous campaign of "francisation" (e.g. Bernardo and Rieu, 1973). In a process claimed to have begun as early as the late 17th Century, and peaking particularly during the Revolution (in 1789) and the French Third Republic (1870-1940) – and described by some observers as "linguicidal" (Jeanjean, 2006, McNulty, 2018, 2023) – the French government notoriously adopted an overtly hostile stance towards all of these linguistic varieties, including Catalan. Official discourse, language legislation, ritual humiliation and even corporal punishment were utilised by the French government to strengthen the status, prestige and image of the French language, and, consequently, demonise all other varieties spoken. Indeed, Marley's (1991, 1995) study of the context revealed that many of the older participants whom she interviewed associated the Catalan language with shame or embarrassment, and were reluctant to disclose their competency in it (or dismissed it simply as a "patois" (Marley, 1991: 53)). This finding, it is argued, evinces a belief in the "inferiority" of the language having been inculcated in its speakers (Bernardo and Rieu, 1973: 310, see also Bernardo, 1975).

[52] Indeed, in an interview with academic and language activist Alà Baylac-Ferrer, carried out during pilot ethnographic fieldwork in September 2019, he referred to the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in Northern Catalonia as "a linguistic apartheid". (Interview with Alà Baylac-Ferrer, September 2019).

3.2.2 Official support today – an ambiguous step forward?

Today, Catalan is considered one of France's *langues régionales* – one of ten languages and dialect continua specially recognised in law as having been "[used] by all of society in a particular area until French was progressively imposed, and they came to be spoken by a minority in the area in question." (Délégation française à la langue française et aux langues de France [DGLFLF], 2016), and are mentioned in Article 75-1 of the Constitution as "belonging to the patrimony of France" (Gouvernement Français, 1958 [amended 2008]: Art. 75-1). Contrary to the French language, which is recognised as the sole official language of France whose use is required in all domains of public life (Gouvernement Français, 1958 [amended 2008]: Art. 2, 1994), it has been speculated that this status affords speakers of these languages few tangible language rights beyond a purely folkloristic cultural "remembering", which denies its present reality as a living language (Bertille, 2011).

Adding to the so-called "associative" immersion school systems, *La Bressola* and *Arrels*[53] founded in 1976 and 1981 respectively, the option to undertake state-funded French-Catalan bilingual education was made available in 1993, with the first class of students having gone through this type of education leaving school in 2006. In the academic year 2024-2025, such programmes have been available at 37 number of primary schools, 13 lower secondary schools *(collèges)* and 5 upper secondary schools within the *Académie de Montpellier* state-funded education sector (Académie de Montpellier, 2024)[54].

According to an article in the newspaper *L'Indépendant* (Andreu, 2021), the number of pupils enrolled in this state-funded bilingual education stream was 4000, with a further 1303 enrolled in full language immersion streams in private schools. However, the article notes that these numbers represent only a fraction of the demand within the area, with a 2015 survey revealing that 76% of people living in the Pyrénées-Orientales region (where all public

[53] *Arrels* schools were incorporated into the public education system in 1995, becoming, by technicality, the only state-funded schools offering linguistic immersion in a language other than French in the country (Amics d'Arrels, n.d.).

[54] Out of a total of 2005 (1859 state and 146 private) primary schools, 263 (203 state and 60 private) lower secondary schools, and 111 (77 public and 34 private) upper secondary schools in total within the Educational Authority (Académie de Montpellir, 2024).

sector Catalan bilingual streams are located) are in favour of Catalan-French bilingual education.

Furthermore, in 2018 it became possible to become a secondary school teacher in Catalan through the addition of a *langues de France* stream to the prestigious *Agrégation* teaching recruitment process (Le Figaro & Agence France-Presse, 2017). This followed the creation of a previous Teaching Aptitude Certificate for Teaching of the Second Degree (CAPES) in 1986.

Outside of education, a further indicator of recent top-down support for the language came in the form of the opening, in 2019, of the *Office public de la langue catalane* (Public Office of the Catalan language, OPLC) (Boisson, 2019b, a). Joining a number of similar existing institutions for other *langues régionales,* such as the Public Offices for the Basque, Occitan and Breton languages, the OPLC serves as a nexus point for public and third sector actors, and academics, involved in work related to Catalan (Oficina Pública de la Llengua Catalana, n.d.). According to its website, its declared missions include the co-ordination of local Catalan cultural and educational projects, the promotion of the language and culture, and, significantly, the elaboration of a "strong, structured and shared language policy" (ibid.).

Finally, Catalan is almost omnipresent in the linguistic landscape of *Catalunya del Nord* (particularly in the city of Perpignan), supported particularly by the local government (Blackwood, 2015; findings from pilot ethnographic fieldwork). This is particularly evident in signage such as bilingual (and occasionally monolingual Catalan) toponyms, directional signs and signs indicating official buildings, such as the town hall, as well as within municipal council premises. This is significant, as the use of such bilingual signage arguably reflects the persisting Catalan identity of the region (if not the vitality or distribution of the language itself (Blackwood, 2015)). Moreover, it also evinces top-down efforts to preserve it (ibid.) – whether or not this is purely for reasons of appealing to (particularly Southern Catalonian) tourists rather than the existing Catalan-speaking community.

Despite the country's history of repressing them, therefore, and propagating, as McNulty (2018) argues, potentially "linguicidal ideologies", contemporary language policy documents and political discourses surrounding the *langues régionales* in France would appear to be becoming increasingly promotive.

In spite of this, numerous sources have accused the French government of continuing to hamper the maintenance and development of Catalan, and the *langues régionales* in general. On one hand, Baylac-Ferrer (2017), for example, claimed that at the current rate at which the government was responding to requests for Catalan-medium education on the part of the Catalan-speaking community in *Catalunya del Nord*, it would take four hundred years to supply all of the demand. Indeed, the minimal introduction that schoolchildren receive into Catalan is most frequently provided by volunteer organisations (such as the *Associació per a l'ensenyament del català* – "Association for Catalan Teaching" [APLEC]), due to, he posits, lack of political will to increase educational provision, in a governmental stance he likens to "assisted dying" (ibid.).

Furthermore, despite the green light given by the state to open the *Office public de la langue catalane*, Boisson (2019a) asserts that this had been delayed by three years following its initial announcement, due to "slowness" on its part. The funding that it was allotted was also only a fraction of the amount allocated to its sister institution in the Basque country: three hundred thousand euros for the OPLC, versus four million euros for the OPLB (Boisson, 2019b, a).

Finally, despite being heralded as a "major step forward in the[ir] recognition" by former education minister Najat Vallaud-Belkacem (Vallaud-Belkacem, 2017), concern was raised by the board of examiners for the *Agrégation* stream opened for the *langues régionales* that its creation might constitute merely a symbolic gesture, since only one teaching post had been created for each language pathway opened each year, and no certainty had been given regarding whether posts in each language would continue to be offered every year (Verny, 2018).

Indeed, while superficially supportive, several studies have opined that current *langues régionales* legislation serves merely to promote a folklorised image of these languages, through an overemphasis on their significance to France's national heritage (Giordan, 2008, Oakes, 2017, Harrison, 2019), and a preoccupation with providing them with support principally within cultural and educational domains (Oakes, 2017: 373). Should this lead to speakers becoming (or remaining) unconvinced of the importance of learning these languages, such policies could, McNulty (2018, 2023) argues, be described as passively linguicidal.

Finally, it is worth noting that the adversarial nature of the relationship between the Catalan community and French policymakers was apparent in the discourse of many Catalan-speaking people during preliminary ethnographic fieldwork carried out by the current author – with one participant even intimating that she felt "oppressed" by the French government (results of preliminary ethnographic fieldwork).

Thus, a combination of superficially promotive-oriented declared language policies (Shohamy, 2006), apparently disinterested, reticent or inhibitive de facto (ibid.) or practised policies (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), and potentially condescending and reductive perceived policies (ibid.), at the macro level, already creates, therefore, a complex ideological arena in which France's *langues régionales*, including Catalan, must exist.

3.2.3 Other macro-level support and influence

The French government, however, is not the only macro-level stakeholder in issues related to the Catalan language and culture in *Catalunya del Nord* – the Southern Catalan government is also directly involved in matters related to Catalan in France. Firstly, the *Generalitat de Catalunya* possesses a headquarters in Perpignan, whose mission includes: "support for local cross-border projects, the dissemination of the Catalan language and culture, and economic promotion" (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019). The *Generalitat* has also provided monetary and pedagogical resources to support Catalan teaching within France (Hawkey, 2018, Peix, 2015), and, as mentioned above, cooperates with institutions within Catalunya del Nord to, for example, carry out sociolinguistic surveys such as the *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics a la Catalunya Nord* (Survey of Language Uses in Catalunya Nord, EULCN) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, Generalitat de Catalunya et al., 2015).

Beyond this, however, Southern Catalonia can be seen to influence the North more indirectly. Increasing separatist sentiments within the Autonomous Community culminated, in 2017, in a referendum[55] on, and a unilateral declaration of, independence (BBC, 2017). Despite condemnation from both French and Spanish governments, large protests in support of Catalonia's independence were reported in Perpignan, including one in which two thousand

[55] The referendum was held despite having been deemed illegal by the Spanish Constitutional Court.

people were reported to have marched under the banner “We are Northern Catalonia and we want to decide!” (Smith, 2017).

Figure 3.5: A sign stating “Sem Catalunya Nord, Volem Decidir, Sem un país català” [We are Northern Catalonia, We want to decide, We are a Catalan country], on the wall of a Catalan-themed store in Perpignan (sourced from ethnographic fieldwork in Perpignan in September 2019).

While activist groups at the forefront of such events, such as the group *Oui au pays catalan*, have stated that greater autonomy, rather than total independence from France, is the driving motivation behind such demonstrations in Northern Catalonia (Bonzom, 2017; Trelawney, 2012), the potential influence of events in Catalonia on the status of the Catalan language within France – particularly if the Autonomous Community were to become independent – seems undeniable.

3.2.4 Conflicting community attitudes and discourses

A number of studies have revealed the prevalence of generally positive attitudes towards, and discourses related to, the Catalan language in Northern Catalonia. Baylac-Ferrer (2016), for example, reveals that between 50% and 80% of the 2015 EULCN survey would support increased usage of the language in the public domain, the creation of a local television channel in the language, or its designation as a co-official language of the region. These attitudes, he argues, suggest that Catalan retains a certain image of “modernity”.

Marley's (1991, 1993, 1995) work, mentioned above, constitutes one of the most comprehensive studies of the Catalan-speaking region of France written in English (and French). As the focus of her PhD project, Marley conducted a study of language attitudes and self-reported language use among Catalan speakers, of differing socioeconomic categories, in two areas of Perpignan – *La Lunette*, a more affluent, quartier bourgeois, and *St. Matthieu*, a working-class area – using, as her primary methodology, a questionnaire survey administered in person. Among her results, she found that a high degree of multilingualism was present within the region, and that over 50% of her 420 respondents claimed some knowledge of Catalan.

In terms of actual usage, she reported similar findings to later studies: that very few of her respondents claimed to actually use the language, and fewer still claimed literacy in it. Marley (1991), does, however, posit that there is reason for some optimism, as there is a generally positive attitude towards the language and its associated culture among those interviewed, and a disinclination to allow the language to die – believe it to be integral to the town's culture and an important piece of cultural heritage to be maintained.

In spite of this optimism, numerous studies have painted a more complex picture of the situation. Several sources – including Marley's more recent assessment of the area (Broadbridge and Marley, 2019) – have pointed to an apparent "postvernacular" character which the language seems to have adopted for its speakers[56]. In other words, while a general affection for the language, and enthusiasm for its related culture (Catalanness or *catalanitat*) and usage in ceremonial or symbolic contexts can be observed, this is frequently found to be accompanied by a perceived lack of obligation to actually use the language in interaction (Baylac-Ferrer, 2009, 2017, Marley, 1991, Rovira i Xaubet, 2014, Broadbridge and Marley, 2019).

Hawkey (2018)'s extensive quantitative language attitudes survey provided some confirmation of this, revealing that high solidarity ratings for Catalan frequently co-occurred with high French solidarity ratings, seemingly corroborating previous assertions regarding the

[56] For a discussion of the concept of "postvernacularism", see Shandler (2006).

non-oppositionality of French and Catalan identities (e.g. Berjoan, 2016)[57]. Furthermore, Baylac-Ferrer (2010, cited in Broadbridge and Marley, 2019: 277) notes that, while Catalan is seen as a key element to the cultural character of the region, few actually believe it necessary to possess competency in the language themselves – and the authors note that many Northern Catalans are opting to be "Catalan via French" instead. The apparent increase in affect towards the language, he concludes, has not necessarily translated into a desire to learn and use the language, and that any prestige that the language may possess is posited to be as a result of Catalan being spoken and possessing official status south of the border (ibid.).

Added to this, discussions with several people living in the area (both Catalan and non-Catalan speakers) during preliminary fieldwork for the current study, pointed to beliefs that Catalan was in some way limited (or limiting), being a language spoken in only a handful of countries – and certainly meriting less importance than French – or had simply ceased to be a "language of the people" and was now merely the property of the "intelligentsia" (Sentiments evoked during preliminary ethnographic fieldwork, September 2019). Interestingly, however, Hawkey (2018) did note particularly low ratings in terms of both status and solidarity for Catalan among university students (particularly those studying arts-related subjects, including language sciences). He attributes this finding to "received monoglossic French ideologies" (ibid.: 101) transmitted to these students throughout their public, French monolingual education (which, he claims, most of his students had undertaken (ibid.: 60)).

3.2.5 A continuing struggle for recognition

As the preceding brief overview of the sociolinguistic context has shown, therefore, there exists a complex web of circulating discourses, beliefs and policies, stretching from the macro to the micro level, regarding the Catalan language in *Catalunya del Nord*. Yet, in spite of this ambiguous collection of voices, the persistent struggle to preserve and protect the Northern

[57] Indeed, during an interview with one Northern Catalan university student for the current study, she stated: "…em considero català, vol dir que, bé, tinc dues capitals. La primera és París, la segona és Barcelona. O la primera és Barcelona i la segona és París *mais...*"
[*"...I consider myself Catalan, that means that, well, I have two capital cities. The first is Paris, the second is Barcelona. Or the first is Barcelona and the second is Paris* but..."] (Interview with Aurélie and Laia, 17th September 2019: l. 1915-1917)

Catalan language and culture remains visible and audible today in the form of local activism, both online and offline.

Examples of this include the passing of two Catalan language charters, one passed by the Perpignan Municipal Council and the other by the General Council of the *Département des Pyrénées-Orientales* to which Northern Catalonia belongs (Ville de Perpignan, 2010, Conseil Général des Pyrénées-Orientales, 2007). Accusing the state authorities of inaction with respect to recognition of the *langues régionales* – exemplified especially by the inability (or unwillingness) of the Government to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (e.g. Breillat, 2001, FranceInfo and France-Presse, 2015) – these documents, while more symbolic than legally enforceable, declared Catalan as a co-official language of the city and *département* respectively, and pledging their support for the language.

In addition, Northern Catalonia has a strong presence on social media, in the form of groups and advocacy campaigns related to the Northern Catalan language, culture, history and identity[58]. One prominent campaign, trending on both Facebook and Twitter, includes a series of videos clips in which young people can be seen stating that they are from a town in Northern Catalonia and "Parli català", accompanied by the identity-affirming hashtag #joparlicatalà[59] (Jovent de Catalunya Nord, 2020). This online campaign, organised by the Northern Catalan division of the political organisation *Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana* (Youth of the Republican Left), was launched to commemorate the 320th anniversary of a Royal Edict – passed in 1700 – which prohibited official use of the Catalan language (Louis XIV, 1700). The campaign was promoted as commemorating 320 years of these prohibitions by the French government, but also 320 years of resistance against them (Jovent de Catalunya Nord, 2020).

Another notable campaign is that of *Catalunya Nord també és Catalunya,* which can be found reflected in the form of a Facebook page, a slogan present in multiple posts on Twitter, and banners carried by members of the community during demonstrations in both Northern and

[58] These include, of course, one of the focal groups of the current study.
[59] The use of the conjugation *jo parli* for "I speak" is significant, given that the "i" ending is typical only of the Northern Catalan variety of the language, with the standard form being *jo parlo*. By using this variant therefore, people repeating this slogan or sharing this hashtag are arguably not only claiming competence in Catalan, but membership of the Northern Catalan community.

Southern Catalonia. This campaign seems to serve as a reminder to the world at large – particularly to France and Spain – of the persisting imagined boundaries of the Catalan nation, despite the current geopolitical reality. It may, however, also serve as a reminder to Southern Catalans of this continued membership of Northern Catalonia within Catalonia, given that some sources have found that residents of the Autonomous Community frequently consider residents of Northern Catalonia to be "French" (ethnographic field notes, September 2019). In either case, the campaign serves as an example of a concerted struggle on the part of the community to assert and protect its identity.

Such efforts have also been visible in response to recent actions by French officials which were perceived as attempts to erase or distort the Northern Catalan identity. The first of these, arose as a result of territorial reforms introduced with the 2015 *Loi NOTRe,* which condensed the number of administrative regions in France from twenty-two to thirteen (see e.g. Torre and Bourdin, 2021). Of the thirteen new regions, a new super region in the south-east of France was created, amalgamating the previous territories of Midi-Pyrénées (a traditionally Occitan-speaking region) and Languedoc-Roussillon (comprising Northern Catalonia). This fusion led to controversy among residents of both regions, as it was perceived by some as an additional threat to the maintenance of distinct regional identities, already threatened by the French national identity (Joubert, 2019). However, additional controversy was provoked by the decision to name the new super-region *Occitanie*: a name which, absent any reference to Catalan or Catalonia, was perceived to constitute an official erasure of the Catalan identity (ibid.).

In response, members of the Northern Catalan community have demonstrated resistance by "policing" this perceived act of misidentification through a number of media, including the composition of songs entitled *No Sem Occitans…Sem Catalans* ("We are not Occitan…we are Catalan") (François, 2016) and *Occexit* (playing on the portmanteau *Brexit*) (Colboc, 2016); the formation of a political party *Oui au pays catalan* ("Yes to the Catalan Countries"[60]) (The Editors of La Vanguardia, 2016); and vandalism of public signage to replace references to *Occitanie* with *Catalunya* (see Fig. 7). Indeed, during pilot ethnographic fieldwork in Perpignan

[60] *Pays Catalans* had been one of the options submitted for inclusion alongside *Occitanie* during the public vote.

by the current author, products “correcting” the officially imposed regional identity, such as the T-shirt shown in Fig. 8, were even found to be on sale in a local shop.

Figure 3.6: Image, posted by P001 into JPCR, of a public road sign on which the region name *Occitanie* has been scored out, and the name *Catalunya* has been spray-painted underneath, seemingly as a correction.

Figure 3.7: Photograph taken by the author in a Catalan-themed store in Perpignan. The image shows a T-shirt on which is written, in French, “We are not Occitan, we are Catalan”. This again seems to correct a superimposed identity. (Source: Ethnographic Fieldwork)

A similar situation to this also arose in 2021, when the Perpignan Municipal Council announced via social media a change to its “visual identity”. This resulted in the creation of a new logo which lacked many of the markers of the Catalan culture that featured in previous iterations, such as: inclusion of the language, or a picture of the *Castellet* (a distinctive Northern Catalan landmark). Indeed, the previous slogan *Perpignan, la Catalane* (or *Perpinyà,*

la Catalana in Catalan) ("Perpignan the Catalan") was replaced with the monolingual *Perpignan, la rayonnante* ("Perpignan the Radiant"). Moreover, the sole Catalan symbol on the logo – the yellow and red stripes of the *senyera* – were surrounded with a border in the colours of the French flag: an addition desired by the recently installed mayor, Louis Aliot[61], in order to explicitly add "reference to the French Republic" to the logo (Le Figaro and Agence France-Presse, 2021).

This decision, too, was met with significant backlash both on- and offline by activists who viewed it as an attack against the Catalan culture and history of the region (ibid.). Resistance came in the form of protests in the streets of Perpignan (ibid.), an online petition calling for restitution of the previous logo (Perpignan LACATALANE, 2021), a large quantity of critical comments on the official Facebook page of *Ville de Perpignan* (Ville de Perpignan, 2021), and the proliferation of "alternative" logos, which "correct" the absence of Catalan content within the official logo (see e.g. Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Official (left) and unofficially redesigned (centre and right) versions of the logo of the *Ville de Perpignan*, introduced in 2021, taken from its official Facebook page. Note that the redesigned versions (taken from dissenting comments) deliberately replace the French monolingual text with Catalan monolingual text, and remove the colours of the French flag surrounding the shield. Indeed, in the image on the right, the *Estelada* (the white star in a blue triangle) has been added, representing the independence movement of Catalunya. Both redesigns suggest a desire to create distance from an imposed French identity. (Source: Post and Comments from Ville de Perpignan, 2021)

[61] Elected as mayor of Perpignan in 2020, Aliot is a member of the far-right political party *Rassemblement national.*

3.2.6 The Northern Catalan Struggle

The resistance shown, both in the on- and offline spheres, towards these official changes, as well as resistance to the French language, culture and political force more generally, illustrate a persistent contemporary issue specific to the region: that of the struggle to survive.

In the Autonomous Community, where, despite persisting fears of future language shift and degradation, Catalan possesses some strength in its legal and demographic status. By contrast, in Northern Catalonia, the language – which is already weak with regard to its speaker population and intergenerational transmission rates – possesses virtually no legal standing[62], and must contend with ambiguous official rhetoric and treatment from official authorities, which are perceived either to hamper its development, or to attempt to suppress it outright. Moreover, the language is faced with a community which struggles against itself, in the form of inculcated negative language ideologies and rising postvernacularism standing in opposition to concerted activism to increase the status and prestige of the language. Thus, while the quality of the language in Northern Catalonia does remain a concern[63], analogous to that expressed in the South, and fears regarding the Catalan language and culture throughout the *Països Catalans* certainly resonate within the North, it would appear that the most pressing and prevalent theme in *Catalunya del Nord* is one of fighting simply to exist and be recognised as a distinct and viable language and culture.

3.4 Conclusion

It is hoped that the above section has provided the reader with an adequate overview of issues of concern to Catalonia, both Northern and Southern, and will enhance understanding and appreciation of the data to be presented in the following chapters.

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[62] Note that its recognition in the local charter does not grant it any legally enforceable official status.

[63] A number of authors have commented on the existence of French linguistic interference within Catalan in Northern Catalonia, mostly accompanied by its acknowledgement as a historical inevitability (Peytaví Deixona, 2016, Franch, 2013). Hawkey (2018) and field interviews for the current work (Interview with Aurélie and Laia, 17th September 2019), however, found that Rossellonese dialects of Catalan spoken by older generations (which are seen to contain a high degree of French-origin linguistic interference) are viewed negatively, particularly by younger people within the area. And, indeed, Peytaví Deixona (2007) claimed the Rossellonese dialect of Catalan to be in a moribund state, and advocated focus on the standard.

Chapter 4: Collective Language Self-Management

A Brief Overview

> Self-management is an extremely important aspect of the development and modification of the language repertoire of individual speakers. It depends ultimately on a recognition by speakers of their own lack of proficiency to operate in a needed or desirable linguistic environment, and may also be the result of external advocacy or management. […]
>
> Self-management then must be considered an additional important component of language policy, accounting for individual resistance to national management goals.
>
> Spolsky (2019b: 327)

In the previous section, it was demonstrated that one of the key discourses permeating governmental, academic and journalistic communications related to the instrumental (indeed, the critical) role to be played by speaker agency in determining the future viability of the Catalan language. The survival of the language was depicted as depending on both the choices of each individual speaker (*depèn de tu*), as well as the collective efforts of all stakeholders (*cosa de tots*). Furthermore, depending on the point of view espoused, this action was exhorted both in addition to, and as a form of resistance to, macro-level language management: itself portrayed as either insufficient or, indeed, adversarial.

In the chapters that follow, it will be demonstrated that this confluence of discourses finds reflection in the activities of the Catalan-language groups on Facebook on which this study focusses: activities which, it is argued, constitute a unique form of language management that might be referred to as *Collective Language Self-Management* (CLSM).

In this short introductory section prior to presenting more detailed examples, a brief summary of the theoretical origins and assumptions of CLSM will be provided, in order to provide the reader with a basic conceptual lens through which to comprehend the data to follow. The descriptions given here will then be revisited in a concluding section in light of these examples.

One point that is worth mentioning at this stage is that the phenomena that could be described by CLSM are certainly not novel. Indeed, decisions made by groups of individuals to make changes to their linguistic repertoires, and to co-ordinate these changes as a collective, are fundamental behaviours that have underpinned numerous successful language revitalisation campaigns throughout history (see Sallabank, 2005, 2013 for just some examples). That which it is hoped that this study may contribute is a preliminary theorisation of such phenomena, which may then be tested, adapted and modified on application to new phenomena observed.

4.1 Spolskyan language policy

As alluded to in an earlier section, CLSM emerges from a long-standing, and recently growing, interest within the field of language policy and planning, in the agency of individual speakers and their communities in subverting and transforming higher order language policy, or in generating their own situated policies autonomously. However, without doubt the most significant influence in this regard is the work of the late Bernard Spolsky.

To recapitulate, for Spolsky (2004), language policy comprises three distinct but interrelated components (see Figure 2.1): language practices, language beliefs and ideologies, and language management. These three components of language policy can be found and studied either in isolation, or in conjunction with each other, and are identifiable throughout the various *domains* of society – be it at the level of nation-state, within schools, businesses, or families, or, as Spolsky (2019a, b, 2021, see also Sallabank, 2013: 144) now theorises: at the level of the individual language speaker.

4.1.1 Language self-management

Language policy and planning is generally presented as a phenomenon involving at least two parties, with one attempting to modify the behaviour of the other. Language legislation written by government is intended to direct the actions of businesses, schools and citizens; corporate language regulations written by HR departments affect employees; and even the work of language activists attempts to exhort changes either to local linguistic practices or to legislation itself.

However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Spolsky's latter work began to lay the groundwork of recognising the individual language speaker as a separate and distinct domain of language policy in its own right. *Language self-management* describes the internal processes whereby speakers reflect on, and enact changes to, their own linguistic repertoire (Spolsky, 2019b, 2021). In so doing, they effectively inhabit simultaneously the role of language policymakers, implementers, receivers and evaluators: able either to adapt themselves to the linguistic environment around them, or with a view to changing this environment through the choices they make (ibid.).

As such, in the right circumstances, language self-management has not only personally but also socially transformative potential: arguably constituting a first, critical step towards wider language change. It is this latter potential which Spolsky (2021) points to as being subject to possible multiplication if exploited *collectively*. In other words, if deliberate agency over one's own language policy is asserted simultaneously by numerous individuals, working together, the combined net effect – particularly in resistance to external language advocacy and management – could be significant (Spolsky, 2021). In theory, these inner changes could serve as a mechanism through which to achieve outer changes: whether to the way in which a language is used, to the way it is perceived, or to the way that it is managed within society.

This phenomenon is referred to here as *Collective language self-management* (CLSM). It is this process, invoked but left (sadly) unexplored by Spolsky, that this thesis intends to consider in greater depth.

4.2 A summary definition of CLSM

A tentative definition for *Collective Language Self-Management* may be offered as follows:

> Collective Language Self-Management may be seen to occur when:
>
> 1. A group of individuals
> 2. Sharing common underlying beliefs, values, purposes, or objectives
> 3. Collaborate in the negotiation and co-ordination of modifications
> 4. To both collective beliefs and practices,
> 5. Which are to be implemented into the language policies of each individual

1. A group of individuals

Disparity of opinion and beliefs – as well as practices – among members of speech and language communities has frequently been cited as grounds for caution against making conclusions (academic, political or otherwise) based upon such groupings: for example, when determining whether a community "wishes" to maintain, revitalise or be identified by its language (May, 2003).

In part for this reason, making a distinction between a "group" and "a group of individuals" is pertinent to the definition proposed here. While the former label seems to connote a degree of homogenisation, it could be contended that the latter leaves understood that CLSM relies both on collective action *and* on resultant individual action.

In addition to this, the distinction also serves to integrate a consideration of both structural and agentive aspects of language management, as is advocated by Johnson and Ricento (2013). While it is argued that groups who engage in CLSM function as a single unit in their attempts to enact wider social change (such as challenging macro-level policymaking), the accomplishment of this change relies crucially on self-directed modifications (i.e. individual engagements in language self-management). These points will be explored further below.

2. Sharing common underlying beliefs, values, purposes, or objectives

As the purposeful attempt to modify language practices or beliefs, language management is an inherently ideological, value-laden phenomenon (Spolsky, 2009, see also e.g. Liddicoat, 2020, Shohamy, 2006, Fishman, 2006a, Tollefson, 1991). As has been asserted above, the same can also be claimed of language *self*-management: for an individual to wish to make the decision to modify their linguistic repertoire, they must *believe* that it is in some way desirable (or at least necessary) to do so.

In the case of CLSM, where these modifications are negotiated collectively, it is assumed that participation in both the collaborative and self-directed phases of this form of language management is motivated by shared beliefs, ideologies or values related to (but not limited to):

- The language in question, and, by extension, its speakers and surrounding culture
- The problems or issues facing the language
- The need for intervention of some form
- The type of intervention that is needed
- The type of changes that would be desirable

This does not imply that all individuals participating in CLSM share *all* the same beliefs, values or objectives – indeed, as will be contended in Chapter 6, CLSM arguably includes a collective, frame-building act of "making sure everyone is on the same page". However, insofar as groups

engaging in CLSM might be compared broadly to *communities of practice* – that is to say, "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, see also: Wenger, 1996) – it seems logical to assume that each individual would initially be driven to collaborate through sharing one or more of the above with other individuals in the aggregate.[64]

3. Collaborate in the negotiation and co-ordination of modifications

The *collective* aspect of CLSM pertains to the generative process of this form of language management (or all stages of language planning that occur before "implementation", according to Haugen (1983)'s traditional model[65]. That is to say, it is at this stage that the actual "planning" occurs, albeit in an iterative, collaborative manner, involving numerous "ordinary" people. Individuals within the group engage in discussions, negotiations and other practices with a view to establishing a shared norm or consensus – akin to the deliberation regarding, and formulation of, a traditional policy position – that they, themselves, will then implement. This is in contrast to other, more traditional forms of language management (e.g. governmental, educational, organisational) that may be characterised by a process of executive decision-making at one level, followed by policy implementation at another level[66]

Broadly speaking, CLSM arguably differs from traditional language planning frameworks in a number of important ways, which will be highlighted below.

4. To both collective beliefs and practices

This point serves to recall the fact that the object of language management is not only language practices *per se*[67], but also the discourses, beliefs, ideologies and other value-laden

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[64] See also De Korne (2021: 16) for a discussion of "language activism initiatives" as communities of practice.
[65] As CLSM builds specifically on Spolsky's theories of language policy, the term "language management" is typically preferred to "language planning", for reasons that Spolsky (2018) himself expounds. However, given the inevitable similarities and overlaps between the theories of "language management" and "language planning", it seems appropriate to make comparisons between CLSM and similar theories which draw on the latter framework.
[66] This is, of course, a simplification of any policy process, given that numerous studies in recent years have pointed to the potential for agency all along the policy chain (e.g. Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson and Freeman, 2010; Johnson and Johnson, 2014). The point advanced here pertains primarily to the monoscalar, distributed and collaborative characteristics of CLSM.
[67] Although this is commonly a very important aspect of it, as it is in the case presented in this study.

and ideational phenomena surrounding them, their speakers, cultures and communities (Schiffman, 1996, Spolsky, 2004, Lo Bianco, 2005). Relatedly, the management of group identity is also a key component of language management (especially in reference to language planning for the purposes of nation building) (Pool, 1979, Fairbrother, 2015, Wright, 2016, Van Splunder, 2016).

The case is, therefore, no different for *Collective Language Self-Management*. As will be discussed further below, in addition to activities related to the collaborative modification of the *corpus* of a language, CLSM can[68] incorporate collective action related to modification of e.g. language *status*, *discourse* and *image*. This may include the group construction of counter-narratives related to a stigmatised variety and its speakers, or the collective clarification and reinforcement of elements of the cultural identity associated with a heritage language. Indeed, alluded to in point 2. above, many of these language-related beliefs, discourses, and values may have prompted the initial engagement of an individual in CLSM, and may then be strengthened and expanded through their participation.

5. Which are to be implemented into the language policies of each individual

Following the collective processes of deliberation, negotiation and norm-setting, the final stage of CLSM (the *self* aspect) involves the deliberate incorporation of the agreed upon linguistic or discursive norm by each individual into their own individual language policy (that is to say, in Spolsky's terms, to integrate into, or modify, their own language beliefs or practices). For example, members of a *québécois* CLSM group who are generally opposed to the language policing of the *Office de la langue française* may collectively disagree with a specific "officially sanctioned" lexical variant, and choose not to incorporate it into their own language practices (see Vessey, 2016 for an example of this.) Or, another group may come to a realisation and agreement about the fact that a minority language is not being used enough within the wider community, leading to individuals within the group becoming conscious of

[68] And, in theory, may always, given the assertion of Fishman (2006) regarding the practical indivisibility of *corpus* and *status* planning.

the precarious status of the language, and committing to using it more often in public (as in the case of Arpitan described by Kasstan, 2019).

It should be noted that the action of *self-management* naturally relies on the agency of the individual in question at any given time, such that not every group consensus may be shared by each individual therein, or thereby result in its incorporation into their individual linguistic repertoire. Indeed, due to this very agency, and the natural diversity of opinion that characterises language communities, "consensus" on a particular norm may not actually be universal on each occasion, leading either to conflict, further negotiation, differential approaches to *self-management*, or abandonment of the specific process in question. Examples of this can be found in the current case study in Chapter 8.

4.3 CLSM: at the interface of social and lifestyle movements

It was suggested above that groups who engage in CLSM might compared to *communities of practice*. While this remains true, a more accurate description might be to see CLSM as combining elements of a *social movement* (e.g. Snow et al., 1986, Snow and Benford, 1988, Benford and Snow, 2000, Snow, 2004a, Snow, 2004b, Snow et al., 2014, Tilly et al., 2019) and a *lifestyle movement* (e.g. Haenfler et al., 2012, Cherry, 2006, 2015, Gheihman, 2021).

Indeed, in Chapter 2 it was asserted that *Collective Language Self-Management*, for ease of conceptualisation, could be considered as lying at the interface of social movements and lifestyle movements. This will perhaps be easier to understand on reading Chapter 7 of the current work, with regard to data presented relating to CLSM of Practices, whereby members of the focal Facebook group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* frequently engage in other-corrective behaviours with the purpose of establishing normative standards to be drawn on by individual members in their own self-management acts.

However, the same is also arguably true of the beliefs component of CLSM. Individual participants of CLSM engage in a collective process of contributing to the continual and iterative negotiation and construction of a common discursive space – establishing a common framing of their language ecology, their identity, their culture, and the issues facing them. In the example to follow, like those cited above taking place on a social media platform, this involves the sharing of ideologically-charged content, such as media articles, memes, texts

written in “authentic” (as opposed to “interfered”) Catalan. The result, to paraphrase Haenfler et al. (2012), is the assembly of a blueprint for a more “appropriate” vision of one’s language and one’s speakerhood (or learnerhood, as the case may be), which may serve to counter dominant, institutionally-promoted, or extant social, discourses. However, the power of this blueprint – and of this form of “counter discourse (or image) planning” as it may be viewed – hinges on its acceptance and embodiment by individual participants.

As such, the theories of social and lifestyle movements mentioned above arguably add great conceptual weight to the emerging theory of Collective Language Self-Management. As has been claimed above, CLSM involves the collective co-ordination of changes to individual language policies (that is to say, individual linguistic practices and beliefs [writ large]). The responsibilisation of the individual as agent and vector for wider language changes, based on a desire to align one’s own sociolinguistic identity with those of like-minded peers, both of which characterise the proposed theory, bear a striking resemblance to the operations of lifestyle movements.

On the other hand, the process of collective deliberation and discursive construction of movement values, beliefs, ideologies, objectives and identities, particularly through a process of *framing,* which characterises social movements, also seems to find its echo in CLSM, whose participants also seek to construct a shared vision of society, its problems, and their place and role within it.

In Chapters 6-8, these points will be elaborated in greater detail, accompanied by appropriate examples from the dataset compiled.

4.4 Understanding CLSM within existing frameworks

A final point worth clarifying at this stage is how CLSM might be understood within the context of existing models of language policy. As described earlier, Spolsky (2004) holds that language policies can be found all throughout society in separable and distinct, but nevertheless interconnected *domains*, such as the nation-state, the family, and the school. CLSM pertains most obviously to the domain of the individual (Spolsky, 2019b, a, 2021), and,

in the data presented here, simultaneously to the domain of social media[69]. However, the fusion of individual and collective language management represented by CLSM is a phenomenon that need not be limited to a specific societal domain. Similar to social and lifestyle movements, as well as language activism more specifically, CLSM could theoretically take place within more formal, authoritative or structured domains, involving "ordinary" people, or more professional or powerful actors. Thus, the domain-based model – other than illuminating the agency of the individual as language manager, in conjunction with the agency of the collective – offers little additional explanatory power to the general emerging theory of CLSM.

Other, more traditional, frameworks within the field provide insights into the scale and directionality of *language planning* activities. These include the top-down and bottom-up framework (e.g. Hornberger, 1997), and the macro-micro framework (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, Baldauf, 2006, Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). As mentioned in Chapter 2, these models have come to be viewed by many as problematic and inexact, given that language policy processes are rarely characterised by simple unidirectionality and linearity (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996), and the dynamic and context-bound nature of the terms "macro" and "micro" (e.g. Johnson, 2013a). Nevertheless, these terms continue to be popular within language policy studies, arguably allowing researchers to position specific instances of language planning within the wider society context, revealing the origins of policy measures, and the roles and power dynamics involved.

In the case of CLSM, however, it could be argued that neither framework quite fits with the characteristics described. CLSM does not operate in simple top-down or bottom-up fashion, in that its actions neither anticipate enactment or fulfilment by actors at another rung of the language policy ladder. As discussed above, those engaging in CLSM see language change as emerging from their own collective and self-directed actions, rather than from the actions of a third party to which they direct their appeals.

[69] A domain which Spolsky admitted to having yet to define and explore formally in his work (Spolsky, 2021, personal communication).

Indeed, it is for this reason that Spolsky's (2019b, 2021) concept of *language advocate* cannot easily be attributed (at least, unmodified) to practitioners of CLSM. While the latter are typically theorised to lack the resources of more powerful language managers, as is the case of the former, Spolsky contends that the scope of action of language advocates is limited to one of persuasion. In other words, in parallel with more traditional conceptualisations of social movements, they may only achieve their objectives by means of convincing other more powerful and authoritative actors to *act on their behalf* (ibid.). Yet, it is precisely its lack of reliance on these actors, despite its practitioners own lack of structural authority, to obtain social change, that sets CLSM apart. Thus, while CLSM practitioners are engaging in language advocacy work in a more general sense, Spolsky's definition of *language advocate* seems inexact in their case.

Finally, while its grassroots and agentive nature might lead one to categorise CLSM as a form of micro language planning, this, too, seems not to fully encapsulate the unique features of this form of language management. To paraphrase the title of Liddicoat and Baldauf's (2008) edited volume, micro language planning is generally considered to be a form of language planning carried out for, and within, *local* contexts. That is to say, that it occurs as a response to *local* issues, whether through creative (re)interpretation of higher order regulations (micro implementation of macro policy (Baldauf, 2006)), or the devising of a bespoke policy to manage issues unique to the specific context in question (micro policy (ibid.)).

Yet, while its activities occur at a local, grassroots scale (particularly in the case study presented in the following chapters), CLSM cannot arguably be considered as a response to local issues alone. Indeed, the small-scale action of CLSM practitioners is seen merely as a *vector* for wider language change within society, as the collective gains new adherents, and grows and expands outwards. In addition, the issues of relevance to CLSM are "macro" in nature, pertaining to, for example, the discourses and narratives surrounding the language within society, or its actual linguistic structure and corpus. In point of fact, in the case study to follow, it will be contended that the actions undertaken by members of the Facebook groups under study closely resemble those language planning activities traditionally associated with "macro-level" authorities, namely image (or discourse) planning, and corpus

planning[70]. These activities are conducted not merely for current participants, but in the hope of establishing a counter-standard that may be adopted by the wider language community in the future. As such, they might be considered more as a process of competitive policymaking, challenging traditional macro-level planning.

In light of the above, and pending a more accurate characterisation, the current study proposes the term *centre-out language planning* to conceptualise the process of CLSM. It may be contended that this term more adequately describes both the autonomous approach to language management taken by its practitioners (relying on their own agency, rather than looking upwards or downwards for implementation), and the direction of desired social change. CLSM, akin to social and lifestyle movements described above, thus begins with a small cluster of individuals, sharing a set of beliefs, values and objectives, and a commitment to modifying their own linguistic lifestyle accordingly, and expands outward as other adherents are attracted to join the initial group. In this way, as the term suggests, social change (in this case, wider changes to language beliefs and practices) is achieved from the centre out (see Figure 4.1).

[70] This paragraph recognises the two subtly distinct traditional operationalisations of the term "macro", as either relating specifically to an authoritative body, such as a government, or to more abstract structural forces, such as societal discourses or customs.

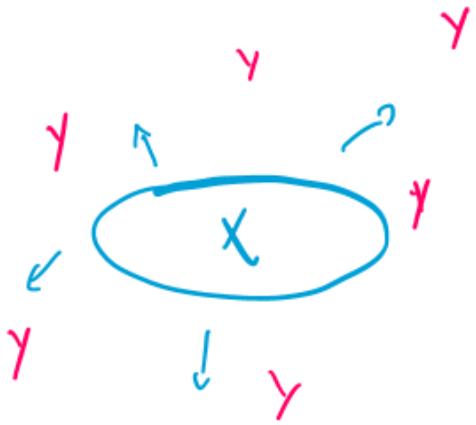

Figure 4.1: A diagram, taken from the preliminary analytical notes by the author, which provides a simplified depiction of the proposed theoretical model of *centre-out language planning*. The blue X and circle correspond to a collective engaged in CLSM, while the pink Ys represent potential future adherents. The blue arrows represent the desired expansion of the original group: to convince Y to join X through recruitment strategies, such as framing.

And, as alluded to above, this may occur either as a precursor to more direct forms of grassroots language activism, or as an alternative form of language planning in itself, which bypasses the need for "powerful" governmental or institutional language authorities. Moreover, lacking these well-defined power structures that might more typically regulate institutional or organisational language policy and planning at the macro- and micro-levels of society, CLSM is arguably a more obviously democratic form of language management.

4.5 The three components of CLSM

Having sketched out a preliminary theory of *Collective Language Self-Management* – tracing its Spolskyan roots and its inspiration in the literature of (New) Social and Lifestyle Movements, outlining its key characteristics, and situating it within more traditional frameworks of language planning – this section further subdivides CLSM into three distinct, but overlapping categories.

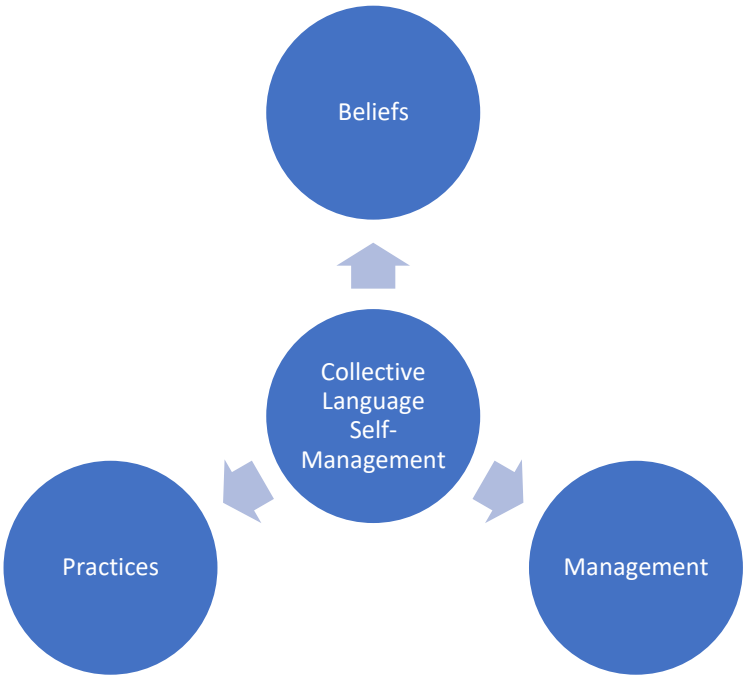

Figure 4.2: The three components of Collective Language Self-Management

As asserted above, following Spolsky's (2004, 2009) model of *language management*, CLSM also pertains to both the management of *language practices* and *language beliefs*[71]. To these, a third component is added, which is referred to here as the "management of management", which refers to the negotiation of authority to make decisions or judgements regarding the other components. Spolsky (2009: 4) notes that language management may be carried out only by those who possess, or claim, the authority to do so. Yet, as will be argued, in the case of CLSM, in the absence of obvious power structures, this authority is not always obviously identifiable, and thus the decision to direct the collective language management activities would, itself, be theoretically subject to negotiation and collective management.

Drawing on the case study of Facebook groups *Jo Parli Català Rossellonès* and *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua,* the three data chapters of this thesis thus mirror these three principal components of CLSM:

[71] Again, writ large. As explained previously, "language beliefs" is employed here as shorthand for other similar and adjacent phenomena, such as ideologies, discourses and identities – similar to the "linguistic culture" described by the late Harold Shiffman (1996, 2006).

Chapter 6: Collective Language Self-Management of Beliefs

This chapter will explore the framing techniques utilised by the groups, and how these are used to structure the collective-individual beliefs, values, objectives and identities of the groups and their members. It will also highlight comparisons to similar theories of image and discourse planning.

Chapter 7: Collective Language Self-Management of Practices

In this core chapter, the technical functioning of CLSM will be elucidated. It will demonstrate the nature of collective language management, within the groups under study, including: linguistic research, metalinguistic discussion, and language policing. Finally, the chapter will present evidence that the ultimate objective of these processes is the absorption of negotiated or dictated norms into the linguistic repertoires of individual group members, as well as visible traces of actual self-management by members.

Chapter 8: Collective Language Self-Management of Authority

Focussing specifically on the activity of language policing, the final data chapter will consider the question of authority positioning within the groups under study, illuminating the conditions under which users claim, are granted or are denied the right to police the language use of other group members.

Following these chapters, a concluding discussion chapter will revisit the theory of CLSM in light of the data presented.

Chapter 5:
Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The data on which this thesis is based emerge as the fruit of an approximately 2.5 year-long digital ethnographic study, lasting from April 2020 until November 2022, with subsequent occasional revisits to the communities for the purposes of verification. The focus of the wider investigation related generally to issues such the processes of language policy creation, negotiation and resistance – as well as concurrent identity work – within groups on Facebook which brought together members of the Northern (and wider) Catalan communities. While in the initial stages of the study, observations of a large number of relevant Facebook groups were undertaken, this number was eventually reduced to two focal groups – *Jo Parli Català Rossellonès* and *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* – from which the data for this study were collected.

Social media data collected

Facebook group	Number of posts collected	Number of comments collected
Jo Parli Català Rossellonès	147	1451
Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua	122	2009

Other data collected

- Chat logs with administrator of JPCR/active user of ALNPL
- Responses to online complementary survey (10 complete responses, 7 partial responses)
- Field notes, memos and research journal entries for digital ethnography
- Transcripts of 1 offline interview and 1 offline focus group discussion with Catalan speakers in Perpignan
- Field notes and photographs from offline micro-ethnography carried out in Perpignan

This section will begin by providing a brief introduction to these two focal groups, before providing a more detailed analysis of the data collection and analysis methods and procedures employed.

5.2 A note on preserving anonymity

While ethical concerns and considerations will be discussed in greater detail below, it is appropriate, before introducing the focal groups within this study, to highlight how concern for maintaining the anonymity of participants impacted upon the ethnographic procedure followed.

While the subject matter of this thesis is unlikely to give rise to a level of controversy that would motivate a reader to make concerted efforts to identify any of the participants in this study, the privacy of these participants remains a right to which they are entitled – both legally and morally – and which should be respected and protected. This is a challenge posed by any research – particularly ethnographic – but is compounded in online environments, where data can be more easily traced back to its source than in offline settings.

Indeed, indeed, as several ethical bodies have highlighted, third-party identification of social media users is a significant risk, greatly facilitated by today's powerful search engines to trace any online content (such as Facebook posts and comments) that are republished in academic literature (Hennell et al., 2019, UK Government Social Research Group, 2016, Townsend and Wallace, 2016). Moreover, by triangulating different data such as platform and forum names, publication dates, hashtags or other metadata, platform search engines can be employed to identify exact sources of specific interactions or interactants. These processes are rendered even simpler if the researcher decides to make their data openly available for subsequent analysis – a step that is increasingly becoming a requirement of publication – particularly in the case of small-sample studies (e.g. Kelman, 2024).

In order to protect, to the greatest extent possible, the privacy of the participants in this study, the following steps were taken:

- Firstly, all participants were de-identified and referred to by a participant code (P-number) whenever their data was reproduced.
- Data was translated into English wherever possible in order to increase the difficulty of tracing their source using search engines.
- Metadata that was not crucial to understanding the data presented was not reproduced. This includes, for example, dates of publication and reactions. The exception to this was group names, the retention of which was felt important to achieving a full understanding of the data.
- Finally, a decision was made *not* to allow the data collected to be made openly available at the conclusion of the study. This is a regrettable decision, as secondary data is of manifest benefit to enhancing future research. However, limiting the audience to only researchers who request private access will, it is believed, reduce the threat of de-anonymisation of participants.

5.3 Introduction to Focal Groups

5.3.1 Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua

The first – and primary – focal group from which data were collected is called *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*[72] [Let's learn our own language]. Created on 30th May 2016, it is a private group, meaning that content posted within it is accessible only to members, and that new members must request access from the administrators before being allowed to view or contribute anything. As of 22nd November 2022, it has a total of 4,286 members and two administrators, and is fairly active, with 75 posts having been made in November 2022.

The purpose of the group, according to its "About" section is to raise awareness about "the extremely dangerous situation that the Catalan language is experiencing" as a result of its "subordination" to, and "suffocation" caused by, the Castilian language. As a means of resisting this perceived danger, the group is dedicated to "restoring the language, to put it [on equal footing] with the rest of the Romance languages, to make it free". And, in order to do this, users are informed that they have to "get over clichés about 'correctness' of grammar and the dictionary, because every dictionary is a discourse, and the discourse of the current dictionaries is anti-Catalan". Perhaps unsurprisingly then, concerns with linguistic purism and authenticity permeates much of the activity within the group, with posts and comments often consisting of linguistic and metalinguistic queries and claims regarding the "correctness" or "acceptability" of particular linguistic forms (according to their historical attestation, verified group members). The group is also heavily policed by both administrators and other group members, who systematically flag lexical, morphological and syntactic features perceived to have been produced as a result of Castilian "interference" and offer corrections. Indeed, as its name suggests, the group's activity might be described as (auto-)didactic in nature: providing a forum for constructing, learning and teaching a more "authentic" form of Catalan, cleansed of the perceived excessive influence of Castilian. And, concurrently, the group also serves as a platform for discussion and dissemination of information relating to the perceived decline of the Catalan

[72] Referred to as ALNPL from this point onwards.

language, culture and identity, including their alleged "subordination" to their Spanish and French counterparts.

5.3.2 Jo parli català rossellonès

While the content and membership of ALNPL seem to pertain more generally to the Catalan-speaking world as a whole, the second focal group – *Jo parli català rossellonès*[73] [I speak Rossellonese Catalan] – is concerned more specifically (although not exclusively) with issues relating to Northern Catalonia, and to the Rossellonese variety of Catalan spoken there. JPCR was created on 12th November 2010, and as of 22nd November 2022, had a slightly smaller membership of 2,131. This group is also particularly active, with 223 posts having being published in the month prior to the time of writing. It is a public group, meaning that its content is also visible to people who are not members of the group. However, in the case of JPCR, content posted must be approved by an administrator before becoming public, and must conform to the group rules relating to courteous conduct, hate speech, and advertising as well as anti-Catalan nationalist sentiments[74]. Furthermore, unlike ALNPL, JPCR has an elaborate co-ordination structure, with one moderator and seven administrators (one of whom, P005[75], is also an administrator of ALNPL).

According to its own description, JPCR was created in order to encourage the "use, conservation and expansion" of the Rossellonese Catalan dialect, as a means of defending the local and, by extension wider, Catalan identity, and in order to teach elements of the variety. While similar metalinguistic discussions to ALNPL can be observed within this group, often related to Rossellonese variants of normative Catalan lexis, as well as colloquial Northern Catalan expressions, a large proportion of content posted within the group might be considered discursive in nature. Posts often take the form of shared newspaper articles, online resources, images and other media related to themes such as the preservation and defence of the Catalan language and culture, language advocacy and language-based injustice and oppression, in both France and Spain, as well as in other global contexts. JPCR

[73] Referred to as JPCR from this point onwards.
[74] The rules refer to anti-nationalist speech more generally, but also to *blaverisme*, relating specifically to Valencian rejection of Catalan nationalism (see e.g. Coller, 2006).
[75] In order to increase anonymity, participants are referred to by unique participant codes, beginning with "P".

additionally serves as a repository for authentic texts written in Rossellonese, as well as a form of digital noticeboard in which information related to local job postings, cultural events and news from Catalunya del Nord can be shared.

5.3.3 Comparing the groups

While ALNPL and JPCR are separate entities with unique characteristics, they share a number of commonalities which justify their consideration together. Firstly, as mentioned above, they share an administrator, as well as a number of active users (e.g. P001 and P053, both of whom are administrators in JPCR, and frequent contributors to ALNPL). Secondly, and more fundamentally, they are united by a common fear of Catalan's endangerment throughout the Catalan-speaking world, and an abhorrence of Castilian – and to a lesser extent, French – linguistic interference in the Catalan language, referred to disdainfully in both groups as *catanyol*[76]*.* Consequently, language policing – while perhaps more common in ALNPL, as it is linked more directly to this group's explicitly pronounced mission – is readily visible in both groups, as is a commitment to reasserting and reinforcing the distinctiveness of the Catalan language and identity.

The intertextual and interdiscursive links between these groups and the wider societal concerns surrounding Catalan, its status, and its vitality – mentioned above – are evident. Indeed, the names of both groups can be linked to external language policy and language activist campaigns. JPCR, for example, bears a similar name to the #joparlicatalà[77] [I speak Catalan] campaign of self-affirmation conducted on Twitter by the Northern Catalan political party *Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana* in 2020, to commemorate "320 years of resistance" against the official prohibition of Catalan by King Louis XIV (mentioned in Chapter 3, see Figure 4.3 below). As regards ALNPL, the term *pròpia llengua* in its name closely resembles

[76] French borrowings or calques are often referred to as *francesismes, francesadas,* or *francatalà*. However, as will be discussed later, opposition to Castilian linguistic interference appears to be stronger given the group's assertions that Catalan has closer historical links to French than to Castilian.

[77] The morphology of this verb conjugation of "parlar" ending in "i" here is significant as it uniquely indexes the Rosellonese variant of Catalan, compared to the normative conjugation "parlo". The implication, thus, is not only an affirmation by those using the hashtag that they are Catalan speakers, but that they are Catalan speakers in Northern Catalonia. Given the scarcity of speakers in this region, as well as the somewhat negative beliefs surrounding the variety, this affirmation is arguably even more marked and ideologically loaded in this context than if it were to be used by speakers in other Catalan-speaking territories.

the term *llengua pròpia,* a term frequently used in legal documents and throughout society to forge an explicit link between Catalunya and the Catalan language (Newman and Trenchs-Parera, 2015). In addition, both groups make explicit reference to the work of Gabriel Bibiloni, mentioned above, and ALNPL in particular uses it as inspiration for its own "mission" of linguistic purification.

Figure 4.3: The *Jovent d'Esquerra Republicana's* Northern Catalan Twitter account encouraging the use of the hashtag #joparlicatalà to celebrate the 320th anniversary of the royal edict prohibiting Catalan in the region. Translation: "On this day, 320 years ago, the Catalan language was prohibited in Catalunya Nord through a royal edict. 320 years of resistance! Make your own video with the hashtag #Joparlicatalà @JoventRepublica. (Source: Jovent de Catalunya Nord, 2020)

More generally, however, both groups appear to share a distrust in traditional language authorities, and a belief in the primary responsibility of individual Catalan speakers for the protection – and indeed, survival – of the language; whether simply through prioritising its visibility, its use, or through its de-Castilianisation.

5.4 Data collection

5.4.1 Netnography and Grounded Theory

As stated above, this study took the form of an extended online ethnography. In particular, the methodology of Netnography (Addeo et al., 2019, Kozinets, 1998, Kozinets, 2020) was considered useful as a methodological framework. It is an approach that strikes a balance

between applying the same rigour and depth of investigation inherent in traditional offline ethnographic approaches, with an awareness of the unique characteristics of online communities, and the need for methodological flexibility (or *bricolage*) (Addeo et al., 2019). With roots in cultural anthropology like their offline equivalents, netnographic approaches aim develop an intimate knowledge of communities under study

> …in order to produce detailed, rich, holistic and situated accounts and understanding of the cultures, perspectives, practices and social actions of the people in these settings… (ibid.: 10)

The ultimate goal of such research is to produce what Geertz (1973: 7) refers to as a "thick description": a "stratified hierarchy of structures" in which the phenomena observed are "produced, perceived and interpreted, and without which they would not…in fact exist."

Due to their commitment to holism, and their capacity for understanding complex and multifaceted social processes, ethnographic approaches – both online and offline – have become increasingly popular within the field of language policy and planning in recent years (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007, Hornberger et al., 2018, Johnson, 2009, McCarty, 2011a, Barakos, 2016, Wodak and Savski, 2018b, Yazan, 2015, Cru, 2018 inter alia). One of the strongest proponents of applying ethnographic methods to the study of language policy, Teresa McCarty (2015: 81-82), succinctly underlines the breadth of relevant phenomena, and the depth of analysis, that they provide to researchers in this field:

> For ethnographers of LPP, this entails a view of policy as a situated sociocultural process: the practices, ideologies, attitudes, and mechanisms that influence people's language choices in pervasive everyday ways (McCarty 2011, xii). Sometimes these processes involve cultural artifacts conventionally associated with policy – declarations, regulations, and laws – but ethnographers are equally concerned with implicit policy processes – the ways in which people accommodate, resist, and "make" policy in everyday social practice. Ethnographic studies of LPP seek to describe and understand these complex processes and in particular, the power relations through which they are constructed […]

Given that the motivation of the current study was to examine the various ways in which individual speakers, lacking the power of traditional language policy practitioners, could engage in, create, transform and resist language policy independently – as well as the various resources and processes they used in order to do so – it was felt that such an approach would provide the most comprehensive insight. This is particularly the case given the context of the social media groups in which the study was carried out, where, as a type of new media, manifestations of language policy, and distributions of roles and authority, are often atypical and subtle, and lend themselves well to observational methods to identify

emergent phenomena (cf. Blommaert et al., 2009, Androutsopoulos, 2009, Kelly-Holmes, 2015).

An additional strength of netnography is its integration of the principles and practices of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 2017 [1999], Charmaz, 2006), such as its commitment to inductive and abductive reasoning, its data-driven and recursive approach to data collection and analysis and its ultimate objective of theoretical saturation rather than hypothesis testing (Addeo et al., 2019). Rather than a method *per se*, grounded theory has often been described as a "way of thinking" (Morse, 2009): an open-minded and adaptive technique for collecting and continuously interrogating various kinds of data, and privileging the organic emergence of an explanatory theory for these data, rather than seeking these explanations from prior work. Indeed, it is particularly suitable for contexts which lack a large body of previous research, such as is arguably the case for studies related to the relatively novel subfield of language policy and new (and social) media, as stated above (Kelly-Holmes, 2015, Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018). As such, the combined approaches of netnography and grounded theory were applied throughout the current study.

5.4.2 Ethical considerations

While all research must be assessed for its ethicality, and any potential issues carefully considered beforehand, the relatively short history and constantly evolving nature of social media platforms renders extremely difficult the task of establishing an overarching set of ethical principles for research in such contexts (Townsend and Wallace, 2016). Factors such as what constitutes "informed" consent, and when it is necessary, and whether and what kinds of data can be considered "publicly accessible" on the internet are among those that need to be taken into account (Townsend and Wallace, 2016, Franzke et al., 2020). Moreover, one must consider not only whether data is in the "public domain" in a technical sense – i.e. visible to anyone, whether or not they are members of the particular forum in question – but whether participants *perceive* their content to have been written for a public audience. While content on Twitter may be technically accessible to all internet users, and many researchers consider this as a justification to forego the process of obtaining informed consent, studies such as Fiesler et al. (2017) and Fiesler and Proferes (2018) have revealed that Twitter users may not perceive their data privacy in the same manner.

In addition, while much internet-based research is unlikely to physically endanger participants, researchers are encouraged to consider potential harm that could be engendered by their studies in a broader sense (Markham and Buchanan, 2012, Townsend and Wallace, 2016). For example, could the proposed research lead to psychological harm for those who choose to participate, such as trauma in cases where they may be asked to communicate about potentially delicate subjects, or reputational damage or embarrassment if they were to be personally identified?

For these reasons, the ethical implications of the proposed project were afforded thorough consideration, and the following protocol was devised. Much social media research relies on the principle of "lurking" – that is to say, conducting observations and collecting data without revealing the researcher's presence – primarily to minimise any external influence on the normal activity of the community (e.g. Yazan, 2015, Selvi, 2020, Abd Rahman, 2018). However, the ethicality of such concealment of the researcher's identity has been disputed, and described as potentially deceptive (Page et al., 2016). In the current study, given that one of the focal groups chosen is a private group, this approach was felt to be unsuitable. Moreover, previous offline experience interacting with members of the (Northern) Catalan community through a pilot study in September 2019, as well as informal conversations with users in related groups, suggested that the research would in fact benefit more from a participant-observation approach, due to the likely enthusiasm of members.

A decision was thus taken to approach an administrator from both groups and seek permission to publish a post giving information about the current research, and alerting users to the researcher's presence. A dedicated online ethical portal was created in English, French and Catalan on the University of Edinburgh's website (https://blogs.ed.ac.uk/sjmcnultyresearch[78]) containing full details about the intended objectives of the research, the methods to be used, the types of data to be collected, and how these data would be used. Participants were also given the chance to opt-out of data collection and analysis through an online form, accessible through the portal, which they could do at any time until 4th July 2021, or up to one month following the initial

[78] The French and Catalan sites can be found at https://blogs.ed.ac.uk/sjmcnultyrecherche and https://blogs.ed.ac.uk/sjmcnultyrecerca respectively.

announcement of the research within the relevant group. Furthermore, following Bernal (2010), participant consent was viewed as a continual process rather than a single occurrence, and therefore the researcher periodically published a post to remind users of the study being conducted, and of their rights to withdrawal. No requests to withdraw were received at any time, and indeed each post received a significant amount of positive reactions.

Participants were also notified in this way of any necessary changes to the ethical protocol. For example, initially it was hoped that it would be possible to obtain opt-in consent directly from participants whose posts and comments would be cited in this study, following the suggestion of franzke et al. (2020). However, given that messages sent between users who are not "friends" on Facebook tend to be redirected into separate "Message Request" or "Spam" folders which are rarely checked by users, this was deemed impractical. For this reason, it was decided that opt-out content would suffice, and group members were notified of this change of protocol via posts in the respective groups. Opt-in consent was still requested for supplementary data collection tools, such as chat-interviews and a supplementary survey, through Microsoft Forms and Qualtrics respectively.

In line with advice given by Hennell et al. (2019), participants were informed that, while the mitigation strategies mentioned above would be taken – such as assigning anonymous participant numbers, and translating (where feasible) posts into English to increase the difficulty of tracing reused content – participants were informed that their anonymity could not be guaranteed. Despite this, due to the uncontroversial nature of the current study, the risk of psychological harm to participants, even in the event of data linkage, was deemed to be low.

5.4.3 Procedure

In line with netnographic methodology, the study was designed in a relatively flexible manner, with the formation of general objectives and phenomena of interest rather than rigid research questions (Addeo et al., 2019, Charmaz, 2006). Originally, an offline ethnography had been planned in order to study the current and historical processes of self-management among new speakers of Catalan within Northern Catalonia. However, due to

the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in February 2020 – which coincided with the anticipated commencement of data collection – a decision was taken to investigate the processes and mechanisms by which language policies were created, negotiated, implemented or resisted within Northern Catalan groups and pages on social media.

A decision was made at the start of the project to limit observations to only one platform, so as to facilitate data collection and analysis, and control for potential cross-platform differences of communicative patterns, average users and usage purposes, etc. Given the recent scholarly interest in studying language policy on Facebook mentioned previously (e.g. Lenihan, 2011, 2014, Yazan, 2015, Hendus, 2015, Heuman, 2020, Phyak, 2015), focus was placed on this particular platform. The researcher identified and joined total of forty-three potentially relevant groups and pages on Facebook in March 2020, and spent approximately one month informally observing the activity in each, with a view to identifying phenomena of possible interest. From these initial observations, the two focal groups were selected due to the high degree of manifest normative behaviours, and in light of their relatedness to each other.

Following consent by the respective group administrators to conduct research within each group, formal data collection began through observations, interacting with the posts of other users – often to solicit further information or clarification if necessary – and saving and downloading current and historical posts and comments of relevance. Due to the greatly increased difficulty of scraping or batch downloading content from Facebook due to platform changes introduced in the wake of the Cambridge Analytica scandal of 2018-19[79] relevant posts were first saved using Facebook's in-built "Save Post" function. Each post was then accessed at a later date by the researcher via the mobile version of the platform[80], and exported as interactive pdf files. Data collection in this way was recursive and intermittent, interspersed with periods of qualitative data coding, and continued until sufficient theoretical saturation was deemed to have been reached.

[79] See Hinds et al. (2020) for more about this scandal.
[80] Accessed from a laptop. The mobile version of the site produces cleaner PDFs and reduces the risk of comments being truncated or omitted.

Constant comparison, a key component of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), was employed throughout by comparing contemporary posts to those posted around the time of the groups' creation dates, as well as comparing these to the emerging theory. Research notes and memos were also taken at various stages of the process, and attempts were made to triangulate findings through seeking clarifications from users where needed, messaging admins in cases of doubt, and, later, using a supplementary survey. The latter was deployed via the Qualtrics online survey platform, and contained questions related to usage of the groups, language choices, language attitudes, opinions towards language policing and views surrounding Catalan endangerment and language activism.

Data collection was officially ceased in November 2022, and final analyses and reporting conducted.

5.5 Data Analysis

All data were analysed using NVivo (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2018, 2020), and initial data analysis entailed close, line-by-line reading of every pdf document downloaded, along with annotations and analytical memos recording initial observations (cf. Charmaz, 2006). Subsequently, various data analytical techniques were employed, culminating in three interrelated but distinct analyses, corresponding to the three sections of findings which follow. The methods for each will be discussed separately below.

5.5.1 Analysis in Chapter 6 – CLSM of Beliefs

The goal of this aspect of the study was to analyse the salient themes and discourses which emerged from content posted within each groups, with a view to examining the collective emergent discursive "frames" iteratively constructed by members. As such, relevant data for this section were Facebook *posts* collected, and particularly those that were discursive or ideological in nature, and not simply procedural[81].

[81] That is to say, that they did not simply represent an example of the group's "work" (i.e. containing only metalinguistic discussions or language policing, or issues related to group management specifically – all of which is considered in separate sections.)

As a first step, descriptive coding of each Facebook post was carried out, identifying, for example:

- The group from which the post was taken[82]
- The user who published the post
- The date of publication
- Number of comments on, and reactions to, the post
- Whether the post contained organic content[83]
- Whether the post contained shared content (and if so, the source and type of this shared content)
- Whether the post appeared relevant to frame construction

Memos were also consistently taken, in line with recommendations in grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006), in order to keep a record of my inclusion or exclusion criteria in each case, to track any initial theoretical insights and to note any subsequent discussions or ethnographic observations that would complement interpretations of the content of each post.

The second stage of analysis involved a qualitative, inductive approach to coding, inspired by qualitative content analytic (Schreier et al., 2020, Mayring, 2014) grounded theory analytic (Charmaz, 2006) and critical discourse analytic (Wodak and Meyer, 2015, Wodak and Savski, 2018a) theory. Coding was also inspired by theories of social movement frame and identity construction (Benford and Snow, 2000, Hunt et al., 1994, Snow, 2004a, Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow et al., 1986). Such qualitative approaches to analysing the emergence of discourses and construction of frames have been relatively popular in previous research, particularly relating to the portrayal of current issues and events in journalistic and activist texts, and especially on social media (Yates, 2016, Lupien et al., 2022, Cortés-Ramos et al., 2021, Lubitow, 2013). While more inductive, hermeneutic approaches have been criticised for their limitations in terms of researcher bias, replicability

[82] Due to space constraints, data presented is primarily taken from ALNPL.
[83] For the purposes of this study, "organic content" refers to text authored solely by the user who posted it. Audiovisual content (unless clearly created and featuring the original poster) and all other media is classified as "shared content".

and smaller sample sizes, such approaches also arguably provide a more detailed insight into the themes and discourses – both manifest and latent – of importance to participants (cf. Schäfer and O'Neill, 2017). Moreover, as alluded to above, the strength and rigour of both ethnographic and grounded theoretical methodologies is derived from the depth, richness and faithfulness of their analyses, rather than their replicability and generalisability to other contexts (McCarty, 2015, Charmaz, 2006).

Based on the post summaries originally coded, further qualitative coding was conducted in order to distil overarching themes and discourses across posts, and thereby to infer the collectively constructed ideological frames of the group. These were then compared with the three tasks of social movement framing identified by Snow and Benford (1988) to infer the potential pragmatic motivations of this collective discursive work.

As regards the second, individual process of self-management, this is more difficult to provide evidence for, given that the reflexive reorganisation of one's beliefs (discussed in greater detail in the next section), is theoretically more likely to occur offline, or even internally (cf. Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019c, Archer, 2003) – meaning that traces of it may not be readily inferable from observations of social media activity. Attempts were made, however, through social media posts by the researcher, and through the supplementary survey, to solicit the opinions of group members regarding the extent to which their beliefs regarding the Catalan language, culture, identity and issues facing these have been modified as a result of their group membership. In addition, comments and posts which attested to an endorsement of the beliefs (and practices) of the group, or to reflections by users on their own beliefs and practices, were considered as indirect evidence of self-management. This is explained in more detail later.

5.5.2 Analysis in Chapter 7 – CLSM of Practices

This aspect of the study was interested in studying the manifest normative activity of the group, as an extension of the declared mission of ALNPL, and as a common feature of the activity of JPCR members. This involved qualitatively coding posts and comments which contained instances of metalinguistic discussion – including questions regarding the "correctness" or "authenticity" of specified variants in the eyes of group members, and ensuing negotiations surrounding this topic – as well as of language policing.

Further coding and observations recorded the context and manner of this activity: for example whether language policing was "reactive" (in response to a request by another user) or "proactive" (in a post, without immediately prior priming or invitation), as well as whether it took the form of negative or positive evaluation (e.g. Neustupný, 2003). More generally, ethnographic field notes and memos were taken regarding the systematic nature of this activity, as well as member engagement in it and evidence of its impact on individual and group language practices.

5.5.3 Analysis in Chapter 8 – CLSM of Management

This section emerged in the process of data analysis for Chapter 7, during which responses to metalinguistic discussion and language policing by members proved to be many and varied. Comments and posts were therefore coded especially for responses to language policing (whether endorsing, resisting or ambiguous) and for the reasons given for these responses. In addition, justifications of language policing – either by other users or by language "police" themselves – were also coded. The ultimate aim of this study was to explore the criteria by which users, within the two Facebook groups under study could or could not, claim or be afforded the authority to engage in language management. In order to better understand this process of authority claiming, attribution and denial, an analytical framework which incorporated Paterson's (1967) framework of authority types, with insights from van Leeuwen's (2008, 2007) related discipline of Critical Discourse Studies, and positioning theory (Harré, 2012, Harré and Langenhove, 1991, Kayı-Aydar, 2019) was applied.

5.5.3.1 Paterson's theory of authority

Paterson (1967)'s theory of management provides a quadripartite taxonomy of authority within commercial organisations, and, more generally, within wider social "organisms" (ibid.: 119). While only one of a number of attempts to describe and classify authority throughout history, it arguably provides a useful guide for analysis in the current case of language management.

According to Paterson, authority, which he defines as the "right to manage" (ibid.: 77), is derived on the basis of relational differences between human communicants in terms of their *positions, knowledge, morality and characteristics (ibid.: 74-75).* Depending on their

situation along these scales, four distinct but interrelated categories of authority can be claimed by, ascribed to or denied of individuals within an organisation or group:

1) *structural authority*, or the right to manage others based on one's superior position to others within a given organisational hierarchy
2) *sapiential authority*, or the right to express an opinion or exert influence over a particular situation or decision as a result of one's knowledge or expertise about issues relevant to it
3) *moral authority,* or the right to command resulting from the perceived righteousness, justice and benevolence of their actions
4) *personal authority,* or the right to manage based on the personal qualities and characteristics of the manager

These analytical categories are particularly suitable to act as a lens for the examination of language policing on social media platforms as, with the exception of *structural authority*, each of these authority types are associated not with defined organisational roles, but with individuals who have to *earn* them, or otherwise justify their claim to them (ibid.). Within more traditional domains of language policy, whilst not a guarantee of the degree of their influence over the design or implementation of a particular policy (cf. Johnson and Johnson, 2014), the key actors and arbiters of language policy tend to occupy tangible roles of *de jure* power: policymakers, company managers, teachers, parents, priests, etc. Although this is certainly context-dependent, these roles usually entail an inherent authority, expected of the individuals who inhabit them, and reinforced by the organisation, institution or society of which they are part.

In the domain of social media, and specifically within Facebook groups, it might be argued that such clear-cut roles are less obviously defined. Such fora do have their own formal roles – such as administrators and moderators – which do grant powers to remove or curtail content deemed to infringe upon platform regulations, or which have the potential to offend. However, the extent to which these roles bestow upon their occupants the *"right to manage"* (Paterson, 1967: 77) the language behaviour of other group members is not obvious. Indeed, many studies have demonstrated the proclivity for users to engage in heated, and occasionally acrimonious, debates and disputes over the type of language behaviours that can be deemed acceptable or "legitimate" within social media sites and

applications (e.g. Heuman, 2020, Røyneland, 2018, Stern, 2017). This finding would suggest that authority, too, is not automatically assigned to particular users, and is thus subject to negotiation.

Yet, in order to be a language manager, possession (or at least belief in one's possession) of authority over language users and uses is a prerequisite (Spolsky, 2009). It follows then that, in order to engage in language policing within this domain, users must justify, in some way, their right to regulate others' language use, or be otherwise licensed to do so by others.

As a final point, readers should note that, while Paterson's categories of authorities are viewed as helpful in describing, grouping together and presenting the findings of the grounded analysis of authority (de-)positioning, these findings were nevertheless derived through grounded methodology, which can be inferred from the subheadings and additional observations within Chapter 8.

5.5.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

When considering this judgement of specific interactional practices, the work of Theo van Leeuwen (2008, 2007) on "Legitimation" strategies adds a useful Critical Discursive Analytical lens to Paterson's framework. Such strategies observe the textual and discursive devices drawn upon interactants in an attempt to bolster or attack the legitimacy of specific actions. These include (see esp. Van Leeuwen, 2007):

1) *Authorisation:* when legitimation is sought on a more formal basis – i.e. because the action in question is rooted in traditional or institutionally sanctioned practices.
2) *Moral evaluation:* when legitimation is sought on the basis of a given system of morals or values (e.g. a religious system).
3) *Rationalisation*: when legitimation is sought on the basis of justification due to objectives or intended effects, or what has come to be perceived as "natural" in the eyes of society.
4) *Mythopoesis*: when legitimation is sought on the basis of narratives claiming rewards for those carrying out the intended action, or punishment for not doing so.

Van Leeuwen's work provides very detailed examples of how the above legitimation strategies are realised linguistically in both official communications and in normal, quotidian interactions. In the current work, while the framework that van Leeuwen provides will not be applied in detail, the ideas presented will be drawn upon to enhance the netnographic analysis conducted.

5.5.3.3 Positioning Theory

As a means of examining this process of ascription or denial of users' rights to manage each other's language use through language policing, positioning theory (e.g. Harré and Langenhove, 1991, Harré, 2012, Harré et al., 2009) also suggests itself as a particularly useful analytical lens. Rooted in discursive psychology, positioning theory highlights "how power, rights, duties, and obligations are distributed in moment-to-moment interactions" (Kayı-Aydar, 2019: vii) and the "role of [these] rights and duties in the management of actions" (Harré et al., 2009). In interaction, individuals or groups, overtly or unknowingly, claim or assign "positions" based on their perceptions of their or others' entitlements and obligations, which in turn may be based on assessments of actual or perceived personal qualities, skills or histories. These discursively-assigned positions, as Kayı-Aydar (2019) evokes, are more dynamic and less concretely defined than the Goffmanian concept of "role": they are transitory, and subject to ongoing negotiation in interaction (Harré, 2012), as participants debate what each does or does not have licence to do, think or feel (Harré et al., 2009).

Positioning theory, therefore, in combination with Paterson (1967)'s taxonomy of authority in management, constitutes the ideal theoretical toolkit with which to analyse how, within interaction, users of the Catalan-language Facebook groups under study ascribe or deny each other the right to manage users' language behaviour through language policing. It permits insight into the precise nature of this authority and how it is operationalised in interaction.

5.5.3.3.1 Criticism of Positioning Theory

Positioning Theory is not without its critics, however, and a number of criticisms have been levelled against this approach since its introduction. One of the most common is the

proclivity for the theory to be applied to invented, "idealised" data, that may be engineered to better reflect the analysis given of it, rather than to draw on authentic, naturally-occurring examples (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 140). While a perfectly legitimate criticism, this claim, as Kayı-Aydar (2019) notes has become somewhat outdated due to the wealth of research in recent years which applies Positioning Theory to naturally-occurring data (e.g. Lawrence, 2010, Langer-Osuna, 2016, Tatsis et al., 2018, Le Duc et al., 2021). Similarly, the current study uses only data that was generated in the course of ordinary everyday activity within the groups under study, much of which pre-existed the researcher's presence.

A more fundamental critique of Positioning Theory relates to the concepts of "position" and "positioning" that it espouses, and their differentiation from more objective social "roles" (Kayı-Aydar, 2019). This critique seems, essentially, to point to a conceptualisation of identity as transitory and dynamic, rather than as stable and "embodied", as McVee et al. (2021) seem to argue. Indeed, as Kayı-Aydar (2019) underlines, confusion likely arises due to an ambiguity in the original theory, in which even internal, bodily characteristics, such as personal, moral and even biological traits that compose the individual are seen as much as positions as those more ephemeral qualities and categorisations assigned to them in interaction.

While a more profound discussion of the nature of identity as embodied or performative is outwith the scope of the current study, the conceptualisation of positions as a "cluster of short-term disputable rights, obligations, and duties" (Harré, 2012), generated in, and bound to, the interactions and contexts in which they are assigned, is sufficient for the purposes of the current study. While participants in this study share membership of their respective groups in common, and may or may not be familiar with each other in offline settings, the interactions recorded in the dataset do not suggest that specific hierarchical structures of authoritative "roles" play any significant role in determining user activity. Were this the case, the authority of individuals engaging in language policing would essentially be assumed, as an entailment of their position of power within the respective contexts. Apart from a few exceptions which are explained in the "Structural Authority" section of Chapter 8, this does not prove to be the case, and users appear to engage in a dynamic process of self- or other-positioning (or de-positioning) to establish (or deny) the right to engage in language management *in each interaction*. This process, which is the focus of the section

related to “Structural Authority”, is based on personal, interactional, social and contextual factors that are invoked and assembled in the moment, rather than deriving from users’ *a priori* identities.

For this reason, while Positioning Theory may pose some ambiguity for the nature of identity, and its expression, the concept of positioning is viewed as enhancing, rather than complicating, the current analysis.

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Chapter 6:
CLSM of Beliefs

6.1 Introduction

Just as much linguistic, and particularly *socio*linguistic, research has come to view languages as inseparable from the social, political and performative contexts in which they are employed, so too have researchers, over the last few decades, repeatedly emphasised that language policy and planning extends beyond the mere alteration of the internal linguistic system (the *langue*, to use Saussure's famed terminology). Indeed, as stated previously, Spolsky (2004, 2009) asserts that *language management* can be applied not only to influence changes in the language choices and behaviours of a given group, but also to modify the way in which languages (and, by extension, their speakers) are viewed, valued, and generally conceived of by society. Similar views are evident in the work of numerous contemporary scholars, many of whom point especially to the centrality of the discursive, ideological and identity work of language policy, both to legitimate the actions of policymakers, and ultimately to promote (or to coerce) the uptake of desired language changes (e.g. Lo Bianco, 2005, Ager, 2005, Shohamy, 2006).

As established in previous sections, however, one of Spolsky's most notable latter contributions was to extend the concept of *language management* to the domain of the individual, relating to the exercise of control over one's own language behaviours: the languages one speaks, and the competencies one possesses in each (Spolsky, 2019b, 2021). While *self-management* is conceptualised only in terms of *self-management of practices* within the latter sources, fidelity to Spolsky's original theory would also seem to anticipate the process of *self-management of beliefs*: a hypothetical process in which the individual agent (re-)evaluates, (re-)arranges and selects the values they will attribute to the varieties they speak. Such processes of discernment and deliberation prior to language choice are arguably in keeping with recent sociolinguistic research which depicts individuals not as passive targets but active decision-makers in their language choices (e.g. Haarmann, 1990, Hornberger and Johnson, 2007, McCarty et al., 2009, Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021), such as whether to depart with or maintain heritage languages in the face of external pressures (e.g. Beck and Lam, 2008, Lam, 2020, Hatoss, 2019, 2018). It recognises the agency of the individual speaker over their own linguistic behaviour, and their non-negligible role within language policy processes.

And, of course, the next logical expansion of this theoretical underpinning – and the subject of most interest and relevance to the current work – is the *collectivisation* of this process. Simply put*, self-management of beliefs,* performed within the context of a collective – such as an advocacy or special interest group – would consist of the shared construction and refinement of a common set of values and discourses, ascribed to by each individual, and potentially motivating their own language choices and engagement in the collective management of practices. As will be demonstrated below, its operation can be fruitfully compared to the framing activities associated with social movement groups and organisations (Benford and Snow, 2000, Hunt et al., 1994, Snow, 2004a, Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow et al., 1986).

It is this theorised process of *Collective Self-Management of Beliefs* that will be investigated in this chapter.

6.2 Case Study: The Struggle to Save Catalan in *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*

The following sections will present data from a case study investigating the activities within one of the focal groups of this study, *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, which is concerned with the defence of the Catalan language spoken in the region of Catalonia, and throughout the *Països Catalans* more generally. A detailed introduction to the group, as well as information regarding the data collection and analysis methods followed are provided in Chapter 5.

The presentation and discussion of the case study will be structured as follows. Attention will be given to the collective discourse construction process within the group. This will be examined in the first instance by shedding light on the most frequently recurring themes that characterise the posts of the group, which will provide insight into the nature of the discursive landscape that has been constructed within it. Further to this, the data will be examined with relation to the framing theories of Snow and Benford (1988) and Hunt et al. (1994), which will provide insight into the potential motivations of group activity, and shed light on the intended links between collective and individual action which seem to testify to the CLSM approach taken.

Finally, it has been noted that the *self-management* aspect of CLSM is perhaps more difficult to demonstrate definitively – particularly within the current chapter – given that it may more likely occur invisibly: whether simply offline and without commentary, or fully internally by each member. However, a final section will attempt nevertheless to provide potential "proxy" data which may serve as testimony to the process of *self-management of beliefs* having occurred. These include responses to the supplementary survey, as well as responses to direct questions by the researcher in posts published in the group.

6.2.1 Group name and description

As alluded to in the *Methodology* chapter previously, *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* – from both its name [Let's learn our own language], and its group description – would appear to be the more explicitly "activist" of the two groups under study within this thesis, in the sense that it demonstrates a very clear set of values and goals, and a clearly-defined mission.

> This group is dedicated to informing about the very serious situation that the Catalan language is experiencing, the impoverishment that threatens to make it disappear forever if we do not become aware of it.
>
> For this, it is necessary to overcome the clichés of "correction", grammar and the dictionary because every dictionary is a discourse and the discourse of current dictionaries is anti-Catalan.
>
> The Catalan language is greatly influenced by the language of Castile: it is not a natural relationship with that language. It is a total subjugation of one with respect to the other, a scandalous subordination. In this group we try to identify this influence and restore the language, show how it relates to the rest of the Romance-speaking world to make it free.

The group description makes apparent that its members believe the Catalan language to be under significant threat from Castilian, which, according to the group, exerts an "above average" degree of influence on it, to the point of the "subjugation" and "subordination" of Catalan. Moreover, beyond stating this threat in a general, agentless manner, the description goes on to claim not only inaccuracy on the part of current dictionaries, but prejudice against the Catalan language: immediately suggesting a distrust, or even rejection, of traditional sources of language management and linguistic authority.

The ultimate objective of the group is described as "putting Catalan in relation with the rest of the Romance-speaking world and making it free". Its means of achieving this objective appear to be, in the first instance, providing information and raising awareness about the perceived "extremely grave" situation of Catalan; failure to do so is presented as threatening the complete disappearance of the language. In the second instance, a more practical group

task is presented, involving identification (and suppression) of the Castilian linguistic influence, and the "restoration" of the language. "Restoration", as will be evidenced shortly, would seem to imply the reversion of Catalan to a former state of superior purity: that is to say, one in which the language exhibited fewer borrowings and calques from Castilian, and relied to a greater extent on its own organic linguistic resources (and with any crossovers stemming from more acceptable sources).

It is worth noting at this point that several scholars (e.g. Thomas, 1991, Langer and Nesse, 2012) have asserted that such "Golden Ages" of language purity are largely fictitious, given that language evolution is an ongoing, inevitable process, and the concept of a specific time in which a language can be deemed to be "pure", is ultimately subjective. In this case, however, in the absence of this purity, the language is depicted as unable to be "free" or "in relationship with the rest of the Romance-speaking world".

From the outset, an observer – and, indeed, a potential group member – can obtain a sense of the ideological underpinnings and discursive parameters of this group. The description immediately establishes establishes an ideological premise that languages can only be considered to be "free", or comparable to other languages, if unencumbered by external influence – in this case, Castilian. Moreover, with the use of the word "pròpia" in the group name, the implication would seem to be that this Castilian influence prevents Catalan from truly belonging to its speakers.

The description also diagnoses a societal problem by establishing an extreme discourse of endangerment for the Catalan language (Heller and Duchêne, 2007), and identifies potential aggressors, in the form of the Castilian language itself, and in the form of "anti-Catalan institutions". The remedy for this is identified as simply making these issues more widely known, as well as working collaboratively to extricate the authentic Catalan language from its alien influences, and to learn [aprenguem = "let's learn"] this newly liberated variety.

A point that it seems pertinent to make here is that potential members of this group ("bystanders" to adopt the wording of Hunt et al. (1994)) only have access to this information – the group title and description – before becoming members. Unless specifically invited by

others (which does seem to have been the case for some users, admittedly[84]), due to the privacy settings of ALNPL, non-members would be unable to view the content of the group without first applying for membership. Hypothetically, this fact could entail two conclusions. Firstly, without being able to view the discursive space constructed by members through content posted, greater pressure would arguably be placed upon the group's "façade" (as it is referred to by Selvi, 2020) to encourage new members to join, and thereby grow and expand the endeavours of the group. Secondly, as a result of this, it is possible that those who do choose to join do so because they have "bought into" at least some of the discourses exhibited in the description (which also appears to be reflected in some survey responses)[85].

6.2.2 Recurring themes of group posts

The most frequently occurring themes within the dataset, which make up the discursive landscape of the group, build greatly on those already established within the group description:

Theme Number	Theme	Frame Type[86]	Number of excerpts[87]
1.	(Re)Constructing identity	Identity	7
2.	Identifying threats to Catalan	Diagnostic	13
3.	Constructing victims, perpetrators and allies	Identity Diagnostic	73
4.	Self-blame and responsibilisation	Diagnostic Prognostic/Motivational	8
5.	Encouraging user engagement	Prognostic	33

[84] See survey responses R_1lzxLrf3axxkuhM, R_3hhYasxzi7Q6w8r, and R_2pX1dT4grRh6nbN.
[85] See survey responses R_3EyE6zsajbpcFXB, R_1goKihKnCAJ1mBB, R_3KCNmvMjH6yQFee, and R_sedJrSw6cURiYIF.
[86] It should be noted that there may be some overlap between frame types, and between themes. While attempts have been made to capture these overlaps where possible, other interpretations are of course possible.
[87] These numbers include: posts; media shared within posts (such as newspaper articles or websites; which were also subject to analysis); and a small number of comments which contribute to the understanding of posts, or are particularly revelatory. Note that, as explained above, many posts contain more than one theme or frame type, therefore the same files appear across several theme numbers.

		Motivational	
6.	Encouraging sharing of the group	-	1

Table 6.1: Recurring themes and frame types in ALNPL dataset.

6.2.2.1 (Re)Constructing Identity

As can be seen in the table above, a significant number of posts within ALNPL include shared content or organic commentary which appears to discursively construct (or de-construct) a given identity: whether of Catalan (and its speakers), proponents of Catalan, those deemed to be working against the language and its people, or of the Catalan-speaking culture and territories more generally. Moreover, many posts can be observed to "correct", or "police" externally imposed identify assignations, or perceived misconceptions.

6.2.2.1.1 Distancing from Castilian

The latter is a common thread running through a number of the posts coded at the current theme. A particular priority of the group, already visible within the group description above, is the differentiation and distancing of Catalan from the Castilian language, along with its approximation to other Romance languages. This is often accomplished by presenting members with cross-linguistic comparisons of certain lexical items or structures, encouraging recognition of the differences between Castilian and Catalan, and the similarities of the latter with languages such as French, Occitan or Italian.

Figure 6.1: List of words for "vaccine" in various languages. Posted by P080.

Figure 6.1 demonstrates one stark example of this. Posted during the early stages of the Covid-19 pandemic, in the midst of global discussions regarding vaccination programmes and vaccine development, the post seems to instrumentalise and recontextualise these wider

societal discourses to make a linguistic argument in favour of the differentiation of Catalan from Castilian. The Catalan word for vaccine given – "vaccí" – is presented in the same column as English, French, Portuguese, Galician, Romansch, Dutch and Norwegian, seemingly establishing a morphological similarity between the Catalan lexeme and those of these other languages. In the other column, the Castilian word for vaccine – "vacuna" – is listed alone, implying that it is either morphologically unlike any other (Romance) language, or that, at the very least, it is unlike those others listed on the right. The effect is to establish that Catalan not only bears similarity, with regards this lexeme, to several other languages – both Romance and non-Romance – but also that Castilian is, indeed, the "odd one out".

A similar sentiment is expressed in the post reproduced in Example 6.1:

> **Example 6.1:** *Post by **P005** highlighting influence of "institutionally-promoted" Catanyol on Catalan. Translation mine.*
>
> *The recuperation of Catalan brings us closer to the other Romance languages. Catanyol, promoted institutionally, isolates and impoverishes us. For example, in Catalan we say:*
>
> *— I HAD [lit. MADE] a dream, like in Italian, 'Ho fatto un sogno'*
> *— APPOINTMENT (not 'cita'), like in Italian, 'appuntamento'*
> *— CONTINUE + infinitive, like in all of the Romance languages, except the Iberian ones, Castilian and Portuguese*
> *— ROUTE (not "recorregut"), like in all of the Romance languages except Castilian*
> *— QUESTION (not 'pregunta'), like in Italian, 'domanda', and also in French, 'demande'*
> *—WRITE (not "redactar"), like in Occitan, French, Italian and Portuguese*
> *—VACCINE (not "vacuna"). Another word that makes us see the extent to which Catalan has absolutely no autonomy with respect to Castilian*
>
> occ vaccí
> fr vaccin
> it vaccino
> port vacina
> rom vaccin
> Eng vaccine
> al Vakzine
> Hungarian vakcina
> Bosnian vakcina etc

In this post, one can see an explicit attempt by P005 – the administrator and founder of ALNPL – to establish a closer proximity of "authentic" Catalan to other Romance languages than to

Spanish, with the illusion of proximity to the latter being as a result of the influence of Catanyol. This can be seen in the examples provided, such as the proposed authentic words for "question" ("request") – closely resembling the Italian ("domanda") and French ("demande") equivalents – and "appointment" ("apuntament") – which again resembles the Italian ("appuntamento"). By contrast, the Castilian words "pregunta" and "cita" respectively, are portrayed as markedly different, yet are frequently borrowed directly from Castilian.

The word "vaccí" is also shown in this example, with the added commentary that this word represents a particularly stark manifestation, for members of the group, of the degree to which Catalan has become linguistically dependent on Castilian. This dependence seems to be inferred from the assertion that speakers choose to borrow the Castilian word, with no homologues across the Romance languages, rather than employing the "authentic" Catalan word, which bears similarities to a large number of other Romance languages. The purpose again, therefore – as alluded to in the introduction to the post – is to emphasise the distance between Castilian and Catalan, and the proximity between the latter and other latent Latin-descendant varieties.

There are several possible motivations for these attempts to create (or amplify) linguistic distance between Catalan and Castilian. While it is true that Catalan is spoken by approximately nine million people in the *Països Catalans* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013b), and is attested to historically as far back as the 8th century (Rasico, 2020), a common folk linguistic myth views it simply as a dialect of Castilian – a discourse that was, in fact, promulgated during the Francoist dictatorship (Vann, 1999, Gade, 2003)[88]. This ideology could be viewed as potentially threatening, as, unchecked, it fosters the discursive erasure of the unique Catalan linguistic identity (see e.g. Irvine and Gal, 2000).

Moreover, and perhaps of even greater importance to members of this group, the belief that Catalan is merely a dialect of Castilian – or, at the very least, has near-identical linguistic roots – may arguably contribute to the perception that direct borrowings and calques from the

[88] A search for "Catalan dialect of Spanish" provides additional, contemporary evidence of this myth, and many sources striving to correct it.

latter are both "natural" and "warranted", or simply "unproblematic".[89] Indeed, the voluntary influx of such borrowings, particularly by younger speakers of Catalan, has led some to express concern that the language may *become* dialectised as a result (e.g. Arnal, 2011). Conversely, establishing the linguistic-historical separateness of Catalan may – in the eyes of group members – justify their concerns regarding Castilian linguistic interference, and their actions to mitigate it.

In reality, the exact linguistic origins of Catalan have long been the object of prolonged debate, with scholars unable to agree definitively on whether to classify Catalan as a Gallo-Romance (like varieties spoken throughout France), or as an Ibero-Romance language (like varieties spoken across Spain) (see e.g. Mooney and Hawkey, 2019, Juge, 2007, Lledo-Guillem, 2017, Rigau and Pérez Saldanya, 2022). On the other hand, Badía Margarit (1955) advocated considering Catalan a "bridge language" between the two sub-families, while Juge (2007) suggests assigning a new classification, unique to Catalan and Occitan.

Regardless of its classification, however, the Castilian influence on Catalan has been documented for several centuries (e.g. Rigau and Pérez Saldanya, 2022). Yet, instead of viewing this as a natural consequence of contact-induced language evolution, as implied in the group description, the group appears to view the linguistic influence of Castilian as specifically "unnatural" and anomalous: shifting the trajectory of Catalan's development away from its "correct" route (read: alongside the other Gallo-Romance varieties). Indeed, as described in a later section, members are encouraged to be suspicious of lexis that seems to lack authenticity, and to seek alternatives that are not of Castilian origin (or, in the event that none exist, to hypothesise a lexical element that would have "naturally" developed without Castilian interference).

Particularly revealing is one post within the group, in which P001 explains perceived difference in severity of Castilian and French influences on Catalan. While neither are viewed as acceptable *per se*, the former are deemed to be more insidious given that:

[89] Indeed, a similar view is expressed by some group members when expressing opposition to the language policing practices of others (this will be revisited in Chapter 8).

1. Catalan and Spanish are viewed as possessing different linguistic origins, and thus should evolve separately
2. The risk of hybridisation as a result of Castilian interference is viewed as more serious due to an acquired resistant quality on the part of the Northern Catalan variety, developed in response to its minoritisation

Example 6.2:

> We also combat French here, see my two books that also deal with French interference. Now, they are mostly a case of vocabulary, because Catalan and French are from the same subgroup of Romance languages, not Spanish, which forms a group of its own with Portuguese...
>
> In any case, [with] Catalan being very minority and minoritised in Northern Catalonia, this makes it very conservative and refractory to hybridization with French. This means that there is no equivalent of "Catanyol" [in Northern Catalonia]. **(P001)**

Thus, while the French language remains a threat to the authenticity and integrity of Catalan, it does so to a much lesser extent than Castilian, which is presented as posing the significant risk of anomalously enveloping and absorbing the Catalan language.

Echoing the sentiments of Thomas (1991) on the artificiality of "linguistic purity", Irvine and Gal (2000) note that linguistic differentiation – the drawing of boundary lines between two related linguistic varieties – often results not from linguistic fact, but from ideology, and serves the purpose of self-definition in opposition to the Other. By asserting the linguistic differences between Castilian and Catalan, and the similarities between Catalan and the other Gallo-Romance varieties, group members can discursively reframe the Catalan identity accordingly, distancing the Catalan identity from any association with Spain.[90] In a similar way, members of ALNPL may discursively amplify linguistic distance from Castilian, and proximity to other Romance languages, as a proxy for rejecting social, political and cultural assimilation by the Spanish State. Just as the language should not be considered "subordinate" to Castilian, so the (national) identity should not be subordinate to that of Spain.

[90] This, of course, may be linked to political ideology. Indeed, Lledo-Guillem (2017) points to an application on behalf of Catalonia by Catalan leader Artur Mas in 2014 to join the Organisation internationale de la francophonie as a form of opposition to Spanish centralisation and assimilation, building upon a politically-motivated interpretation of Catalan as being rightly a Gallo-Romantic variety.

Thus, in sum, this subtheme would appear to contribute to the framing of Catalan (and therefore Catalonia) as an entirely separate linguistic, cultural and political entity from Castilian (and therefore Spain), thereby problematizing any influence it may have on it.

6.2.2.1.2 Correcting externally-imposed identities

In addition to asserting distance from Castilian, another recurring theme pertains to the policing of identity constructions and attributions imposed by group-external entities. A particularly noteworthy example of this appears in the form of an open letter written by P080, and posted to the group by P001, addressed to former president of the Generalitat de Catalunya, Carles Puigdemont[91]. In the letter, coinciding with a visit by Puigdemont to Perpignan in early 2017, P080 advocates for greater consideration and defence of Northern Catalonia by the Catalan Government, especially in the face of perceived consistent failings of local, French politicians.

In particular, the author draws attention to the controversial decision taken by the regional government to adopt the official name of "Occitanie" for the new super-region, created as a result of the 2015 law on territorial reform (see Joubert, 2019). The name "Occitanie" was perceived by a significant number of Catalan speakers in Northern Catalonia as a (deliberate) misrepresentation – or indeed erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000) – of the Northern Catalan identity (Joubert, 2019); a sentiment which is captured in the open letter by P080. In this letter, the controversy is cited, including a quotation by a local politician claiming that "The Catalan people are not now, and never will be Occitan!".

While this point is naturally expressed significantly more strongly within the other focal group of this study *Jo parli català rossellonès*, this post would appear to stand as an example of refusal to accept the socio-political and cultural identities that power-wielding bodies, such as the local government, would impose on the Catalan people – highlighting their perceived

[91] Now considered by many Catalan people as the President-in-exile of the Republic of Catalonia following the unsanctioned referendum on Catalan independence in October 2017, which led to the dissolution of the Catalan parliament, and a warrant for Puigdemont's arrest for sedition.

inaccuracies. Instead, group members can contest these externally imposed images of the Catalan culture with an identity of their own forging.

Relatedly, in a separate post, the administrator of ALNPL shares a podcast that he encourages other members to listen to. The podcast appears to be an interview with the historian Flocel Sabaté regarding his 2017 edited volume *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire.* One of the main intents behind the podcast, implied also in Flocel's contributed chapter to the volume (Sabaté, 2017), is to highlight the lack of true understanding of Catalan people regarding the history of their own nation. In particular, he highlights the modern tendency to overlook the influential and powerful role played by Catalunya in medieval history, which he claims is obfuscated by the fact that nominally it formed part of the Kingdom of Aragon (ibid.). This historical toponym effectively erases (or can be used by opponents to erase) from the mind the deep rooted, early distinct identity of Catalunya (ibid.).

The post by P005, sharing this podcast, appears to address this misrecognition of the historical roots of the Catalan identity, attempting to clarify and correct it:

> **Example 6.3:** *Post made by **P005** sharing podcast relating to book about Crown of Aragon.*
>
> Right, let's start taking the thing seriously:
> — The name of the nation is: CATALUNYA
> — The name of the people who come from it are: CATALANS
> — The name of the language is: CATALAN
> Listen to the podcast.

In three, short, declarative statements, P005 cuts through the confusion and asserts the "true" fundamental characteristics of the Catalan identity: that Catalan people come from a nation called Catalunya, and speak a language called Catalan. In doing so, they also appear to establish an essentialist ideological link between nation, language and identity: asserting that one can only be Catalan if they come from Catalunya and speak Catalan[92]. This assertion would seem to entail the exclusion from the Catalan identity category of, e.g. recalcitrant

[92] See e.g. Sériot (2013) for a discussion of this essentialist link. See also Woolard (2016) for a discussion of this link specifically in Catalunya.

Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Catalunya, migrants who reside in Catalunya but refuse to learn Catalan, or Catalan-speaking residents of Catalunya who describe their nationality as Spanish. Thus, rather than establishing what the Catalan identity is *not*, as in the previous example, here – as will also be the case later – an opportunity is taken to establish what it *is* to be Catalan.

Finally, relating less to cultural or national identity, another salient identity attribute which is rejected by members refers to the language ideologies upon which their group endeavours are based. While this is phrased in other (sometimes more derogatory) fashions in other posts, in **Example 6.4**, it pertains to the description of the group members as "purists". In this example, P001 shares a post from a Twitter user who lists a number of Castilianisms which they assert are frequently employed by TV3. P001, addressing an invisible interlocutor (presumably a hypothetical non-group member), appears to call into question the label of "purist" attributed to group members – most likely meant to imply an overly-cautious, prescriptivist, and most likely eccentric approach to Catalan use. In their post, they imply that their approach was in fact valid, and has been vindicated, by the revelations of the high degree of Castilianisms officially incorporated into the style guide of TV3 – the Catalan national broadcaster[93].

Example 6.4:

P001: And now we're "purists"?
We warned you about this a long time ago…
[Shares an screenshot of a Twitter thread from the Twitter profile "El català com cal"]:

> (2)… In this style guide by @tv3cat, flagrant Castilianisms such as these are accepted, among others:
>
> ✕ Apreci ✕ Calbo ✕ Culebron ✕ Decepcionar ✕ Desaigüe ✕ Despedir-se ✕ Fugar-se ✕ Nòvio, nòvia ✕ Fulano, fulana
>
> (3)…
> ✕ Guaperes ✕ Invadir ✕ Macarra ✕ Mimar un nen ✕ Patejar-se els diners ✕ Pito ✕ Recapacitar ✕ Tonto ✕ Topo ✕ Trajo ✕ Tuberia ✕ Vivenda

Thus, this post serves publicly to challenge the outsider notion that the work of the group is based on fanaticism or eccentricity, and reinforces the sentiment that group members are in

[93] More on this topic in relation to the "Failure of Institutions" theme.

fact performing a vital awareness-raising and reconstructive mission in service of the Catalan language.

6.2.2.1.3 Constructing the Catalan nation

A final recurring motif which weaves throughout the dataset pertains to the discursive redrawing of the geographical boundaries of Catalunya, and construction of the whole, unified nation. This can be seen most clearly in excerpts from the above-referenced open letter to Carles Puigdemont, as well as in a subsequent post by P001:

> **Example 6.5:**
>
> I take the liberty of writing to you at this momentous historical moment for Catalonia, as is the attainment of the Catalan State again, because many of us in all the Catalan territories think, after three centuries and a half, **the future of not only the Principality of Catalonia, but also of the entire nation, is being determined**. […]
>
> In our opinion, your sources of information about the situation in each of our countries must be the most extensive and at the same time the most nuanced possible, so that the policy you define fits the needs, not in a contradictory, but in a complementary, manner **of the nation as a whole**. […]
>
> We are also convinced that the ideology you defend, so that Europe and the world endorse the democratic and peaceful **struggle of a nation without a state and therefore deprived of legitimate rights**, does not stop at the Franco-Spanish border: if it were so you would justify the thought, sufficiently widespread in the European authorities, that the Catalan problem is a "regional phenomenon" of exclusive "internal" Spanish resolution. **(P080)**

> **Example 6.6:** *P001 posts a picture of a sign at the Northern-Southern Catalan border commemorating* La Retirada*; celebrating the sign itself but complaining about the appearance of the Catalan text below the French.*
>
> Why put the Catalan below the French when it's our national language, which therefore should be the first one? For a Catalan person, going to Northern Catalonia is not an exile, and it's not going to France, nor is it leaving Spain either, since on the other side it is also Catalonia.

This wording used in this passage in Example 6.5 fulfil a particularly important role in framing the identity of the Catalan nation, and in challenging opposing external discourses. As mentioned previously, this open letter was drafted just prior to the independence referendum held in Catalunya in 2017 which, while illegal in legal terms terms according to the Constitution of Spain, was presented as being of tremendous symbolic import to the Autonomous Region of Catalonia, testifying to strong public support for the independence of the region. In the first excerpt of Example 6.5, P080 takes this assertion one step further, opining that the result of the referendum is one of significance not only to the Autonomous Community (the *Principality*) but also to *the entire Catalan nation*. Furthermore, in the next

excerpt, P080 stresses that, in forming future policy decisions, Puigdemont should endeavour to make this applicable to the needs of "*the nation as a whole*".

In making these comments, P080 extends the definition of Catalonia beyond the geopolitical reality to an imagined "whole" Catalan nation, incorporating both legally French and Spanish territories. This discursive construction of Catalonia is one which frames the Catalan identity as transcending established borders and the political-historical events that have engendered their creation: one is thus neither French nor Spanish, only Catalan[94]. This sentiment is echoed by the assertion by P001 in Example 6.6 that *La Retirada* – the fleeing of large numbers of Catalan residents into the south of France during the Francoist dictatorship in Spain – constituted an *intra*national, rather than an *inter*national, movement.

While these assertions may reflect some truth historically, the Catalan nation is consequently presented as very much the epitome of a "imagined community", to employ a concept coined by Anderson (2016 [1983]), in the sense that it is conceptualised as a reified, sovereign political entity and cross-border fraternity, in contrast with its far more limited modern day reality. Indeed, this is further emphasised by P080's reference to Catalunya as a *bona fide* "nation without a state" in the third excerpt of Example 6.5 – echoing the sentiments of Keating (1997); a premise which they build upon to amplify the seriousness of the issues of Catalunya's sovereignty from a Spanish domestic matter[95] to a crisis of international import. The image of Catalunya constructed is thereby reframed from one of an allegedly rogue, breakaway region, to an established (albeit divided) nation, wrongfully withheld a right to self-determination.

6.2.2.2 Identifying threats to Catalan

A major overarching theme across many of the posts in the group, deriving from a fundamental element of framing within social movements (Snow and Benford, 1988), is the identification and emphasising of perceived threats facing the Catalan language and its

[94] Indeed, this exact mantra is invoked in several places throughout the dataset, as will be demonstrated below.

[95] As it is frequently framed within the media, and by leaders of European and non-European nations (e.g. Agencia EFE, 2013; EITB, 2017).

people, and of the possible sources of these threats. As suggested in the group description, this activity revolves primarily around the depiction of Catalan as an endangered language, in danger either of becoming either obsolescent, or eroded from the inside out. These depictions echo the two principal fears contemporarily pervading some sectors of Catalan society, referenced in Chapter 3, and a large volume of posts serve to highlight and amplify them.

6.2.2.2.1 Language decay

A key culprit held to be responsible for the inside-out erosion of Catalan perceived by group members is that of *catanyol*: a portmanteau used to refer to lexical or grammatical borrowings or calques from Castilian and used in Catalan, often seemingly so naturally and frequently as to make speakers unaware of, or unfazed, by their origins (see e.g. Vidal, 2018, Garolera, 2014). One of the principal aims of ALNPL, as explained in the group description, is the identification and correction of such language – in both group-internal and group-external language use – as well as to emphasise the dangers that it is perceived to pose. Many posts, therefore, serve the purpose of either exemplifying and denouncing *catanyol* use – particularly when employed in official contexts – or in deploying alarmist metaphor and rhetoric to characterise its effect on the endangerment of Catalan.

Example 6.7:

The Catalan language is infested with thousands and thousands of lexical, syntactic and phraseological Castilianisms.**(P005)**

Example 6.8: *P001 criticises language used in a Catalan-language poster relating to Covid-19 health measures – referring to it as Catanyol.*

WARNING:

Catanyolvirus (Catany-20)

Example 6.9:

The progressive disappearance of verb tenses (subjunctive, past simple, imperfect, future compound forms, past participle...) gives rise to thought [stuck] in the present, limited to the instant, incapable of projections in time.

The generalization of using *tu*[96], the disappearance of capital letters and punctuation are so many mortal blows to the subtlety of expression.

[96] In Catalan: "la generalització del tuejament [*sic*]" – with *tu* being the singular and informal pronoun for *you.*

Eliminating the word "senyoreta" is not only giving up the aesthetics of a word, it also promotes the idea that there is nothing between a single woman and a married woman. Fewer words and fewer conjugated verbs mean less ability to express emotions and fewer possibilities to develop a thought.

Teach and practice the language in its most varied forms, even if it seems complicated, especially if it is complicated […]

There is no freedom without demands.

There is no beauty without the thought of beauty. **(P001)**

Example 6.10:

Analysis of two major points [*sic*] of the Catanyolist argument:

"Catalan is evolving, like all languages"

yes it is evolving... but not along its own path... in fact, [the truth is that] it's converging towards Castilian, it is hybridizing, Aragonese-ising, Galician-ising, being emptied from the interior, bleeding out, losing its own resources and the phonetic, syntactic structure, etc.

"it depends on the register"

a Castilianism does not cease to be so because it is used in colloquial register. Now, a Castilianism *is* much more serious and inadmissible the higher the register in which it is used.

"Catalan, as the living language that it is, has incorporated a multitude of Castilianisms, Frenchisms, Italianisms, Arabisms, Germanisms... "all the words in the dictionaries are as valid as each other others, whatever their origin"

We accept useful Castilianisms (eg "matís": we didn't have a word for this or it hasn't been found) and international ones that all Romance or European languages have (flotilla, torero, guerilla). Now, we reject those which have been introduced during the centuries of decadence, whether or not they were rejected by Fabra and subsequently the DIEC norm (through disinterest in banishing them, through acceptance of the status quo, through ignorance of the interference during Fabra's time or during the last 30 years) because they kill our own equivalents and make us lean towards exclusive solutions from the Spanish-Portuguese subgroup, to which we do not belong (*buscar: cercar, oc. cercar, it. cercar, fr. chercher ang. search ; equivocar-se: enganyar-se, oc. s'enganar; preguntar: demanar, oc. demandar, it. domandare, fr. demander, etc.). **(P001)**

The excerpts above provide only a snapshot of the multiple posts which share a common discursive theme relating to the danger of Castilianisms to the vitality of the Catalan language. In Examples 6.7 and 6.8, it is possible to witness users employing metaphors of illness, to describe the perceived consequences (and extent) of Castilian-to-Catalan borrowings. Catalan is referred to as being "infested", "interfered with to the point of death" and "mortally wounded". Moreover, in several cases, Catanyol is even explicitly depicted as a "mental illness" and as analogous to the then-emerging novel coronavirus, Covid-19, through names such as "Catanyolvirus", "Catany-20". Deployment of such metaphors of illness have frequently been observed as tactics of linguistic purists to vilify undesirable language contact phenomena (e.g. Langer and Nesse, 2012, Argent, 2014, Čičin-Šain, 2019). However, in

Example 6.8, the metaphor seems to attain even greater power, given that P001 forges an interdiscursive link[97] between perceived Castilian linguistic interference, and a disease which had only very recently emerged, had created a state of worldwide panic and confusion, and subsequently led to a deadly global pandemic. The effect, even if expressed in jest (as the coining of the official-like term "Catany-20" suggests) is to imbue *catanyol* with the same virulence, contagiousness and menace as posed by Covid-19 itself. This thereby serves to advocate the same degree of wariness and avoidance as would be shown to the virus, as well as to encourage a consonant fear and sense of peril at the effect of Castilianisms on the Catalan language.

This sense of peril is further developed by P001 in Example 6.9. In this rather poetic post, the user laments the consequences of the alleged situation of language decay, not only on the language *per se*, but on the cognitive capacities and expressive potential of its speakers (reminiscent of the disputed theory of linguistic relativity, see e.g. Lucy, 1997 for an overview.) They assert that the gradual obsolescence of verb tenses inevitably entails the limitation of the ability of speakers to refer to any time period except the present; and that the weakening of orthographic norms and forms of address diminish the possibility of subtle expression. Equally, P001 claims that the capacity to express emotions and form unique thought (in Catalan) is undermined by the reduction of the lexical pool of the language – occasioned by its replacement by Castilian equivalents.

Indeed, this assertion is echoed in other posts, such as that by administrator P005, who blames historical Castilian interference for the lack of a uniquely Catalan term for any given concept: depicting Catalan as being wrongfully deprived of the autonomy to develop its own resources, free of external influence.

Finally, in an almost Orwellian fashion, the user ends with two short slogans which effectively summarise the arguments made: equating "freedom" with "demands" (which may be interpreted as putting pressures and requirements on oneself to use the language to its fullest extent), and "beauty" (such as that imbued in the language itself), with "the thought of beauty" (the *a priori* ability to conceptualise beauty). In this way, the degradation of the

[97] For a description of interdiscursivity, see Wodak (2001).

language is likened to several different kinds of loss: loss of freedom, loss of free thought, loss of expressive depth and latitude, and loss of beauty. This attempt to form these associations may be considered a form of "frame amplification" (Snow et al., 1986) in that it attempts to magnify and elaborate on the direness of the perceived decline of Catalan, with a view to galvanising concern and support from other members.

Finally, another notable tactic used to communicate the danger posed by perceived language decay is to pre-emptively refute or ridicule counterarguments by imagined "Catanyol-loving" opponents. An example of this can be seen in Example 6.10, in which three arguments attributed to users of *catanyol* are exposed and discredited. These pertain primarily to the belief that the absorption of Castilianisms represents a natural phenomenon occasioned by the normal evolution of the Catalan language – similar to other languages, and consistent with its long history of borrowing words from other varieties. Besides this, a further claim is that Castilianisms belong only to more colloquial registers of the language, thereby implying that they are not necessarily "official" or "serious". These points are immediately challenged after being hypothesised, with the claim that the evolution of Catalan is, in fact, unnatural, particularly due to the course it is apparently taking towards the Spanish-Portuguese varieties – to which, as is evident here, and as was mentioned above, P001 argues that Catalan does not belong. Moreover, P001 argues that Castilianisms transform Catalan into a dependent language, rendered unable to make use of its own linguistic resources, and that this is impermissible regardless of the register in which they are used. As a result, posts such as this predict and resist external discourses which might ridicule or dismiss as radical or neurotic the concerns held by the group, or its restoration-oriented activities (see Vidal, 2020 for a concrete example of this.) Members are encouraged not to give credence to dissenting perspectives which might conflict with the interpretative frame of endangerment constructed within the group, and accept the latter characterisation: that Catalan is in grave danger of decay.

6.2.2.2.2 Language Decline and Substitution

Besides the language-internal threat perceived to be posed by *catanyol*, and again echoing the extant fears within certain sectors of the Catalan community, another threat that seems to be identified by the group is the decline in levels of Catalan use more generally. This is made manifest particularly through the sharing of alarmist, awareness-raising articles on the

subject, such as the Domingo article cited above, and works by prominent academic Carme Junyent. It can also be inferred from a number of fatalistic assertions scattered throughout various posts and comments within the group. The following excerpts are particularly illustrative of the fears of language decline and substitution:

Example 6.11:

"Catalan is in an absolutely recessive phase", "we are in a situation of linguistic emergency" or "we are so low that it will be difficult to get back up" are some of the answers from experts when asked about the future of Catalan. The data are clear: there is a general decrease in the use of the Catalan language and it is declining quantitatively and qualitatively in our society. At this point, experts do not believe that they can reverse the situation even if they enjoy a government with full powers.

This decline is occurring especially among the younger generations - who, despite having learned it, do not use it - and, consequently, in the newest and future areas of use, such as the Internet and new technologies. The fact that in high schools in urban areas only 14.6% of the conversations on the playground are in Catalan - as demonstrated by the Plataforma per la Llengua study - means that the premise and the education are faltering and thus Catalan will hardly be able to get out of the accelerated dynamic of substitution in which it is. **(extract from Domingo, 2020, shared in a post by P081.)**

Example 6.12:

There is a sustained drop in absolute terms in the number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia. […] Young people change their language much more or use Spanish much more by default. This would mean that they do not have the awareness that we might have had that it was a language that had to be fought for, due to the circumstances that it had lived through. **(extract from an interview with Carme Junyent, in Bassas, 2020 posted by P083)**

Example 6.13:

This makes even me lose hope, the IEC has realised that Catalan has no kind of future taking the path it is on, in 50 years the only people who will speak a Catalan "language" are old people of 60 or above, the rest will speak a dialect of Castilian with its own spelling **(P082)**

In Example 6.11, user P081 shares an article from the online newspaper *El Nacional* with the starkly bleak title: *Catalan in a linguistic emergency: 'It wouldn't even survive if we were independent'*. The portrayal of Catalan as being in a state of "linguistic emergency" would seem to draw once again on the medical metaphor, depicting its critical condition, and its dubious chances for resuscitation and survival even in optimal condition. It also serves to generate a feeling of urgency – that without immediate action the consequences of its death are virtually inevitable. This image arguably stands in stark contrast to that which might be

inferred from its demographic and legislative status and presence within Catalonia, as well as even from the "act before it is too late" discourse championed by Junyent.

The morose tone of the article continues, drawing on the authoritative judgements of academics to support its damning prophecy. Moreover, the author points to the seeming disinclination of children to use the language, particularly during school playtimes and while using new technologies, as a particularly worrying portent, further foreshadowing its inevitable generational decline. The article then continues to identify various potential instigators of this decline, which will be explored further in a later section.

Notably, the article also makes reference to the sentiments evoked by Junyent (in Bassas, 2020), which find echo also in a second article shared by P083 (Example 6.12), which takes the form of an interview with Junyent following the release of her book *El futur del català depèn de tu.* Indeed, the title of this article itself - *Carme Junyent: "El futur del català depèn de tu; si tu no el parles, no el parlarà ningú més"* (Carme Junyent: "The future of Catalan depends on you: if you don't speak it, nobody else will") is itself an ominous assessment of the vitality of the language, implying that only conscious decisions to speak it – rather than natural usage – will allow it to survive[98].

The article also strikes a somewhat fatalistic tone, underlining various threats facing the language, and the need for critical, immediate action by Catalan speakers in order to reverse its decline. Key among these is the positing of a general downward trend in the number of Catalan speakers, and, echoing Domingo (2020), an associated willingness – particularly among younger people – to use or switch to Castilian in conversation. Indeed, Junyent asserts that young Catalan speakers do not possess the same belief that the language requires, or is worth, fighting for, of which older speakers – survivors of the years of Francoist repression – are more acutely aware.

The theme of laying blame for perceived language decline and degradation at the feet of younger people is not an uncommon one within studies of language maintenance, with older, often more purist, speakers accusing newer generations of "letting standards slip" or of

[98] It is also a call to action, and an example of responsibilisation of the individual. As there are a number of similar examples, this will be considered under a separate theme.

failing, in some way, to maintain heritage languages adequately (Kulick, 1992, 1994, Dobrin, 2008, Sallabank and King, 2021). As will be explored further below, this belief manifestly contributes to the sense of pessimism and endangerment framed by the group under study.

Finally, in Example 6.13, an extract of an organic post within the group can be seen to concur with this pessimistic outlook, and belief in the inevitability of the gradual replacement of the Catalan language by Castilian, should sociolinguistic circumstances remain unchanged. Again, reference is indirectly made to a lack of action particularly by younger people, and indeed the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* is also singled out as being somehow complicit in permitting the decline – a point which will also be returned to momentarily.

Taken together, the sharing of both the article by Domingo (2020) and interview with Carme Junyent (e.g. Bassas, 2020), as well as similarly pessimistic organic metapragmatic commentary on the state of Catalan, serve to construct – for members of ALNPL – a feeling of imminent threat. The discourse of endangerment (Heller and Duchêne, 2007) constructed appears to dictate that, if its fortune is not deliberately and proactively reversed, Catalan runs a tangible risk of being pushed out by Castilian over time.

6.2.2.2.3 Fear of globalisation

A final subtheme which occurs less frequently within the dataset, yet which still weaves into the overall diagnostic frame constructed by the group, pertains to the threat posed by globalisation, represented particularly by the rising popularity and spread of the English language. This can be seen referred to again within the interview with Junyent, shared by one group member, but can also be seen referred to by in some organic posts by users.

Example 6.14:

Problems speaking a language correctly are often detected in adolescence among those to whom it has not been transmitted correctly. At that point, they don't have that first acquisition of a language, which is what allows you to acquire all the ones you need later. Parents who speak English to their children, if English is not their language, I think, are taking a big risk. And in the academic field, I have colleagues who speak Swedish or Danish or Dutch, who can speak in English about linguistics, but not in their language. And this is another of the losses that I believe Europe will pay for dearly, because we are giving up all the creativity of languages for English. **(Continuation of Bassas, 2020, an interview article with Carme Junyent, posted by P083)**

Example 6.15: *P001 comments on a Catalan Wikipedia entry for "Ruta de navegació"* [Navigation route], *complaining about the Anglo-French origins of the term.*

What a horrific term, **ruta*; a useless Anglo-Gallicism **(P001)**

Extracts, such as the above, serve as a reminder that the sociolinguistic struggle occurring within the Catalan context is not isolated from the wider, global language ecology, and that the concerns surrounding language shift in Catalonia intersect, at a higher sociolinguistic scale, with those surrounding the influence on smaller language groups of the spread of English (Phillipson, 1992, 2003, 2009, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2022, Badwan, 2021, Salomone, 2022).

The growing worldwide dominance of the English language has long been the subject of intense scrutiny, debate and fear within both academic and non-academic circles. Its power as a linguistic variety is rooted in, and perpetuated by, both structural and ideological factors, including the global success of Anglo-American commercial ventures, the growing popularity of English-language cultural commodities and lifestyles, and concomitant ideologies surrounding the superior usefulness of English on the global stage (Phillipson, 2003). As Salomone (2022: 4) pithily surmises:

> The message is clear. English is the *sine qua non* of happiness and power ("Of course!"). It gives you entrée to a world of colleagues with a similar state of mind and professional stature. Without it, you're left behind. You're insignificant. You're desperately trying to catch up.

The sentiment of the minoritisation of Catalan by Spanish, therefore, takes place within this wider context of global linguistic pressure upon speakers of a large number of language backgrounds, all united by their perceived need – or their desire – for English proficiency.

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that such pressures are not invisible within the group under study. Example 6.14, for example, continuing Junyent's shared interview, makes reference to the increasing predominance of English in Europe in domains such as academia, which she asserts will prove deleterious to the development of other European languages (including Catalan) in the future. She also references an issue of increasing interest (and some trepidation) within the academic community, namely Non-Native Bilingual Parenting; a form of language acquisition-by-immersion which remains understudied, but has thus far often been discouraged (see García López, 2021 for a fuller discussion). Given the centrality of the home domain to language maintenance or language shift (Fishman, 1988), fears surrounding the replacement of Catalan with a foreign variety (or merely a diminished exposure to

Catalan) *from birth* may be understandable; particularly when the foreign variety in question is arguably even "stronger" than its competitor, Castilian.

Finally, while much organic discussion in ALNPL revolves around the threat of Castilian, Example 6.15 reveals one instance in which the linguistic influence of English is both highlighted and decried. This takes the form of the Catalan word "ruta", described by P001 as being of English and French origin, and characterised as a "horrific term", demonstrating an added scorn towards non-Castilian external influences, which are perceived to contribute little of value to Catalan. It is worth noting, however, that while Anglicisms and Gallicisms are occasionally mentioned and criticised (the latter to a lesser extent), particularly within user comments, the overwhelming majority of discussions observed within the group raise opposition to Castilian influence. This indicates, as implied above, that English (and to some degree, French[99]) is perceived to be a less immediate threat, while Castilian – being figuratively on the doorstep of Catalan – is considered to be more pressing, and thereby more critical.

6.2.2.3 Constructing victims, perpetrators and allies

A seemingly logical consequence of the process of diagnosing and spotlighting a social ill in need of rectification is the identification of perpetrators, victims and allies: that is to say, those *causing* or *contributing* to the problem identified, those *affected* by the problem, and those *in solidarity* with those affected (Snow and Benford, 1988, Hunt et al., 1994). In the content posted by members of ALNPL, this multi-pronged, ongoing identity construction process is highly salient, with posts serving to apportion blame for the perceived decay and decline of Catalan, and establish the Catalan language and its speakers as victims. And, as a counterpoint to this, group members often share examples of individuals who serve as role models – due to their embodiment of the values espoused by ALNPL – as well as acknowledge support given by sources external to the group. This process will be explored below.

[99] As is implied in Example 6.2 above, it seems that that French is considered linguistically closer to Catalan by group users than Castilian, thereby leading to increased tolerance of Gallicisms (or, at least, less commonly vocalised opposition).

6.2.2.3.1 Denouncing Failures of Catalan Institutions

As alluded to in Chapter 3, certain segments of the Catalan-speaking community hold that a significant amount of blame for the perceived decay and decline of Catalan can be attributed to governmental and government-adjacent institutions, some of whom bear either a responsibility or the expectation to promote and defend the language. This belief is starkly manifest within ALNPL, with the primary antagonists framed by members including Catalan language institutions and linguists, the Catalan education system and media, and specific figures within the Catalan political sphere.

Example 6.16:

The Catalan people are victims of our own institutions. The institutions whose *raison d'être* it is to safeguard the language have abandoned this commitment and have decided to do the opposite: IEC and TV3 constantly attack the Catalan people by Castilianizing the language, reducing it to an unworthy *patois*. This state of affairs must be denounced. **(P005)**

Example 6.17:

IEC and Termcat and Optimot

We consider that the Philological Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies is what we call a linguistic authority. This authority tells us what is right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate, which words, expressions or constructionst are normative and which are not.

Surely those in charge of this organization understand that moral authority must be obtained through daily actions, through their works, through their leadership, through what they say and do, welcoming remarks and proposals for amendments.

Termcat and Optimot are often paranormative or even antinormative... **(P001)**

Example 6.18:

Leaving aside this lack of coordination, the president of the philological section of the IEC has announced the creation of a new dictionary. This new dictionary will not be based on Pompeu Fabra's, but on the Catalan Linguistic Corpus. It seems to me that it is clear that this new dictionary will include a lot of Castilianisms. And all this at a time when the Principality is experiencing a unique moment that will surely end its independence.

I will be very critical of society right now: to begin with, we add to one pot the majority of Catalan speakers who care little or not at all about the way they speak (which is usually full of Castilianisms like algo, lo, hasta...), then we add the majority of Spanish speakers who have learned the language (as is evident [because], in addition to Castilianisms, their speech tends to be a copy and paste of Spanish), then the teachers who give their classes in Catalan (which, whether they do or not, are the same as Catalan speakers who don't bother much to use correct language), let's not forget the group of teachers who teach in Spanish (these are mostly found in the Barcelona area) in addition we include the group of Spanish-speaking people who, despite living here all their lives, refuse to learn Catalan.

We spice up all these groups with political elites who say "Catalan depends on you (not on us, because if it depended on us it wouldn't even exist anymore, the truth is that it's more of a nuisance than it is useful)" and we add a good stream of only 4 television channels where Catalan is spoken (but they do so in a deliberately sloppy way). **(P082)**

Example 6.19:

Here are the collaborators that Pericay and Toutain had when writing the book *El Malentès del Noucentisme.* [*provides list of names*] **(P005)**

Example 6.20:

In your view, which are the philologists that can most be trusted, and those that are unadvisable for the orientation that we have here? **(P005)**

Example 6.21 (including Figure 6.2):

The well "evolved" Catalan that the IEC, Termcat, ÉsaDir, mitjans de comunicació and *catanyolaires* of every breed are leading us progressively towards. **(P001)**

Figure 6.2: Meme posted within the post in Example 6.21[100].

From this small selection of excerpts, it is clear to witness the level of distrust, disappointment and disgust levied at institutional bodies for their perceived complicity in the degradation of Catalan. In Example 6.16, the establishment of a victim-perpetrator dichotomy is seemingly created, with language guardians, such as the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, and the public Catalan-language television channel *TV3,* being accused of not only failing to support the preservation and dissemination of the language, but of wilfully participating in its Castilianisation. Indeed, they are alleged to be reducing the language to a *patois* – a highly pejorative term, most often used to differentiate undesirable linguistic varieties from those deemed more socially acceptable (see e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1995). That this

[100] Approximate translation: **(Man):** Come closer, darling, I really like you. It's really simple: you give me a kiss. I put myself forward to be your next boyfriend. Surrender to me, I'm a Don Juan, choose me. Let's join hands on this table located in this really cool place. What has to happen will happen. Even if you close your ears to me, you have to know that you'll stay the uninvited guest in my bedroom of love. Come one, let's start something, beautiful! **(Woman):** What a load of shit, this Tinder thing!

form of linguicism is being claimed of Catalan institutions, in combination with the term "victim", seems to portray the Catalan people as unwittingly suffering from persecution at the hands of their own community, and from betrayal through their failure (or refusal) to fulfil their duty to the language. Example 6.17 evokes a similar sentiment, implying again that the IEC has betrayed the trust invested in it by providing language tools – such as Termcat and Optimot – which often deviate or entirely contradict the norms of Standard Catalan.

Moreover, with the sentence "this state of affairs needs to be denounced", P005 indicates that, beyond merely resisting (and reversing) the Castilianisation of Catalan – a task that the group manifestly believes is one that should be carried out by such macro-level bodies – the act of instilling consciousness regarding the failures of these institutions is itself an equally important goal to be achieved by the group. The adjustment of perceptions is just as important as the modification of language behaviours for ALNPL.

Example 6.18, a particularly detailed and damning post, amplifies and justifies this attribution of blame to the IEC in reference to discussions surrounding their publication of a new dictionary – a dictionary which, according to P082, departs entirely from the anti-Castilianism norm established by Pompeu Fabra, and adopts another that takes a much more tolerant stance towards Castilianisation. This, as indicated in Example 6.18 above, suggests to P082 that the IEC has abandoned the Catalan language: no longer making any attempt to defend it from Castilian.

In addition to this, P082 goes on to list a number of other figures perceived to contribute to the quantitative and qualitative decline of the language. These include Spanish speakers, and speakers of other languages, who are alleged either to speak such a Castilianised form of Catalan as to be considered effectively a facsimile of Castilian itself, or who – through omission or through refusal – have failed to learn the language. In addition to this, and of particular note, P082 also lists Catalan speakers themselves as bearing a degree of responsibility for the decline of Catalan, as a result of their apathy towards their language use, and especially towards the borrowing of Castilian lexis – itself a perceived root cause of the endangerment of the language. This theme of self-blame is particularly salient throughout the dataset, and arguably merits a more extended discussion, and thus will be explored in greater detail below.

Finally, P082 ends by attributing blame, on the one hand, to the media more widely for its limited representation of the Catalan language, and implying that those that do use it do so in a deliberately "sloppy" way: in other words, *intentionally* foregoing attempts to use normative language, eschewing Castilian borrowings. On the other, the user offers an alternative interpretation of the slogan adopted by the eponymous language advocacy campaign of the Catalan Government, and the title of Junyent's recent work, *El català depèn de tu.* Rather than the intended message that the future of Catalan depends on the choices made by its speakers *in addition to* the work of macro-level institutions (Junyent, 2020), P082 advocates an understanding which posits that speakers are *solely* responsible due to the inability or indifference (or indeed disinclination) of the political machinery to maintain the language. This construal of this external discourse of individual responsibilisation is particularly noteworthy here: it would appear to grant even greater legitimacy to the actions of the group: that their salvific efforts are needed where those expected of those in power are absent.

Examples 6.19 and 6.20 serve as examples of denunciations of specifically listed individuals[101], particularly those aligned with Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain and the *català light* movement, including academics, political figures, journalists, writers, and various other professionals. In the case of the linguists listed, these are categorised either as "trustworthy" or "unadvisable", depending on the consonance of their academic views with their beliefs of ALNPL: in other words, their support for, or opposition to, Castilian borrowings in Catalan. Meanwhile, others are listed as "collaborators" of Pericay and Toutain. This term may simply have been intended as an anodyne synonym of "co-worker", however it is noteworthy that an additional connotation of the word is one who "co-operate[s] traitorously with the enemy" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2023). This definition is of particular significance within the French context, in which the term is often employed in allusion to Vichy French officials and citizens who actively co-operated with Nazi forces during the Second World War; its use by French nationals – of which P005 is one – is thus profoundly loaded. Regardless, Examples 6.19 and 6.20 further reinforce an "us vs. against us mentality", differentiating people whom the group

[101] As a mark of respect to these individuals, their names are not reproduced here, but are explicitly listed in the original data.

may consider allies, and whose views they should embrace, from those they should consider enemies, and whose beliefs they should reject.

Finally, the last example provided (Example 6.21), illustrates and summarises – albeit in a humorous manner – the feared outcome that is believed to result from the (in)actions of those individuals and institutions listed above. The image included in the post depicts a couple evidently on a date, having met online through the dating application Tinder. The man in the image is shown as attempting to convince the woman to accept him as her new boyfriend, however does so in an exaggerated Castilianised form of Catalan, with many exact grammatical and lexical calques from Spanish[102]. In response, the woman, whose face appears to reflect disappointment or dismay, replies "What a load of shit, this Tinder [business]" in perfect Catalan. The implication of the image seems to be that the use of a heavily Castilianised form of Catalan by the man is the primary factor that renders him unappealing to the woman, and causes her loss of faith in online dating – rather than any other aspect of his physical appearance or personality. And, by extension, the image therefore communicates the belief that *catanyol* is inherently unattractive and worthy of similar disdain; a discourse which lends significance to the post by P001, which states that it is exactly the form of language used by the man that public institutions and the media are leading the language towards becoming. A negative association is thereby created between a more Castilianised Catalan, depicted (however unrealistically) as unappealing and shameful, and the language "authorities" and disseminators of linguistic norms, who are alleged to be complicit in promoting it.

Indeed, a final point of note is the use of the term *catanyolaire* to collectively designate, somewhat dismissively, all alleged purveyors, supporters and users of *catanyol.* In Catalan, words ending with the morpheme *–aire* tend to refer to "a person who does something" (for example *pescaire* = fisherman, *caçaire* = hunter, etc.), but often with a somewhat judgemental connotation, implying that the activity is somehow morally questionable (personal communication with participant P001). Thus, the use of *catanyolaire* would appear almost to

[102] Such as **carinyu* [Cast. *cariño*; Cat. *rei(na), estimat/da;* Eng. "darling"], and **lu que* [Cast. *lo que*; Cat. *el que;* Eng. "that which"]. From anecdotal evidence, the latter seems to be a fairly common Castilianism among younger speakers of Catalan.

represent a form of slur to refer to anyone deemed to be associated with *catanyol* in some way, and serves as a useful shorthand to label collectively perceived antagonists to the beliefs espoused by the group[103].

It is clear, then, that a great deal of blame for the perceived decline in quality and vitality of Catalan is manifestly ascribed to institutions within Catalunya itself – the reason for which may relate to the additional sense of betrayal that may be felt as a result of the failings of organisations whose duty it is to defend the language. Indeed, in one particularly demonstrative (and incendiary) comment, this sense of betrayal is stark, as administrator P005 goes beyond simply accusing the Catalan institutions of negligence in the defence of "authentic" Catalan, claiming that their actions are calculated and intentional:

> **Example 6.22:**
>
> …the official discourse is that of promoting Castilianisaton. And that has no remedy. Things will follow this course until the language, and with it the Catalan Nation, are extinguished. There is not only no desire for restitution, but the desire is [actually] for assimilation. **(P005)**

Having thus established the untrustworthiness of Catalan macro-level language policymakers, the Catalan media, its education system, and its academics, the scene is discursively set to encourage members to conclude that the only option is for individuals – such as the members of this group – to take matters into their own hands.

6.2.2.3.2 Victims of French and Spanish colonisation

Beyond depicting the language-related institutions of Catalunya itself as antagonists, as has been variously alluded to above, another prominent, related, theme that emerges from the dataset is the framing of the Catalan language, and its people, as being victims of French and Spanish neo-colonialism.

> **Example 6.23:**
>
> […] in every generation for 358 years we have resisted forced assimilation, that is to say **genocide and French economic and cultural plunder**.

[103] And, indeed, the term is used fairly frequently throughout the dataset to reply not only to institutional targets, but more generally to anyone viewed as opposing or dissenting from the activities and tenets of ALNPL, including other users of Facebook who criticise the group (and even, on one occasion, a group member whose language behaviour is perceived to be problematic – see Example 8.25 in Chapter 8).

Many compatriots in the rest of the Catalan Countries should know that France, mythologized as a "country of human rights", is trying to erase *catalanitat*[104] definitively by imposing on us the name of our territory as "Occitan" and a new regional logo that shamefully falsifies our thousand-year-old flag. **(P080 in a post shared by P001, emphasis mine)**

Example 6.24:

[Is it] *Rosselló* or *El Roselló*? Is it correct to refer to Catalunya **under the French state** with the term (*el*) *Rosselló* and *la Cerdanya*, or is there no territory **under French dominion** that is not *rossellonès* or *cerdà*? **(P006, emphasis mine)**

Example 6.25:

Let us not read in Castilian. It is of no interest to us. It has been imposed on us enough[105]. We already know more than enough [of] it. A Catalan [person], with the exception of a *Rossellonès* or an *Alguerés*, when he writes or reads in Spanish **is a colonized [person]** and loses the opportunity to use his own language, and therefore weakens it. **(P001, emphasis mine)**

Example 6.26:

"When a people has been **enslaved**, if it conserves its language, it is as if he has the keys to the prison." **(Quote by Frederic Mistral cited in Bassas, 2020, posted by P083, emphasis mine)**

Example 6.27:

This year, all of us in this group have **liberated ourselves a little more from "Spain"**. We must continue to work at it. **(P005, emphasis mine)**

The sobering language used in these examples serve as a particularly revelatory insight into the perceived nature of the relationship between the territories of Northern and Southern Catalonia (together, the imagined continuing Catalan nation) and those of France and Spain. In Example 6.23, seemingly echoing a term frequently used by Skutnabb-Kangas and colleagues (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, Anders-Baer et al., 2008, Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar, 2010), P080 accuses the French state of continuing genocide against the Catalan

[104] The term *catalanitat* (and *catalanité*) is a concept that loosely denotes a semi-mythical sense of common Catalan cultural and national origins and belonging claimed by inhabitants of the *Països Catalans*, connotations of resistance and perseverance in the face of oppression (Latorre, 2013). Ethnographic fieldwork conducted for this project also revealed a tendency for this term to be utilised by French speakers and in French-language publications as a vague reference to a more abstract (often folklorised) form of *Catalan-ness* proper to Perpignan and surrounding areas.

[105] This phrase in Catalan (*Ens l'han prou imposat*) can be translated to English using either the passive voice, or the active form: "They have imposed it on us enough". The active voice is interesting to consider in this case, as the pronoun "they" may refer implicitly to the Spanish state.

people. The "genocide" implied is presumably cultural, in reference to the long and well-documented history of French repression of its indigenous minority languages, including Catalan (e.g. Judge, 2007, May, 2012, Kremnitz et al., 2013, McNulty, 2018, 2023). While much of this repression is indeed historical – and has included extended periods of explicit legal prohibitions and restrictions on the use and teaching of Catalan throughout many domains of Northern Catalan society (e.g. Bernardo, 1975, Hawkey, 2018) – through its reference to 358 years, from the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees until the then-present day, the open letter by P080 suggests that this sense of repression remains alive today. Despite the comparative freedom that Catalan speakers have in Northern Catalonia today to speak their language, the continuing marginalisation of the Catalan language from public domains, as well as perceived anti-Catalan political decisions frequently taken within the region, manifestly contribute to this persistent feeling of victimisation. The latter include those examples provided by P080: the renaming of the administrative region as *Occitanie* (mentioned above), and also the executive, controversial redesign of the logo representing the town of Perpignan, mentioned in Chapter 3.

Such actions, P080 contends, constitute continued, contemporary attempts to "erase" the specificity of the Catalan identity. This is accomplished first through the marginalisation of the language itself, and second through reducing the prominence of distinctively Catalan cultural referents, by amalgamating and blending them with those of other cultures (see Ager, 1999 for a description of this alleged strategy by France towards its indigenous varieties). For this reason, P080 warns Puigdemont that other Catalan nations must be made aware of the otherwise hidden suppression of Catalan within the French State, and the sharing of this letter by P001 arguably contributes to this process of awareness-raising and frame construction.

The strength of the term "genocide" is only amplified by other terms employed by users, including "under French dominion" to characterise the relationship between France and Northern Catalonia, and "colonised" and "enslaved"[106] to describe that between Spain and Catalonia. In both cases, despite the modern geopolitical reality of Catalonia – legally existing only as an administrative region of the Spanish state, and as a solely informal, cultural

[106] By implication, in the case of "enslaved", since it was the use of this quotation by Junyent within the context of a discussion regarding the decline of Catalan in the face of increasing Castilian use.

territory within France – it is perceived and depicted by members of ALNPL as being an occupied nation, having long been annexed by its neighbouring imperialist states. Moreover, as has been alluded to previously, this occupation extends beyond the geographical to the cultural, and manifests in what is perceived to be an imposition of the cultural norms and practices of the occupier at the expense of those of the occupied. Thus, as can be witnessed in Example 6.25, this is exemplified within the group as reading or writing in Castilian instead of Catalan[107], simple acts which are viewed as diminishing the functional utility of the latter, thereby weakening the Catalan culture as a whole, and reinforcing its colonisation.

The construal of the Northern and Southern Catalan socio- and geo-political reality in this manner serves, in stark and inflammatory fashion, to construct discursively a strong identity dichotomy between oppressors and oppressed. Such an interactional construction of identities based on differentiation is, as mentioned above, a well-documented phenomenon, (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, see also Hunt et al., 1994), and in this case appears to contribute to the process of *injustice framing* (Gamson, 2013). This process centres the focus of a social movement on a common adversary, with a view to galvanising the ire of supporters towards the depicted aggressors, and their sympathy towards – and commitment to aiding – those affected (ibid.).

In the current context, posts such as these, in consonance with the historically-rooted Catalan identity of resistance mentioned in the sociolinguistic context chapter, encourages group members to view their language, culture and belongingness as being under active threat. Accompanied by the sensation of urgency also amplified through various posts, this frame additionally sets the scene to motivate group members to engage in the language restoration and language behaviour transformation processes to which the group has committed itself; processes which, as the quotation in Example 6.26 and the post by P005 imply, contribute to the liberation of Catalonia from its oppression.

[107] And presumably also French, although this is not explicitly mentioned.

6.2.2.3.3 Models to follow

In addition to villains and victims, a final *identity field* subject to discursive construction by the group is that of the *pro*tagonist (cf. Hunt et al., 1994). Within ALNPL, a number of posts arguably serve the purpose of either framing the "ideal" Catalan speaker and group member, or presenting members of other language groups which, through their behaviours, can serve as inspiration or potential role models for ALNPL members.

Example 6.28 (including Figure 6.3 below):

Castilianisms shared between Catalan and Galician.

Recently, they have been purifying the rule, which was very lax towards Castilianisms, paying attention to studies about the language and to the pressure of society (especially reintegrationists, universities, Instituto da Lingua Galega) they have condemned Castilianisms that only a few denounce in Catalan. **(P001)**

Figure 6.3: One of seventy-nine screenshots, shared by P001, depicting language policing of Castilianisms on the website of Galician television channel G24. The current image shows the Castilian word for "iron", marked in red and bearing an asterisk to indicate that it is not the correct word to use in Galician, unlike the word *ferro de pasar* in green.

Example 6.29:

[…]

Even the Royal Academy of the Galician Language has taken the opposite path in the last few years: they have removed hundreds of Castilianisms that were normative until recently. That is [what it means to] gain awareness of interference, and not cradling people with all that "everything's fine", speak and write whatever you want. **(P001)**

Example 6.30:

Something is moving in Galicia. After promoting the change of the name of the days of the week (in favor of the "feiras" system, which brings Galician closer to Portuguese), they now broadcast a successful Portuguese TV series in its original version and subtitled in standard Galician. Clear progress towards de-Castilianisation. **(P066)**

Example 6.31:

In any case, it'd be important to remember that, in almost everything, we make reality, it doesn't fall to us from the sky, or impose itself on us all by itself. **The Jews didn't recover Hebrew because reality**

imposed itself, but because they believed in their destiny and they MADE it [happen]. (comment by P005, emphasis mine)

Example 6.32:

I don't make *catanyol* errors. I write how I speak and speak how I write.

My language is my mind and I don't want it to be inferior to that of the French or the Spanish. I don't want a disabled language.

As regards the disappearance of Catalan, I believe I have done my homework: I only speak in Catalan with my son. And I speak or write in Catalan everything where people will respond to me in it.

If you make mistakes you should use Language Tools for your browser and for Libre Office or Open Office, you will avoid ENORMOUS like *a finals de > A LA FI DE, A LA DARRERIA DE, A LES ACABALLES DE, A LES ACABANCES DE; A DARRERS DE (d'un mes). **(P001)**

A counterpoint to the demonisation of Catalan institutions for their alleged complicity in the decline in authenticity of the language (as well as the blaming of speakers themselves to follow in Section 4) is looking to neighbouring minority language community Galicia to showcase its perceived laudable efforts to de-Castilianise their language. Examples of this trope can be found in Examples 6.28, 6.29 and 6.30. In the former two examples, P001 makes explicit comparisons between the approaches to de-Castilianisation adopted by both regions, praising the apparent efforts of the institutions of Galicia (including the media [Example 6.28] and its language regulatory body [Example 6.29]) for their manifestly growing stance against Castilianisation. By contrast, P001 accuses Catalan counterparts for making little effort or willingness to defend against, let alone purge, the language of Castilian interference. Indeed, P001 criticises not only their inaction, but their apparent blasé discourse, demonstrated particularly by their laissez-faire attitude towards the linguistic choices of speakers – standing, in the view of P001 and ALNPL, at odds with their mandate to defend the Catalan language. The Galician context, therefore, is presented as a shining beacon for members of the group of an appropriate response to the perceived threat of Castilianisation.

Example 6.30, posted by P066, acts in a similar manner, but makes a less obviously critical comparison between the two regions. Sharing a YouTube video of a Portuguese-language television programme, P066 appears to praise the co-operation between Galician language authorities and television networks, demonstrated by the implementation of the latter of subtitles which reflect changes made to language norms by the former. These changes allow

the language to align more closely with the Portuguese language than with Castilian, and thus also represent a success in tackling Castilian homogenisation, thereby again serving as a model for proponents of de-Castilianisation within Catalonia.

Example 6.31, a particularly salient comment by P005, looks to yet another community as a role model for the activity of the group. In this case, the community in question is the Hebrew-speaking community, whose language revitalisation is widely considered to be one of the most notable success stories of reversing language shift (e.g. Spolsky and Shohamy, 2001), having effectively been revernacularised after a prolonged period of dormancy (see e.g. Fishman, 2006a). In their comment, P005 makes it clear that the successful restoration of Hebrew relied entirely on the active efforts of the community itself – it did not occur spontaneously, and would have been unlikely to occur at all without any intervention. This therefore demonstrates the necessity for (and efficacy of) collective and concerted action in favour of language change in order to restore moribund varieties, and, once again, serves as inspiration for the mobilisation of group members to "believe in their destiny and make it happen".

Finally, Example 6.32 may be viewed as a potential roadmap for bringing the desire expressed by P005 to fruition[108]. In this somewhat self-aggrandising post, P001 presents themselves as a positive role model, whose stances and behaviours, it is implied, should be emulated by group members. They claim that, perhaps unlike many of the other group members, they do not make any errors related to Castilianisation, and do not compromise on the quality of their speech regardless of whether they are writing or speaking. They also claim awareness that the quality of their cognition is contingent upon the quality of their language, and thus possess the requisite *desire* and *motivation* to defend its integrity against the opposing forces of the French and Spanish languages. Finally, they claim to have "done their homework" to prevent the disappearance of Catalan – implying the perception on their part of a personal share of the responsibility to maintain and restore the language –

[108] This example is particularly salient within the dataset for various reasons, and thus is also analysed within Chapter 8 with respect to its claims to authority in language policing.

by ensuring that they use Catalan across all possible domains of their life, including in their child rearing.

The underlying message, therefore, is that members of the ALNPL also have their own "homework" to complete. They, too, must develop awareness about the threats to Catalan vitality, as well as a *desire* and *commitment* to addressing it, through changes to their own practices (such as utilising technological resources to address their "mistakes"). This post, then, also seems to serve as a form of "wake-up call" to members, inciting them to measure their level of engagement and commitment to the cause of Catalan's restoration against the yardstick planted by P001. As is demonstrated in Data Chapter 3, the success of this appeal is not assured, particularly as a result of the manner in which it is delivered. Nevertheless, it serves as an effective example of the strategic framing of "Catalan allyhood" (or of the "ideal member" of ALNPL) for group members.

6.2.2.4 Self-blame and self-responsibilisation

An important caveat to the discursive framing of the Catalan language and culture as the unjust *victim* of external aggressors is that this discourse, ironically, is not used to exculpate speakers themselves from the problematic situation identified.

As demonstrated above, Catalan language-related institutions are apportioned a significant degree of blame. However, some group members view the locus of responsibility as being even closer to home, considering Catalan speakers themselves as those ultimately responsible for the perceived state of decline of the language.

> **Example 6.33:**
>
> *(sharing another group entitled "La catalanofòbia dels catalans")* Here we are putting everything that has to do with the fact that the Catalan people themselves are the only ones responsible for the disappearance of the language. **(P005)**

> **Example 6.34:**
>
> Why do you hate Catalan so much that you want it to be a transvestite of Castilian? **(P001)**

> **Example 6.35:**
>
> The only true impediment are the Catalan people who roundly refuse to take on any type of restitution of the language. **(Comment by P005)**

Example 6.36:

The 7 deadly sins of Catalan speakers. Laziness: Not defending the language and changing to Castilian to avoid problems… Wake up! **(Text of image posted by P083)**

Example 6.37: *Survey enquiring about the frequency with which speakers continue speaking in Catalan when responded to in Castilian. The question reads "I maintain Catalan if I'm responded to in Castilian?" and the responses are "Normally" (44 votes), "Always" (26 votes), "Almost never" (9 votes), "Sometimes" (5 votes), "Never" (No votes yet).* **(P081)**

The notion that language speakers bear at least some degree of responsibility for the decline of minoritised varieties is not without precedent within the academic literature on language shift, given that speakers are often understood to possess some agency over their language choices, and to make choices that are in their (and their descendants') best interests (e.g. Denison, 1977, Edwards, 1985, Ladefoged, 1992, Beck and Lam, 2008, Lam, 2020; see also Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977). As was demonstrated in a previous chapter, within the contemporary Catalan context, too, this discourse is not unfamiliar. Indeed, the language behaviours and beliefs of Catalan speakers are frequently identified as sources of trouble within the work of Carme Junyent (Bassas, 2020, Junyent, 2020); with speakers described as switching to Castilian for reasons of perceived politeness, to ensure comprehension, or – in the majority of cases – through complete indifference regarding their language choices (Bassas, 2020).

Within this group, this discourse of self-blame is likewise prevalent, and to some degree amplified – with some users apparently viewing the culpability of Catalan speakers themselves as in some way greater, or more shameful than the actions of external forces. In the first example above, one can see that P005 shares another group with members of ALNPL, encouraging them to join. The group in question is entitled "The Catalanophobia of the

Catalan people"[109], and the accompanying post describes it as a repository for content related to the fact that "the Catalan people are *the only ones* responsible for the disappearance of the language". The implication of the term "Catalanophobia", as well as the post itself, would appear to be that the Catalan people have purposely allowed their language to decline, and not only as a result of deference to Castilian, or even indifference, but through active hostility towards their own language.

While seemingly shocking, this concept of self-hatred among Catalan speakers is also not an entirely unfamiliar one to the context of the wider Catalan community. The term *auto-odi* has frequently been used to describe feelings of shame, embarrassment or inadequacy held by speakers of Catalan, particularly older speakers within Northern Catalonia (e.g. Bernardó, 1975, 1977, Joubert, 2019). According to Bernardó (1977), these feelings arose during the early 20th Century as a result of an internalisation by speakers of the image of inferiority attributed to Catalan – compared to that of importance and prestige associated with French – and eventuated a rejection of Catalan language and culture, which remains observable today. While not explicitly stated, it would seem that a similar sentiment is being attributed to Catalan speakers more generally by P005: that they are in some way complicit in the decline of their language, due to an ingrained belief (however unconscious) of the inferiority of Catalan to Castilian. And it is this internal mentality, more than any other external force, that is considered to be the most serious threat to the language, culture and identity.

The theme of self-hatred and self-blame is evident also in the post Example 6.34 in which P001 apparently expresses his frustration that Catalan speakers, through their excessive borrowings from Castilian – which, it is suggested, is itself fuelled by their sheer disdain towards their own language – are transforming the former into a "transvestite" of the latter. While this negative metaphorical usage of the term "transvestite" is obviously offensive, it appears to communicate a powerful message. Just as a transvestite individual may have been negatively judged by some sections of society as constituting an imitation of the opposite gender, and criticised for failing to embody the norms associated with their target gender,

[109] An attempt was made to explore this group as part of the current study, however a request by the researcher to become a member of the group was met with no response. This suggests that the group is selective with regards its membership, or, perhaps more likely, it is now no longer active.

while departing from those of their original gender[110], so Catalan speakers are accused of preferring an artificial, hybridised form of their language, over having pride in their own linguistic and cultural resources. The implication, then, is that the hatred that Catalan speakers have for their own language is such that they would rather permit their language to become a parody of the majority societal variety, as opposed to preserving a variety that is purely and uniquely theirs. These same individuals, as asserted in a comment by P005 (Example 6.35), also (predictably, given their alleged loyalties) resist any attempts to restore the purity of the Catalan language, such as that undertaken by ALNPL. It is such speakers of Catalan who are deemed the one true obstacle to reversing the fate of the language.

Similarly, P083, in a series of seven images shared, utilises the metaphor of "the Seven Deadly Sins" to represent (albeit in flippant style) what are perceived to be the most heinous actions that speakers can take against their language. For context, the Seven Deadly Sins (or Seven Capital or Cardinal Sins) derive from the theology of the Roman Catholic Church, and pertain to seven character flaws that are believed to predispose one to mortal sin: sins of such depravity that they are believed to entail permanent exclusion from eternal salvation (Britannica, 2010). In the current case, the sin of Sloth (or Laziness) is invoked, and recontextualised[111] to denote a language behaviour perceived to be shameful: namely, refusal to defend the Catalan language from Castilian, and shifting to the latter due "to avoid problems". As another user (P011) highlights in one comment, making changes to the status quo requires effort, and many are not inclined to make such an effort, and so maintain their current practices. Thus, in the Catalan case, this shift to the majority language of the country rather than maintenance of Catalan, in order to avoid potential comprehension difficulties or acrimonious responses – or simply due to a lack of importance given to the language choice itself – is viewed as a sign of laziness, and thus a cardinal sin. The imagery of "sin", while likely deployed with humorous intent, is nonetheless demonstrative of the perceived severity and

[110] Please note that the explanations used here are intended only to unpack the metaphor used by P001 by referring to historical societal prejudices against cross-dressing individuals. The author, however, in no way endorses these harmful prejudices.

[111] *Recontextualisation* refers to the transplantation of textual elements from one context to another, and is a common unit of analysis in Critical Discourse Studies (Wodak, 2014; see also Fairclough, 2013).

moral reprehensibility of such language behaviours on the part of Catalan speakers. To embrace Castilian in any way is to betray Catalan.

The final example seems to aim at ascertaining the level of this kind of "sinfulness" among members of the group, surveying how often they maintain Catalan even when responded to in Castilian – to which most reply "Normally" (52% of votes) or "Always" (31% of votes). This survey may indeed have been created in order to elicit data relating to typical language practices, however one might also conjecture that a possible reason for its existence may be to facilitate an "examination of conscience", to extend the religious metaphor. That is to say, one of its purposes may be to encourage self-reflection on the part of members regarding how often they do, in fact, "defend their language" by maintaining it in conversation even when shift is initiated by their interlocutor, or how often they yield to the temptation to shift to Castilian. Once again, therefore, this informal survey would appear to be based on the ideological premise that certain behaviours by Catalan speakers themselves are worthy of blame due to their perceived contribution to the decline of the language.

While the prejudicial decisions and actions of the language-related institutions of Catalonia, as well as the repressive influences of the French and Spanish states, constitute significant threats, resistance to these threats cannot even be mustered if the will to do so within the Catalan community itself is lacking. To adapt the quotation by Mistral in Example 6.26 (cited in Bassas, 2020), this would be equivalent to being imprisoned and willingly throwing away the key to one's release: a linguistic form of Stockholm syndrome. This helps to explain the reason why, according to this perspective, Catalan speakers are those predominantly to blame for the decline of the language, before any other blame can be apportioned.

6.2.2.4.1 From self-blame to self-responsibilisation

Assigning (primary) blame for the problems identified to the Catalan community itself (of which the group members are part) arguably somewhat complicates the typical process of identifying antagonists to resist collectively, since those who must take action are also paradoxically those against whom the action must be taken. Yet, by amplifying the discourse of guilt and complicity of Catalan speakers, the accompanying discourse regarding the responsibility of Catalan speakers to remedy the situation is arguably also primed. In other words, if the behaviours of speakers of Catalan are perceived to be a root cause of the decline

of the language, then if the language is to be rescued, it becomes incumbent upon speakers to enact changes to those problematic behaviours.

This is the crux of the message propagated by Carme Junyent, in the article by Bassas (2020), and shared by P083: that despite their role in precipitating the situation, speakers, through their own urgent actions, still possess the agency with which to reverse it. Indeed, P083 isolates and posts one particular hopeful quotation from this article, which serves to encourage this kind of optimism: *Són només dos mesos d'esforç actiu i conscient de parlar només en català, després ja et surt sol* ("It's only two months of active and conscious effort to speak only in Catalan [that are needed], then you'll be fine").

Thus, the framing of Catalan speakers as a guilty party could be seen not only as pessimistic, and an incitement to self-chastisement, but as serving to establish the discursive groundwork on which to motivate group members to better perceive their responsibility to restore Catalan, quantitatively and qualitatively, through the collective modification of their own practices.

6.2.2.5 Encouraging user engagement

In the theory of social movements presented by Snow and Benford (1988, see also Snow et al., 1986), after having identified and amplified a chosen social problem, as well as the key players involved in the problematic situation, the next logical step is to present the solution to this problem, as well as to convince adherents of their personal need to act. In ALNPL, the same pattern holds true. Having established discourses of threat, urgency, victimhood, guilt and responsibility, the discursive stage is now set to emphasise the role that group members must play in restoring the health, purity and dignity of the Catalan language, and the mechanisms with which this is to be achieved. The group description, which conveniently acts as a representation of the entire spectrum of themes presented here, already provides insight into the primary "mission" of the group: the rehabilitation of Catalan through the identification and suppression of external (Castilian) influences. A number of posts, therefore, serve to elucidate this mission, and provide the resources (both practical and ideological) and encouragement with which to accomplish it.

6.2.2.5.1 Establishing the mission: a change of perspectives

> **Example 6.38:** *A foundational post of ALNPL, posted by administrator P005, explaining the intended mission of the group.*
>
> To begin with, and as a declaration of intentions, I suggest that you read this article by Gabriel Bibiloni which you have below: *Pompeu Fabra and Interference*.
>
> .....
>
> The procedure for the research and identification of interference is the following: We are suspicious, for example, of the verb CAPTAR. In Castilian we hear people saying *'no lo capto'* and those that say that mean '*no COPSA alguna cosa',* that they don't understand it. So we have [the fact] that in Catalan, and it came to us spontaneously, we would say COPSAR for it. This duality reinforces our suspicions further. So then we can begin by looking at what the DCVB[112] (http://dcvb.iecat.net/) and we find that there is no meaning which matches the sense in which Castilian would use *'captar'*
>
> *[P005 provides dictionary full entry for CAPTAR]*
>
> And on top of this, we see that it [the dictionary entry for CAPTAR] sends us to ACAPTAR
>
> If we didn't have enough with that – which would already be enough proof – we will have the CICA (http://www.cica.cat/index.php) and CICAL (http://cival.avl.gva.es/cival/buscador.jsp) corpora to find if there are uses of ancient Catalan that the DCBV has not registered. And we can use even more resources, like the FARAUDO dictionary of ancient Catalan (http://www.iec.cat/faraudo/). If we wanted to turn it into a more in-depth task, we would have to look to all of the historical dictionaries: el FIGUERES, the TORRA, and the BULBENA, etc. But, in principle, looking at the DCVB and the corpora in general is enough. Sometimes it isn't, naturally, and then we'd have to resort to the *Coromines,* to Colon, Bastardas, etc…**(P005)**

The above post by administrator P005 is one of the foundational posts of ALNPL, apparently published shortly after the creation of the group. As one of the only pinned posts[113] of the group, it is presumably designated as one of the most important points of reference for all activity conducted within it. In the post, P005 sets out a "declaration of intentions", or a mission statement, for new members of the group, and reiterates and elaborates on the desired goals of the group expressed in its description by explaining the procedures and resources to be used.

Before closer analysis, the reader will likely be struck foremost by the formality and structure of the post: it presents, in meticulous and orderly detail, a clear process for group members to follow to engage in the task of de-Castilianisation. This alone seems to play a significant role in defining the nature and parameters of the space, conveying the message that ALNPL

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[112] *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (The Catalan-Valencian-Balaeric dictionary).

[113] Posts that are deemed to be of particular importance or significance by the administrator can be "pinned" to the group, which means that (in the current build of the Facebook platform) they appear under a dedicated "Featured" tab at the top of the group, where they can be easily found by members.

is not merely a group designed to host informal discussion about language and cultural issues, but an arena of serious, concerted work. This message is indeed consonant with the gravity of the thematic content presented thus far.

As regards its content, it could be argued that the post has two distinct but related intentions. One is clearly related to encouraging group members to engage in the practical processes of research and concomitant modification of their language behaviour. This will be covered in more detail in the following chapter. The other, however, arguably offers a blueprint for an alternative way of thinking and reflecting on language use. At the beginning of the post, users are invited to read an article written by Gabriel Bibiloni which discusses the deep-rooted historical Castilianisation of the Catalan language, and Pompeu Fabra's attempts, in the early twentieth century (Bibiloni, 1999). As mentioned in Chapter 3 the crux of the message advanced by Bibiloni in this article is that the work of Pompeu Fabra remains unfinished – i.e. that Catalan continues to suffer from pathological interference from Castilian – and that this work should be continued in the present. It is the continuation of the task of Fabra, therefore – the rooting out of Castilian influence from Catalan – that is established as the group objective, as is reinforced in the following excerpt of a later post by P001:

> **Example 6.39:**
>
> Pompeu Fabra opened the way, uprooting and erasing centuries of carelessness and linguistic and cultural interference. He also instructed us to continue his work because the Castilian language is tightening its noose more and more... **(P001)**

As a means of doing so, the post encourages group members to be reflective – and even "suspicious" – of their own language use, and of that of those around them. They are encouraged to listen to their intuitions regarding the authenticity of the lexis they employ, observing whether there are alternative, purer ways of expressing the same meaning. Following this, they are invited to act on their suspicions by engaging in linguistic research in order to ascertain whether their suspicions are valid: whether they have indeed identified an instance of *catanyol*, which they may then quash. The effect, then, is to encourage an "always alert" mentality: one in which the speaker is always on the lookout for instances of linguistic unorthodoxy, which views each utterance as potentially problematic, rather than merely neutral and unremarkable. It is the inculcation not only of a sense of what is "right" or "wrong", but of the (Fabra- and Bibiloni-ènsque) ideological instinct to seek "right" and "wrong" in the first instance. This might be considered an exhortation to users to establish

their own internal "surveillant landscape" (Jones, 2017, see also Cushing, 2019). This mindset is surely a necessary precursor to the autonomous act of self-correction in which users will be encouraged to engage.

Future posts serve to reinforce the inculcation of this "always alert" mindset, while placing emphasis on the importance of the act of identifying *catanyol* as a solution to the problem of Castilian linguistic and cultural interference, forcing Catalan into submission. Furthermore, these posts highlight the importance of *collective* efforts, in addition to the individual transformations exhorted.

Example 6.40:

Read the definition of the group and the article I have pinned to the top, please. In this group we will systematically correct all *catanyol* that we can, and we all have to collaborate to make the language better. **(P005)**

Example 6.41:

Let's get one thing straight: this group is dedicated to the identification of CASTILIANISATION, OF INTERFERENCE. DO YOU UNDERSTAND?

So no one can say – at the risk of making an enormous blunder, and moreover being insulting – that anyone in the group has any 'DESIRE' for Castilian influence.

The Catalan language is infested with thousands and thousands of lexical, syntactic and phraseological Castilianisms. **(P005)**

Example 6.42:

If we intend to restore to the Catalan language that which is Catalan in all senses, that is, semantic and syntactic, we will have to do carry out two processes: one, to remove the interference of the parasitic language and the other, to restore that which was lost. **(P005)**

Example 6.43:

We must make a real effort to root out these *catanyolades*[114] [which are] among the most ingrained in daily speech, which betray our Hispanicisation […] **(P001)**

[includes list of language features viewed as most "embedded" daily Castilianisms]

Example 6.44:

People who do not come with a questioning attitude, nor want to know anything, [should] leave. [They are] Better out of here. You know that the nature of this group is about research, not leading people to

[114] (Glaringly) Catanyol words and expressions.

> blindly obey the 'rules'. Research and denunciation. People don't easily accept you taking off their training wheels[115]. **(P005, in a comment)**

In all of the above excerpts, it is possible to see the practical aspects of the group mission reinforced, as well as the values, characteristics and behaviours expected of members who are genuinely committed to achieving it.

Examples 6.40 and 6.41, for instance, were presumably posted in response to some members expressing shock or resistance towards the purist attitudes of the group (see Chapter 8 for a more extended discussion on this subject.) In both, the administrator P005 emphasises that being a member of ALNPL entails accepting – and adopting for oneself – a surveillant, "corrective" lens: opening one's language use up to scrutiny, and participating in the scrutiny of the language use of others. Moreover, they emphasise the ideological premises on which this lens is constructed, and is justified: a belief in the endangerment of Catalan, and thus a rejection of Castilian influence. In other words, if one believes in the need to protect Catalan, one must forgo all attachment to Castilian, and be prepared to identify and root out its influence within the group.

In addition to this, it is possible to witness the repeated use of the first person plural verbal conjugation: e.g. *corregirem sistemàticament* ("we will systematically correct"), *tots hem de col·laborar* ("we all have to collaborate"), and *ens hem d'esforçar* ("we must make a real effort"). This word choice, in addition to the directly expressed sentiment, *tots hem de col·laborar,* serves the purpose of discursively framing the solution as a collectively-enacted one: the successful salvaging of the Catalan language through continual identification and suppression of Castilianisms requires the concerted efforts of all group members. Changes have to be made at the individual level, but must be realised together, as a collective.

Finally, in a particularly revealing comment, in response to a post showcasing external criticism of the purism-inspired behaviour of the group, P005 further establishes that membership of the group should be predicated on:

---

[115] Literally: *la gent no accepta facilment que els deixis sense agafadors* ("people don't easily accept that you leave them without handrails").

1. A willingness to participate in practical group activities: i.e. joint research and correction, and, perhaps even more importantly,
2. A true desire to question and learn, and preparedness to look beyond established linguistic norms, in ways that may feel disconcerting (without handrails, or training wheels)

As such, the examples listed above provide important insight into the nature of the solution that is presented to address the problems previously identified and framed. On the one hand, it requires a commitment to participate in the practical activities of the group, including engaging in independent linguistic research, and being prepared to identify and police perceived Castilianisms: "research and denunciation". However, on the other hand, the commitment demanded relates arguably, first and foremost, to a change in one's beliefs and perspectives. True commitment to the group mission is framed as entailing:

- The development of an alert and suspicious disposition towards all language use
- A belief in the existence of "good" (authentic) and "bad" (inauthentic) language use, and a desire to identify and eliminate the latter
- A sceptical disposition towards established linguistic authority rather than an automatic acquiescence
- A belief in the need to reflect critically on one's daily linguistic behaviours, and a preparedness to challenge the status quo
- And relatedly, an appreciation of the importance of one's individual action as part of a wider collective effort

6.2.2.5.2 Speak "correctly" and with variety

Building on the posts generally establishing the mission of the group, a number of other posts serve specifically to amplify the importance of using "authentic", as well as varied, Catalan. One example of this can be found in a series of posts by P084, a commercial organisation who offer Catalan language classes and proofreading (literally "linguistic correction") services. The series, entitled *El català correcte* ("Correct Catalan"), aims, on one hand, to enrich the vocabulary of Catalan speakers, by providing potentially unfamiliar Catalan lexis for everyday objects and situations to members of the group. On the other hand, as the name implies and in keeping with the thematic preoccupations of the group, it attempts to educate members about more "correct" manners of expression, avoiding Castilianisms where possible.

Example 6.45:

Are you accustomed to saying *"sortir endavant"*? In the grammar capsule of *"El català correcte"* we show you the correct way to say it. :D

El català correcte[116]

If you are accustomed to saying "*sortir endavant"* ["to get/go ahead"] (someone in a project, in an intention, in a piece of work, etc.), you should know that it is a calque from Castilian.

In a correct way, you have to say ***'tirar avant'*** or ***'tirar endavant'***.

Let's use the Catalan language well. **(P084)**

Example 6.46:

[*Original post includes images of a metallic tree surround, and another composed of sand.*]

El català correcte

The pit or hole that is made around a tree to retain water when it is watered is called an ***'escocell'***.

This can be a kerb or paved place (left) or not (right). **(P084)**

As in the case of the above posts published by P005 and P001, these posts reinforce the need for members to both reflect on the "authenticity" (and thereby "correctness") of their Catalan language use, and enact any changes needed where deviations are found (principally in the form of suppressing calques of Castilian origin). This, according to P084, is what it means to "use the Catalan language well" (as opposed to "poorly"), and, as such, many of their posts serve also to reiterate the ideology that such polar distinctions exist to be sought after.

In the case of Example 6.45, the focus is less on "good" language use (i.e. encouraging replacement of a calque with an "authentically Catalan" alternative) and relates more to a prophylactic attempt to fill a potential lexical lacuna on the part of Catalan speakers. In several of the images posted by P084, a somewhat unusual object, which is unlikely to be encountered in daily life for most members, is presented, along with an explanation of the correct word or expression in Catalan to refer to it.

The example provided in Example 6.46 refers to the metallic or earthen structure surrounding the base of a tree, an object which most speakers of Catalan (and even English, for that

[116] Please note: all text from user P084 was originally presented as an image, and is transcribed (and, where appropriate, translated here).

matter) would arguably be unlikely to refer to on a day to day basis, if they were even aware of the existence of a term to describe it.

By providing the lexical item for this object – *escocell* – P084 is arguably aiming to achieve two related goals. Firstly, as implied above, the post takes a precautionary step by providing vocabulary in Catalan that speakers, being bilingual in Castilian, may only know in the latter, and thus proactively attempts to prevent potential borrowing. Secondly, the post arguably serves to underline the existing richness that exists in the Catalan language – a fact which may have been obfuscated due to the minoritisation of Catalan. The perception that the corpus of a language is insufficient to fulfil the daily needs of a speaker may prompt the speaker to make borrowings from another variety, over time leading to more widespread borrowings and the possibility of shifts (see e.g. Dorian, 1994, Krauss, 1992). Thus by providing a term for even the most obscure object in Catalan, this may help to reinforce the belief that the Catalan language is a lexically rich, flexible, and thereby viable, medium of communication.

Likewise, several other posts within the dataset could be argued to fulfil this same purpose: of showcasing the already existing diversity within the language, and encouraging its exploration and exploitation.

Example 6.47:

Words in Catalan that should never be lost. Shall we bring them back?

-alinear ARRENGLERAR
-descansar REPOSAR
-desfogar-se ESBRAVAR-SE
-deslligar DESFERMAR
-invertir ESMERÇAR
-manta FLASSADA
-a cegues A ULLS CLUCS
-ocellet MOIXÓ
-per exemple COM (ÉS) ARA
-retrocedir RECULAR
-preguntar DEMANAR
-tallar el pa LLESCAR
-gratis DE FRANC
-barat BÉ DE PREU
-atrevir-se VEURE'S AMB COR **(P086)**

Example 6.48:

Words that we shouldn't allow to be lost

---desfogar-se ESBRAVAR-SE
---deslligar DESFERMAR

---manta FLASSADA
---a cegues A ULLS CLUCS
---per exemple COM ARA
---retrocedir RECULAR
---tallar el pa LLESCAR
---gratis DE FRANC
---barat BÉ DE PREU
---atrevir-se VEURE'S AMB COR
---com a mínim SI MÉS NO
---almenys SI MÉS NO
---bebè NADÓ
---flotar SURAR
---llaga NAFRA
---plata ARGENT
---verdader VERITABLE
---preferir ESTIMAR-SE MÉS
---inclinar DECANTAR
---horrorós ESGARRIFÓS
---freqüentment SOVINT
---excepte LLEVAT DE, TRET DE
---directament DE DRET
—confiar en REFIAR-SE DE
—contagiar ENCOMANAR
—despentinat ESCABELLAT
—estrella ESTEL
—gel GLAÇ
—rascar GRATAR
—tossir ESTOSSEGAR
—usar FER SERVIR- EMPRAR
—adequat ADIENT
—brillant LLUENT
—encongir ARRONSAR
—fila RENGLE
—hàbil TRAÇUT
—lamentar SABER GREU
—lamentar-se PLÀNYER-SE
—trampa PARANY
—xocar TOPAR
—animar ENCORATJAR
—destorbar FER NOSA
—dificultat ENTREBANC
—gotejar DEGOTAR
—ocupadíssim ATRAFEGAT
—pesat FEIXUC
—pujar ENFILAR-SE
—rodejar ENVOLTAR **(P085)**

Example 6.49 (expanded from Example 6.9):

Teach and practice the language in its most varied forms, even if it seems complicated, especially if it is complicated. Because in this effort there is freedom. **(P001)**

A large number of the words provided on the left of the lists in Examples 6.47 and 6.48 are very common in contemporary Catalan usage, and also very closely resemble (or are identical

to) synonymous (and often homophonous) words in Castilian: e.g. *barat (CAT) – barato (SP)*, *usar (CAT) – usar (SP), preferir (CAT) – preferir (SP).* On the right, P086 and P085 provide alternatives in Catalan which appear markedly different from their Castilian equivalents, but which are implied to have fallen into disuse (or at least lesser use) by speakers. Both posts, therefore, exhort speakers not to "allow" these words and expressions "to be lost", encouraging them again to recognise the native variability that already exists within the Catalan language, but which has been increasingly overlooked due to Castilian influence and interference.

The core message would seem to be that direct recourse to Castilian, or increasing Castilianisation of Catalan, is not an inevitability. The latter already possesses a rich and varied lexicon, most of which does not simply emulate Spanish. Exploring and exploiting this variation thus becomes a means of retaining the uniqueness of the Catalan language and identity, and of resisting ever-increasing crossovers with its neighbouring variety. This appears to be the intended meaning underpinning the words of P001 in Example 6.49 (expanded from Example 6.9). By taking advantage of the internal lexical (and phonological and syntactical) diversity and variation proper to Catalan itself, speakers can "free" themselves from any perceived dependence on an external language and culture, and can thus (re)gain autonomy in its widest sense.

In this way, beyond simply encouraging more varied *practices*, such posts cultivate a perspective that Catalan is neither limit*ing* nor limit*ed*; but instead possesses an abundance of linguistic resources, which are to be cherished and protected, and enabling – on its own – a full spectrum of expressive potential.

6.2.2.5.3 Use Catalan

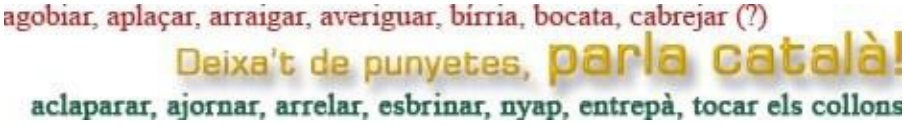


Figure 6.4: Image posted by P001. The words in red appear to be lexical items either calqued or derived from Castilian. The words in green are more "authentic" Catalan equivalents. The text in the middle reads "Enough nonsense, speak Catalan!".

As is demonstrated above, and pithily expressed in Figure 6.4, a key aim of the group is to motivate its members to *speak Catalan,* in the sense of employing a variety that can be deemed "authentically Catalan", and not simply as *catanyol*, or some derivative variety of Castilian.

Yet, a final important theme that arises within this section of the data pertains to the more general encouragement of users simply to *use* Catalan in the various activities and functions that compose their day-to-day lives.

Example 6.50:

[How to] Translate an article from a foreign Wikipedia to our Wikipedia?

Having created an account, you go to the column on the right of the home page, press "Beta", check the "translation…" function

Return to the column on the right, press "Translations". Search for the article using its name and the desired language of origin.

Now revise and touch up where necessary the automatically translated translation **(P001)**

Example 6.51:

APPLE, Siri Annotation Analyst – Catalan Speaking, Barcelona, Full-Time **(job advertisement shared by P001)**

Example 6.52:

Things you say in Castilian that you could say in Catalan **(title of article by Capdet, 2019, shared by P087)**

Example 6.53:

Live in Catalan, read in Catalan, write in Catalan, love in Catalan, fuck in Catalan! **(quotation by Mesquida, cited in dBalears, 2021, shared by P001)**

Figure 6.5: One of a series of images posted by P083, representing the "7 deadly sins of Catalan speakers". Translation: "Vanity: Don't believe the fallacy that the language is infinite. Catalan overcame Francoism, but came out of it gravely injured. We can only save the language by using it every day."

The above examples, while varied, collectively demonstrate this concern with members simply making use of the Catalan language whenever possible within Catalan society. Example 6.50, for instance, makes reference to the website Wikipedia, arguably the most prolific user generated online encyclopaedia to ever exist. Given that all of its content is contributed by volunteers, it may be unsurprising that a majority of Wikipedia pages are available in more dominant world languages such as English (6.70 million articles), German (2.82 million articles), French (2.54 million articles), and Spanish (2.00 million articles) (Wikipedia contributors, 2023)[117]. Catalan, by contrast, has only approximately 732,000 articles, making it the 20th largest Wikipedia site by number of translations (ibid.). As a result, it is likely that Catalan language speakers wishing to explore a given topic would have to either consult a different source, or consult the relevant page in a language other than Catalan (including Spanish and French).

Instead, P001 implicitly encourages users not to concede and resort to these compromises, but to participate in the generation of Catalan translations for articles for which Catalan equivalents do not yet exist. While this encouragement could be viewed rather as an incitement to engage in an activity – a form of collective group-external language management – it also conveys an important message regarding the utility of Catalan. It

[117] Although notably less globally prominent languages such as Cebuano and Swedish have among the highest numbers of Wikipedia articles (6.12 million and 2.57 million respectively) (Wikipedia Contributors, 2023).

motivates members to make full use of Catalan in even the most fringe and insignificant aspects of their lives (such as the researching of random trivia), and even where it is not yet used by others. Indeed, as a number of other posts do, as well as numerous articles such as that featuring Carme Junyent (Bassas, 2020), it inspires users to consider the absence of Catalan not as a barrier, or a cue to switch language, but as an opportunity to enrich and revitalise their own variety.

Similarly, P001 also shares a job advertisement posted by Apple, which sought a Catalan language specialist for the training and development of its *Siri* virtual assistant technology. As a particularly novel technology, the inclusion of Catalan within the set of languages available for *Siri* could be viewed as affording it an image of modernity and usefulness (cf. McHenry, 2002, Eisenlohr, 2004, Galla, 2016), which, itself, makes a case for preserving its vitality and maintaining (or increasing) one's usage of it. Moreover, however, the post also arguably highlights employment as an additional domain in which ALNPL members can (and, where possible, perhaps should) exploit opportunities to use the language.

Examples 6.52 and 6.53 take these ideas further, advocating that Catalan be spread into all corners of speakers' lives, including (as in Example 6.52) displacing Castilian phrases where they are commonly used. Indeed, Example 6.53 depicts the headline of an article and video, shared by P001, and covering a talk given by Mallorcan author Biel Mesquida at the presentation ceremony of the *Premi Trajectòria* prize during Catalan Book Week in 2021. The headline, and perhaps most outstanding (if shocking) phrase within the talk itself, reads "Live in Catalan, read in Catalan, write in Catalan, love in Catalan, fuck in Catalan!"

While somewhat coarse, the series of commands given by Mesquida sequentially reinforces the importance that he perceives in integrating Catalan into every aspect of one's existence: from the material that one consumes and produces, to even the most intimate moments of one's private life. As such, it should become the *norm,* rather than the exception. And, by sharing this article within ALNPL, P001 transmits this exhortation to group members.

Finally, returning to the *Seven Deadly Sins of Catalan Speakers* series of images posted by P083, Figure 6.5 depicts a recontextualisation of the sin of Vanity. The description of this sin would appear to add complexity to the established discourse that Catalan is a language of resistance, having survived repression under the authoritarian regime of Francisco Franco.

Extending the ecological metaphor further (see e.g. Pennycook, 2004), the image concedes that this is true, but cautions speakers against becoming complacent as a result, claiming that while the language remains alive, it has been seriously injured by its experiences. In order to keep it alive, then, speakers – and thus, members of ALNPL – must continue to speak it every day.

The image behind the message may add nuance to this message. It depicts a kitten looking into a mirror, and seeing a lion as its reflection. Lions are commonly associated with qualities such as bravery, ferociousness, and leadership – depicted in film, including the Disney classic *The Lion King,* as the ruler of the Savannah. By contrast, kittens may be more commonly considered inoffensive and timid, and possibly vulnerable without human care. The intended implication of the image may be that Catalan speakers are represented by the kitten: too meek and submissive to maintain their language in their daily lives. However, just as the kitten sees itself transformed into a fearless predator in the mirror, so speakers must be courageous and merciless in their linguistic behaviour, refusing to be cowed by societal pressures, or the Castilian language.

From this interpretation, therefore, combined with the text itself, Figure 6.5 seems to contribute to the motivational frame constructed here: warning members against complacency as regards the vitality of Catalan, and reminding them of their responsibility to make constant and consistent use of the language, eschewing any fear, doubts or apprehensions they may have about doing so. Echoing sentiments expressed by both Mesquida (dBalears, 2021) and Junyent (Bassas, 2020, see also Junyent, 2020), it urges members to have the self-confidence to assert their own rights and desires to speak in their native tongue, even if they feel disinclined or compelled not to do so.

6.2.2.6 Encouraging sharing of the group

A final, important theme that emerges from the data set pertains not to the creation of the discursive frames of the group, but to the propagation and dissemination of these frames, for the purpose of growing the group membership. There is only one such post present within the dataset, however it remains a significant post, contributing to an understanding of the operations of ALNPL (and CLSM more broadly).

Example 6.54:

DEAR MEMBERS,

I see that you are not sharing this group with your "friends", since it's been a good few months that the number of our members has not increased.

Make an effort, invite your friends to our group, which is yours. There is only one language and it belongs to all [of us]. **(P001)**

In this post, P001 demonstrates their expectation, and desire, that the number of members of ALNPL should not be restricted to a select few, or those specifically chosen by administrators or prominent group members, but should grow continuously and organically. As this had not occurred over the space of several months prior to the publication of Example 6.54, therefore, P001 exhorts members to assist actively in the growth of the group.

The reason presented for this is that "there is only one language" and that it "belongs to all of us". One possible interpretation of these assertions is that P001 is reminding members (or, at least, encouraging them to accept) that ALNPL does not (or should not) represent a fringe group, bearing little connection to the rest of the Catalan speaking world. The language that is being "restored" within the group is the same variety spoken outside of it, albeit undergoing a process of purification.

Indeed, according to P001, it is this purgatorial process which all Catalan speakers should benefit from, and – perhaps more importantly – contribute to. By inviting more Catalan speakers to become part of the group, and growing its membership, this contributes to a strengthening of the counter-cultural movement that ALNPL represents[118]. New members equates to a propagation of the core beliefs and discourses of the group, and thereby a growth in collective commitment to and engagement in individual language ideological and behavioural change. And, as a result of this, the force of the agentive response can be amplified, with greater opportunity for more widespread societal change.

Snow et al. (1986) refer to this process as "frame bridging": the act of reaching out to movement-external individuals and groups whose acceptance of, and adherence to, the framing of the movement is likely. Such frame bridging can be witnessed within the second

[118] Not in all cases, as is demonstrated in Data Chapter 3, since members may still exhibit resistance to one or more of the beliefs of the group.

group examined within this study, JPCR, in which P001 makes reference to a tweet by Gabriel Bibiloni encouraging Catalan speakers to continue the de-Castilianisation work of Pompeu Fabra (cited in the Sociolinguistic Context chapter), and then presents the group ALNPL as a collective response to this call. JPCR members, then, are invited to join in this movement, and in doing so, contribute to its strength, and thus the effectiveness of its restoration efforts (Example 6.55).

> **Example 6.55:**
>
> We invite you to the group *"Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua".*
>
> In this [group] we try to identify this influence[119] and restore the language, to put it in relation with the rest of the Romance-speaking world, in order to make it free. **(P001, JPCR)**

It is this intended outward spread of the group which sets it apart from traditional top-down and bottom-up language policy initiatives. The strength of the action conducted by ALNPL depends on its spread *outwards* to other individuals, willing to subscribe to the ideals held by the group, and to participate in this action themselves. This is arguably unlike a perhaps more traditional interpretation of bottom-up action, such as that carried out by *language advocates*, as described by Spolsky (2019b), who rely on the intervention of more powerful, macro-level language authorities to enact desired social change. In the case of ALNPL, this change is envisaged to occur, first and foremost, via the persuasion and engagement of other language speakers directly, who collectively use their individual agency to influence the development of the corpus and image of Catalan autonomously.

It is for this reason that this thesis proposes the term *centre-out* to describe the functioning of this group in particular – and of CLSM more generally – as well as the argued significance associated with explicit requests, such as in Example 6.54 to members to "make an effort" to disseminate and publicise the group.

[119] i.e. the influence of Castilian, mentioned in both the Tweet by Bibiloni shared as part of this post, and also the ALNPL group description, from which this text was evidently copied.

6.3 Discussion and Conclusion

Compared with the formidable resources available to official bodies and traditional "language guardians" (Milroy and Milroy, 2012) strategically to create and cultivate their desired perspectives about given linguistic variants, varieties and communities, one may be forgiven for viewing the agency of individual language speakers as being considerably limited. Yet, even lacking the same institutional power and reach, research has consistently demonstrated that individuals retain the capacity to advance their own agendas in creative and novel ways. This may be as simple as expressing one's own (dissenting) attitudes towards a particular language policy measure – (Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021, Ng, 2018) – or as elaborate as the formation of customised, local-level policy (Baldauf, 2006, Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008), or the engagement in language activism (Jaffe, 1999, De Korne, 2021).

The members of the Facebook group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* express their agency in a unique way that falls somewhere in between the above types. Beyond simply expressing their views on the Catalan language ecology, it is argued here that members of ALNPL collectively engage in the construction of an autonomous interpretative schema: a unique, and self-created perspective of their own sociolinguistic situation, which often serves to challenge extant, dominant societal discourses, or to amplify others. Through a series of ideologically charged posts, members are able iteratively to construct an alternative, bespoke vision of their language, culture and identity.

According to this vision, the Catalan language and its speakers are besieged on all sides: by French and Spanish cultural and linguistic contamination; by turncoat Catalan institutions who have reneged on their own *raisons d'être*; and even by Catalan speakers themselves, who refuse to fight back, or do the necessary work, to save their linguistic and cultural heritage. As a result, the language, despite its official status in the Catalan region of Spain and fairly healthy demography, is depicted as being in a critical state, being internally eroded by a pernicious *catanyol,* as well as replaced wholesale by increased societal recourse to Castilian.

Yet, this same vision positions Catalan speakers – and group speakers in particular – as the (only) hope for the salvation of the language. Through repeated emphasis on the responsibility of every speaker to seek the restoration of the true, authentic Catalan variety, and to make use of the language continually – and in its most varied and complicated forms

– ALNPL mentally prepares members to take on the mantle of defending and repairing the language. It stresses the dangers of inaction, or reliance on macro-level language managers, and advocates the development of a sceptical, critical and reflective mentality towards language use – their own, as well as that of others. It also empowers – and encourages self-confidence in – members to see themselves as both capable and responsible for making the necessary changes, and provides inspiration from both inside and outside the group for doing so. Finally, it clarifies and galvanises the image of the integral Catalan language and identity – correcting external misconceptions regarding proximity to Castilian, and cultivating the imaginary of a unified and culturally (and politically?[120]) liberated Catalan nation, rather than one that is dependent on its immediate neighbours.

In the view of this study, the construction of this discursive frame (or lens) serves two interrelated purposes. Firstly, as implied above, it serves as a collective challenge to macro-level discourse and image planning, as well as extant discourses circulating within society more broadly, by introducing a competing, self-authored perspective on the Catalan language, identity and culture, as well as the issues facing them. As such, to adopt a phrase employed by Ng (2018), and Vennela and Kandharaja (2021), it arguably serves as an *agentive response*: a direct questioning of the language management authority of higher-order bodies through the act of assuming the responsibility for discursively framing the linguistic culture, as well as countering other more hegemonic discourses.

Secondly, as the theories of social (Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow et al., 1986) and lifestyle movements (Haenfler et al., 2012) reveal, such discursive framing also serves a group-internal purpose. It is posited here that the publication of these ideologically-charged posts within the confined online space that ALNPL represents, is akin to a form of linguistic landscaping (Hovens, 2021): the formation of a discursive backdrop which users both contribute to creating, and draw inspiration from. Beyond simply being a case of "language policing manifested at the levels of consciousness raising and discussion" (Yazan, 2015: 351), it is argued here that this discursive landscape also constitutes the raw ideological material

[120] Views on Catalan independence are never explicitly stated or advocated within the dataset (besides three of fourteen survey respondents claiming that this would be the best way to protect or save the language). Yet the level of rejection towards the Castilian language, alongside descriptions of Catalonia as being an "occupied" or "enslaved" nation certainly seem to point to a support for independence.

with which members can reflect on, and eventually draw upon to amend, their own beliefs about their language and their sociolinguistic environment, in a process of *self-management of beliefs.*

This group-internal process may, itself, have two possible motivations. It may simply have value in and of itself: serving as a way to assemble and galvanise a group of likeminded people, who come to collectively share the same the same values and concerns about the vitality of Catalan. Beyond this, however – as is commonly the case with *diagnostic* and *prognostic framing* tasks (Snow and Benford, 1988) – it may also constitute the necessary ideological foundations on which to base practical action: in this case, the CLSM of practices. The latter will be explored further in the next chapter.

In summary, the actions of the group members combine both *collective* and *individual* agency, through their joint and ongoing participation in the formation of the discursive frame, which then potentiates their own self-reflection and, –actualisation through internalisation of the beliefs expressed. For this combined process, the term *Collective Language Self-Management* (in this case, of beliefs) is proposed.

Chapter 7: CLSM of Practices

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the "beliefs" component of the proposed expansion to the Spolskyan model of *self-management* (Spolsky, 2019b, 2021)*, Collective Language Self-Management,* was introduced and expounded. As was asserted towards the end of the chapter, just as language management efforts can be targeted exclusively at the modification of beliefs (Spolsky, 2004, 2009), so *Collective Language Self-Management* may have as its sole motivation the collective negotiation and construction, and individual internalisation of, a bespoke perspective on a given linguistic culture. Equally, though, the management of beliefs may also be intended as a form of ideological stage-setting, priming or predisposing targeted individuals to the readjustment of their language *practices* (ibid., Baldauf, 2006)*.*

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to explore the *practices* component of the model of *Collective Language Self-Management* (CLSM). While the techniques demonstrated with regards to the beliefs component in the previous chapter may seem somewhat subtle, it may be argued that the mechanism of CLSM is much more clearly observable within the current chapter. By way of definition, the concept can be viewed as: *the collective co-ordination and negotiation of modifications to language practices*[121] *to be implemented into the personal language policies of individual members of the collective, through processes of self-management.* The concept itself, it may certainly be maintained, is not a new one. The process of establishing a collective linguistic norm, perhaps preceded by discussion and consensus, and followed by internalisation and reproduction by participants involved, could be argued to be as an integral pedagogical strategy in language learning.

Yet, the theorisation of this process *as a form of language management per se,* akin to a form of macro-level-like corpus planning conducted at the micro-level, in which individuals involved serve simultaneously as policymakers, implementers and targets, remains to be undertaken. This, then, is the aspiration of the following pages.

[121] Broadly defined as either actual language production (i.e. the language used in speech or written form) or language choices (i.e. relating to the variety or medium chosen).

In the case study presented in this paper, it is argued that CLSM is made manifest through three primary activities: *linguistic research, metalinguistic discussion* and *language policing.* In the sections that follow, supporting data will be presented, firstly observing the collective processes entailed by these activities, before progressing to consider the interface between this collective action and the process of self-management.

The presentation of the data takes a somewhat more narrative form than that of the previous chapter, as the data emerge as a result of an extended period of grounded, netnographic analysis within the group in question. Moreover, it is important to note, the theory presented here remains provisional, and based on the interpretations of the author based on a single case study. It is hoped that further research will lead to continued development and expansion of the theory.

7.2 Data Analysis

As stated previously, the data in the current section will be taken primarily from the primary focal Facebook group for this study, namely *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* [ALNPL], given that, of the two groups examined, it is the only one with a clearly defined mission which directly relates to the practices observable within the group. As a result, the analyses can be better understood within the context of this shared, declared mission. However, given the fact that there are significant overlaps in users and values evident between both *Jo parli català rossellonès* [JPCR] and ALNPL, many of the activities carried out in the latter can also be witnessed performed in the former. Thus, some particularly illustrative examples from JPCR may be provided occasionally to supplement analyses of activities which take place within ALNPL.

The data in this section stem from continuous netnographic observations taken over the course of approximately twelve months, with further subsequent informal observational periods over the following two years. Reflecting this collection and analysis process, data will be presented in a narrative format throughout, supported by pertinent examples from the corpus collected, and from field note observations where appropriate.

The activities within the group may be divided into three main categories, which will be addressed separately: linguistic research, metalinguistic discussion, and language policing.

Particular attention will also be paid throughout to evidence of the systematic nature of these collective activities: that is to say, how these activities serve the ultimate goal of establishing collective norms and co-ordinating self-management of group members.

7.2.1 Linguistic research

In the previous section, the declared mission of ALNPL was explained, according to the "About" section of the group, and several of its foundational posts. One such post went on to describe the meticulous process of linguistic research that was to underpin the work of the group:

> **Example 7.1 (repeated from Example 6.38):** *A foundational post of ALNPL, posted by administrator P005, explaining the intended mission of the group.*
>
> To begin with, and as a declaration of intentions, I suggest that you read this article by Gabriel Bibiloni which you have below: *Pompeu Fabra and Interference*.
>
> .....
>
> The procedure for the research and identification of interference is the following: We are suspicious, for example, of the verb CAPTAR. In Castilian we hear people saying *'no lo capto'* and those that say that mean '*no COPSA alguna cosa',* that they don't understand it. So we have [the fact] that in Catalan, and it came to us spontaneously, we would say COPSAR for it. This duality reinforces our suspicions further. So then we can begin by looking at what the DCVB[122] (http://dcvb.iecat.net/) and we find that there is no meaning which matches the sense in which Castilian would use *'captar'*
>
> *[P005 provides dictionary full entry for CAPTAR]*
>
> And on top of this, we see that it [the dictionary entry for CAPTAR] sends us to ACAPTAR
>
> If we didn't have enough with that – which would already be enough proof – we will have the CICA (http://www.cica.cat/index.php) and CICAL (http://cival.avl.gva.es/cival/buscador.jsp) corpora to find if there are uses of ancient Catalan that the DCBV has not registered. And we can use even more resources, like the FARAUDO dictionary of ancient Catalan (http://www.iec.cat/faraudo/). If we wanted to turn it into a more in-depth task, we would have to look to all of the historical dictionaries: el FIGUERES, the TORRA, and the BULBENA, etc. But, in principle, looking at the DCVB and the corpora in general is enough. Sometimes it isn't, naturally, and then we'd have to resort to the *Coromines,* to Colon, Bastartdas, etc…**(P005)**

In order to undertake the work of suppressing perceived Castilian linguistic interference within the Catalan language, group members are asked to engage in a form of continuous authenticity testing of the language that they hear used around them, and, by extension, their own language practices. In essence, in the terminology of LMT, they are asked to note *potential* deviations from more historical, "authentic" variants of the language, and

[122] *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (The Catalan-Valencian-Balaeric dictionary).

subsequently to verify the deviation and clarify the correct equivalents (Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015, Nekvapil, 2016). Sources which should be employed to carry out these authenticity tests include: one's existing personal lexicon, approved dictionaries (including The Catalan-Valencian-Balaeric Dictionary (Alcover i Sureda and Moll i Casasnovas, 2021 [1920]) and the Vocabulary of Medieval Catalan (Faraudo de Saint-Germain, n.d.)), as well as several other historical dictionaries and linguistic corpora.

The instructions given in this post, as well as in others reiterating the group mission, do not explicitly state whether this process of noting and testing authenticity are to be carried out in response to the practices of other members, nor that the process should be documented and shared with other users. As alluded to previously, the implication appears to be that group members should adopt this reflex more generally within their daily lives, conducting their own independent research outside of the group, and using it to inform both their online and offline practices. As a result, a majority of this continuous and iterative process of linguistic research likely occurs invisibly, and is not explicitly made manifest within the group.

That being said, evidence that such research is taking place does permeate the other activities of this group, as will be demonstrated, and is also evident in a number of posts, whose purpose appears only to be to explain the definition or etymology of a given term, or the functioning of a grammatical rule:

> **Example 7.2:**
>
> **XAMBÓ XAMBONA**
>
> m. and f.[123] [LC[124]] Player who has more luck than knowledge of the game, who gets things right only by chance. **(P001)**

> **Example 7.3:**
>
> **APERSONAT, ADA** *adj.* Corpulent, robust.
>
> "It was this Dalmau Doluge, a very personable [*apersonat*] man with big shoulders and very thick of all the limbs..." Rubió i Lluch (editor) Curial e Guelfa lib. I, 38 **(P001)**

[123] m. = *masculí* ("masculine" noun), f. = *femení* ("feminine" noun)
[124] *Locució comú* ("Common Locution")

Example 7.4:

Necessary, non-superfluous article

Contrary to Castilian, you need an article in sentences of this type:

Incorrect:	*D'aquí entendràs el motiu i causa perquè no ho vull* ("From this you will understand the motive and reason for my not wanting [to do] it.")
Correct:	*D'aquí entendràs el motiu i la causa perquè no ho vull*
Incorrect:	*Ho has de sentir en el teu cor i ànima* ("You have to feel it in your heart and soul")
Correct:	*Ho has de sentir en el teu cor i la teva ànima*
Incorrect:	*Tota la glòria i formosor de l'actriu* ("All the glory and beauty of the actress")
Correct:	*Tota la glòria i la formosor de l'actriu* **(P001)**

The above posts serve as just three examples of P001, one of the most active members of ALNPL, sharing the fruits of their own linguistic research. Examples 7.2 and 7.3 appear to serve the purpose of showcasing lexical items that are particularly noteworthy either due to being less commonly known or used (correctly), or because they represent a more "authentic" variant of a more commonly used alternative. Example 7.2 resembles a standard dictionary definition, containing the possible genders of the noun, the acronym "LC", designating the word as a common lexical item, and an explanation of the denotation of the term. Example 7.3 adopts a similar form, adding also a quotation to exemplify the correct application of the term in use. Finally, Example 7.3 serves as an explanation of correct article usage in Catalan compared to Castilian: specifically pertaining to a need to repeat definite articles in a list, rather than only prior to the first item in the list, as in Castilian. The use of the terms "non-superfluous", and the apposition of "Incorrect" vs. "Correct" markers, suggest that omission of these repeated definite articles is a common occurrence, at least within the wider Catalan-speaking community, if not also within ALNPL itself. The post therefore serves to reiterate the "authentic" manner in which to employ the Catalan language, while spotlighting problematic, deviant language use.

Posts such as these are extremely common within the group, and appear to serve as a written manifestation of the individual processes of linguistic research carried out by P001 (and other users). This linguistic research constitutes the primary driver for the continuous, iterative process of dismantling and reconstructing the language practices of users themselves, and, by extension, the linguistic makeup of the Catalan language itself, in line

with the established group mission. Each instance of authenticity testing conducted – such as those evidenced in the posts by P001 above – serves as an additional step towards the de-Castilianisation of the language use of each individual member, directing their own self-management. Where this research is then shared publicly, such posts collectively form a repository of "authentic language" – similar to the repository of Ottoman Turkish constructed by Facebook users, observed in Yazan (2015) – which can arguably serve as inspiration for the language practices of other members, functioning as one vector for the co-ordination of collective self-management[125]

Admittedly however, such links are tenuous, and such explicit documentation of linguistic research within ALNPL is the exception rather than the norm, with P001 being the user most frequently observed to engage in this practice. On a surface level, P001's posts imply the existence of a linguistic research process within the group, as advocated for by P005's instructional post, but evidence only P001's participation in it. Moreover, the posts themselves are largely *monologic* (Kelly-Holmes, 2015), in that they neither elicit nor prompt interaction from other group members. Thus, the engagement of other users in their own processes of linguistic research, as well as the effect of the sharing of this research by P001 on the self-management decisions of others, can only be inferred at this stage.

The engagement of other users in the collective language management process is, however, arguably clearer with respect to the other activities that can be witnessed within ALNPL. Unlike the majority of posts made by P001, sharing their own linguistic research, these activities are significantly more *dialogic* (ibid.), involving (often protracted) interaction and negotiation between different group members, seemingly with the purpose of establishing a

[125] The creation and use of this repository for the purposes of social (linguistic) transformation would appear to bear allusion to the notion of the *virtual escrache* described by Levey (2020). In reference to the transition of physical protests to digital spaces in post-dictatorship Argentina, the term relates to the archiving of textual and visual artefacts as serving not only to preserve records of past events, but as living, "performative" archives, contributing to the structuring of current and future social change. Similarly, the continuous iteration of a living glossary of authentic Catalan serves an active role in promoting the restructuring of the language behaviour of ALNPL members, and in progressively reforming and restandardising the corpus of the language over time.

shared linguistic norm[126]. These collective endeavours are summarised into two categories: *metalinguistic discussion* and *language policing*.

7.2.2 Metalinguistic discussion

The term *metalinguistic discussion* is operationalised here as multi-speaker interactions pertaining to the corpus of a given language, and its deployment in practice. That is to say, such discussions centre around the *forms* of a language *per se*, or as used by discussants – or people outwith the discussion – rather than on the *functions* thereof. The concept of *metalinguistic discussion* is certainly not new, nor is the engagement of language learners and speakers in it, both on- and offline.

The term *metatalk* (or *metalinguistic reflection*), employed by Myhill and Newman (2016) (and attributed to Swain (1995, 1998)), refers to a similar form of interaction in which classroom participants engage in discussions related to their own – or other's – language use. This practice of "using language to reflect on language use" (Myhill and Newman, 2016: 178) is often deployed for pedagogical purposes, such as developing an understanding of meaning-form-function links in an L2 (Swain, 1998: 69).

New media, and social networking sites and applications in particular, have also become an increasingly common venue for such discussions, often (somewhat ironically) fuelled by ideologies of modernism, purism and uniformism (e.g. Blommaert, 2009, Blommaert et al., 2009). Heuman (2020, 2022), for example, studied the emergence and negotiation of language ideology through metalinguistic discussions among users of the German social networking application, Jodel. In her analyses, Heuman (2020) demonstrates the way in which users of the app make use of textual comments to draw attention to, and evaluate the Swedish language use of other users – legitimising or denouncing certain forms used according to ideals of "correctness" and "incorrectness". These comments, thus, become

[126] Of course, these negotiations do not always result in consensus, as can be witnessed below, and even more clearly in the third data chapter of this work. Nevertheless, it is argued that such interactions, whether reaching and resolution or not, inevitably provoke reflection on "good" and "bad" language use among those who engage in them – throwing into question accepted "standard" variants, and often showcasing a wealth linguistic diversity, which itself reinforces the existing richness of the Catalan language for users.

both the vehicle and building blocks of uniformist-oriented ideologies and linguistic authority.

As alluded to previously Sherman and Švelch (2015) present a similar case in which users of Facebook make use of the platform to isolate, scrutinise, and inventorise perceived "bad" uses of grammar from various fora on- and offline, again driven (albeit, perhaps playfully) by an ideology of language purism. Likewise, Karimzad and Sibgatullina (2018) observe similar (albeit distinctly less playful) phenomena among Tatar and Iranian Azerbaijanis; whose purism-fuelled metapragmatic discussions on Facebook, they claim, serve as a form of identity work, facilitating ideological (dis)alignments with desired national identities.

Finally, in perhaps one of the most similar cases to that featured here, Lenihan (2014) examines the activities of a group of amateur Irish translators on the Facebook translations app. In this case, by means of metalinguistic discussion, users are able to propose, deliberate and democratically vote on the most correct Irish translations of sections of the Facebook website; with designated senior translators even subsequently permitted to immortalise successfully voted translations in the official style guide (ibid.). These activities, Lenihan (ibid.: 223) contends, constitute a form of "language policy as an ongoing process, rather than an endpoint of a process", emerging and re-emerging (in both bottom-up and top-down fashion) from the continual cycles of user-led metalinguistic negotiations.

The notion of metalinguistic discussion as the site of ongoing, iterative policy creation and negotiation, it is argued here, is particularly pertinent to the seemingly systematic activities observable within *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, in its ongoing, overarching struggle against Castilianisation.

Metalinguistic discussions within ALNPL are often initiated through questions by users, frequently in the form of "authenticity checks", as is exemplified in Example 7.5.

Example 7.5:

"PASSAR (un llibre)" volent dir "estudiar (un llibre)" és autèntic?

(*Is "TO GO OVER*[127] *(a book)" meaning "TO STUDY (a book)"authentic?*) **(P045)**

[127] Approximate translation.

In this example, P045 opens the discussion with a a question interrogating the "authenticity" of a certain Catalan expression, seemingly directly inspired by the declared mission of the group. In so doing, they enjoin other users to assist in the determination. Unsurprisingly, therefore, a number of users then reply to this post to make the case for and against the premise, and employing various sources to support their argument.

Example 7.5 (contd.)

P091	You can say that in Gascon	
P092	We don't say that here	
P066	I don't understand it. Can you give a contextualised example of it?	
****	**P045 (OP[128])**	Yesterday, my grandmother spoke to me about when she went to school and she said *"Lo primer llibre que vaig passar a costura".*
****	**P066**	In that case, I didn't know that use.
****	**P091**	We mostly say *PASSAR UA LEÇON*
P093	If memory serves me right, at school, when someone completed a given textbook and you went on to the higher one, the parents used to ask you, for example "have you gone past/gone over[129] the first book?" which rather than "go beyond", meant "you know it, you've studied it". I may be wrong because that was many years ago.	
****	**P094**	It was like that
P001	*Compulsar un llibre?*	
P001	*Acabar o enllestir R[130] un llibre, haver acabat un llibre?*	
P001	**cartilla* > solutions in my book	
****	**P093**	I used the word "cartilla" well aware that it isn't Catalan, but it was the term that was used at the time. I'll consult your book.
P095	I did use it with that meaning *(sentit)*: *aquest ja l'he passat, ara passo el de segon* (I've already gone over this one, now I'm going over the second one).	
****	**P001**	**sentit m.: seny, significat*
P001	PASSAR v. n.	
	To study, read a teaching book; attend schools, take a lesson; suffer an exam.	
	"Ere un hermita e havie un fadri que li mostrave de legir, e dona li hora que	

[128] Original poster.
[129] Approximate translation.
[130] R = Specific to Rossellonese Catalan.

vingues a passar... E veus que una vegada lo fadri vingue a la sua cella que l passas, e troba l adormit." Ferrer, Vicent Reportationes Sermonum VI, 170 v

"Item a la setena hora, la Declinacio e Proverbi e Catho e Contemptus, legint ne a principi per los qui son principians de .iij. en quatre parells, los quals Catho e Contemptus se hagen a legir e passar dues vegades de la ffesta de St. luch fins a Sent Johan per bone usança e costuma." Capítols de les escoles e estudi de la vila de Cervera Any 1442

P096 My grandmother said it as *"passar la lliçó"*

P097 Yes, we said it when I was little.

The above interaction serves as an illustrative example of a metalinguistic discussion serving not only to satisfy the curiosity of the individual user who posed the question, but also as a process of collectively attempting to negotiate and define a linguistic norm, and thereby establish a model for other members to follow.

P045 initiates the interaction by identifying a specific linguistic phenomenon which they have encountered or reflected on (in Language Management Theory terms, which they have "noted" (e.g. Nekvapil, 2016)), and appeals to other members of the group to pass judgement on (to "evaluate" (ibid.)) its compatibility with the ideology of linguistic purity underpinning the ethos of the group. As alluded to above, this very action appears to stem directly from the officially declared mission of the group – the systematic, collective identification and suppression of Castilian "interference", and the (re)discovery and restoration of authentic Catalan.

In response, other users are prompted to engage in conscious self-reflection of their own current and historical language use, and to engage in their own processes of authenticity testing. From this, the members provide a ruling on the acceptability of the linguistic phenomenon in question, either:

- Approving of the phenomenon (e.g. because either they, or others around them, would use it themselves, in Catalan or a related language – P091, P093, P097)
- Rejecting the phenomenon (e.g. because it does not coincide with their own experience of the language – P092)
- Probing the phenomenon or offering alternative suggestions (e.g. P066, P001, P096)

In the case of P001, the query by P045 also engenders further linguistic research and the provision of (in this case) supporting evidence, in the form of a dictionary entry, and two historical quotations testifying to the acceptability of the posited usage.

In their most perfect form, metalinguistic discussions, such as Example 7.5 above, would result in the establishment of a clearly defined norm, to be adopted widely throughout the group. It is worth underlining, however, that a definitive consensus does not appear to be reached within this particular metalinguistic discussion – and, indeed, further discussions and research may be required to reach this stage, if at all.

In spite of this, it might be argued that the significance of this exchange arguably lies not in whether or not a clear, explicit consensus was achieved, but in the collective, deliberative process itself, and the linguistic research and self-reflection among other users which is manifestly triggered through the exchange. Through this process, the interaction evolves from one of simple information transaction, to one which facilitates the self-management of P045 through the engagement of other members in this process, and, secondly potentiates the self-analysis and self-transformation of those other members. That is to say, while the post was originally intended only to allow P045 to decide whether to accept or reject the linguistic phenomenon presented, in providing responses, other members become active contributors to P045's individual decision-making process, as well as beneficiaries of the deliberations and evidence presented. The other interactants are thereby able to make their own decisions as to the acceptability of the phenomenon presented, and whether to adapt their language use accordingly.

Moreover, the benefits of this collective, reflective process are not limited to those users who actively engage in it by contributing their own viewpoints and evidence. Indeed, while small in scale, the supplementary survey undertaken for this project revealed that many users visited ALPNL simply to view content posted there, rather than contributing content themselves (see Table 7.1).

	Visit the group (to read others' posts or comments) (n=11)	Comment on others' posts (n=11)	Share things (websites/articles etc.) in the group (n=11)	Write your own post (n=10)
Every day	45.5%	9.1%	9.1%	0%
A few times per week	36.4%	9.1%	9.1%	0%
A few times per month	0%	0%	9.1%	10%
A few times per year or less often	18.2%	81.8%	72.7%	90%

Table 7.1: Results from Supplementary Survey relating to frequency of activities conducted in ALNPL

While the results depicted in Table 7.1 should, of course, be taken with a pinch of salt due to the very small sample size surveyed, the responses that were contributed point to a potential trend in user activity. While active usage of the group may be rarer, consumption of – and reaction to – content posted by others may be much more prevalent. This assertion is further evidenced by the frequency of posts (and to a lesser extent, comments) within the timeline of the group that can be attributed to only a small subset of users, compared to the total membership of the group. Consequently, it appears that where engagement with the group occurs at all, it may be predominantly in the form of passive consumption.

As a result, and mindful of the aforementioned caveats, one might conclude that the reflective process initiated by posts such as that published by P045 have the potential to reach and affect members beyond only those engaged in the interaction itself. With reference to Language Management Theory, this would imply that metalinguistic discussions within ALNPL are both *interactional* and *trans-interactional* – the deliberative processes undertaken within them serve as language management both locally, for the interactants directly, AND externally, for non-interactant observers. This entire process, therefore, allows for potential language changes (and any norms established) to radiate outwards from one individual member to, potentially, the whole group (see Figure 7.1 below).

In some cases, a much clearer consensus does appear to be reached, leading to the establishment of a much more definitive norm – and one which thereby lends itself more easily to outward dissemination (see Example 7.6 below).

Example 7.6:

P023: ABANS QUE or ABANS DE QUE?

P102: I've heard people saying it both ways *[maneres]* and I suppose *[soposo]* it changes depending *[depen]* on the region…

P001: @P102 *manerEs sUposo depÈn*

P102: @P001 Thank you

P102: @P001 Thank you but sometimes the accents don't want to come out if I'm replying *[contesto]* from *[desde el]* my mobile because the keyboard always changes languages and the autocorrect has its fill!

P001: @P??? *contestar* doesn't mean *Respondre*

**des del* : *AMB el móbil*

P001: Let's not kid ourselves!

"DE QUE" is always *catanyol*

Abans que or *Abans no*

P023: Always? Sometimes the *"de"* is superfluous, in Catalan as much as in Castilian: *"He arribat abans que tu/He llegado antes que tu".*

P098: But the fact that in Castilian they don't always use it doesn't mean that in Catalan we don't use it

P098: I, in fact, use neither *"abans que",* always *"abans no"*.

P099: @P023 That's a literal translation from Castilian. In Vinaròs we've always said *"hai arribat primer que tu".*

P045: @P099 Tat? The other day I was thinking that, because speaking with my dad I said to him *"lo han hecho primer que nadie"* and I found it strange.

P045: @P001 It isn't always, if it means *"de quina cosa" ("de què ho faràs?)* or *"del qual"* or *"de la qual cosa"* (*l'home de què parlàvem*) is indeed authentic.

[…]

P100: Before the conjunction which triggers the *de*

P011: *Abans que*

P092: *abans que*

P101: *Abans que:* the preposition disappears before the conjunction *'que'*

P040: [unintelligble]

It's never *"de + que",* only if *"què"* acts as a relative pronoun allows prepositions

P066: There can't be a weak preposition before *QUE*

P092: *abans que*

Similar to Example 7.5, the above exchange is initiated by one member appealing to others for assistance with a linguistic query – in this case, relating to correct preposition use in the phrase *abans que* (before…). As before, a number of users contribute their own judgement on the correct form of the two presented, frequently accompanied by a form of evidence.

Unlike in Example 7.5, however, while there is still a degree of continuous discussion and debate, there appears to be a much higher level of convergence around the form perceived to be the correct one. Firstly, at least seven users sequentially affirm the correctness of *abans que* over *abans de que.* Secondly, it is noteworthy that the comment by P001, which presents a judgement in a self-evident tone, garners a total of 5 Like and 1 Love reacts – a subtle engagement by other members of the group which would appear to connote their agreement with the judgement presented. The fact that only one of the users reacting is actually engaged in the interaction would also appear to testify to the reach of discussions such as Example 7.6.

In sum, metalinguistic discussions would appear to serve as a space in which users can engage in the scrutiny of the Catalan language (and, by extension, the scrutiny of their own practices), and negotiate and assist one another in denouncing "bad" language forms, and promoting "good" ones. It is an opportunity for interactants to engage in a collaborative process of self-reflection (an inherent component of language self-management), and for the establishment of group norms (however tentative) which are open to consumption and emulation by other members of the group (see Figure 7.1).

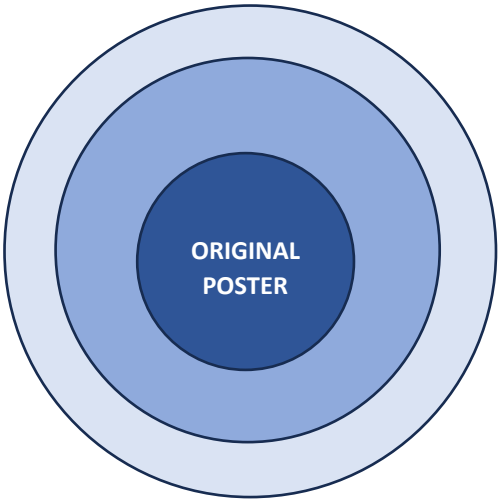


Figure 7.1: Diagram illustrating the outward-radiating impact of metalinguistic discussion interactions, with the original poster initiating a process of collaborative norm negotiation and self-reflection on language practices among a small subset of users contributing to the discussion, which, in turn, triggers a more passive self-reflective process among a wider subset of non-contributing observers.

The establishment of norms within such metalinguistic discussions is, of course, problematic, due to its transitory and spontaneous nature. In other words, while they may indeed be visible to (and viewed by) a significant number of group members, the fact that there is no way to determine how often such posts will occur (or where in the stream of group activity that they will occur), coupled with the fact that they may also only be prominent within the "newsfeed" of the group for a limited period of time, means that the effectiveness of such discussions in setting binding and abiding norms is questionable. However, a further action by one group member, alluded to in one of the examples above, would appear to aid in the concretisation of such norms (as well as, circularly, guiding further discussions). This action will be discussed in a later section.

Prior to this, however, it is important to note that metalinguistic discussions serve as only one method by which the group accomplishes its mission of reconstructing an authentic Catalan. The second, and less subtle, method of doing so is through *language policing*.

7.2.3 Language Policing

The third, and perhaps most common, activity observable within *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* (as well as its sister group *Jo parli català rossellonès*) is *language policing*. As mentioned in Chapter 2, language policing is here defined as a corrective phenomenon, whereby an instance of perceived erroneous or otherwise inappropriate language use by one individual is identified, signalled in some way, and then "rectified" by another[131] (e.g. Sherman and Švelch, 2015, Cushing, 2019).

Given this error-correction characteristic, the use of language policing has frequently been observed within classrooms as a pedagogical tool, allowing for *in vivo* re-orientations to a desired target language medium or form. For example, Cushing (2019) observes the use of language policing by classroom teachers to discourage the use of non-standard English. Several different methods were employed, including on-the-spot "corrections", the banishment of certain words and locutions to "word jails", and the propagation of an Orwellian "surveillant landscape", in which students are explicitly made aware of the intense scrutiny placed on their language use. Gynne (2019), too, reveals how language policing is used as a mechanism for opening up or closing down translanguaging spaces within Swedish classrooms, and thereby authorising or prohibiting L1 use in classroom activity.

Outside of the traditional classroom setting, Blommaert (2009)'s study focusses on the commercialisation of language policing through the marketing of American English "accent reduction" courses. Such courses allegedly guarantee participants the expedited, systematic erasure of their native accents when using English, in order to approximate a more "authentic" accent, and thereby gain access to a plethora of social and financial advantages.

The act of language policing itself, as a form of language management – i.e. an "explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (Spolsky, 2009: 4) – exhibits a certain recursivity. On the one hand, its use can represent the instantiation of prior language policy: i.e. the enactment of a previously declared language regulation, such as an institution-wide or curricular policy regarding the classroom language of interaction. Simultaneously,

[131] Notably, the notion of "self-policing" has also been explored within the academic literature on the topic (e.g. Amir and Musk, 2013; Sert and Balaman, 2018).

language policing can itself also be considered as *generative* of a more dynamic and fluid form of language policy, whereby norms are iteratively constructed and refined through the interactive process (Blommaert et al., 2009, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009, Blommaert, 2013, Lenihan, 2014).

This situated, interactive construction of policy can be observed particularly through the work of Florence Bonacina-Pugh (2012, 2020), whose case studies of immigrant French classes in Paris represent a situation in which classroom participants are seen to co-construct dynamic, locally-relevant policy – which she refers to as *practiced language policy* – through their interactions. Through engagement with students, and encouraging or discouraging responses to their utterances, teachers are able to sanction or prohibit certain language behaviours in the classroom (such as use of the native language of the students), even in instances when such an act may contradict higher-order policy stipulations (Bonacina-Pugh, 2020). Significantly, these judgements are not constrained to the interactions from which they emerge, but also serve to set a wider norm for future classroom interactions – a classroom language policy which is constructed in, and issues from, practices themselves.

As has been alluded to briefly above, in the case of metalinguistic discussions, a similar claim may be made of the language policing interactions which occur within the *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua.* It may be argued that instances of language policing within this group exhibit a scalar effect: serving, simultaneously, a number of functions:

1. "Correcting" the individual user (**A**) who has used language perceived to be erroneous or overly-Castilianised. This is thus an *implementation* of the group's language policy, which stipulates that all perceived instances of *catanyol* be identified and challenged.
2. Creating a new or revised norm for other members of the group by means of the exposition of adjacent "incorrect" and "correct" language forms, inspired by the problematic language produced by **A**. This is thus *generative* of new policy – new rules that other users can note and implement into their own self-management efforts (namely, their mission for "authenticity").
3. And, similarly to the above, iteratively modifying the overall corpus of the Catalan language employed by the group, inching it ever closer to a revised, "purified" standard.

Thus, an act of language policing not only serves as an isolated attempt to modify the language behaviour of a single user, or to encourage their own individual engagement in language self-management, but also acts as the basis of encouraging changes to the language practices of the wider group, and to contribute to the definition of a group standard on which users can draw in their collective efforts to speak more "authentic" Catalan.

While subtle, these assertions can be inferred through much of the activity within the group, as will be demonstrated below.

7.2.3.1 Reactive correction of language use

A mentioned above, language policing serves as one of the primary instruments through which the group mission of identifying and suppressing Castilian influences on Catalan on an iterative, ad hoc basis, is conducted. The following extracts provide examples of how language policing is employed for this purpose within the group.

Example 7.7:

P049: Dear friend *@P001*, in a post *[post]* of mine, we have found ourselves in [a situation in] which *[en que]* various friends like *@P050, @P051* and myself, can't agree on whether the word *llises* is the correct translation of *terses* or *fins* or even whether the word *terses*, is correct in Catalan. If you could clear up this doubt. Very grateful *[agraït]* and have a good day.

P001: **ters > LLIS*
**un post meu > UNA PUBLICACIÓ*
**en que > en quÈ*
"agraït" means full of gratitude, so it's necessary to say *TE'N REGRACIO MOLT.* I'll have to delete you as a friend if you smear my wall and sully my eyes with so much *catanyol*, you and your illiterate Catanyol-using *[catanyolaire]* friends.

P049 : That's not necessary, grateful *[agraït]* for everything that he has learned [sic][132].

Example 7.8:

P103: I'm sorry, I'm leaving you all, I've enjoyed *[m'ho he passat bé]* this little spell that I've been following you. I'm leaving you because I'm [just] a person from the street[133] and it seems that we don't have a place here. I'm sure you won't miss me, but a little more humility would serve you well.

[132] Most likely this is a typographical error, and should read *he après* (I have learnt).
[133] Literal translation of *persona del carrer*. The intended meaning would seem to be "I am just a normal person, not an intellectual, or an activist."

Bye
P103

P005: Well, *P103.* The group exists precisely so that people "from the street" can realise the extent to which our language is in a mess.

P103: There are *[hi han]* opinions that seem not to coincide with what you are saying. Goodnight.

P001: *@P103* *hi han > HI HA
Opinions… the study of language is a science, and this [science] tells us that both quantitatively and qualitatively Catalan is mortally wounded.
P104: Both… and… *[Tant… com…]*

P005: Understood, *@P103.* In any case, if you want to come back, the doors will be open to you.

P103: Thank you *[Mercés]*
P001: *@P103 mercÈs*

P001: *@P103,*m'ho he passat > L'HE passada*
P001: We are not, nor will we be humble, we refuse misunderstood "humility": we are fighting an enemy that we have inside of us, all of us.
P105: I like it a lot.

Example 7.9: *Continued from Example 6.18. Extracted comments from a longer post by P082 in which they describe their dismay over recent decisions made by the IEC. In this extract, P001 systematically corrects language used by P082 in their post.*

P001: *"a les quALS"*
P001: *"en un moment QUE"* or *"en què"* or *"en qual"*
P001: *"segurament S'acabarà amb la seva independència"*
P001: *"serÉ"*
"la manera QUE" or *"amb què"* or *"amb la qual"*
**tot i portar > malgrat que són aquí de tota la vida*
li afegim > HI afegim
P001: *"D'AQUÍ A 50 anys"*

P082: I'm taking a note of everything, thank you 😊

The above represent only a small set of examples in which language policing can be witnessed within ALNPL. As can be seen above, while certainly not the only one to engage in language policing, the user that most predominantly carries out this task is P001, who appears to view themselves (and is often viewed by others) as a role model for the group in terms of knowledge and use of "authentic Catalan" (see the next chapter for more on this point.)

The form adopted by P001 is typically some variation of an **-repair* (Collister, 2011), in which they isolate a specific linguistic element perceived to be problematic (a "trouble source", to

use terminology from Conversation Analysis (Schegloff et al., 1977)) and indicate its unacceptability using an asterisk (*). The more acceptable variant is then typically signalled with the use of a greater than sign (>), which seems to connote an instruction to transition from the trouble source to the suggested correction. The correction is then provided, often accompanied by capitalisation of either the whole word (for emphasis, or to underline importance), or of individual letters or particles that have been changed in the correction (to emphasise the locus of repair). Alterative forms make use of quotation marks (“”) to aid in isolating the trouble source(s) (as in Example 7.9), or even prose sentences such as “You can’t say X”.

The primary manner in which language policing is conducted is *reactively* – i.e. in response to the perceived problematic language use of a given user, usually in their own post, or in a comment left on the post of another user. As a result, viewed in isolation, such episodes may simply be viewed as standalone, unrelated incidents of repair, whereby a single user undergoes correction by another. Yet, within the above interactions, there is evidence that these episodes are systematic in nature, serving not only to condemn and correct individual users, but as an intended (and oftentimes welcome) guide for all users: an transinteractional exemplar to further the re-education of the wider group, as part of its campaign towards authenticity.

Firstly, as is explored further within the following chapter, despite the fact that language policing is frequently unsolicited (as in Example 7.8 above), it is nonetheless possible to witness users expressing gratitude for having been corrected, the implication being that such corrections are both anticipated and appreciated. This can be seen above in the response given by P082 to the sequential corrections made by P001, in which they assert that they are “taking a note of everything”. In other words, far from being perceived as rude or pernickety, language policing in this case is perceived as a service: allowing P082 to identify problems in their own language use, to note them, and to amend their practices thenceforth.

The same can also be witnessed in Example 7.9, in which, although an authenticity check is requested of P001 by P049 for one particular case, P001 responds with a series of corrections, expressed in an apparently menacing tone. Despite the threat by P001 to remove P049 as a

friend for alleged overuse of *catanyol*, P049 nevertheless responds with gratitude for "all that [they have] learned", again suggesting that this, and presumably other, instances of language policing were welcome, and have contributed to their learning and development.

A final point of note in the above examples which points to the systematicity of language policing within the group – and particularly its applicability not only to the individual policed user, but to the whole group – is the response made by P001 to P105 when the latter announced their departure from the group due to a lack of humility among certain members (Example 7.8). Seemingly disregarding these comments by P105, and proceeding to issue unsolicited corrections nonetheless, P001 disavows the requirement for "humility" given the perceived dire state of the Catalan language, and the fact that "we are fighting an enemy that we have inside of us, all of us". From the context offered by group activity over time, the enemy referred to would appear to be a Castilianisation which is ingrained – often unconsciously – into the language practices of every Catalan speaker (and, thus, every group member). This comment therefore seems to suggest that language policing within the group serves a legitimate purpose – it is waging war against a common foe in the form of *catanyol* – and that, whoever it is directed at, it is intended to help *everyone,* since all are under attack by that same foe (the one located *within* every member) including the "mortally wounded" language itself.

While, in the above examples, the transinteractional and systematic nature of the language policing episodes presented may be subtle, other examples from *JPCR* serve to emphasise this point[134].

Example 7.10: *The following is an extract from the comments section following a post by the researcher (SJM) in which the research project is explained, and users invited to opt out of their data being used.*

P015: Thank you, Stephen. A very interesting research [project] which will give us an outside *[des de for a]* perspective[135] on our language, a subject is always very valuable *[té molt de valor]*.

[134] Note that, while JPCR does not share the same explicitly declared mission of de-Castilianisation, as previously mentioned, many of the members of ALNPL are also members of JPCR (including P001, who most frequently employs language policing), and – as can be seen more clearly in the following chapter – many of the same beliefs and activities can be witnessed in both groups. For this reason, while the groups can certainly be analysed separately, the similarities arguably allow for points of comparison to be made.
[135] Approximate translation of *radiografia des de fora* (lit.: "X-Ray from afar").

P001: *"preferiu que no us inclogUI"*
P001: **des de fora: de fora (estant)*
P001: *"moltA de valor"*
SJM: Thanks, Andratx 😊 the research project has had to change a little from its original direction (in the beginning I intended to come to Northern Catalonia for 6 months to study the situation in person) but our friend Covid has made me reorient a little! However, I hope to come back one day in the future 😊
P001: "*de mica EN mica"*

P015: *@P001* Don't come to me (or anyone, in fact) with your hypercorrections, thanks. I'm a philologist and I know how the language that unites us is written.
P015: *@SJM,* [I'm] sure there'll be better times to visit Catalunya. 😉
P001: *@P015 De mica en mica = a poc a poc, progressivament*

This gentleman wrote "de mica *un mica", which I corrected him for[136].
P015: *@P001,* in the response he made to me he says *"una mica"*, not *"de mica en mica"*.
P001: *@P015:* They are not hypercorrections:

Gender of abstract nouns ending in –or

Abstract nouns ending in –or, except when –or is agent (e.g. *"pescador*", *"animador"*, etc.) or object (*rasor* o *raor*), are always feminine and not masculine, conforming with the classical usage conserved in Roussillon, and not masculine as is the tendency in modern Catalan as a result of a calque from Castilian :

amor, ardor, candor, clamor, color, desamor, desfavor, deshonor, dolor, enyor, error, estridor, estupor, favor, fervor, fragor, fulgor, furor, honor, horror, humor, remor, rigor, rubor, rumor, sabor, sopor, temor, tenor, terror, tremolor, tremor, vigor, etc.*

The norm already prescribes as solely feminine forms: *abundor, agror, albor, amargor, bellor, bonior, calor, coentor, cremor, dolçor, esplendor, magror, resplendor, roentor, rojor, tebior, torpor, verdor.*

The exceptions are *pudor* (with the meaning of *pudícia, pudicícia,* fr. *pudeur*)

* *humor* is m. when it means *comicitat* (from the English).

P001: *@P015* I was correcting in his text
P001: *@P015 [posts a longer explanation and examples of correct and incorrect usage of "des de"]*
P015: *@P001* They are hypercorrections, dress it up however you want to dress it up because the two forms *[les dos]* are valid. I'm not Rossellonese and in Lleida nobody uses "valor" as a feminine noun. Therefore, you're hypercorrecting *[m'estàs hipercorregint]* me, and I'd be grateful if you wouldn't do it, at least with me. As I told you, I already know very well how to write my and your language.
P015: *@P001*, in the end, I'll block you *[et bloquejaré]* for impertinence.
P001: *@P015* They are not hypercorrections… *@P011*

**les dos: totes dues/dos* (*"totes"* since we already know them)

[136] In reality, neither the original post of the researcher, nor subsequent comments, featured this phrase (which P015 highlights in their subsequent comment).

Abuse of the present immediate gerund when the present indicative is perfectly suitable: *"Em corregeixes"*

P001: Lots of words ending in –or became masculine until Fabra reestablished the feminine form…7

P001: Do you not say *"fesses"* (orally *"fessos"?*) in Lleida?

P001: P015 has been blocked from the group for having insulted and blocked the administrator.

**bloquejar: BLOCAR*

P001: *[Shares link to VilaWeb blog explaining the difference between the verbs "boicotejar" and "boicotar"]*

P001: *[Shares link to a blog article by linguist Gabriel Bibilonia explaining rules around verbs ending in "ejar" and nouns ending in "eig"].*

Example 7.11:

P057: *[Shares a post from a page called "Catalunya m'agrada", which itself shares an article from a website called "Viaempresa.cat" entitled "Softcatalà celebra 25 anys servint (altruistament) el català"]*

M'agrada Catalunya: Why is Softcatalà the best invention [*invent*] that there is? 😍👏👏👏

P001: *@everyone* *invent (catanyol) > INVENCIÓ

P106: *@P001* trobada ?
P107: *@P001* thank you very much!
P108: *@P001* [*in French*] hello have a good Sunday
P109: *@P001* we are Catanyol

P110: I'm not

P111: YOU ARE VERY GOOD PEOPLE
P112: Thanks very much

The above examples are particularly remarkable as they provide strong evidence in support of the argument that instances of language policing within the group are intended to be viewed, and to guide, the language practices of not only the individual corrected but also those of the wider collective.

In Example 7.10, the researcher posts information about the research project within the group, describing the intended methodology and mechanisms for opting out of data collection. Several such posts were made within the period of data collection, each time attracting significant positive interest and discussion. In the case of the current post to JPCR, P015 expresses gratitude to the researcher for the decision to study the Catalan-speaking community, and a brief interaction ensues between the user and the researcher. This is

interrupted by the familiar language policing episodes that characterise many of the interactions across both JPCR and ALNPL.

As is explored further in the following chapter, however, the current instance is vehemently rejected by P015, who forbids P001 from policing their language use, and threatens to block P001 if they continue. Undeterred, P001 continues offering corrections, often accompanied by lengthy grammatical explanations, until, shortly thereafter, P001 announces that P015 has, themself, been blocked by P001 (the administrator of JPCR) for having initially proceeded to block P001[137]. Nevertheless, in spite of the the fact that P015 no longer has access to JPCR, and can no longer view any of its content, P001 proceeds to police the use of the verb "bloquejar" by P015 in a previous post, offering a correction, as well as a series of resources which both explain and justify it.

The very fact that the language use of one user was subjected to language policing even when that user no longer had the ability to view, respond to, or benefit from the changes suggested seems to highlight the multifunctionality of the act of language policing itself: intended not solely to rectify individual errors in isolation, but to "set the record straight". It makes an example of the error, effectively drawing it to the attention of the wider community, in order to prevent others from committing similar mistakes in the future.

This assertion is evidenced to a greater extent in Example 7.11. In this example, P057 shares to JPCR a post from the page *Catalunya m'agrada* (I like Catalonia), the text of which contains the word *invent*, to mean "invention". In response to this, P001 corrects *invent* to *invenció*, utilising the tagging function to notify the entire group of their correction. The @everyone function is a relatively new tool to Facebook, and can be used by group administrators to trigger a notification in the individual notifications bar of each group member, often indistiguishably from other posts and comments that only tag individual members (Aten,

[137] According to ChatGPT (Question: Why do some Facebook groups have rules against blocking admins?), it is relatively common for Facebook group administrators to prohibit users from blocking them because doing so complicates the process of managing group activity effectively. As a result, doing so often results in expulsion of offending group members, and, indeed, many group members have explicit rules against blocking administrators. (OpenAI ChatGPT, 2023).

2022). The intention by P001, therefore, would appear to be that the entirety of JPCR take note of the perceived incorrect rendering of the word *invenció* as *invent* by P057, presumably with the same desire as in Example 7.10: to encourage other members to avoid the same pitfall by replacing the word *invent* with *invenció* in their own practices.

An understandable critique of the foregoing examples may be that both are derived not from the focal group, ALNPL, but from its sister group, JPCR, which does not share the same explicit mission of de-Castilianisation. This critique is valid, however it could be argued that the data presented is nevertheless informative given that an abhorrence of *catanyol* is manifestly shared and expressed by members across both groups – particularly P001, the administrator of JPCR and one of the most prolific users of language policing in both JPCR and ALNPL. Moreover, in the case of Example 7.11, it is precisely the administrative role held by P001 in JPCR that permits the use of @everyone function – a function that is unavailable to them in ALNPL, in which they do not hold an administrative role. It is thus possible to conceive that the multifunctional nature of the acts of language policing demonstrated in the above posts from JPCR can be extrapolated to the same act within ALNPL – setting norms and guiding collective practices towards a "purer", more correct Catalan use.

7.2.3.2 Proactive correction of language use

In addition to *reactive* uses of language policing, correction of perceived language errors is also conducted *proactively* within ALNPL, in the form of original posts:

Example 7.12:

P001: Good day,

*fluïdesa > FLUÏDITAT
*o sigui > DE MANERA QUE
*seguir fent > CONTINUAR DE FER
*estigués parlant > PARLI
*els-i > ELS
*passar-se > EXAGERAR
*en canvi > PER CONTRA; ALTRAMENT
*bloquejar > BLOCAR
*per últim > PER A ACABAR
*mates > MATEMÀTIQUES
"apuntar-se" > INSCRIURE'S
*entrega f. > ENTREGAMENT, LLIURAMENT, LLIURANÇA

Example 7.12:

P005: ganxo > CROC

Example 7.13:

P053: Per la força de les ones de la mar | Per força de les ones de la mar

Example 7.14:

P001: Some random shitty *catanyol:*

*xitxarel· lo > marrec
*cartera > billetera, portamonedes
*necessitem > ens cal, hem de menester
*tiet > ONCLE
*quillo > ?
*escull > TRIA
*puto > CONY DE
*Follar, no follarà > DE cardar, no cardarà
*no podrà amb > no podrà vèncer
*caribeny > caribenc
*moreno > bru, colrat
"gastes" > empres, fas servir

Ha arribat aquella època de l'any EN QUÈ (not: on) ningú se salva dels efectes de l'astre rei. Hi ha els qui el pateixen i el sofreixen i els qui el gaudeixen i s'hi recreen, però DE REBRE'N, REBEM tots (not: pillar, pillem tots).[138]

In all of the above examples, users have taken to (seemingly spontaneously), listing a series of examples of problematic or incorrect language usage – often indicated by "*", or by the use of small case letters – and their recommended, more authentic and correct alternatives – introduced by ">" or "|", or emphasised through capital letters.

The source of these incorrect and correct examples is not always clear. It may be that 1) users in previous comments have produced some of the "erroneous" forms listed in previous posts or comments – in which case, these posts would more correctly be thought of as a more indirect form of *reactive* language policing; 2) the undesirable forms were produced outside of the group, but elsewhere on social media or in other digital or physical media (such as on public signage or in newspapers); or 3) these forms represent "mistakes

[138] Approximate translation: That time of the year has arrived IN WHICH (not: where) no one is safe from the effects of the star king. There are those who suffer from it and those who enjoy it and have fun with it, but [when it comes to] RECEIVING IT, all of us RECEIVE it (not: "pillar, pillem tots").

commonly (knowingly or unknowingly) made" by Catalan speakers more general, of which users should be made aware. Regardless of their source, however, the intention and effect of such posts appears to be the same, and can be expressed as: "These are mistakes that people like you are at risk of making. Take note of them, and make sure to avoid them, and use the more "authentic" (or "correct") equivalents instead".

In other words, the posting users identify the *potential* for error – or, more specifically, resorting to Castilianisation – and proactively provide alternative, more desirable, linguistic forms, that users should reflect on and adopt into their own individual registers. Such posts, directed at the group as a whole, represent three instances of three different users attempting to co-ordinate the language use of other individual members of the group: the process referred to here as *collective language self-management of practices.* The posts represent the establishment of new linguistic norms which, taken together, constitute the collaborative construction of a new linguistic variety itself over time: akin to a form of long-term, distributed corpus planning for the purposes of restandardisation.

7.2.4 Relearning and Restandardising the language

In a small number of posts within ALNPL, the exact intended outcome of the group is questioned by some users of the group:

Example 7.15:

P033: Now, I'm not very clear on the work that you're doing in this group. In concrete terms, what is the final objective? To make a new dictionary purified of all unnecessary foreign loan words? To make a style guide to help professionals in the written language bring back from obscurity traditional expressions that have fallen into disuse? To put pressure on the communication media so that they promote a purer language? Or is it simply a Facebook pastime?

P032: As we say back home 'every stone makes a wall'.

P005: The first objective is for people in general to know what's happening to the Catalan language, the state in which it's in, the extent to which Castilian has infiltrated, and for them to be aware of this. And also for them to be aware about what the *catanyol* ideology is, what its nature is, the extent to which it is fascism, Spanishism, radical anti-Catalanism, and where its nuclei of influence are and why it has managed to become hidden.

The second objective, although on a horizontal plane, is to learn our own language, that's to say, go on expelling the influence of Castilian and make a modern language, not anchored in a past [that is] isolated from the rest of the world, which is what the Castilian language

represents. And, of course, the social objective is that people gain awareness and mobilise against the destruction of the language and have very concrete and secure arguments [for doing so], because they know how to distinguish between *catanyol* and Catalan elements of discourse, and they know who they should oppose and who they should turn to. And I say that as well for the philologists, who are those who can put their hands [on] Fabra's project again; from time to time it is they who impede the restitution of the language (and by extension, the liberation of the Catalan national from subjugation to the Castilian one).

Example 7.16:

P011: *@P113* No, we're proposing a model for the future.

P011: *@P113* We're revolutionaries.

The responses given in the above examples shed additional light on the systematic nature of the activity of the group, and on the ultimate objectives that it serves. In Example 7.15, P033 attempts to establish what the concrete outcome of the declared mission of the group is: whether it is intended to have a lasting effect on external language practices and management (such as the language used by the media and other professional organisations); to document and promulgated a more "authentically rooted" form of the language; or whether it is simply a hobby intended solely for those participating in it. The question seems pertinent as it effectively queries the scope and intended reach of the language policy-like activity carried out within the group.

7.2.4.1 Evidence of self-management

Part of the answer given by P005 reinforces the assertions made so far: that the activities of the group are intended to 1) raise awareness about the "catanyol ideology", and are thus mobilised to fight against it, and to 2) banish Castilian influences from Catalan, and provide users with the tools and resources for doing so themselves – for *relearning* their own language. In other words, the core outcome of ALNPL's mission is to lay the foundation for the self-actualisation and transformation of beliefs and practices of Catalan speakers (their *self-management*, influenced and contributed to by the collective).

As stated previously, the success of this self-transformative goal is inherently difficult to measure, other than through reference to the collective activities intended to influence them, as users may acknowledge and process the recommended changes to their language practices internally or offline, without leaving any record of doing so in the group itself.

Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated in greater detail in the following chapter, a number of comments across both ALNPL and JPCR do appear to testify to the absorption of the recommended "corrections" and, at least implicitly, a commitment to implementing the required changes to their language use.

Example 7.17:

P114: I'm taking a good note of this to read through it slowly. Thank you!

Example 7.18:

P012: I'll keep that very much in mind from now on. Thank you.

Example 7.19:

P082: I'm taking note of everything, thank you 😊

Example 7.20:

P028: I like the corrective task that you are doing. And what has me totally "hooked" is the purification and recuperation task! You are making me a follower of Bibiloni and others! and [making me] investigate and study! Thank you!!!

Example 7.21:

P080: Thank you for all the work that many of you are doing, and you [P001] in particular.

Example 7.22:

P012: […] [P001] is helping us to improve our Catalan. I myself note down on some sheets all of the corrections they give me so that I can try to improve. I have about ten of these sheets…so far. If you stop and think about it, we are lucky to have someone who loves our language so much and who shares their knowledge with everyone.

The above examples represent feedback from a number of different users, across both groups, to the "corrective" mission of the group, and, in most cases, to the implementation of this mission by means of language policing. Many users simply express gratitude to those carrying out the mission which, while not explicit evidence of a commitment to implementing the desired corrections into their own linguistic repertoires, signifies at the very least an *engagement* with – and positive response to – these corrections, and therefore

a willingness to be corrected. This, then, would suggest at least a likelihood of these users making lasting changes to their own practices.

Other users, such as in Examples 7.20, 7.21, and 7.22, provide a slightly deeper insight into their responses to the activities of the group. For example, P012 mentions in several comments within JPCR that, on each occasion that their language is policed (especially by user P001), they actively take notes of these corrections in order to reflect on them and "improve" their language use. P028 too praises the more active members of ALNPL for having converted them into a "follower of Bibiloni" – i.e. someone who has responded to the call of the academic to follow in the purificatory footsteps of Pompeu Fabra – and having encouraged them to study and investigate.

These examples would seem to provide some evidence of the proposed *self-management* aspect of *Collective language self-management*, whereby users internalise the new linguistic norms established by the group, and proceed to enact changes to their own linguistic practices. As a result, the activities within the group (and extending to JPCR) can be seen to fulfil the entire policy cycle of planning and implementing a new linguistic variety in a collaborative manner.

7.2.4.2 Evidence of attempted restandardisation

In spite of the apparent systematicity of the activity within ALNPL, however, without any more formal record or output to centralise and archive the interactions within the group, the question posed by P033 above would appear to be pertinent: i.e. does everything happening amount only to a pastime restricted to the Facebook platform, and the individuals within the group? This question is relevant more broadly from a language policy perspective given that it pertains to the *category* and *scale* of the language management in question: whether it may be considered purely as isolated (albeit regular and purpose-driven) attempts to manage localised practices, or a broader attempt to enact lasting changes to the linguistic variety itself. The difference is subtle, but would equate to a distinction between altering the collective linguistic repertoire of group members (the former case), and effectively attempting to reform the corpus of the language itself (the

latter case) – a feat which might be characterised as attempted *restandardisation* (see e.g. Odendaal, 2013).

In the current case, comments above by P005 and P011 in Examples 7.15 and 7.16 respectively would suggest that the latter may indeed be a motivation for members of this group. Beyond the task of facilitating the co-ordination of changes to the beliefs and practices of group members – which, itself, constructs a form of counterculture challenging the dominant Catalan-speaking culture – P005 asserts that an additional objective is to expel the influence of Castilian in order to "*make* a modern language". While, as P005 notes, this is to be achieved through "learn[ing] our own language", which points to the collective-individual processes observed thus far throughout this study, it also suggests the formation of a concrete output from these processes.

And, in Example 7.16, P011 reinforces the nature of this output: "a model for the future" – connoting a new standard to replace that already in existence. Moreover, P011 refers to the group members as "revolutionaries", a word which emphasises the rebelliousness of the aspirations of the group: to challenge the current standard of Catalan imposed by top-down authorities, and used by speakers in contemporary Catalonia. This thereby adds emphasis to the notion that the language regulatory activities in which group members participate, while occurring at a societal "micro-level", intend to exert impact on a much wider scale: effectively replanning the language and implementing their own counter-standard.

However, perhaps the single greatest piece of evidence that points to this desire to create a more concrete record of the de-Castilianisation efforts of the group is the compilation and continuing recourse – and addition – to a self-published Catalan language manual by P001.

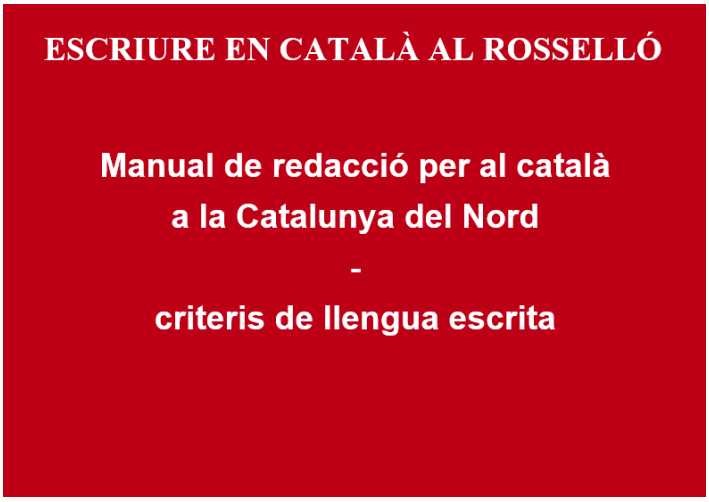


Figure 7.2: Cover page of *Escriure en català al Rosselló*, a writing manual authored by P001.

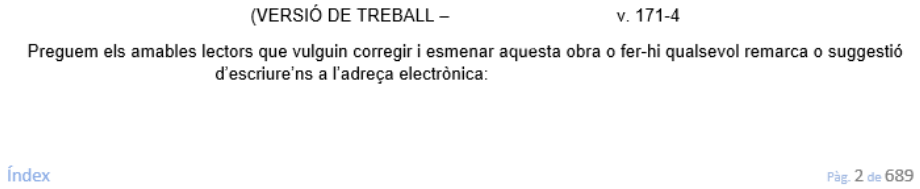


Figure 7.3: Copyright page of *Escriure en català al Rosselló*, with personal details redacted. This page features a version number of 171-4, evincing the "live" nature of this document. The text under this reads: "We invite kind readers who wish to correct or rectify this work, or make any remark or suggestion about it, to write to us at the e-mail address: [REDACTED]." This call for corrections seems to testify to the place of this volume within the CLSM ecosystem of ALNPL – influencing, but also influenced by, group-defined norms.

Example 7.23:

P115: Are *Concórrer/concorregut* correct in Catalan?

P001: *Concórrer* = Cast. *Concursar*

And also Fr. *Coucourir*

It doesn't mean that there are people. See my book.

Example 7.24: *Comment taken from JPCR, in response to another comment by P010, on a post by P012.*

P001: *@P012* [P012], as I don't write or speak in vain, I am writing a book which deals with all of these things that every day, wherever I can, I try to set right.

It is available and updated very often, here *[link to ALNPL].*

WRITING IN CATALAN IN ROSSELLÓ – [P001].

As indicated in Examples 7.23 and 7.24, throughout both ALNPL and JPCR, frequent references are made to a Catalan language volume which has been compiled by P001, and which is hosted on ALNPL. This volume, although entitled "Writing in Catalan in *Rosselló*", would appear to serve as a form of dictionary of "authentic" Catalan, containing wordlists, accompanied by dialectal and regional variants, as well as perceived *catanyol* variants. It is also, crucially, a live document, with, as P001 indicates in Example 7.24, updates frequently made to it as a result of research findings made, or corrections or comments received from others (as cited in Figure 7.3).

The position of the book within the ALNPL (and JPCR) ecosystem is particularly noteworthy. As is noted in the following chapter, it is frequently referred to in order to reinforce a ruling made on a suspected instance of inauthentic or incorrect language use, or in response to linguistic queries made by other users (as in Example 7.23). In addition, given the "live" character of the volume, its dedication to the "members of the group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*", and its storage within ALNPL itself, it would seem that the book also serves as a repository for "authentic" linguistic norms collectively established through the activities of the group – as is alluded to by P001's comments to P012. In this way, *Escriure en català al Rosselló* may effectively be seen as an emerging standard, competing with the dominant, allegedly Castilianised, standard currently in use by Catalan speakers and in much of the Catalan-language media.

In language policy terms, therefore, the activity of the group as a whole might be considered as a collective and dynamic form of corpus planning, simultaneously incorporating design, codification and implementation phases (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Group members, through their participation in the activities of linguistic research, metalinguistic discussion and language policing, contribute to the refashioning of the existing standard, which is then codified within P001's volume, and then reasserted in cases of future doubt and perceived error. The outcome is both a body of speakers whose practices are already reformed according to a new, more "authentic" standard, and, as P011 states above, a new linguistic model with which to direct the language use of other speakers in the future – thereby facilitating the growth of the movement.

As such, through these collaborative activities, ALNPL is able to bypass recourse to traditional macro-level (top-down) authorities entirely, and assume the policy creation and implementation phases at a micro-level.

7.3 Concluding discussion

The attempt to alter the language practices of a given individual or group of speakers is perhaps the archetypical form of language management, which has been explored and explained through a variety of models since the inception of the field. In the sections above, data has been presented which sheds light on the peculiar manner in which this process operates within the groups under study: through the activities of linguistic research, metalinguistic discussion, and language policing. In this final concluding section, an attempt will be made to summarise the claim held here: that, taken together within the current context, these activities could be considered to constitute a novel form of language management.

It has for several decades now been theorised, and demonstrated, that "ordinary", grassroots individuals have an equally – if not increasingly more important – role in language policy and planning than the political and institutional bodies explicitly tasked (or associated) with conducting it (see Chapter 2). Yet, often a distinction is made between the nature, scale, and scope of language management in which these individuals may engage, as well as the degree of agency that they possess. Selvi (2020), for example, distinguishes between *language planning*, conducted by government authorities, and *language policing*, carried out by social media users. Proponents of *Language Management Theory*, such as Nekvapil (2016 see also, Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015), too, often make a distinction between *organized* and *simple language management*; the first of which refers to "macro-level", "top-down" or "trans-interactional" activities carried out by authoritative institutions, and the latter of which refers to "everyday", "discourse-based" acts, in which speakers note and correct problems in each other's speech (analogous to individual episodes of *language policing* (Sherman and Švelch, 2015)).

These theories seem to convey the message that complex, formal activities and processes which aim to effect changes beyond simply influencing individual interactions between

speakers, are predominantly reserved for power-wielding institutions, while individuals are restricted to effecting changes within their immediate environment (or working creatively within the shadow of these superordinate regulatory structures). Or, in other words, governments operate at the macro-level, and deal with macro-level issues, while attempting to influence individuals at the micro-level, while individuals there are confined to dealing with local, micro-level issues (Nekvapil, 2016, Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015).

Secondly, it could be argued that most language policy and planning theories assume that policymaking and policy implementation are typically processes carried out – whether at the macro or micro level – by different people or groups, often at different levels or scales of society (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, Hornberger and Johnson, 2007, Hult, 2010a, Hult, 2015b). Language teachers, for example, whether guided by higher-order directives or by their own beliefs and motivations, manage the language practices of their students. Employers manage the interactions of their staff (and interactions with other stakeholders). Parents manage what their children should or should not say. Friend groups, students, language tandems, and users of social media manage each other's ways of speaking.

Each situation is characterised by a manager, often more senior in the social or organisational hierarchy, and another who is manag*ed*. With language *self*-management, Spolsky (2019b, 2021), turns the attention to the (admittedly relatively obvious, yet often understated) power of the individual over *themselves*: exerting executive control over their own practices, both for the purposes of self-transformation – of reshaping themselves to fit the world around them – but also for the purposes of indirectly precipitating changes to their environment: reshaping the environment *by* reshaping themselves. The image of an expatriate parent in the United Kingdom choosing to speak in their native language around their children, in order that linguistic awareness, appreciation, and competence might be instilled in the latter, springs to mind as an illustrative example. As Spolsky (2019b) notes, and has been noted previously, such acts serve, in part, to explain the success or failure of official language policy measures or language activism; testifying to the extent of individual agency in language policy.

Somewhat tying the two foregoing issues together, a perennial problem within language policy and planning theory has been to understand the interface between these agentive actions and wider structural forces (often equated respectively with "micro-" and "macro-"

level action) (Johnson and Stephens, 2018, see also Johnson and Ricento, 2013). And, alongside this, is a desire to understand how individuals, using ways and means accessible to them, can assume the role of policymakers in their own right (Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018) – thereby necessarily blurring the lines between the macro- and the micro-; the top and the bottom; the structural and the agentive (cf. Mortimer and Wortham, 2015).

At the centre of all of these issues and considerations, this thesis argues, sits the theory of *Collective Language Self-Management.* CLSM stands as an example of how individuals, lacking the power and influence of traditional language managers, can effectively assume the role of "macro-level language managers" at a micro-level. Dissatisfied and disillusioned with the development of the Catalan language, and with governmental interventions, as well its uses by the media and wider society, members of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* (and *Jo parli català rossellonès*) have taken on the mantle of reconstructing the language piece by piece. They do so, as can be seen in Examples 7.15 and 7.16, not as a mere pastime, nor to create a localised code applicable only to their collective, but in order to "save the language", and prepare "a model for the future".

The mechanism by which they do so closely resembles the language planning processes traditionally associated with macro-level authorities: selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration (Haugen, 1983). Users of the group are instructed to work together to identify perceived problematic language (i.e. examples of Castilianised lexis and grammar), and then to find and suggest alternative – more authentically Catalan – variants to replace it. This is achieved by means of collective processes of linguistic research, and metalinguistic discussion – in which various linguistic forms are subjected to scrutiny, opinions are solicited, and, in many cases, norms are established and recorded. Crucially, as the second component of the mission of ALNPL, these collectively established norms are then implemented through the process of self-management: where individual members note the "incorrect" and newly "corrected" variants raised by group members and adapt their own language practices accordingly. As such, the group needs not rely on the uptake of, and compliance with, their measures – as has frequently been observed to be the case, for example, with the implementation of macro-level educational policy (e.g. Johnson and Freeman, 2010, Johnson, 2013b, Brown, 2010, Harrison, 2019) – but can instead spread

their revised norms (indeed, their revised standard) among themselves; instigating social change from the centre outwards.

While the forms of language policing described in the above case study may be compared to the discourse-based corrective practices of *simple language management*, it could be argued that LMT alone does not adequately account for the actions of ALNPL, whose agentive language policing practices exhibit such systematicity, and have effects beyond the individual interactions in which they are found, that they might be considered structural – thus effectively blurring the lines between *organised* and *simple language management.* The form of language management in which the members of ALNPL participate is one that relies on the collective work of the group as a structure which, driven by a common mission, designs and creates a new language standard – akin to macro-level, institutional authorities – *and* the agency of each individual of that group to absorb and put that standard into practice.

Chapter 8: CLSM of Management

8.1 Introduction

In the previous two sections, the collective co-ordination of individual members' management of their own beliefs and practices was considered – with members of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* (and to an extent *Jo parli català rossellonès*) contributing to the setting of ideological and practical norms and boundaries to direct and shape those of other adherents. As a result, the posited end effect is that the groups simultaneously design, create, and implement their own language policies; effectively initiating changes to the corpus and image of the language from the centre-out.

However, one could argue that the presentation of this process thus far has been somewhat oversimplified. The reason for this is that, until this point, members of these groups have almost been portrayed as consistently willing participants in the corrective processes described, happily implementing the changes that other members have imposed upon them. While, in many cases, this is the case, it is far from being universal. As with any law, regulation, or instruction, compliance is not automatic or unconditional. In the case of laws passed by governments, compliance can normally be enforced through the police and judicial system. In other cases, other criteria may need to be fulfilled, or special incentives used to encourage rules to be followed.

The essential element on which compliance depends is authority – or, as described in Chapter 2, the *legitimated right* of one person to impose their will on another (e.g. Paterson, 1967, Weber, 1964, Bourdieu, 1991). As is also stated in Chapter 2, the same is true of language management: individuals or groups who hope to alter the language practices or beliefs of another must possess or claim authority over the latter (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). In the case of traditional "macro-language planning", governments and institutions can often require that their language management measures are carried out and respected, with the threat of punitive action (including dismissal, fines, or even imprisonment) for instances of non-compliance.

In the current context, however, members of the Facebook groups in question have chosen to enter these groups voluntarily, and no member possesses the *de jure* right to direct the language practices and beliefs of others.

Members are therefore under no obligation to adopt any specific form of behaviour in their dealings with those groups (other than those set by Facebook itself, which allow them to use the platform in the first instance.) Implementing the changes to their language practices and beliefs suggested by others thus requires their active co-operation. Moreover, as will be argued further below, compliance is challenged even further in the current context due to the often direct and unprompted manner in which corrections are made through language policing specifically, which arguably violates interactional norms related to politeness and co-operation (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

As a result of this, it is logical to assume that for the proposed process of *Collective language self-management* to operate, a process of negotiation must ensue in which those who attempt to engage in language policing within each group must seek authority from its members in order to direct their practices.

As was asserted in the earlier literature review in Chapter 2, little empirical research exists on the topic of authority negotiations in language management on social media platforms, and it is thus hoped that the current chapter will provide insights into the more macro-level question of what types of individuals may (and may not) serve as legitimate language managers within Facebook groups.

8.1.1 Research questions

This chapter will attempt to provide answers to the following questions in particular:

1. How do users of Facebook groups position themselves, or others, as possessing (or lacking) authority during a language policing episode?
2. What criteria are used to justify the claiming, ascription or denial of authority?
3. What limitations or conditions to this authority are apparent?

8.2 Data analysis

8.2.1 Structural authority

8.2.1.1 "It's our group"

As stated above, certain users within Facebook groups are accorded the official role of group administrator or moderator. Both roles entail similar degrees of structural authority over group functions, including the power to manage access to the group, to review, approve or deny user posts, to delete specific comments or deactivate commenting on certain posts altogether, and to promote or "pin" certain posts deemed particularly noteworthy (Facebook, 2021). Added to these, administrators have the additional power to manage the identity of the group, by setting group rules (in addition to Facebook's overarching "Community Standards"), modifying the group profile and cover photos, and editing the group's public description. These privileges alone serve as powerful language management instruments, in that they can be used as a means to define the boundaries of acceptable language behaviours within the group[139]: e.g. expectations regarding topics of conversation and media of interaction (Gafaranga, 1999), prohibitions regarding unacceptable language use (swearing, hate speech, etc.), as well as to reward or censure based on these. As such, these roles do endow their occupants with a degree of structural authority over their members.

However, it could be argued that many of these actions occur in the background rather than the foreground. As alluded to above, the extent to which this authority extends to the potentially face-threatening and overt act of language policing – in the sense of direct, often unsolicited intervention into members' interactions in order to make "corrections" – is not clear.

Within the groups under examination, the invocation of a user's role as moderator or administrator as justification for an act of language policing does occur, albeit relatively rarely. This is manifested in various ways, the most explicit of which is shown in Example 8.1.

> **Example 8.1:** *In this extract, taken from the group* Jo Parli Català Rossellonès, *P001 has just policed language used by P010, who rejects the former's right to systematically correct the*

[139] See e.g. Selvi (2020), whose study discusses the important ideological significance of the superficial aspects of Facebook groups, such as their name, description, and profile photo.

posts and comments of the group's users[140]*. P001 responds by positioning himself as "owner" of the space, and therefore in charge of what happens in it.*

P001: 1. It's our group, we are totally free to act in it [however we please].
2. I don't make mistakes, the remarks are all validated by years of observation and consultation of dictionaries, and by the group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua @P011 @P005*
3. The argument about purity is an argument that is one that is commonplace among *catanyolistes*
4. We do not defend Occitanisms.

P010: Thanks for replying. As I told you I don't want to continue on these terms. Go ahead with your way of acting.

In this example, in response to previous resistance to their policing by P010, P001 makes an explicit statement regarding their – and their fellow administrators', P011 and P005 – ownership of the group. As those who have designed and defined the group and its scope, P001 positions the administrators as possessing the privilege to behave in any way that they deem appropriate. This position is created in the initial statement itself, but also can be inferred more subtly from the use of the second person plural form of verbs and pronouns: "our group", "we are totally free", "we do not defend". The use of "we"-forms has traditionally been considered within Critical Discourse Studies as a means of constructing in-group and out-group memberships, with the ideological implication of positioning the former as in some way superior to the latter (see e.g. Van Dijk, 2006). In this case, P001 seems to be positioning himself and his fellow administrators as part of this privileged in-group of users who have the right to rule on the acceptability of group behaviour, and consequently P010 as having no right to question this. A further, related point of note is the use of collective statements (such as "We do not defend Occitanisms"), which are used in a number of examples within the dataset, seemingly with the goal of establishing (and enforcing) a collective opinion on a given matter. In Example 8.2, for example, in response to P010's suggestion that more than one form of the verb "to stay" might be acceptable, we

[140] The reasons for this rejection are interesting in their own right and will be explored further below.

see that P001 responds by stating that "We will never accept **quedar*" – blacklisting the suspected Castilian calque on behalf of all members. Later, too, when P010 persists in his advocacy for greater tolerance of variation, P001 responds by stating that "WE HAVE ONLY ONE LANGUAGE, IT'S THE FUTURE", using capitalisation in a manner that suggests shouting, and thereby an attempt to amplify the force of their pronouncement (Crystal, 2011: 64). Here again, this privilege of ruling on group collective values – through the use of statements and "we" pronouns and conjugations – appears to derive from an invocation of P001's role as administrator, and corresponding structural authority.

Example 8.2: *In this extract, P001 posts a screenshot of a conversation which occurred in another group. During this conversation, the word "resti" (first person singular of the verb "restar" [to remain] with Rossellonese "i" ending) included in the profile picture of one user was corrected to "em quedo" (from the reflexive verb "quedar-se", which also exists in Castilian) by other users. P001 views this correction as being unjust, given their view of the verb "quedar-se" as being unacceptable.*

P001: *[After screenshot]* How much more ignorance of our own, authentic Catalan could there be?
People who don't even know how to speak Catalan judge that "**em quedo a casa*" would be the correct Catalan, because it's the official form in the South, when in fact "*Resti* or *M'estic a casa*" are also correct and Rossellonese forms…

[…]

P010: Well, what if we accepted both as correct? I say this because perhaps everyone is overcorrecting a tad. By the way, is it possible to say *"Jo resti a xon meua"*?

➔ **P001:** *@P010* We will never accept *quedar!

P010: Okay. Can you clear up my doubt? Thanks.

P010: In any case, when I was talking about accepting the two variants, I was saying it in the sense that the Northern dialect can conserve its expressions, and others theirs, I don't know whether they are "Castilianism[s]" but already standardised.

➔ **P001:** WE HAVE ONLY ONE LANGUAGE, IT'S THE FUTURE. The dialects are already very present in the norm: Fabra made a compositional norm. Castilianisms and Gallicisms have no place in it.

P010: Okay. Can you clear up my doubt?

In a more implicit manner, users also appear to position the administrators as possessing the (structural) authority to pass judgement on, or otherwise intervene in, a particular conversational exchange by tagging them in comments where additional "weight" is needed. This can be witnessed in the second point made by P001 in Example 8.1 above, and also in Example 3 below.

Example 8.3: *In this extract from* Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua, *a user posted a question regarding whether the word "tribunal" or "jutjats" was more correct. A debate ensues on the matter between P001 and P013, with P013 repeatedly commenting arguments against P001's ruling.*

[…]

P001: *@P013* You haven't understood that **jutjats* is a calque…

P013: *@P001* Of what?

P013: *@P001* do you mean that tribunal and jutjats have the same root and mean the same thing?

P013: *@P001* pick up the dictionary and look at it

P013: A *tribunal* is not the same as *jutjats*, neither here nor or Mars

P013: A *tribunal* is a group of people who judge, a *jutjats* [sic] are those who the *tribunal* (catanyol) better *Cort* judge

P013: *Jutjats*, building where the *tribunal* (catanyol) decide who is right, who is guilty or innocent

P013: Judges do justice in *tribunals* (Catanyol)

➔ **P011:** Enough. *@P005*

Example 8.4: *This extract, from the group* Jo parli català rossellonès *follows a post by the author regarding this research. A dispute ensues between P001 and P015 within the comments section when P001 polices a comment by the author and P015.*

P015: *@P001* Don't come to me (or anyone, in fact) with your hypercorrections, thanks. I'm a philologist and I know how the language that unites us is written.

[…]

P001: *@P015* They are not hypercorrections;

[Grammatical explanations to defend their language policing]

[…]

P015: *@P001* They are hypercorrections, dress it up however you want to dress it up because the two forms are valid. I'm not Rossellonese and in Lleida nobody uses "valor" as a feminine noun. Therefore, you're hypercorrecting me, and I'd be grateful if you wouldn't do it, at least with me. As I told you, I already know very well how to write my and your language.

P015: *@P001,* in the end, I'll block you for impertinence.

➔ **P001:** *@P015* They are not hypercorrections… *@P011*

What unites Examples 8.1, 8.3 and 8.4 would appear to be that users tag a group administrator or moderator through a desire to "call in reinforcements", whether to strengthen their own position (Examples 8.1 and 8.4) or to use their power to intervene in an ongoing discussion (Example 8.3). In Example 1, following their rejection of being positioned as fallible by P010 in a previous comment, P001 argues that all "corrections" made are indeed correct by virtue of their own extensive research, and by the work done by JPCR's sister group ALNPL. After this, they tag P005 and P011, both of whom are administrators of JPCR, and the former of whom is also administrator of ALNPL. While P001's comment serves to self-position as an expert, and a person who does not make mistakes (thereby claiming both sapiential and personal authority, both of which will be discussed further below), their decision to tag P005 and P011 seems to suggest an appeal for them to back P001 up – an action the latter could take only if they were in a position of authority which meant their voices might be heeded. While their credentials for supporting P001's own claimed position of authority in policing P010 may also stem from their own expertise or model language behaviour, the fact that both are administrators suggests that the authority drawn on in this occasion derives from this.

Example 8.4 would seem to follow a similar pattern. In this example, P001 again tags P011 in his refutation of the claim that they are hypercorrecting other users. The implication would appear to be that P011 can, and will, endorse P001's claim, thereby strengthening P001's own self-positioning as justified in their policing of P015.

Finally, Example 8.3 is an extract from a dispute between P001, P011 and P013 regarding the acceptability of *jutjats* and *tribunal*, following a posted question by another user. While the debate has been redacted, the full exchange lasts 28 turns before P011's comment above, with P013 staunchly maintaining his resistance to P001's linguistic judgement for 23 of these. Given the length and increasing recalcitrance of the exchange, P011, who is not an administrator of ALNPL appears to demand its closure through the single word comment "Enough.". They then tag the administrator of this group, P005, seemingly in the hope that they will intervene to end the exchange. While this example does not necessarily pertain to the performance of linguistic "corrections", the appeal to the administrator by a user to intervene in the natural course of group communication nevertheless seems to suggest a positioning of the latter as possessing the right and capacity to police and render judgements on the language behaviour of the group, by virtue of structural authority.

8.2.1.2 "Read the description"

More common than positioning based on structural authority (i.e. the ascription or claiming of rights to police language based on the position of power in the structure occupied by a given individual), are what might be considered as acts of (self-)positioning as possessing the right to engage in language policing by virtue of the authority *bestowed by the structure itself*.

As mentioned above, the group ALNPL was created with the explicit mission of "restoring" and "freeing" Catalan from Castilian linguistic interference through an iterative process of identification of lexis of possible language contact origin, verification of its attestation in historical documents and archives, and signalling of words which do not meet the authenticity criterion. This process is explained in the post preceding Example 8.5. In this way, the group's administrator officially defines the group as a space in which challenging linguistic interference is *de jure* permitted and encouraged. As a consequence, users challenged when engaging in language policing are able to self-position as possessing the

right to do so, as they are effectively granted authority to do so by the nature of the structure itself, and the behaviour that it licenses.

This appeal to a pervading, constraining code of behaviour operating within a specific space is reminiscent of Wieder (1988)'s description of a "convict code" that operated within the halfway house which he examined in his ground-breaking ethnomethodological study. This "code" constituted an invisible set of rules that served to regulate the behaviour of both residents and staff, and which both groups made explicit reference to in order to justify (in)actions, and constraints thereof. In this case, the administrator of ALNPL has utilised his power in order to define this code of conduct for the group, and thereby permit others to draw on it in order to justify their own language policing. This most commonly manifests within the data as either intertextual references to the "about" section of the group or pinned posts which explain the purpose of the group and questions as to whether an interlocutor has read these, or by statements to the effect of "this is what we are supposed to do here"[141]. Evidence of this can be found in Example 8.5 below.

Example 8.5: *This extract is taken from one of the first posts published in the group, outlining the mission of the group – the identification and "correction" of Spanish interference – and suggested methods and resources for carrying it out. This is accompanied by a worked example, as well as an article by linguist Gabriel Bibiloni, presented as a justification for the group's activities.*

1 **P007:** "Despús" seems medieval Catalan and a clumsy attempt to hide a Castilianism.

2 **P005:** Beyond the Principality, they also speak Catalan. *Despús* is alive in Majorca
3 and the *País Valencia*. We must keep in mind that not only those in Barcelona speak
4 Catalan.

5 **P001:** False. "Despús" is an archaism maintained in the expression "despús-ahir"

6 **P005:** Yes, I didn't say that it isn't only said in "despús-ahir"

7 **P007:** *@P005* But this text isn't in Catalan from the Balearic Islands, is it?

[141] In this way, this is somewhat reminiscent of occasions in which individuals in the US engage in offline policing of minority and immigrant languages, accompanied by the command "This is America, speak English!" (the front cover of Spolsky's 2009 volume serves as an example of this).

P007: We have an expert here who does know about these things (it's not me, I don't remember it, and only studied it to barely *[apenes]* pass) and the terminology that should be used to study them. I have notes *[apunts]*. If you want I can look for them.

P007: (I'm referring to the criteria for codifying standard languages, not to dialectology, which I haven't really studied.)

P001: **apunt, apuntació>nota, anotació*

P001: *apenes>a penes*

P001: " *a penes* "

P005: *a BCN es parla > A BCN PARLEN o HOM PARLA* Do you agree *@P001*?

P001: The three of them should be used.

P005: All three *[Totes tres]* of them? Is it not Spanish with "es"?

P001: The three *[les tres]* (implying *[sotaentès]*: expressions) All three *[Totes tres]* (living things)

P008: *després-demà* also

P005: 'To imply'*['Sotaentendre']* doesn't exist, it seems. 'To imply' *[SOBREENTENDRE],* yes.

P005: https://ficahilallengua.wordpress.com/tag/totes-tres/[142]

P001: *@P005* to imply *[sobreentendre]* and to underline *[subratllar]* = calques from Spanish, where the other Romance languages say to imply *[sotentendre]* and to highlight *[sotalinear].*

➔ **P009:** This is crazy, you [all] can't speak for even two minutes without correcting each other… don't you understand that a language isn't [like] that? You will kill the language of so much love ;)

➔ **P005:** *Inserts a link to another post which reads:*

[142] This link leads to a page which explains the rules behind "els/les + number" and "tot(e)s + number", and would appear to have been used to refute P001's policing on P005's use of "totes tres".

33 Read the definition of the group and the article that I've pinned to the top,
34 please. In this group we systematically correct all the Catanyol that we are able
35 to and we all have to collaborate to improve the language.

In the above example – an extract from one of the foundational posts of ALNPL – a series of metalinguistic discussions can be witnessed, in which users appear to follow the instructions set forward by P005 in the initial post: casting words used in each other's comments into doubt, and arguing for and against their validity. In this example, this policing reaches various levels of abstraction. Aside from the debate over the acceptability of the phrase *despús-ahir* which occurs over lines 1-13, and recurs on line 22, and P001's policing of P007's contribution to the debate on lines 14-16, there is also an apparent example of recursive policing from lines 17-21 and 23-28. In this segment, P005 considers the acceptability of a rewording of his comment in lines 2-4, and seeks the approval of P001. P001 responds by saying *Les tres s'han d'utilitzar* [all three (suggested formulations) should be used]. P005 proceeds to question this, by asking "All three of them?", using the wording *Totes tres?,* which P001 then proceeds to signal as incorrect, and to suggest a correction for. This is then followed by P005 (in lines 23-25) spotlighting, within P001's own "correction", of the word *sotaentès* (implied/implying), which P005 deems incorrect and provides a correction for, as well as an external source to reinforce his point. This exchange is brought to a close in lines 26-28 with P001 disputing P005's negative assessment of the language used in P001's original act of policing, by claiming that P005's suggestion – *sobreentendre* – is in fact a calque from Spanish, and therefore incorrect.

The result would appear to be a sequence of cumulative, recursive policing acts, with each user positioning the other as being mistaken, and leaving room for little advancing discussion. This is noted, in the first highlighted section of Example 8.5 (lines 29-31) by P009, in which they refer to the exchange between P005 and P001 as "crazy", given its apparent foregoing of sustained interaction in favour of mutual correction. P009 views this act as contrary to the nature of communication, and even as a threat to the language's vitality. Language policing, or at least to this extent, is positioned as problematic, and *ipso facto* P001 and P005 are positioned as possessing the duty to reduce their engagement in it.

In response to this, in the second highlighted section (lines 32-35), the administrator of the group pastes a link to a previous post that they published in the group, in which they requested that all users read the group description and Bibiloni's pinned article, and reiterated that the "correction" of *catanyol* is the *raison d'être* of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua.* Indeed, far from "killing" Catalan, such policing is depicted as salvific, and P005 explicitly requests the cooperation of group members in carrying it out.

Referring to a previous post in reply to P009, P005 positions themselves as possessing the right to engage in systematic language policing and metalinguistic debate by virtue of the code of conduct that they have previously established (in their role as group administrator). While on one hand, this positioning could be seen to rest on P005's claim to structural authority, since it was P005 who defined the group's behavioural code, one might also interpret his positioning as resting on the authority conferred by this very code (i.e. this is what we do here, so I have done the right thing).

By this logic, of course, the administrator is not the only user who can claim a position of authority in episodes of language policing by virtue of the officially sanctioned code of behaviour, and as can be seen in Example 8.6, other users do follow a similar process.

> **Example 8.6:** *This extract comes from the comments on a post by P002 in* ALNPL*, who claims that language activism is ineffective due to the structural pressures that, P002 claims, are dedicated to wiping out minority languages, such as Catalan.*
>
> **P001:** *"no sigui descritA"*
> **des de fonètica, sintaxi, lèxic, fraseologia: de fonètica a sintaxi, lèxic i fraseologia o De fonètica, sintaxi, lèxic (fins) a fraseologia*
> You are wrong, it is not the dialectization (which has always been there, it is very natural), nor the interference of French (until several decades ago) it's a lot worse, it is, since the 1970s, the disappearance of the language as vehicular and normal.
> Those who know how to speak it may almost never speak it, because the Catalan population has not transmitted the language, and the Catalan population is already a minority: less than 30/100.
>
> > **P002:** *@P001* Are you happy correcting me? Who asked you to correct me? Can you not respect an interlocutor? I don't talk to you so that you can correct me, but to exchange views. Don't you know how human communication works?

P001: This group is about removing [linguistic] interference, read the rules.

In this extract, P002 has just published a post expressing his negative opinions of language activism in response to a blog post written by Gabriel Bibiloni. P001 comments on this post, and begins his comment with an act of unsolicited language policing, in the form of *-repair (Collister, 2011) (as well as variants of this: " "-repair and capitalisation), correcting words and grammatical structures used by P002. Given the general view that unsolicited corrections (or, as they are commonly referred to within Conversation Analysis literature, "other-initiated other-repair") are, in most cases, avoided due to their potential for being considered offensive or otherwise face-threatening (e.g. Schegloff et al., 1977, Hutchby, 1998), P002's response may be somewhat unsurprising. Their use of questions "Are you happy correcting me? Who asked you to correct me?" seem to interrogate P001's right to unilaterally prescribe changes to their initial post.

Furthermore, their following comments "I don't talk to you so that you can correct me, but to exchange views. Don't you know how human communication works?" would seem to have the effect of positioning the two interactants as possessing equal rights and responsibilities to each other. As will be discussed further below, P001 is by far the participant who most often engages in language policing – most commonly unsolicited by other users, and frequently at the expense of further contributions to group discussions. Potentially aware of this, P002 may be denying P001 any other role within the interaction other than an equal interlocutor, whose rights do not exceed the mutual interchange of opinions. In other words, despite the frequency with which they engage in the act, P001 is positioned as lacking any automatic authority to police others' language use.

In spite of this, P001's concluding comment – "This group is about removing [linguistic] interference, read the rules" – refutes this assertion by invoking the text of the group's description, which is the basis of its code of behaviour. In so doing, although not an administrator of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, and thereby lacking structural authority, P001 self-positions as justified in his management of the language use of fellow users, by virtue of the fact that the group itself has been designated as a space in which language policing is encouraged. They claim authority based on the nature of the structure itself, as previously defined.

A final observation to make in this subsection is that *structural authority* in this sense is not only claimed through self-positioning, but is also ascribed by other users.

Example 8.7: *This extract is taken from the comments section of a post, published several years ago by administrator P005, in which they share two articles that criticise the efficaciousness of immersion schooling. A debate ensues from this between P004 and P005, and P004 and P003 over linguist Carme Junyent's assertions that multilingualism, rather than Spanish-Catalan bilingualism, is a solution to reversing language shift to Spanish. This is interspersed with P005's policing of P004.*

P004: They *[the authors of the articles]* may be using Catanyol, but they are denouncing a fact that others are unaware of, and the future *[future]* of the language depends on it. It is clear *[És clar]* that Catalan has to be purified, but it must also have speakers**.**

P005: futur > ESDEVENIDOR
és clar > NATURALMENT, I TANT, etc
One thing has absolutely nothing to do with the other. They are independent things and just because they denounce something, doesn't mean we have to let them promote Castilianisation.

> **P004:** Of course *[És clar]*, Spanishisation should not be promoted, I try not to do it but I'm sure I miss mistakes out of ignorance. And changing the subject, neither should Junyent's theory be promoted. Catalan is in less danger than before because of multilingualism, because that multilingualism is false, outside of the home, the trend is to adopt Spanish as the common language.
>
> **P004:** Oops, És clar > Evidentment.
>
> **[…]**

P003: *@P004* But, specifically, she promotes multilingualism with Catalan as the common language because she says that Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (with Spanish as a common language) will lead to the disappearance of Catalan.

Right now, Catalan as a language that is used in a markedly symbolic way, is in danger faced with Spanish, which is really compulsory and "neutral" language, and English, which everyone makes obvious that they're learning. All of this is the result of a certain cultural closure. If linguistic heritage were managed in a more intelligent way, according to her, Catalan would have better prospects than now. https://youtu.be/GW5IybuTK6E

P004: And where is this multilingualism with Catalan as a common language? It's a matter of percentages. There are fewer and fewer Catalan speakers. In some schools there are none.

Obviously *[És clar]* there are newcomers who speak Catalan, but what % are they? They are a minority *[minoria]*, most *[la majoria]* choose Spanish as their common language, whether they come from Honduras, Russia or China.

P005: és clar > I TANT, NO CAL DIR, EVIDENTMENT
minoria > ELS MENYS
majoria > ELS MÉS, LA MAJOR PART
[…]

P003: Do you mean that you prefer *[prefereixes]* that people don't use "majoria", "minoria" nor "és clar" ? Why?

➔ **P005:** *@P003* It's not that I prefer *[m'estimi més]* ('to prefer' *[preferir]* is a cultism that we would never say if it weren't for interference) that people don't say it. I ask you to read the definition of the group and the Bibiloni article I have pinned to the top of the group.

P003: According to the DCBV, there are uses of "to prefer" *[preferir]* from 1393… do you want to eliminate all of the words borrowed or adapted from Castilian since the 14th Century?

➔ **P006:** *@P003* have you read the article in the group header? What you're asking makes you think that you haven't. That might be the reason you don't understand some of the reasoning we have here.

P003: *@P006* Look, I'm leaving. It will be easier that way. Regards.

In Example 8.7, interestingly, the user who is policed, P004, is not the one who challenges the person doing the policing, P005. In the initial comments of this extract, P005 and P004 are engaged in a debate over two articles shared in the initial post by P005, which describe immersion schooling as a "farce". During their semi-defence of the articles, P004 uses lexis (*és clar* – of course/it's clear, and *futur* – future) which P005 deems to be problematic (both

have analogous forms in Castilian), and so in line 4, they begin their comment by an act of language policing, again unsolicited. Unlike in Example 8.6, P004 does not acknowledge this policing, but continues the debate, accidentally repeating their use of the term "és clar". Immediately following this, they realise their error, and self-correct following P005's example in terms of lexical choice (*evidenment*) and form of policing (wrong form > correct form). P005 then repeats their policing of *és clar*, which, again, is unacknowledged by P004. Following this, the same "error" is repeated by P004 in line 27, and is again "corrected" by P005 in line 30. The fact that P004 does not resist – nor provide any response – to P005's policing of their language use, combined with their own self-correction of the same lexical item corrected by P005, and their imitation of P005's from of policing, suggests P004's tacit endorsement of the language policing and an acceptance of P005's self-positioning as language manager. Furthermore, their behaviour may additionally point to their acknowledgement of the established code of behaviour, which serves to license P005's (and their own) language policing.

In contrast to this lack of response, in line 34 P003, for their part, questions the motive for P005's policing of P004. In response, P005 exhorts P003 to read the article by Gabriel Bibiloni (1999), which has been pinned to the top of the group. As mentioned above, this article emphasises the importance of seeking and eliminating Castilian linguistic interference in the Catalan language, and therefore serves as one of the documents contributing to the group's defined code of behaviour. Thus, again P005 positions themselves as possessing the requisite authority to police P003's language in this space.

Simultaneously in their comment, P005 also intersperses policing of P003's use of the word "preferir" (to prefer), which they believe also to stem from linguistic interference. In response to this, P003 again questions P005's motivations, asserting that the use of "preferir" is attested to as far back as in the late 14th Century and thus should be sufficiently "authentic". This is then followed by a comment by P006, who asks whether P003 has actually read the article referred to by P005, as if they had they would "understand some of the reasoning we have here". By repeating their appeal to read Bibiloni's article, it would appear that P006 is endorsing P005's self-positioning, recognising that the group activity is conducted according to a defined "reasoning", which licenses P005's actions. In other

words, P006 ascribes authority to P005 to engage in language policing, because that is what the group has been set up to do.

Claims to, or ascriptions of, structural authority, or authority bestowed *by* the structure to all users, are thus both observed within the dataset. Nevertheless, this form of positioning occurs with much less frequency than those based on *sapiential*, *moral* or *personal* authority, and it is to these that the paper now turns.

8.2.2 Sapiential authority

Education, and the possession of knowledge, has long been considered a valuable commodity within society, the acquisition of which was thought to entail the gaining of increased societal power and influence (e.g. Joseph, 2006). Paterson (1967: 114) notes that the possession of sapiential authority pertains to an individual enjoying the "entitlement to be heard by reason of knowledge or expertness". Moreover, van Leeuwen (2008: 107), in his work on strategies of "legitimation", also asserts that social actors often invoke expertise – in the form of explicit claims to knowledge and credentials, or reference to expert sources or "professional attributes" - to justify their own actions or those of others.

In the current study, a large proportion of the self- and other-positioning as (il)legitimate language managers does revolve around claims to the possession of superior knowledge, experience and expertise in matters relating to the Catalan language, or to a lack thereof. Indeed, this type of positioning was perhaps the most commonly observed within the dataset under study, and is manifested in a number of ways.

At times, users make explicit reference to their own alleged extensive knowledge of, or expertise, in matters relating to the Catalan language, both to defend and to resist instances of language policing. This can be witnessed in Examples 8.1, 8.2 and 8.4 above (repeated as Examples 8.8, 8.9 and 8.10 below for convenience):

Example 8.8

P001: 2. I don't make mistakes, *the remarks are all validated by years of observation and consultation of dictionaries*, and by the group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua @P011 @P005*

Example 8.9

P001: People who don't even know how to speak Catalan judge that "**em quedo a casa*" would be the correct Catalan, because it's the official form in the South, when in fact "*Resti* or *M'estic a casa*" are also correct and Rossellonese forms…

Example 8.10

P015: @P001 Don't come to me (or anyone, in fact) with your hypercorrections, thanks. *I'm a philologist* and I know how the language that unites us is written.

By pre-positioning themselves as individuals who possess particular expertise in Catalan, indexed either through experience or educational credentials, users assert both their authority over the language and their consequent right to police, *or not to be policed*.

In cases where conflict occurs over specific "corrections", as opposed to the act of policing itself, a similar approach occurs, in which users defend or resist policing by referencing an external authoritative source which they perceive to justify their "correction" or "counter-correction". This can be seen in Example 8.11.

Example 8.11: *In this extract from the group* ALNPL, *one user posts a question regarding the correct pronunciation in Catalan of the town name "Jaen" that should be published in the dictionary. P016 attempts to answer the question, and his comment is policed by P001, after which conflict ensues over whether the correction made is in fact accurate.*

P010: For foreign *[foranis]* place names that don't have a traditional name in Catalan, the local pronunciation *[pronúncia]* or an approximation should be the norm.
That is to say, "khaen", like "uaxington" or "glòster"

P001: @P016 *******forani > FORÀ*

P001: @P016 ** pronúncia > pronunciació*

P016: @P001 And now why don't you like *"pronúncia"*?

P001: it's a Castilian deverbal, until proof to the contrary

P016: @P001 Castilian? *"pronuncia"* in Castilian means something totally different, and it's used only in a colloquial set phrase *"dejar sin pronuncia"*

And it's unknown to the majority of Castilian speakers.

It's not a synonym of *"pronunciació"*

P001: According to the *catanyol* dictionaries

P016: @P001 no, according to the *Real Academia Española de la Lengua*[143].

If *"pronúncia"* has neither a meaning nor a usage in common with the Castilian *"pronuncia",* how can it be Castilian?

P001: There are neither medieval nor classical attestations of *Pronúncia*, nor in any other middle-Romance language, although the TDF:

PROUNOUNÇO, f. s. s. Prononcé d'une sentence. R. *prounouncia*

P016: @P001 and what? There aren't in Castilian either.

P016: The fact that a word is neither French nor classic doesn't mean that it's Castilian, more so when it doesn't exist as such in Castilian

P016: And if Occitan has it too…

P001: it means *"verdict"* [in Occitan]

P016: @P001 but that means that the formation of the deverbal is not Castilian, even if it gives a different meaning (different from Castilian too)

In this example, the legitimacy of language policing can be seen to hinge on the authoritativeness (and perceived quality) of evidence advanced to support it. Both P001 and P016 attempt to position themselves as being "in the right", and therefore more knowledgeable, at least in this instance, about the Catalan language. When challenged in their policing of the word *pronúncia*, P001 positions themselves as justified in their "correction" of P016 due to a lack of evidence to vindicate the word as sufficiently authentic. In response, P016 disputes the alleged link to Spanish, claiming that the word has

[143] An official Spanish institution, similar to the French *Alliance française,* tasked with prescribing "correct" Spanish.

different meanings in the two languages, and in doing so, denies approval of P001's authoritative self-positioning. In turn, P001 attempts to reclaim their previous position by discrediting the source on which they perceive P016's argument to be based – namely certain dictionaries – as being, themselves, overly influenced by Castilian, and therefore untrustworthy. This being the case, according to P001, any counter-claim by P016 to their position of authority would be rendered invalid, given the flawed evidence on which it is based.

In fact, P016 invokes the *Real Academia Española* – a prestigious institution with a royal mandate to pass judgement over matters related to the Spanish language – as the basis of their argument. As van Leeuwen (2008) notes, social actors frequently assert the legitimacy of their actions through the simple invocation of such powerful knowledge institutions. In this case, P016 invokes the expert authority of this institution to contradict P001, and thereby deprive them their right to engage in language policing.

In the subsequent turn, P001 makes a similar appeal to external evidence, in the form of archival evidence which allegedly lack reference to *pronúncia.* Interestingly, however, they concede that one such reference does exist, weakening their argument and suggesting that their original positioning of sapiential authority is now cast into doubt.

These examples demonstrate that, while not necessarily sufficient in and of itself, (superior) linguistic expertise (whether possessed or invoked) is perceived to be crucial to the establishment of authority of language managers within this domain.

Interestingly, the extent to which users accede to the policing of others would appear to correlate to their degree of interpretation of the domain itself as a classroom-like domain, in which "ordinary" users are "students", and are there to be taught, and those who are deemed to possess greater knowledge – notably, for example, P001, P005, P011 – are "the teachers". Users are frequently witnessed to justify instances of language policing by either positioning themselves as learners, through referencing their own inferior knowledge or asserting that the reason for their presence is to learn, or alternatively by acknowledging the expertise of those engaged in language policing, or portraying their actions as a form of legitimate help. In either instance, users discursively create a hierarchical relationship

between themselves – positioned as *receivers* of knowledge – and the language manager – positioned as the *giver* of knowledge, and thereby vested with sapiential authority.

Instances of this phenomenon can be witnessed in the following examples:

Example 8.12: *In this extract from the group ALNPL, P017 publishes a post expressing his exasperation with what they perceive to be overcorrection within the group. Among the assenting and dissenting opinions expressed in the comments, several users make reference to their belief that the purpose of the group is to learn, the implication being policing serves this purpose, and is therefore justified.*

P017: I can't take any more of this overcorrection torture. I'll look for another group !!!!

[…]

P018: Normally I don't participate *[participó],* because I lack all preparation. But I follow you [pl.], I can always learn something.

P001: *@P018 "participO"* you must know that 😊

P019: It's for learning. *[Es per apendre [sic]…]*

P001: *@P018* "És per A aprendre"

[…]

P020: Which one? I only know Catanyol groups. I've learned quite a lot here, and I'm very grateful!

[…]

P021: Well, I'm *[soc]* Aragonese living *[vivin]* in Catalunya, and I never say anything because *[perque]* my level isn't very high, but *[pero]*, following you *[seguin-vos]* I learn a lot, I like *[m'agrade]* the group.

P001: *"sóc"*

vivinT: que viu/que (s')està a Catalunya

"perquè" "és"

18 *“però”*

19 *“seguinT-vos N’aprenc molt”*

20 **P001:** **“***m’agradA”*

Example 8.13: *In this extract from ALNPL, P006 has just posted a question about the correct formulation and connotation of the word “Rosselló”. A debate ensues on the matter between P006 and P023 for several turns. At the end of the exchange P001 enters to police the language used by both, and question their “progress”.*

[…]

1 **P023:** *@P006* No, dear, there has never been a county of Empordà ... in any case, the
2 county of Empúries, which was smaller than the Empordans. And it must be seen
3 that *[això de que]* the county of Besalú coincided fully with La Garrotxa.

4 **P023:** *@P006* I’m going to sleep. We’ll continue discussing *[seguim discutint]* [this]
5 tomorrow.

6 **P006:** *@P023* Empordà, Empúries… it’s the same thing.

7 **P001:** *@P023 *això de que > AIXÒ QUE.* CRIMINAL…

8 **P001:** *@P023 *seguim discutint > CONTINUEM A DISCUTIR*
9 WHAT DO YOU USE THIS GROUP FOR?

10 […]

11 **P001:** *@P006 *en canvi* > AL CONTRARI, PER CONTRA, AL REVÉS
12 What do you use this group for?

13 […]

14 **P023:** *@P006* Have you got that *[tens clar]* 😂 😂 😂?

P006: They're very demanding, they can't see progress. I'm sure that if someone said to them [sic] if they wanted everyone to have the level of Catalan that I have they would agree Right *@P001?*

P023: *@P001* Could you do a post *[post]* in the group about gerunds in Catalan. When to use them and when not to…

P023: *@P001* If I already knew as much as that, perfect, I wouldn't have to be a member of this group… that's why I'm here.

P001: *@P023 *post m. > missatge, publicació*

P001: In my book there's a whole chapter about abusive gerunds. An article of mine will also be published in *Llengua Nacional*.

P001: ***tenir clar > saber clarament, veure clar*

[…]

P001: *@P006* I can't see progress… Just that I can't see it from certain members…

P006: Of course there is! I've learned loads!

In Example 8.12, the original poster expresses his frustration over the extent of language policing occurring within the group, which they perceive to be excessive.[144] In response to this, many users defend the act of language policing within the group by positioning the group as a place for learning authentic Catalan, or positioning themselves as "learners". In so doing, these users provide justification for the otherwise transgressive act of language policing, depicting it as a necessary language learning mechanism rather than an impolite intrusion into naturally occurring conversation, which is carried out legitimately due to the superior knowledge possessed by those who carry it out. This is perhaps best exemplified in the turns covered by lines 3-4 and 12-14, in which both P018 and P021 respectively explicitly position themselves as lacking in knowledge or fluency, and both commit orthographical

[144] This is a key limitation to the authority of users engaging language policing that is referenced frequently within the group. Even in cases where users acknowledge either structural, sapiential or moral authority on the part of the language manager, on many occasions they will nevertheless resist the act of language policing if they perceive it to be excessive in degree of purity or frequency. This point will be discussed further below.

errors in their comments. In response, P001 replies to both with a series of corrections of these errors, and, for P018, a comment which appears to strengthen the teacher-student relationship created between them "You must know that :)". Then, in both cases, P018 and P021 "like" their respective replies policing their language, suggesting their endorsement of the policing act, and of P001's right to have carried it out (cf. Lee et al., 2016).

In Example 8.13, a similar phenomenon can be seen. Following a toponymical discussion between P006 and P023 which appears to have reached a conclusion at line 6, P001 again intervenes to perform a series of language policing acts. On this occasion, it would appear that the "errors" committed are perceived to be particularly serious, as P001 comments, firstly, that P023's use of *"això de que"* is "criminal"[145], and asking both P023 and P006 what use they are making of the group. The latter question would appear to serve as an accusation, implying that P023 and P006 are failing, in some respect, to act appropriately within the group – that is to say, to take the process of learning and de-Castilianisation seriously. In response, P006 replies facetiously that P001 "cannot see progress" and that his level of Catalan should be seen as commendable. For their part, P023 requests that P001 provides assistance in the correct usage of gerunds, and comments that, were their Catalan already perfect, they would not need to be a member of the group. In these ways, P006 and P023 also position themselves as learners – receivers of knowledge – and users such as P001 as their teachers, who are both capable, and have the right, to evaluate their developing linguistic competence.

P001, for their part, again reinforces this hierarchy – and their sapiential authority, on which it rests – by, first of all, referring P023 to literature on authentic Catalan that they themselves have written (one of which is published in the magazine *Llengua Nacional*) (cf. van Leeuwen, 2008). Second of all, they qualify P006's comment, stating that they are not able to see progress from *certain users*, with the implication being that P006, in his position as a student, is among those whose language is not "improving" at a sufficient rate. P006's

[145] It's interesting to note the similarity between this manifestation of language policing, and that described by Cushing (2019). In both cases the metaphor of "language policing" is employed literally, with beneficiaries branded as "criminals" and those performing it playing a role akin to civil police. This theme will be returned to in the section on *personal authority* later.

final comment of protestation seems only to cement their position as learner, as they claim that they have “learned loads”.

It would appear, therefore, that users are more likely to endorse or ascribe rights to engage in language policing if they perceive it to constitute a pedagogical tool, employed within a domain dedicated to learning and teaching in which they operate as “pupil”, and by a knowledgeable “teacher” figure, who thereby enjoys sapiential authority (cf. Neiman, 1986). Indeed, defence of language policing by other users is commonly found to co-occur with the person carrying out the policing being positioned as a teacher, or an educated person.

Yet, as alluded to above, knowledge and education alone do not invariably lead to authority in language policing, even when they are still lauded by other users.

Example 8.14: *This extract is taken from the comment that immediately precedes that in Example 8.1. In it, P010 provides many reasons regarding why they do not recognise P001’s right to police the language of others.*

P010: Your knowledge is very commendable, but that doesn’t give you *carte blanche* to say it everywhere, nor does it make it impossible for you to make mistakes. You’re boring people and that goes against your own cause, the Catalan culture and language. I don’t expect any response other than a battery of corrections but I won’t go along with you in this sickly conception of (academic) “dialogue”, defending my nuances against what you think I (in this case) mean or should say. And beware, you were born in Roussillon, you have studied northern Catalan more than anyone ... but you are not and will never be the only flag bearer because there are other people who are also working on this arduous task, because there are those who do not [sic] have a different or non-existent academic training to yours, but have roots and relatives all over the territory who have taught them (which is not quite the case for you, from a family from elsewhere).

In this example, P010 acknowledges and commends that P001 possesses a high degree of expertise in the Catalan language and the Rossellonese dialect, gained through extensive study “more than anyone”. As such, they position P001 as an educated person. Yet, this

positioning – unlike above – is not accompanied by an endorsement of P001's rights to manage the language use of other users systematically ("that doesn't give you *carte blanche*"). Indeed, they go on to state that others who lack the education of P001, but possess other qualities which are perceived to be commensurately legitimate, such as family or geographical ties to Northern Catalonia are also engaged in the "arduous task" of defending Catalan[146].

Knowledge alone, therefore, is not sufficient to be granted the required authority to manage the language of others within the groups under study.

8.2.3 Moral authority

8.2.3.1 Saviours of the Catalan language

According to Paterson, possession of *moral authority* hinges upon the extent to which a manager is perceived to act with goodness, rightness and justice (1967: 196). A manager who commands moral authority is seen to act in ways that are necessary, appropriate and generally for the good of the organism that they serve (ibid.: 197-200). As stated above, language policing is, by nature, a transgressive act, involving the (frequently unsolicited) spotlighting and "correction" of the linguistic "errors" of another, to bring the offender's language use into closer alignment with that which is considered to be acceptable by the person doing the policing. As a result, one might hypothesise, for users to engage successfully in this act, it must be perceived as being *necessary* or *right* in some way – for the betterment of the group and its members or the advancement of its mission. Thus those participating in – or otherwise endorsing – language policing frequently make the case that it is a necessary evil, in the battle to save the Catalan language from disappearance or absorption by Castilian. It is therefore portrayed as an *admirable* undertaking, which serves to raise up the language rather than put down its users.

[146] Issues related to "roots", as well as the notion of (in)fallibility, which has been raised in Example 8.1 and 8.14 will be discussed further within the section relating to "Personal authority", as they arguably pertain to authority that is based on whether language managers *qua* individuals meet certain person specifications.

Instances of this have been hinted at in the previous examples. For example, in the final turn of Example 8.5 above, P005 intertextually draws on another post that they previously published (Example 8.15 below), which pertains to the moral need for "correction" within the group, and supplicates the co-operation of other users:

> **Example 8.15:** *In this example from ALNPL, P005 – apparently in response to prior resistance from group users – implores group members to collaborate in the "improvement" of the Catalan language, in part by recognising the need for language policing.*

P005: Read the definition of the group and the article that I've pinned to the top, please. In this group we systematically correct all the Catanyol that we are able to and we all have to collaborate to improve the language.

P024: Very much agree!

P025: It was a joke *[broma]* P005, don't take it the wrong way. I very much agree, too.

P005: Either we take this seriously, or just start chattering away *[garlar]* in Castilian and have done with it.
boma [sic] *> JANGLA*

P026: *@P005,* I like *GARLAR*!

[…]

P027: You can correct me all you want. Very much agree, and very grateful.

P005: From time to time you have to remind people.

P028: Yesterday you said that correcting disgusted you…...

P005: Correcting massively disgusts me BECAUSE the situation of the language is insane, extremely painful, a total mess

As stated earlier, the group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* was created with the intention of working collaboratively in a process of ongoing "purification-oriented" corpus

planning, following the example of linguists such as Pompeu Fabra and Gabriel Bibiloni, and this objective is declared explicitly in many of the foundational posts of the group, as well as its "About" section. And the motivation for this process, as explicitly stated in these same texts, is the perceived threatening situation of language decay in which the Catalan language currently exists. Catalan is in danger, and this group (with *JPCR*) are here to save it.

It is this objective, and its underlying, noble cause, which is invoked in this example. In their post, *P005*, as stated above, requests that people familiarise themselves with the group's salvific missions, and positions language policing (the systematic "correction" to which they refer) as working in service of these. In so doing, they position themselves and other users who engage in language policing as posessing the moral authority to do so, as they are to be understood as working for the *betterment* of the language. This is compounded in a later reply, when, in response to P025's comment in lines 5-6 that a previous utterance made by them (presumably a facetious critique of the group or its work) was merely a "joke", P005 states that without a serious approach to the work at hand, the result would be an inevitable shift to Castilian. Furthermore, in lines 15-16, P005 proceeds to claim that the process of policing language is very distasteful to them, yet the "insane" "painful" "mess" of the language compels them to act. The serious, no-nonsense tone present in this ultimatum seems to emphasise the gravity of the threat that is perceived to weigh on the Catalan language in the eyes of P005, and thus the moral *need*, and thereby *right*, to take drastic action.

Acknowledgement of the severity of the situation facing the language on the part of other users, and thus the moral authority of self-proclaimed language managers to act in its defence, is also evident, as a number of users comment their agreement. Indeed, P027 explicitly authorises P005 to "correct him all [he wants]", and expresses his gratitude for it. Thus, in this case, the transgressive nature of language policing is apparently transcended by moral imperative.

8.2.3.2 The importance of politeness

Yet, this is far from being a universally shared sentiment, and, indeed, even when endorsing the alleged importance and nobility of the work undertaken by the group, many users signal their concerns about the *manner* in which it is conducted.

Example 8.16: *In this extract from the group ALNPL, P005 publishes a post requesting users to provide reasons against the activity of the group, presumably including language policing. Many users express their agreement with the activity, but also shed light on a key limitation in the form of politeness and tact. Others signal their endorsement of the underlying principle, but disagree that language policing is the correct way to implement it.*

P005: Tell (me) arguments against the mission that we're doing in this group.

P001: Some people get depressed by it instead of encouraged. They shouldn't get in the way.

[…]

P029: I don't have any!

P028: I really like the objective of the group. The mission is very commendable. But as @ says, and even though I really like reading what you say and I follow you daily, I find that what is lacking is a little more debate and especially kindness and good manners towards others' responses. I like the corrective mission that you're doing. And what has me totally "hooked" is the mission of purification and recuperation of our language! You have made me into a follower of Bibiloni and others! And [made me] investigate and study! Thank you!!!

[…]

P001: Personally, I *P001* don't have any friendliness except commenting and bringing bundles of firewood to the bonfire. It's not that I'm not kind and well-mannered, simply that I don't have time for this kind of embellishment[147], and neither do I expect it of anyone else. I'm happy when people respond to me, and that's enough for me.

[147] In the sense of "extraneous dressing up of their comments with social niceties".

P030: As I've said on other occasions, I find it very enriching and interesting, but in my opinion, at times there's a lack of pedagogy and empathy.

P030: That being said, I have no arguments against de-Castilianisation, so onwards! Strength and health! ✊😄✌

P031: Personally, I don't have a single argument. In fact, I'm very grateful to you because now my Catalan is a little more solid. Only losers would disapprove of the priceless work that, for example, the administrator, *P011* or *P001* do.

P032: On the contrary, not a single one… perhaps the first correction was a little surprising, without a little greeting or a presentation of the good mission that you are all doing together, obviously everything you are doing enriches our language … Hehe …

[…]

P009: Catalan doesn't belong to you, luckily… nor "*is it*[148]" objectively anything synchronic, stopped at a concrete date… that being said, I celebrate the work of investigation, and I eagerly await the book that brings it all together… at the same time, I deplore the personal disqualifications that you make and your inquisitorial vein

P032: In spite of that it's a great service… nobody is perfect P009

[…]

P009: if, besides [being] great researchers, those driving it were not despotic, instead of dozens of reluctant followers, they would have dozens of unconditional ones …language is a social fact not an object exhibited in the window of a museum, so the disclosure and the popularisation have to attract people….the way they want it [the language] for us, it's an act of priesthood…and priesthood has never been enough

P032: Thank you P005, P011, P001… even if you are at times very direct, it's a great mission. Let's go

[…]

P033: For my part, what I like best in this group is noticing every day reading your observations that the Rossellonese way of speaking, for too long discredited

[148] P009 uses the verb "ser" here, which is a form of the verb "to be" which connotes permanence, as opposed to "estar", which connotes transitory feelings or states.

and considered as dialectal or bastardised, can help, today, the mission of de-Castilianisation of modern Catalan. For our way of speaking, currently on the road to complete extinction, it's an unexpected act of recognition. In a certain way, it's the revenge of the illiterates over the lettered who have always explained to us with irrefutable demonstrations that we spoke a distorted *patois.* Let's hope that this recognition doesn't arrive too late and can revive some moribund hopes.

Now, the mission that you are doing in this group, I'm not very clear about it. Concretely, what is the end goal? To make a new dictionary, purified of all unnecessary foreign influences? To make a style guide to help written language professionals to pluck traditional expressions that have fallen into disuse from the oblivion? To put pressure on institutions and communication media so that they promote a purer language? Or simply a Facebook pastime?

P005: The first objective is for people in general to know what's happening to the Catalan language, the state which it is in, the extent to which Castilian had infiltrated it, so that they can be aware of it. And also so that they can become aware of what the *Catanyol* ideology is, its nature, the extent to which it is fascism, Spanish-ism, radical anti-Catalanism and where it has its nuclei of influence and why it has been able to hide.

The second objective, but on a horizontal plane, is to learn our own language, that's to say, expose the influence of Castilian on it and make it into a modern language, not anchored in a past which is isolated from the rest of the world, which is what the Castilian language represents. And, of course, the social objective is that since people will have become aware and mobilised against the destruction of the language and will have very concrete and certain arguments, because they'll know how to separate elements of Catanyol discourse from elements of Catalan discourse, and will know what we have to steer away from, and what we should turn towards. And I say that also for the philologists, who are those who can put their hands once again to the project of Fabra; from time to time they are the ones who prevent the restoration of the language (and by extension, the liberation of the Catalan nation from Castilian subjugation).

84 **P033:** Let's hope that the initiatives of this group spread further and that, little by
85 little, people in power become aware that any linguistic submission is
86 destructive.
87 **P005:** It's good work that is being done, and if insults are made, they are made
88 justifiably. The ones who are sectarian and inquisitorial are the catanyol
89 fascists.

In the opening post of this thread, P005, in asking for arguments opposing the work that is carried out in the group, would appear to position users as being opposed to the mission of ALNPL, and thereby prompts users to respond by either confirming their opposition, or by repositioning themselves as supporters of the group's mission. And, since this mission pertains to the "purification" of the Catalan language – which is portrayed as being urgent, and in the interest of liberating Catalan language and its people (e.g. lines 66-84 above) – partly through language policing, this post effectively asks of users to justify their refusal to recognise the moral authority of those carrying it out.

In response, as above, many users proceed to endorse the mission of the group, and thereby the moral authority of those carrying it out through language policing. In doing so, a number of users characterise the actions of users such as P005 as "good" or "great" (lines 29 and 48 respectively), "commendable" (line 6), "enriching" (lines 20 and 30) and as a "service" (line 38) which deserves not scorn but gratitude (shown in the thanks offered by users P028, P031 and P032). Indeed, P033 endorses the explanation given by P005 in lines 66-43, describing the work of the group as serving the purpose of resisting linguistic and social repression.

Furthermore, P001 – who frequently engages in language policing – characterises the work of the group as aiming to "encourage" rather than demotivate, and indeed positions as problematic and obstructive those users who do not share this view; in other words, users who do not recognise the supposed moral imperative to collectively and collaboratively police the language are working against the group. It would appear, therefore, that where users concur that 1) the Catalan language is in danger; 2) this danger can be mitigated

through actions such as those prescribed by this group, including language policing; and that thereby 3) those engaging in language policing are acting in service of the Catalan language and its speakers, users are more likely to recognise the moral authority of language managers. Yet, even in doing so, a number of users point to a key factor that might otherwise have served as a limitation to this recognition (and in many other cases, does). Thus factor relates to the degree of civility with which policing is carried out[149]. For example, P028, despite her endorsement of the group's missions and actions to accomplish them, highlights a perceived lack of "good manners" and "kindness" accompanying these actions. Similar comments are made by P030 and P032, who, in spite of their own approvals of the group's work, invoke a lack of "pedagogy" and "empathy", as well as a general directness or abruptness.

As alluded to previously, in that it challenges and disapproves of a user's language use, language policing may be considered an inherently face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, "rational agents" in interaction will endeavour to avoid such acts as much as possible, or to minimise their impact through appropriate mitigation strategies if they must be committed. Tagg et al. (2017), too, state that Facebook users will strive to maintain "conviviality" on the platform, and adopt strategies to avoid conflict where possible. Yet, in the case of the groups under study, language policing is predominately carried out "baldly, without redress" (Brown and Levinson, 1987): that is to say, in an entirely unmitigated manner, constituting the most overt and direct threat to face (ibid.). Moreover, Netz (2020) observes that corrections of this form in educational settings can lead to conflict, frustration and resistance from learners.

In the case of the current examples, the comments of the users above would seem to signal a breach in their expectations of attempts to mitigate the face-threatening nature of the

[149] It should be noted that discussions of "politeness" as a limit to authority in language policing could also have been included in any of the sections within this paper, given that the theme of politeness is invoked in the denial of multiple types of authoritative positioning throughout the dataset. Nevertheless, it is included here as reference to issues to politeness seems frequently to co-occur with references to the apparent mission of the language managers – and thus their perceived moral justification. Moreover, as will be seen, some users seem to be willing to overlook their expectations of politeness for this very reason.

language policing to which they are subjected. Yet, in this case, they have not shown resistance. Brown and Levinson (1987: n.p.) suggest that "retribution" from face-threats carried out in an unmitigated manner may be absent in cases where, for example, all interactants "agree that the relevance of face demands may be suspended in the interests of urgency or efficiency" or "where S [the speaker] is vastly superior in power to H [the hearer]". In the current case, therefore, despite acknowledging the impoliteness of language policing, as it is most commonly carried out in these groups, it would appear that these users are prepared to overlook this due to their concurrence with the urgency and severity of Catalan's situation, and their belief in the ability and intent of the language managers to remedy it. In so doing, they position these language managers with moral authority.
In many other examples, however, as one might expect, users are not so permissive, and refuse to recognise a pressing moral need as justification for a waiving of expected mitigations of face threats.

Example 8.17: *This extract, from the group ALNPL, is taken from the same post as Example 8.12. In this extract, we both see how a refusal to accept language policing is viewed as a lack of will to de-Castilianise the language, and also how one user refuses to condone the defense of language policing on moral grounds.*

P017: I can't take any more of this overcorrection torture. I'll look for another group !!!!

P005: What P017 is saying is very interesting because it shows the lack of will, the enormous resistance of the Catalan people to free themselves from Castilian. All of us collectively should think about this.

[…]

P038: I'm starting to get really fed up[150] with rude, overbearing people.

P001: Stop seeing everything so negatively. Whoever doesn't correct you is not interested in making you better.

P038: There's more than one way to skin a cat.

[150] Original: *Jo ja començo a tenir un ou ple i un altre que vessa ;* literally : I already have an egg full and another that's spilling [over].

Example 8.18: *In this example from ALNPL, P001 – a frequent self-appointed language manager – positions himself and select other users as superior to the rest of the group in terms of linguistic authenticity and commitment to purification. Among the comments that ensue, in defending the work and mission of the group, P011 describes those mentioned by P001 as "revolutionaries". In response, however, another user states that their actions demonstrate more arrogance than zeal.*

P001: I don't know anyone except from me, *P033, P039, P011* and *P005* and a very few others, with enough linguistic awareness, knowledge of the language and practice of self-purification, that speaks the correct Catalan and without Castilian interferences.

[…]

P040: *(to P011)* you've been chosen by *@P001,* you can be content. Let me see where I've made the mistake you people f***ing scare me.[151]

P011: *@P040* we are zombies willing to do anything 🤣

P040: *@P011* zombies no, old-fashioned.

P011: *@P040* come on!

P011: *@P041* No, we propose a model for the future.

P011: *@P041* We're revolutionaries.

P042: *@P011* saying that doesn't come from being revolutionaries, it comes from a lack of humility towards others, I don't know what to tell you.

[…]

P040: *@P042* why do you want humility? It doesn't make any difference.

P011: There's quite a lot of humidity in my city.

[…]

P042: things advance a lot more with humility than with arrogance, for me particularly this style of arrogance pulls me back a lot, and I imagine other people too, but if want you want is congratulations, then fine, happy birthday

[151] Original: *em foteu por*

In Example 8.17 above, the symbolic meaning of language policing within the group – and that of its acceptance or rejection by those who undergo it – is explored by a number of users. In the original post, P017 – for reasons on which they do not elaborate – chatacterises the act as "overcorrection" and "torture", pointing perhaps to their exasperation with the extent to which it is conducted within the group[152]. As a result, they declare their intention to leave *ALNPL*.

In response, the administrator, rather than criticising the words of P017, depicts the post as an example of a lack of desire to be free of the linguistic subjugation by which the Catalan language is allegedly assailed. In other words, P005 positions P017 not only as someone who opposes language policing, but as someone who opposes the fundamental moral imperative on which it is supposedly based – the liberation of the Catalan language (and presumably nation) from Spanish – and thereby repositions himself, and those who endorse the language policing of the group, as supporting this mission; as working for the betterment of the language and its speakers.

P038, however, echoes the exasperation of P017, in his comment expressing his growing dissatisfaction with "rude, overbearing people" – signalling their own opposition to the language policing conducted within the group. In reply, P001, who frequently engages in unmitigated, and often seemingly antagonistic forms of language policing, accuses P038 of adopting an erroneously negative stance towards the act of "correction". Instead, he reiterates the claim that those who engage in it do so in order to "better" the person corrected; it is therefore an altruistic act, and thereby morally justified. This argument fails to convince P038, however, who uses an idiomatic expression which is best translated as "there is more than one way to skin a cat". In other words, it is not the motive but the manner that is at issue, and indeed while the former may be justifiable, it is defeated by the latter – the perceived relentless impoliteness with which "corrections" are carried out.

[152] This is consonant with comments in several other places, in which users have claimed that the language policing in itself is not problematic, but the frequency with which it is carried out.

Example 8.18 demostrates a similar refusal to overlook undesirable behaviour of language managers due to the claimed nobility of their management. The post in this example, made by P001, pertains more closely to an attempt to establish *personal authority* as a language manager, and will therefore be discussed in more detail in the next section. At this stage, however, it suffices to highlight that P001 uses the post to declare themselves, and select other members of *ALNPL,* as superior in their linguistic knowledge, commitment to de-Castilianisation, and "purity" of language use. The comments featured in the extract are made shortly after this, and involve a seemingly somewhat jocular exchange between P040, and P011 – one of the administrators of *JPCR*, one of those identified as "superior" by P001, in which P040 seems to accept his subordinating positioning by seeking to find the error they are supposed to have committed in a previous comment.

Following this, an exchange seems to take place between P041 and P011, with the former's comments now apparently deleted. The responses by P011, however, appear to serve as a defence for the work of the group, apparently in opposition to dissenting views by P041 (indicated by the negation in line 10). They state that the group is constructing a possible linguistic "model for the future" and that group members are "revolutionaries": in other words, fighting a (noble) battle against the Castilian language. In so doing, P011 again effectively reinforces the notion that the work of the group is morally justified, and thereby positions those who carry it out with moral authority. P042, in response, refutes the notion that their behaviour emanates from revolutionary zeal, and instead claims that comments, such as that by P001, exhibit arrogance. Furthermore, in a later comment, P042 elaborates on the problematic nature of this "arrogance", stating that "things advance a lot more with humility" and that comments demonstrating a lack thereof "pull [them] back, and they imagine a lot of other people too".

While in this case P042's comments do not immediately follow an instance of language policing, carried out "bald[ly], without distress", P001's post in this extract remains face-threatening, in that boasting about the apparent linguistic superiority of themselves and fellow members poses a threat to the positive face of other group members not spotlighted in the post (see Brown and Levinson, 1987). Moreover, given their notoriety for engaging in direct, unmitigated language policing within ALNPL – apparent throughout the dataset – and

their frequent activity, it is possible that P001 has come to be associated with this act, and this, in turn, has come to represent the group's activity as a whole.

Thus, P042's comments denying P011's positioning themselves, P001, and their fellow language managers as "revolutionaries" – fighting for the language – do serve as further evidence that moral authority positioning may be denied when they perceive a lack of politeness on the part of the individuals who claim it. Here, P042 refuses to accept the nobility and importance of their intentions – though this remains unquestioned – as justifications for their dispensing with the conventions of politeness.

A final point of note, perhaps, are the replies from P011 and P040 to P042's comment. Both would seem to suggest – through direct questioning on the part of P042, and through a seemingly facetious and deliberate misreading of "humility" as "humidity" in P011's comment – that humility is irrelevant to the exchange. While subtle, this may be indicative of the counter-belief to that of P042 – that the manner in which the work of the group is carried out is ultimately of little relevance compared to the importance of the work itself. Indeed, castigations of users perceived to be overly-sensitive to, or demonstrating the wrong attitude towards, the "corrections" of the group are present in various comments.

Thus, while some users believe unmitigated language policing to be ultimately for the betterment of the language, and are thus apparently willing to suspend their expectations of politeness, others opine that this lack of politeness serves to diminish the moral authority of language managers. Finally, still others refute the relevance relevance of politeness, and expectations thereof, in the first place.

8.2.3.3 For the good of the language?

Of course, in line with Paterson's assertions, moral authority can only be validated if a manager is perceived to be taking actions that are both necessary and for the common good (Paterson, 1967). Therefore, it follows that users who either 1) do not subscribe to the discourse of endangerment surrounding Catalan due to the Castilian language, and thus the urgent imperative to save it or 2) agree that Catalan is endangered but do not believe that its situation can be improved (or, at least, not through purification-oriented language

policing) will be less likely to endorse instances of language policing stemming from positionings of moral authority. Indeed, far from being a service to the Catalan language – as users described the work of users such as P001, P005 and P011 above – some take the opposite view, positing that language policing (in general, or to the extent employed within the groups under study) could be in some way damaging to the language. Examples of these stances can be seen in P009's comments in lines 40-46 above, in examples from earlier sections, (repeated as Examples 8.19 and 8.20 here for convenience), as well as in several other places within the dataset (Examples 8.21 and 8.22).

Example 8.19

P009: This is crazy, you [all] can't speak for even two minutes without correcting each other… don't you understand that a language isn't [like] that? *You will kill the language of so much love ;)*

Example 8.20

P010: You're boring people and *that goes against your own cause, the Catalan culture and language.*

Example 8.21: *In this extract, taken from the group JPCR, P001 publishes a post which complains about the tendency of new speakers of Northern Catalan to adopt linguistic features typical of a more standard(ised), central and Hispanicised Catalan, rather than those "good and traditional" forms*[153] *They then go on to proactively police certain "common errors" made by new speakers. In response, one user defends them and expresses her concerns regarding the danger of language policing.*

[153] Interestingly, this assertion somewhat echoes observations made by Hawkey (2018), who found that young Northern Catalan speakers tended to have more favourable attitudes towards Central Catalan than towards the Rossellonese dialect.

P034: […] At the same time, while you can correct certain things about the language, you can't go about it systematically, with the attitude of a purist… especially when it comes to oral language (written language does have to be more formal), otherwise you will too often fall into an attitude of censorship (especially if you position yourself as a superior being as you do many times…), you will put tension and obstacles on communication, and you'll obtain the opposite of what you want; you don't see what's going on with Occitan and you choose them from specific gurus that only accentuate the feeling of linguistic insecurity, which means that you end up choosing a language that others won't criticise you [for using]… or you write manifestos that are dissident and not productive for the future of the language. Our language is currently in a weak position, please, let's not weaken it more…

Example 8.22: *Taken from JPCR, the comments in this extract follow a previous comment in which a user enquires as to the correct greetings to use at different times of the day. P035 provides his own answer in response, but is immediately policed by P001, who provides evidence to validate his "corrections". P035 responds by citing the inevitability of the influence of Castilian on Catalan.*

P036: Let me ask you:
The parts of the day, can they be used to greet people? Can I say good afternoon *[bona tarda]*, or do I have to say good day *[bon dia]* in the afternoon? Good dawn *[Bona alba]*? Good midday *[Bon migdia]?*
Or do I have say say [sic] for all daylight hours, GOOD DAY *[BON DIA]*.

[…]

P035: *@P036* I either say "good day" *["bon dia"]* in the morning and midday and "good afternoon" *["bona tarda"]* in the afternoon and evening, "good night" *["bona nit"]* even though it depends on the dialectal variant there can be more nuances.

[…]

P001: *@P035 "bona tarda"* is a Castilianism

P001: *Link to external website discussing the difference between* "bona tarda" *and* "bona vesprada"

P001: *Link to external website – blog post by Gabriel Bibiloni*

15 **P035:** Very interesting, the truth is that you can't deny the strong influence of Castilian on
16 Catalan even in words and expressions that we can think very much belong to us.
17 Thanks for the information 😉

The notion that excessive linguistic purism could be detrimental to the survival of minority and endangered languages, particularly through its potential to demotivate possible new speakers, is attested to in the academic literature, particularly by Nancy Dorian (Dorian, 1994), and finds its echo in the comments of a number of users in these examples. In many, users express their opposition to language policing on the basis of the belief that its (exessive) use may actually achieve the opposite of its purported motivation – to save Catalan from excessive Castilian interference through an ongoing process of "purification".

Returning to the text shown in Example 8.19, which, as shown in the section on *structural authority*, follows an exchange of mutual and recursive language policing between P005 and P001, it is possible to see that P009 discursively constructs this act of constant correction as being antithetical to the true nature of language and languaging – and particularly to the Catalan language, which he characterises warmly as a language of "so much love" . While Catalan represents "love" and such positive emotions, language policing is depicted as a threat to its vitality, rather than a tool for its salvation as it is most often portrayed by those who utilise it. And, while the winking emoji has been found to serve the function of signalling that a preceding comment is meant as a joke, or to reduce its potential threat to the addressee's face (e.g. Dresner and Herring, 2010), P009's comment nevertheless points to a serious concern.

A similar assertion is made by P020 in a more direct, unmitigated fashion, in their comment claiming that P001's actions serve only to "bore" users which, they claim, contradicts the "cause" towards which the group P001 and colleagues claim to work, and again works against the language rather than for it.

Finally, in Example 8.21, P034 elaborates on the perceived danger. While conceding that occasional corrections may be acceptable[154], they echo Dorian's assertions that an excessive attachment to, and demand for, linguistic purism may inhibit people from speaking, rather than encourage them to do so. Rather than "liberating" the Catalan language and its speakers, language policing is depicted as an "obstacle" to communication, and contributing to "linguistic insecurity", or even potentially avoidance behaviour, such as shifting to another language that will not be subject to policing. Finally, P034 again posits that the actions of language managers in this group merely aggravates the issue of Catalan's endangerment, identified by the group, rather than alleviating it, and thus works contrary tothe group's mission. As a result, P034 – and the other abovementioned users – refused to grant or recognise position(ing)s of moral authority – emphasised by P034's use of the modal phrase "you can't", withholding permission – given that they view P001 as contributing to the deterioration of the language, rather than working for its betterment.

The final example of this section, Example 8.22, resembles the previous examples in that it represents a refusal to accept and submit to language policing on moral grounds. However, it differs from these in that this refusal, rather than stemming from an underlying conviction about the critical state of the Catalan language, which is only worsened by language policing, is born out of a more tolerant, pragmatic or perhaps fatalistic belief in the inevitability of the influence of Castilian on Catalan. In this extract, P036 enquires as to the most authentic phrases to use to greet others at different times of the day. In response, P035 suggests the use three different forms (*bon dia, bona tarda* and *bona nit*) to use throughout different parts of the day. Shortly thereafter, P001 contradicts P036, stating that *bona tarda* derives from the Spanish *buenas tardes*, and therefore, given the group's mission, is impure and undesirable. Moreover, to strengthen their argument for making this correction, P001 pastes links to two external sources which can corroborate their assertion,

[154] The notion that occasional corrections, carried out with understanding, tact and diplomacy, may be acceptable is recurrent within the dataset, indicating that frequency of language policing may serve as an additional factor influencing users' willingness to grant or acknowledge authoritative positions on the part of language managers.

thereby positioning themselves as both sapientially (= "I am right, and here is the proof") and morally authoritative ("Since this is interference from Castilian, we have to quash it.")

In their reply, P036 would seem to acknowledge the veracity of P001's argument, through their lack of resistance to being policed, as well as their comment "very interesting"[155] and thereby, perhaps, their self-positioning of sapiential authority. Yet, following this, P036 expresses a belief in the inevitability of language contact effects, and by extension the futile and unnecessary nature of attempts at separating the two languages. They then conclude their comment by thanking P001 for the "information", which would appear to demote the function of P001's comment from a "correction" (or to use the LMT term "adjustment design" (e.g. Nekvapil, 2016)) that P036 is obliged to implement, to a purely incidental, informative one. Or, to use Halliday's (1973) terms, they downgrade the function of P001's comments from a "regulatory" function to a "representational function".

In so doing, P036 would seem to refute the moral imperative for the act of language policing carried out by P001, and thus deny P001 a position of moral authority for carrying it out. Policing, in this case, is depicted as not morally justifiable, given that the linguistic influence of Castilian on Catalan is perceived not to be problematic, but inevitable and tolerable[156].

In conclusion, therefore, while some users believe in the endangerment of Catalan to such an extent that they are willing to overlook the face-threatening act of language policing – convinced of its contribution to the salvation of the language, and thus the moral authority of language managers to carry it out – others deem language policing to work counter to the betterment of the language, and so refuse to recognise this positioning of moral authority. Still others, on the other hand, refute the existence of a moral imperative in the first place,

[155] Although, given the ambiguity associated with this adjective, it is possible that the pragmatic function of the word "interesting" was to dismiss – or somehow deem as insignificant – the "evidence" presented by P001, particularly in light of their following comments.
[156] Indeed, in other places within the data set, a tolerance of linguistic diversity is often invoked as an argument against instances of language policing (e.g. the fossilisation of certain dialectal lexis perceived to be of Castilian origin).

believing that language policing is not morally justified, but unnecessary or futile in the face of natural language change.

The final section turns to instances of language policing based on positionings of *personal authority.*

8.2.4 Personal authority

For Paterson (1967), *personal authority* refers to the right of an individual to occupy a management position and influence behaviour due to their possession of a set of personal qualities and characteristics that render them particularly suitable for that role. This somewhat echoes van Leeuwen (2008)'s concept of *role model authority,* and, perhaps to a lesser extent, Weber (1964)'s *charismatic authority.*[157] Moreover, it is consonant with Zhao and Baldauf (2012)'s typology of individuals with agency in language planning – specifically the category of *people with influence.* In short, all refer to individuals who are recognised as possessing superior or otherwise commendable personal attributes comparatively to others – for example, with respect to their personality, their background, their personal wisdom and experience, their worldviews or their deeds – and thus who are perceived as legitimate influencers of others.

Of course, while *personal authority* may be claimed or ascribed on these bases, one might posit that the reverse is also true: that such authority may be denied in the absence of these commendable attributes, or in the presence of attributes perceived to be in some way reproachable.

---

[157] "Lesser" as *charismatic authority,* according to Weber's theory, relates especially to the command of religious and prophetic figures. Although, interestingly Vidal (2020), who wrote an account of his experiences with the group *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, described its social structure and activities as akin to a religious or sectarian organisation. Moreover, it is worth noting that Costa (2010, 2013) highlights that the term "revitalisation" – a concept often employed to describe efforts to restore endangered languages, such as that undertaken by ALNPL – was first employed by Wallace (1956) in relation to a religious movement aimed at collective, radical cultural renewal. Given the self-proclaimed mission of the administrators and more active members of the group of saving the language, and the effects that this has on members – as highlighted in the previous section – it may be that *charismatic authority* is in fact an accurate description of many of the types of positions claimed or ascribed by users in this group. Further research on the social structure of this group could shed further light on this.

Within the groups under study, both prove to be the case. Claims to, and ascriptions of, positions of *personal authority,* based on the perceived superiority of the language manager in some respect can be observed. And, conversely, where language managers perceive users to be particularly inferior as regards these characteristics, this is also used as a justification for the former's engagement in the language policing of the latter. Where language managers themselves are seen to lack such superior qualities, these positions are frequently withheld by other users. The qualities on which these positionings are based include (in)fallibility (or proclivity to error), purity of language practices and perceived commitment to purification (or lack thereof), transparency vs. anonymity and place of origin (as well as linguistic ownership more generally). As Paterson highlights, *personal authority* is often observed to complement *sapiential* or *structural authority*; thus within the current dataset too, these issues often co-occur alongside other themes, such as those regarding users' linguistic knowledge and expertise.

8.2.4.1 A model to aspire to (?)

Modelling language use and behaviour has been observed in studies of several Facebook groups related to minority languages and language advocacy, in which users – either through drawing attention to their own practices, or invoking those of others – attempt to influence the language practices of others (e.g. Yazan, 2015, Stern, 2017). Within both *Jo parli catlà rossellonès* and *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, this kind of spotlighting of instances of "good" and "bad" language behaviour takes a number of forms. Most interestingly for the purposes here, however, are perhaps the examples in which P001 – the user who most frequently engages in language policing within both groups – explicitly presents themselves as an exemplar for other users to emulate. This can be seen in both Example 18 above, as well as Example 8.23 below.

> **Example 8.23:** *In this example post from ALNPL, P001 effectively positions themselves as a role model for the group to follow, both in terms of commitment to the salvation of Catalan and to the means of doing it, through (purificatory) language practices. This is followed by a suggestion to those who make "ENORMOUS mistakes" regarding how to improve.*

P001: I don't make Catanyol errors I write as I speak and speak as I write.

My language is my own and I don't want it to be inferior to those of French and Spanish. I don't want a disabled language.

When it comes to the disappearance of Catalan, I believe I have done my homework: I speak only in Catalan with my son. I speak or I write in Catalan everywhere that people will respond to me in it. If you make mistakes, you have to use Language Tool for browser and for Libre Office and Open Office, it will avoid ENORMOUS mistakes for you such as **a finals de > A LA FI DE, A LA DARRERIA DE, A LES ACABELLES DE, A LES ACABANCES DE, A DARRERS DE (d'un mes)*

In both Examples, P001 explicitly sets themselves apart from (most) other users, emphasised particularly in Example 23 through the contrasting personal pronouns "I", accompanied by positive predication, and "you" with negative predication, as can be seen represented in Table 8.1 (see Wodak, 2001 for a description of predication as a discursive strategy).

"I"	**"you"**
don't make Catanyol errors	make mistakes
write as I speak and speak as I write	need to use Language Tool
don't want Catalan to be inferior to Spanish or French	make ENORMOUS errors
have done my homework	
speak Catalan with my son and anywhere people will respond to me in it	

Table 8.1: *An representation of the predication strategies used by P001 in Example 8.23.*

In both examples, they invoke a number of similar themes to construct their position as role model. The first of these touches on the notion of (in)fallibility. In Example 8.23, P001 commences their post by positioning themselves as someone who does not "make Catanyol errors". This is further compounded by their identification of themselves and select other

users as the only people who speak "correct Catalan" in Example 8.18. Given that the purpose of the group has been described as the identification and elimination of such errors – see Example 8.15 – this assertion serves to position P001 as someone who is of higher status than other group members; who has already achieved the mission of the group, and thus whose function now is to act as a mentor for others. This notion is reinforced by P001's subsequent claims that they have "done [their] homework", and that they have made every effort to ensure that their offline and online language practices prioritise Catalan over other languages. The implication would seem to be that others do not demonstrate such a strong commitment – or sense of duty[158] – to the language, a theory that is validated by their comments in Example 8.18 in which they self-identify as one of the *only* people they know that engages in a sustained practice of linguistic purification.

While lines 1-8 of Example 8.23 serve to construct a position of superiority for P001, while implicitly suggesting the inferiority of other users, the subsequent lines then render this division much more stark. As can be seen illustrated in Table 8.1 above, while "I" (P001) is positioned as free from error and committed, both through their beliefs and practices, to the cause of saving the Catalan language though constant self-management, "You" (other users) are positioned as making mistakes (of which some are "ENORMOUS" – with the qualifier and capitalisation augmenting the perceived seriousness of these errors). Indeed, users are positioned as being not only erroneous in their use of Catalan, but also potentially incapable of noticing their errors independently, and thus computer software is recommended to aid users in "fixing" their problematic language use. Example 8.23 concludes with P001 providing an example of an "ENORMOUS error" committed by users, presented as a *-repair (Collister, 2011)[159].

The overall structure of this post, beginning with an episode of positive self-positioning and negative other-positioning and ending with a series of "corrections" directed at other users,

[158] The word "homework" in Catalan is "deures", which may also be translated to English as "duties". Formed from the verb "deure" (must, to have to), it implies obligation, and thus reinforces the notion that P001 has done "what is required" for the language.
[159] Such pro-active language policing is fairly common within both groups, sometimes in the form of "errors to avoid/frequently made" or in the form of "expressions we cannot lose/must save".

would seem to be such that P001 positions themselves as possessing the necessary personal attributes to allow them to engage in this corrective activity, and direct the language use of other members, who are positioned to be at fault and in need of this direction. They thus claim a position of *personal authority* to police the language of others.

8.2.4.2 Enemies of Catalan

Claims to personal authority are also conducted through the sole use of negative positioning of other users within the groups. This is frequently achieved by means of what might be termed *denouncement*, through labelling or branding users – and their language use – as deficient, problematic or antagonistic, and thus establishing the need for their policing. The most common labels used include *catanyol* or even *merdanyol* (shitty *catanyol*) to refer to undesirable language use, and *catanyolaire* or *catanyolista* to refer to their users.

Furthermore, akin to the full adoption of the language policing metaphor described by Cushing (2019) – and in a much more serious fashion than described in Sherman and Švelch (2015) – the terms "criminal" or "enemy" are occasionally attributed to "offending" users and their language use or practices[160]. The latter is exemplified in Example 8.24.

> **Example 8.24:** *The following extract was taken from the comments section of a post, published in ALNPL, in which P001 provides an explanation of the meaning and usage of the verb "beneficiar" [to benefit]. In response, some users, such as P043, interpret the post as implying that the Spanish monarchy has been of benefit to Catalonia, and show their opposition. Following policing, and branding of P043 a "criminal", a somewhat acrimonious exchange occurs.*
>
> **P043:** In my view, whether Ñ has been of benefit or not I'm not interested, but from what it appears *[a la vista <u>està</u>]*, it's gone back to inquisitorial times. I'm Catalan and I

[160] Given that these terms are also frequently used in contexts in which users are accused of working against the safeguarding of the Catalan language, one might also claim that their use stems from a process of negotiating moral authority in those circumstances. They are however employed (particularly in the case of "criminal)" in contexts in which errors are perceived to be particularly inexcusable, and so relate to the theme of (in)fallibility raised in this section.

hope that soon we won't be asking *[plantegem]* ourselves this kind of question *[pregunta]*.

P001: **està: és*

P001: **pregunta: demanda, qüestió, interrogació*

*******plantejar: posar, fer*

P043: *@P001* well, yes. But I haven't broken anything linguistically speaking.

P001: *@P043* whoever uses Catanyol *[catanyoleja]* knowing that is[161] *[sabent que ho és]* [sic] a criminal

P043: *@P001* *knowing that they have is *[sabent que ho ha és]*

P043: Ah!, and don't call me a criminal directly or indirect[ly]. Do you hear me? Let that be very clear to you *[Que et quedi molt clar]*.

P043: I'd like to know who this *P001* is and why they hide. No. I take it back. I have more important things to do!

P001: **quedar clar: ser clar*

P001: *@P043* It's criminal against Catalan.

P001: *@P043* ridiculous, you can clearly see *[se veu ben bé]* that it's a simple *[una simple]* typo

P043: *@P001* You're *[estàs]* sick or you're *[ets]* malalt? I don't know and I don't care. Am I explaining myself clearly?

P001: *@P001* excuse me, but here we live in freedom, everyone has the right to use whatever pseudonym they want, whatever photo they want

I have said that for me it's criminal to use Catanyol when one knows that one is doing it.

P043: *Se veu? Una simple?*

P043: If you'd like me to give you Catalan classes…

P001: P043 you are *[ets]* or you are not sick. Or you are *[fas]* sick.

P001: P043 SE is just as standard as ES. Outside of the Principat SE is the dominant form, ah[162] and the oldest

[161] For clarity, the intended meaning is "whoever uses Catanyol *knowing that that is what they are doing/knowingly* is a criminal."

[162] This word would seem to imply wistfulness at a repeated lack of recognition of lexis perceived to be more authentic.

In this exchange between P043 and P001, occurring over a series of comments following a post on the subject of the correct usage of the verb *beneficiar* in Catalan, P043 makes a comment relating to their political views regarding the Spanish monarchy. This is followed by a series of unsolicited *-repairs made by P001 of three words used in P043's comments. The latter responds by validating the corrections made by P001, but qualifies their endorsement by asserting that even in spite of the accuracy of the corrections made, the original comment had not "broken anything linguistically speaking" – most likely referring to the fact that, absent the corrections made, the original post would have remained grammatical and idiomatic, albeit resembling Castilian more closely in form. As such, P043 seems to express a belief that grammaticality is of greater importance than using "pure" Catalan.

Apparently in response to this belief, which contradicts the core dogma of the group, P001 states that "anyone who uses Catanyol[163] knowingly is a criminal", effectively imposing a label upon them and modelling P043 as an exemplar of language practices and beliefs that are antithetical to those aspired to by the group.

Watson (2018), in her study on the discourses of civil policing in Trinidad and Tobago, illuminates the link between the practice of labelling, and consequent assignation of social categories, and issues of power:

> …assigning categories is a direct indication of power and it places individuals within the confines of a group determined appropriate by the author of the label (p. 40)

By imposing labels such as "criminal" upon an individual, police discursively construct the person labelled as operating outside the rules and values of society – with all the interactional and behavioural indices and consequences entailed by this – and so assert legitimate control over them on behalf of, and to the benefit of, that society. Simultaneously, Watson (ibid.: 63) claims, this practice of labelling serves to "validate the

[163] It is worth noting that P001 uses an invented verb in this instance ("catanyoleja") instead of a more natural verb phrase (e.g. "utilitzar catanyol"). The implication would seem to be to create a defined, concrete set of actions that can be carried out by certain people – effectively moving focus away from the words themselves and towards the act of using them. As such, it might be argued that it helps to construct a specific identity of "people who use Catanyol", which in this case may be perceived as more damning.

position of its author/user". Thus, while it is an example of power exercised, it also constitutes an act of self-positioning: a taking of the moral, ethical and ideological high ground, and the antithesis of the ground on which the villainised individual is depicted as walking (ibid.: 60).

In this case of language policing, therefore, it could be said that P001, in imposing the label of "criminal", both positions P043 as lacking the expected commitment to purifiying and saving the Catalan language – and therefore deserving of scorn and corrective action – and reinforces their own self-positioning as uniquely infallible and dedicated to the group's cause, as expressed in Examples 8.18 and 8.23. This episode of positionings, thus, indirectly serves to strenghten P001's claim to *personal authority*, and retroactively justifies their perveived right to "correct" the language use of P043 in lines 4-6, as well as later in the exchange in lines 15 and 28.

A similar strategy can also be observed in Example 8.25 (repeated from Example 7.7).

Example 8.25: *In the following extract, taken from the group ALNPL, a post is published by P049 which serves as a direct linguistic question to P001, who responds with the answer and other corrections all in the form of language policing. P001 also threatens to remove P049 and other users tagged from the group because of perceived repeated offences. Subsequently, an instance of counter-policing is employed by P052, seemingly to highlight the fallibility of P001.*

P049: Dear friend *@P001*, in a post *[post]* of mine, we have found ourselves in [a situation in] which *[en que]* various friends like *@P050, @P051* and myself, can't agree on whether the word *llises* is the correct translation of *terses* or *fins* or even whether the word *terses*, is correct in Catalan. If you could clear up this doubt. Very grateful *[agraït]* and have a good day.

P001: **ters > LLIS*
**un post meu > UNA PUBLICACIÓ*
**en que > en quÈ*
"agraït" means full of gratitude, so it's necessary to say *TE'N REGRACIO MOLT.* I'll have to delete you as a friend if you smear my wall and sully my

eyes with so much *catanyol*, you and your illiterate Catanyol-using *[catanyolaire]* friends.

P049 : That's not necessary, grateful *[agraït]* for everything that he has learned [sic][164].

P001: I repeat:

YOU [or: WE] CANNOT *[PODEL*[165]*]* SAY "agraït", because it means full of gratitude, so it's necessary to say *T'EN REGRACIO.*

I'll have to delete you as a friend if you smear my wall and sully my eyes with so much *catanyol*, you and your illiterate Catanyol-using *[catanyolaire]* friends.

P052: *"PODEL"*??

P001: *podeM,* ugh use your brain

P052: *podeM

P052: To write correctly, here's something very precious that will help:

Install the Catalan spellchecker on your browser (for computers) or a Catalan keyboard (for mobiles and tablets, such as SwiftKey which corrects in three languages now). This will show you the correct way of writing in the majority of cases.

In this example, P049 posts a question directed at P001, regarding the authenticity of the word *ters*, and the accuracy of its translation to *llis*. The formulation of this post is interesting in that, in invoking P001 to arbitrate on the referenced linguistic dispute between P049 and his friends, P001 is already positioned as more knowledgeable than them, and as having the *sapiential authority* with which to correct them. The politeness exhibited in this post, through the use of friendly greetings and "Dear friend" and "have a good day", and the anticipatory expression of thanks and gratitude, also appear to suggest a respect for P001 as an individual on the part of P049, which in turn may suggest that they also ascribe them a position of *personal authority*: that because of their superior skills and respectable qualities, they have the right to adjudicate the argument in question.

[164] Most likely this is a typographical error, and should read *he après* (I have learnt).
[165] The correct form here should be *PODEM or PODEU,* however P001 makes a typographical error here.

Subsequently, P001 does indeed provide a reply, but does so in the form of *-repair, a form which they utilise consistently throughout the dataset for the purposes of language policing, lending to this response the appearance of an "error correction" rather than a simple answer to P049's question. This is accompanied by three further unsolicited corrections based on the language used by P049 in their original post. The last of these is followed by a direct threat made to P049 that P001 would be forced to unfriend them[166] – as well as the other users mentioned in the original post – if they continue to use *catanyol*. While this threat of punitive action already assumes a degree of authority on the part of P001 (e.g. Limberg, 2008), the manner in which it is delivered arguably intensifies this assumption.

Firstly, as in the above case, labelling is again employed for the purposes of negatively positioning P049 and the other users mentioned as deviating from the linguistic practices expected by the group – with *catanyolaire* constituting a particularly powerful label, given that the group's stated aim is to rid the Catalan language of perceived *catanyol* lexis in an iterative manner. Imposing the label *catanyolaire* (connoting "someone who uses *catanyol*"[167]) is therefore tantamount to depicting P049, P050 and P051 as the embodiment of all that the group detests.

Further to this, P001 employs a profoundly negative predication strategy, accusing P049 of "smear[ing]" P001's news feed and "sullying" their eyes, and of being "illiterate", which could be viewed as an overt and intentional face-attack (Culpeper, 2005). According to Bousfield (2008), such acts of impoliteness, when employed by individuals already occupying a position of power, can serve to "re-emphasise the relative power of the utterer" (145), as well as as an instrument to compel changes in the receiver's non-linguistic behaviour (139).
In the current case, therefore, the use of such impoliteness may be intended to re-assert P001's position of *personal authority*; the specific adjectives and labelling used serving to position P049 as impure and fallible in terms of linguistic usage and practices, and hence

[166] This may refer to having P049 removed from the group rather than actually unfriending them, as
[167] See Chapter 6.

positioning P001 as the antithesis to this – pure of language and averse to *catanyol*, and thus authorised in their policing of P049's behaviour.

8.2.4.3 "I speak a Catanyol that is disgusting"

The above sections have provided examples of *personal authority* claims through positive self-positioning (extolling the positive qualities of the claimant) and negative other-positioning (emphasising the negative qualities of other users, and so indirectly enhancing the position of the claimant). This section will highlight examples in which other users ascribe *personal authority* to one user engaging in language policing. This is achieved both indirectly (through negative self-positioning) and directly (through positive other-positioning) within the groups under study. However, focus herein will be placed upon the indirect form, both for reasons of space and also because the strategies used bear resemblance to examples presented in previous sections, in which users defend the person engaging in language policing due to their superior knowledge or due to the admirability of their work.[168] Example 8.26 presents an instance in which a dispute ensues over the need to police language that one user perceives to be inauthentic, but which terminates in the latter abandoning their position, and conceding to the others based on their own "impure" language use.

> **Example 8.26:** *In this example from JPCR, P001 publishes a message from academic Joan Becat and part of this message is immediately policed by P053. However, P001 and P011 explain to P053 that their policing is incorrect (if well intended) due to it having been proven by P001 (and others) that the policed phrase is authentic. After protesting somewhat, P053 concedes that his own language use is deficient, and thus positions P001 and P011 as linguistically superior.*

1 **P001:** Hello
2 I'd like to inform you that I've just opened a website. *[Vos informi que acabi d'obrir*
3 *una web]*

[168] In the current case, users are observed to defend language policing by claiming that the user engaged in language policing is helping them to "improve" and become better speakers of Catalan, and by positioning them as someone who loves the language and is gracious in their agreement to share their knowledge of it with others.

[Description of the resources on the website related to Catalan and Catalunya del Nord in particular]

Esperi que sigui del vostre interès.

Joan Becat[169]

P053: **Vos informi que acabi d'obrir na web… > VOS/US informi que TOT JUST ARA HE OBERT UN WEB.* I DESPAIR AT THE CATANYOL!

P001: *"acabar de"*is authentic as we have demonstrated.

P011: How have you demonstrated it?

P001: See my book.

P053: *@P001* Are you now changing the linguistic criteria by which everyone had accepted it? For two years you've corrected my [saying] that the verbal pharse *"ACABAR + DE"* is pure *catanyol*.

P001: We talked about it and I gave a book [sic] that explained it in Fr., Cast., Oc.

P053: *@P001 [Pastes a post made previously by P001 explaining that they believed that* "Acabar de" *was possibly a Castilianism]*

P001: If you look at that in my book I've tweaked that…

P011: *@P053* We say *'acabar de'* and not something else because of the influence of Castilian

P053: *@P011 [posts a screenshot of the previously pasted comment, focussing on the section that states that* "Acabar de" *is possibly a Castilianism]*

P011: *@P053 'Acabar de'* also existed in French and *'Venir de'* in Castilian, among other verbal phrases. In the end, however, one of them was imposed on each language. When that happened in Catalan, it was already absolutely dependent [on that other language], for that reason it's said differently in Catalan depending on the offending language: Castilian, French or Italian.

P053: *@P011* In that case we have to liberate ourselves from any type of subordination to another language. And we have to find our own, authentic path.

[169] Joan Becat i Rajaut is a Northern Catalan geographer based at the *Université de Paris* and the *Université de Montellier*. For this reason, and as the website referred to is publicly available, his real name has been used here.

P011: *@P053* It's impossible to know what Catalan would have come up with in a situation of independence with respect to this periphrasis *[perifràsis]*, for that reason prefer using expressions like those you say.

P053: *@P011* That said, I speak a *catanyol* that is disgusting, that is faulty. Besides, I wasn't taught at school to speak a Catalan [that is] without interference, really authentic. (…)

P011: *@P053* All of us [do], I've had to work hard to learn some of it

P001: *@P011 perífrasis*

P011: *@P001* Yes, I don't know what I was thinking

In this example, P001 posts a message from Northern Catalan geographer Joan Becat, describing a website that he has just created containing linguistic and cultural resources relating to Catalonia and Northern Catalonia. In this message, the verbal periphrasis *"Acabar de +* infinitive*"* (to have just done something) is used, a form which is identical to that used in Castilian. This is apparently perceived to be problematic by P053, as in their first comment, they make an attempt to "correct" this structure, suggesting its replacement with *"tot just ara he obert".* Of particular note is identicality of the form and tenor of this policing, utilising a variant of the *-repair structure (*error > correction), as well as capitalisation and an expression of frustration accompanied with a negative labelling of the expression used (I DESPAIR AT THE CATANYOL). Taken together, this comment, which could be considered particularly face-attacking (Culpeper, 2005, Bousfield, 2008), greatly resembles the instances of language policing utilised by P001, and may indeed suggest that it is modelled on this – thereby already suggesting that P001 is positioned as an individual to emulate by P053. This assertion is reinforced in the subsequent turns.

In Line 10, P001 contradicts P053, indicating that their policing is misplaced, as "we have demonstrated" that the structure *"Acabar de"* is indeed sufficiently "authentic". Who it is that has demonstrated this remains ambiguous. The pronoun "We" in the phrase "we have demonstrated" may refer to either or both of the groups ALNPL or JPCR, or – perhaps more likely – to those "elite" users considered by P001 to be the most knowledgeable and committed to the purification of the language (such as those tagged in Example 8.18). In the

latter case, this turn could be seen as an act of positioning these users as authorities over what can be considered correct and incorrect, whose opinion P053 is obligated to respect. This authoritative positioning is reinforced in line 12 when, on being asked by P011 how it was that "you" (plural) have demonstrated the authenticity, they are told to refer to the book[170] written by P001, indicating that P001 – drawing on their *sapiential authority* – has made a definitive judgement on this matter.

In response to this, in lines 13-15 P053 protests that when they had used *"Acabar de"* in previous posts, this phrase had labelled as *catanyol*, and therefore the current judgement is incongruous with previous teaching. To reinforce this counter-argument, they also make intertextual reference to a previous post made by P001 which claimed that the phrase in question may be a Castilianism. While this strategy is used to argue *against* P001, invoking a previous "teaching" made by them as the basis for their argument also arguably continues to position P001 as an authority on the language – someone who knows better about Catalan.

In subsequent turns, P011 aligns with P001 and attempts to convince P053 of the inevitability of the Castilian origins of the periphrasis, and the absence of another form to turn to. At first, P053 resists this sentiment, arguing that in order to truly be free from linguistic "subordination", it is necessary to strive for "authenticity", continuing to resist the periphrasis on moral grounds.

Finally, however, in lines 39-41 it would appear that P053 abandons their resistance to P001's challenge to P053's own policing. Having previously positioned themselves as committed to the continual purification of Catalan – sharing the "admirable" qualities expressed by P001 in Examples 8.18 and 8.23 – and also thereby enjoying the authority to police the language use of others (in lines 8-9), they now reposition themselves as being

[170] As explained in Chapter 7, P001 has indeed written a book, in the form of a grammar-dictionary of the Rossellonese and "authentic" Catalan language, which they describe in its introduction as the fruit of the work undertaken in the group *ALNPL.* Frequently throughout the dataset, this book is referenced (through quotations or directions to readers to refer to it for answers to specific linguistics questions), and it is continually positioned as an authoritative source on the language, lending *sapiential authority* to P001.

someone who speaks "a *catanyol* that is disgusting, that is faulty". In so doing, they accede to the conclusions of P001 and P011, and by referring to their own linguistic fallibility, they indirectly acknowledge the superior capacity of P001 (and P011) to speak an "authentic" and interference-free Catalan, and thus to be in a better position to rule on the acceptability of *"Acabar de"* than P053. Thus, through this negative self-positioning, they ascribe a position of *personal authority* to P001 (and P011), in addition to the position of *sapiential authority* implicitly ascribed in previous turns.

8.2.4.4 A taste of their own medicine

The examples presented above also reveal a number of strategies used by other users to deny P001 a position of *personal authority*. The first of these is to undermine the claim to a special state of infallibility made by P001, and thereby the basis of the authority claimed, which is achieved by spotlighting the errors made by them in their own language use, and thus their proclivity to error which is common to all users.

This can be witnessed in both Examples 8.24 and 8.25. In the former case, in their labelling of P043 as a "criminal" against Catalan, P001 appears to omit a necessary verb (writing *"Qui catanyoleja [sabent que ho X] [és un criminal]";* literally: "Whoever *catanyols* [knowing that that/it X] [is a criminal]), rendering their sentence ungrammatical. In response to this, P043, in their next turn, adopts the same *-repair strategy as used by P001 in an earlier turn to correct the error[171]. This can be viewed as an instance of what Bedrittin Yazan refers to as "counter language policing" (Yazan, 2015): the use of language policing to resist previous instances of language management (in this case, a previous instance of language policing). Moreover, Bousfield (2008) highlights that, just as it can be used by power-wielding individuals as a (re-)assertion of their power, impoliteness can also be used strategically as a "power renegotiation device" (146): i.e. as a means of "challenging someone over their (assumption of) power" (150). Thus P043's choice not only to counter-police P001, but also to replicate the face-threatening manner in which P001 initially polices P043, may be seen as a deliberate attempt to challenge the authority claimed by them. They effectively attack

[171] The correction given, however, remains ungrammatical, as it appears to lack the a conjugation of the verb "fer": *sabent que ho fa/sabent que ho ha fet* (knowing that they are doing it/knowing that they have done it).

the assertion that P001 “does not make *catanyol* errors” by highlighting that this is manifestly not the case, and thereby deny them a position of *personal authority* based on an assumption of infallbility.

A similar strategy is employed by P052 in Example 8.25. In this example, having twice policed P049’s language use in a profoundly face-attacking manner, P001 commits a typographical error in line 16; an error which is immediately spotlighted by P052 through the repetition of the word “PODEL” and the use of two question marks, to question the accuracy of this word. Interestingly, in this instance, P001 self-polices in the following turn, and implies that the mistake was obviously a simple typographical error and not a more serious error (such as an error caused by a lack of competence or authenticity). Nevertheless, in line 52, P052 proceeds to correct the error themselves, again emulating the *-repair and capitalisation structure employed by P001. Finally, in the last turn of this episode, P052 provides a tip to P001 regarding how to avoid making mistakes in Catalan: to install spellchecking software. Taken together, these strategies – the policing P001’s error, despite its seemingly obvious nature, and despite P001’s own self-policing, and the apparent redirection of P001’s own recommendation to use software to avoid “ENORMOUS errors” in Example 8.23 – would seem to serve as facetious repositioning of P001 as someone who is as prone to error as any other user, and who must work to improve these errors. In stark contrast to the self-constructed position of superiority as an “infallible role model”, created by P001 across several posts, they are thus positioned as being “no better than anyone else”, and thus lacking in any *personal authority* to decide to police the language use of others.

8.2.4.5 Who are you, anyway?

A second resistance strategy which can be observed in Example 8.24 above, as well as elsewhere within the dataset, is to scrutinise the identity of P001. In lines 13-14, P043 expresses a desire to know who P001 is, and why they choose to hide, to which P001 responds that the people in the group “live in freedom” and have the choice to use any profile picture or pseudononymous username they choose. While respecting the obvious ethical imperative to protect the identity of all participants, it is possible to communicate to the reader that this debate centres around the fact that P001 appears to have made some

attempts to conceal their true identity. Their personal profile has few photos (as do both administrators of ALNPL), and the profile URL and generic username have been chosen in such a way to communicate to other users that their identity is not of their concern[172].

Why P001 has chosen to conceal their identity is not entirely clear, however it may be linked to the fact that many social media users feel more comfortable engaging in certain (often impolite) language behaviours online, which are dissimilar from their customary offline behaviours, under a cloak of anonymity (Crystal, 2011). Moreover, as noted above, Sherman and Švelch (2015) note that the promise of a degree of anonymity may facilitate users' self appointment as language managers, as they can claim expertise in matters of language, despite this not being the case. It may be, therefore that P001 feels less inhibited assuming this role and carrying out face-threatening acts of language policing if they feel protected from direct retribution by their anonymity (e.g. Martin and Vieaux, 2016).

Regardless, P049's comments highlight a problematisation of this anonymity, suggesting that it detracts somehow from their right to police other users. Since P001 attempts to claim *personal authority* – which Paterson (1967) suggests is based on the remarkable qualities and characteristics of a specific individual – it might be argued that by concealing many aspects of their identity, they are diminishing the ability of others to assess these qualities and characteristics. Therefore, P049's comment may serve to emphasise this: that P001 cannot legitimately police P049's language use as their identity (and therefore their true "superior" qualities and credentials) cannot be scrutinised.

While further research is certainly required to ascertain the issue of anonymity in language policing, these data would seem to suggest that openness and transparency are important criteria of users engaging in this act on social media – and particularly of those claiming *personal authority* to do so.

[172] Their identity is not completely concealed, as ethnographic evidence reveals that at other times in the past P001 has used their actual name as their username.

8.2.4.6 "Where are you from?"

A final theme that is frequently invoked in negotiations of personal authority relates to users' origins and perceived ownership of the Catalan language. At times within the dataset, users will make reference to or question the place within Catalonia that users are from, or the variety of Catalan spoken by them, as a means to claim or challenge authority in a given instance of language policing or metalinguistic discussion. While manifestations of these exchanges vary, and not all can be included for reasons of space, examples can be seen below in Examples 8.27 and 8.28.

Example 8.27: *In this extract from ALNPL, P001 asks why a certain word is not included I dictionaries. P044 (given the pseudonym "Carlos" here) attempts to clarify P001's meaning, and the nature of dictionaries, before challenging P001's correctness altogether. In response, P001 makes reference to P044's name, seemingly as a means of questioning their identity.*

P001: Why does even the DNV reject "divuit" for Díhuit?

P044 ("Carlos"): What do you mean by "refuse"? It only recommends this form instead of the other one. Even if you are speaking about transition, you won't give a f**k about this entry in the dictionary and you'll write "divuit". Nothing more. That's done because there are people who don't write cohesively. It's a form so that people write cohesively *[amb cohesió]*.

P001: refuse: DOESN'T INCLUDE

P001: "coherently" *["amb coherència"]*

P044 ("Carlos"): *@P001* Then you're wrong *[estàs errat]*, because otherwise they would be *[estarien]* in the dictionary.

P001: *@P044 *estar errat > anar errat*

**estarien > serien*

P001: *@P044* I'm only asking for a justification or an opinion from people with good knowledge of, or who are learned in, the language. Why isn't your name Carles?!

P044 ("Carlos"): *@P001* I've given you two justifications. Try to remember.

20 **P044 ("Carlos"):** *@P001* If you want a good justification, they won't take you
21 seriously at the AVL[173]… I've told you in detail.

In Example 8.27, P001 posts a question to the group, asking why the *Diccionari normatiu valencià* – presumably as well as other dictionaries – refuses the variant "divuit" for the Valencian term "díhuit" [eighteen]. P044, who has been given the pseudonym Carlos here, responds by requesting clarification over what is meant by P001's wording of "refuses", underlining that the dictionary is only descriptive, and that it only suggests possible forms and that it is the responsibility of the writer to choose the desired form and to remain coherent.

Following this in lines 9 and 10, P001 explains, using a form that approximates that of language policing (with a "word: MEANING" structure, including "shouting" capitalisation, as described above), that "refuses" refers to non-inclusion in the dictionary, before proceding to police P044's language use. P044 then positions P001 as being in error, asserting that the word "divuit" must be incorrect in Valencian if it does not appear in this dictionary, and thereby challenges their *sapiential authority*.

In response, P001 again polices the language used by P044 in lines 11-12, and states that their intention was to seek the perspectives of "people with good knowledge of, or who are learned in, the language". The lack of acknowledgement of or response to P044's opinions previously prior to this description of the knowledgeable audience to whom P001 states that their comments were directed implies that P001 positions P044 as not belonging to this audience – that is to say, not an authoritative source of knowledge regarding the language. Finally, in their final sentence of this comment, P001 asks the seemingly random question "Why aren't you called Carles?" While this sentence seems not to cohere with the rest of this interaction, it could be argued to constitute a subtle positioning act, undermining P044's claim to authority over the language in this interaction.

[173] Valencian Language Academy

The names Carlos and Carles are variants of the same name (in English: Charles), the only difference between them being that the former is a more traditionally Spanish given name, and the latter a traditionally Catalan name. By asking why P044 is not called Carles, P001 may be drawing reference to the Spanish – and not Catalan – origins of their name, and, in so doing, may be suggesting an essentialist, indexical link between the Spanish-ness of P044's name, and the Spanish-ness of their overall identity and allegiances. In other words, the implication may be that "if Carlos were truly Catalan, they would at least have a Catalan name." Thus, by highlighting that this is not the case, it would appear that P001 positions P044 as not sufficiently Catalan for their opinion to be heeded in this interaction: lacking *personal authority* in matters of the Catalan language due to a potentially inauthentic identity, indexed by their name.

Example 8.28: *This extract is a continuation of Example 23 above, taken from the comments section of the post, following a metalinguistic discussion between P001 and P040 (involving the former's policing of the latter). In the interaction below, P034 concedes that* catanyol *is a problem, but states that having to constantly self-correct is tedious, and that they do not want to speak in P001's Northern Catalan dialect.*

1 **P034:** This is torture.
2 **P001:** The torture is having to suffer through *catanyol*
3 **P034:** that too, but having to be constantly on the lookout and constantly rectifying what
4 we thought we were saying correctly, it's exhausting. I will rectify as long as it
5 resonates with me, but even though I very much respect your Northern Catalan way
6 of speaking, it's not mine and I don't want to speak like you

Finally, Example 8.28 presents a final example in which a position of *personal authority* is denied for reasons of origin. In this extract, which is a continuation of Example 8.23, a debate over the authenticity of a phrase used by P001 ensues between P001 and P040, with the former refusing to concede the argument and policing the language use of the latter until the latter does so. At the conclusion of this, in line 1 of Example 8.28, P034 expresses their exasperation with the degree of language policing employed, labelling it – similarly to P017 in Example 8.12 – as "torture". P001 responds to this by adopting a position of *moral authority* in their language policing, stating that it is not the policing itself that is torturous, but the *catanyol* that prompts it.

In response, P034 partially agrees with P001 – and with the underlying aversion to *catanyol* on which their claim to *moral authority* is based. However, as alluded to above, they express opposition to the frequency with which language policing is carried out, which serves to limit their endorsement of the moral need for the act.

The final comment, however, serves to deny P001 a position of authority due to their Northern Catalan origins, and therefore non-standard dialect. While P001 later proceeds to explain that this assertion is mistaken – and that they actually speak a "central, normative Catalan cleaned of *catanyol* words", P034's comment serves to reveal a belief that a personal quality that is perceived to be important on the part of language managers in this case is that they speak the same variety of Catalan as the person managed, and that their policing is based on this variety. From the point of view of P034, this is not the case in the current interaction, and so they refuse to position P001 as possessing *personal authority*.

To summarise this section therefore, positions of *personal authority* are claimed and ascribed on the basis of a belief that the language manager constitutes a model to emulate: a beacon of infallible language usage and practices and of unwavering commitment to self-purification and defending the Catalan language. They are also claimed indirectly through a process of negative other-positioning, involving the practice of labelling other users as "criminals" or "users of *catanyol*", in contrast to the virtues and purity of the user administering this label. However, the position of infallibility proves to be a weak one, that is often undermined by other users – often by means of counter-policing – in cases where

error is present on the part of the user claiming this as a basis of their *personal authority.* Moreover, users also often refuse to recognise *personal authority* where the personal qualities of language managers cannot be subjected to thorough assessment due to their maintaining a degree of anonymity. Finally, positioning of *personal authority* also appear to be dependent on the acceptability of the linguistic and geographical origins of the person engaging in language policing.

8.3 Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this chapted was to investigate they ways in which users of the two Facebook groups under study – *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* and *Jo parli català rossellonès* – negotiate the authority of its users to engage in language policing of the practices of others, and thereby co-ordinate the process of *Collective Language Self-Management.*

As mentioned above, the need for such negotiations can be inferred from the assertion of Spolsky (2004, 2009) that acts of language management – of which language policing might be considered a subtype – require the possession (or perception of possession) of authority. Entailed in this assertion is that the *right* of an individual wishing to engage in language management is recognised by the one who is to be managed. And, unlike in the case of organisations such as schools or language academies, for example, whose right to intervene in societal language practices through schools and educational material is often enshrined in law[174], Facebook groups – such as those in the current case study – arguably do not confer such *de jure* authority on their members. Thus users wishing to police the language of others must establish some basis for their perceived right to do so. Throughout this chapter, these negotiations have been explored in detail.

Firstly, it was shown that users with specific group roles, such as owners, administrators or moderators, do occasionally draw specifically on these roles to position themselves as justified in directing the language practices of group members[175]. Moreover, users can also

[174] Although, as has been discussed above, this fact does not guarantee the right of such organisations will be recognised by language speakers (see Drackley, 2020).
[175] In spite of the fact that the powers conferred by these roles does not extend as far as to allow them to require certain linguistic forms of members (other than to prohibit offensive language).

be seen as positioning administrators and moderators as possessing the authority to intervene in linguistic debates to provide a ruling in cases where conflict arises or an agreement cannot be made[176].

Alternatively, besides appealing to the structural authority held by a person, users can also be seen to appeal to the authority invested *in the structure itself* to legitimise language policing acts. In such cases, users who challenge these acts for being excessive or unnecessary are systematically referred, by both administrators and moderators and ordinary users, to the *modus operandi* established for the group. As a result, the effect becomes "this is how things are done here, so our behaviour [language policing] is licenced".

Theoretical and ethnographic observations suggest, however, that *structural authority* is less often invoked when self- or other-positioning as possessing the right to engage in language policing. One very common practice, however, as was also observed by van Leeuwen (2008, 2007) in his study of authorisation and legitimation strategies, is to appeal to a source of knowledge and experience: whether that held (or not) by the person engaging in language policing, or that represented by an external source of knowledge, such as an authoritative document or institution. Users within the groups in question frequently draw on their own experience of studying or speaking the Catalan language to justify their judgment of the authenticity of a given linguistic item, or point to the lack of education and experience of others. Alternatively, users will share links to external websites, articles, dictionaries and other media to reinforce their argument and attempt to weaken that of their opponent.

It was underlined throughout that one key reason for the withholding of authority on many occasions in the dataset was the *manner* in which it was conducted. Language policing, it was argued, violates a number of conventions surrounding polite, deferential interactions – especially in the direct, often umprompted, and unmitigated way in which it is conducted within ALNPL and JPCR (Brown and Levinson, 1987, Schegloff et al., 1977). The face threat

[176] Van Leeuwen (2018: 107) refers to this as "personal authority" – namely, the authority which allows an individual to give as their only justification for performing a certain action "because I say so."

incurred is often observed to override any other considerations – including the knowledgability or knowledge-based justifications frequently claimed or attributed – and to lead users to resist attempts to police their language.

Interestingly, however, it is equally possible to observe some users, even while acknowledging the presence of the face threat, nevertheless readily submitting to their language being policed when they perceive the group to be a *site of language learning and teaching*. In such an environment, these users appear to perceive themselves as students, and those policing their language as their teachers, with sufficient wisdom and experience in the language as to afford them the ultimate right to manage their language practices, regardless of the manner in which they do so. As can be seen in Example 8.14, such a view is certainly not universal, however as Example 8.12 testifies to, many users do share this perception of the group and their positions within it. Indeed, in the latter example, many users profess customarily abstaining from active participation in the group as a result of their own perceived linguistic inadequacy, and their desire to absorb the lessons taught – thereby evincing their self-transformative engagement in the process of CLSM.

Similarly to the acquiescence to language policing due to a belief in their perception of themselves as learners and their correctors as wise instructors, users are witnessed also to afford authority to self-appointed language managers within the groups if they recognise and concur with the *moral* arguments given in favour of policing (Paterson, 1967, see also van Leeuwen, 2008). Users in this case largely accept as valid justifications that the true Catalan language is indeed in danger of disintegration at the hands of Castilian, and that radical reparative action is needed to reverse the damage. Again, however, others are not willing to submit to policing under these conditions, either because they do not share the ideological positions surrounding the endangerment of Catalan, they do not believe that language policing is the remedy needed, or they see the cause as lost regardless. And, again, some refuse to see past the significant face threat, whatever the reason.

Finally, the specific characteristics of individual language police – or of those at whom policing is targeted – often becomes a factor in whether the act is licensed (Paterson, 1967, Weber, 1964). Users are seen to claim authority on the basis of their personal experiences, commitments or behaviours, which they deem worthy of emulation by other group members (see “Role Model Authority” in van Leeuwen, 2008). Conversely, perhaps even

more interesting is the fact that certain users are either deemed worthy of policing, or unworthy to engage in the practice themselves, if they fail to meet certain characteristics. These include being from a certain geographical area (e.g. Northern instead of Southern Catalunya); being fallible when claiming linguistic perfection; not being transparent about (or masking) one's identity; or demonstrating any tolerance of, or attachment to, catanyol. These criteria are often seen to be invoked to assess or judge the legitimacy of any perceived attempt to engage in language policing, either on the part of the corrector or the person corrected.

As a result, this chapter upholds the claim made by Spolsky (2004, 2009), demonstrating that language management, whatever the circumstances in which it occurs, relies on the recognised authority of the person conducting it. As with more "traditional" forms of language management, so it remains with Collective Language Self Management. It also complicates the notion that social media platforms facilitate the ascendancy of any user to the role of language manager (Sherman and Švelch, 2015, Pérez-Milans and Tollefson, 2018). While it is possible to see the dynamic, polycentric manner in which the authority to co-ordinate the practices of the groups is continuously distributed (see e.g. Blommaert, 2013, Blommaert et al., 2009), it is also clear that not just anyone is automatically viewed as eligible to direct the self-management of group members. For users to change the way that they use Catalan, they must be taught by someone knowledgeable, someone who shares their conviction regarding the endangerment of Catalan, and their dedication to preventing its corrosion. It must be someone who is a "true" Catalan, who leads by example, who is able to guide and teach them, and who does so tactfully – although, as we have seen, sometimes this requirement is secondary to others.

Fulfilling criteria such as these allows the cycle of Collective Language Self-Management to function efficiently, and for the practices of group members – and the form of the language itself – to evolve slowly and steadily over time.

Chapter 9: Concluding discussion

There is one quotation, attributed to U.S. businessman and motivational speaker Chris Gardner, which would appear to encapsulate the force that drives the behaviours of the people that have been featured within this thesis:

“Speak what you seek until you see what you've said.”.

This thesis has attempted to explore a form of language management that has been referred to as *Collective Language Self-Management*. This proposed concept builds on the theoretical foundations of Bernard Spolsky (2021), as well as a recent research movement within the field of language policy and planning which has shifted academic focus towards the agency of “ordinary” individual language speakers in wider language policy processes (e.g. Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019a, Spolsky, 2019a, Vennela and Kandharaja, 2021, Lenihan, 2011, Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech, 2021 inter alia). It posits that language speakers (or language advocates (Spolsky, 2019b, 2021)), lacking the customary power and authority traditionally vested in more organised structures such as governments, language academies and other official norm-setting organisations, can nevertheless assume control over their own languages and linguistic destinies, using only the resources available to them – in the current case, groups on Facebook.

Moreover, beyond simply doing so to manage local level (socio)linguistic phenomena, these individuals can effectively engage in a process of competitive macro-language planning – redesigning the status, corpus and image of the language. Working together to set these new standards, they can then transition from policymakers to policy implementers as they begin the outward spread of the new linguistic culture, starting with themselves, and spreading to others whom they recruit to join their cause.

Following the presentation of the case study in the last few chapters, the preliminary definition for Collective Language Self-Management presented in Chapter 4 will now be revisited, and explained in light of the data advanced.

9.1 Collective Language Self-Management revisited

1. **A group of individuals**

   The members of *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* and *Jo parli català rossellonès* that

have featured throughout this study are assembled within their respective Facebook groups due to a shared interest and a collective mission. They are not formally organised, as is frequently the case with more official Social Movement Organisations (Snow et al., 1986), nor, as explored in Chapter 8, are they bound by any strict, hierarchical power structure which might compel them to act in a specific manner. Instead, the membership of both groups, remains looser, with the platform providing a space in which individuals can contribute to continually building and rebuilding their ideological project (see Haenfler et al., 2012).

This distinction between "group" and "group of individuals" proves key within the groups. While ALNPL, for example, functions as a united entity in the collective mission of members to redress the perceived Castilianisation of Catalan (described as "revolutionaries" by P011, or as a "sect" by Vidal (2020)), it is their individual agency which allows their activities within the group to progress from an "inconsequential word game" to a form of systematic language management[177].

2. **Sharing common underlying beliefs, values, purposes, or objectives**
   As stated above, and similar to any form of language management, the actions and reactions of group members are driven by a series of ideological convictions, which were explored in detail in Chapter 6. Largely inspired by the work and words of figures such as Pompeu Fabra and Gabriel Bibiloni, these pertained to:

   a. The threats that they believed the Catalan language to be facing, including its decay, decline, and substitution as a result of its neighbouring Castilian, as well as the antagonism or ineptitude of official institutions and organisations on which the language depends.

[177] Moreover, as is explored in greater detail in Chapter 8, insofar as this individual agency permits the language management of the groups to function, it also complicates its successful functioning, when the authority of those involved is brought into question.

b. A belief that Catalan-speaking people are victims of such organisations, but are also perpetrators in their own right due to their complicity in the demise of the language. This is also framed within the belief that Catalunya itself is a country suffering from enduring colonisation by France and Spain.

c. The conviction that speakers themselves possess a responsibility to change the fortunes of the language by taking action – essentially, the entire mantle of language planning – into their own hands (as a last resort in the face of [wilfully] negligent or hostile linguistic authorities.

d. And finally, the belief in a single "correct", "authentic" form of the Catalan language from which the modern variant spoken widely within the *Països Catalans* is largely perceived to deviate, and the concomitant belief that re-establishing this standard must be achieved by means of research, sustained other-correction, and self-transformation.

These beliefs can be seen underpinning the majority of the activities of the groups; and ALNPL in particular, where it can be seen referenced continually through posts and comments made within the group, and written into the description of the group itself. Indeed, it can also be seen mentioned by several respondents to the supplementary survey, who described the mission of ALNPL as being "To continue in the deCastilianisation of Catalan initiated by Pompeu Fabra" (P033), "Careful and precise removal of interference to the Catalan language." (P072), and "Dissemination of correct Catalan (spoken and written)" (P067).

It is this set of beliefs, themselves continually reiterated and propagated within the group, which drives the collective and individual activities of the group. It is also that which is drawn upon to legitimise activities such as language policing when opposed by members, in the absence of established, *de jure* authority. And, it is also this system of

beliefs which is mobilised in order to attract new membership[178], thereby expanding the movement outwards, and disseminating the new linguistic and ideological standards established.

3. Collaborate in the negotiation and co-ordination of modifications

While Chapter 6 focussed on the manner in which members of ALNPL laid the ideological groundwork for the activities of the group, Chapter 7 provided an insight into the mechanisms of this work itself. Users are encouraged to participate in an ongoing project of background research, in which they are to identify suspected Castilianisms that have become ingrained into the Catalan language, and make them known to other members of the group so that they may be discussed, debated, and ultimately eliminated through a series of metalinguistic discussions. And, as part of this eliminative process, users are also instructed to remain vigilant to instances of *catanyol* that they encounter during their interactions within the group, and to impose, or submit to, "correction" where any are found.

The result is a form of distributed language management in which group practices are continuously rectified and reshaped from all sides, and, as a result of these combined efforts, a revised standard of Catalan for use by group members is iteratively constructed.

Rather than merely a series of isolated incidents of language policing or arguments over (in)authenticity of given lexical or structural elements, it is possible to witness a deliberate underlying systematicity, where the whole of the activities, considered together, is generative of a more significant phenomenon than is the mere sum of each

[178] An example of this can be seen in Example 6.15, in which P001 prompts current members of ALNPL to encourage their friends to join the group, and continue the service to the language in which they are engaged. It can also be seen evinced in Vidal's (2020) volume, in which he mentions the ideologically-driven activities of members outside of the group itself. While such examples were observed within the context of this study, they are not included here in order to minimise the risk of data linkages.

one individually. Indeed, the combined language regulatory actions within ALPNL seem to demonstrate a form of distributed agency (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), in which the process of language policymaking is delegated across the membership and across time. Thereby, each individual *catanyol* word policed, and each Castilianism identified and brought to the attention of other users, contributes to the collective effort, and the restandardisation of the Catalan language.

As demonstrated above, glimpses of this systematic standard setting process can be seen in several places throughout the dataset. For example, in P001's comment in Example 8.26, stating that *acabar de* had been deemed by the group not to be *catanyol* following previous discussions. This determination was then subsequently formalised in P001's book, thereby essentially becoming part of the new official standard, and the benchmark for group practices from that point onward, leading to further corrective acts such as that shown in Example 8.26 itself.

4. To both collective beliefs and practices

Of course, while the process above is perhaps more obviously observable in the case of the management of collective practices, it can arguably be seen to apply equally to the management of group beliefs. Through the theoretical lens of framing and frame alignment, users are seen continually to recalibrate and reiterate the beliefs, values, and issues surrounding the Catalan language and culture, as well as its associated speakers, identities, and socio- and geopolitical problems. In this case, it is the image and discourse surrounding the language, and its linguistic culture, that is checked, tweaked, reaffirmed and renewed in the same distributed, iterative manner. The result is a collective way of *perceiving* these phenomena, which may challenge that propagated by other speakers, the media, or the government itself, akin to the situations described by Yazan (2015) and Selvi (2020).

5. Which are to be implemented into the language policies of each individual

Where steps 2 to 4 above have described a process whereby the agency of individual

members is drawn upon in order to construct an ideological and linguistic structure – i.e. an interpretative framework and a set of linguistic norms which conform to this interpretation of "authenticity" and "correctness" – it is this structure which then guides the continued language practices and beliefs of each member.

New standards for how the Catalan language should be used and valued are set through the collaborative processes of sharing linguistic research, discussing and debating any queries arising from this research, correcting the language use of each other and external media, and continually posting and discussing media related to the Catalan language, culture and identity. With these standards set, they become a guide for all members of the group, who can then reflect on their own language beliefs and practices (their individual language policies), and make the choice to make transformations going forward.

As stated throughout this thesis, these reflective and self-transformative processes – akin to the "internal conversation" Archer (2003) (and described in (Bouchard and Glasgow, 2019a)) – can be presumed mostly to occur silently, and most often without commentary within the groups. This can be inferred from comments such as those in Example 8.12, where one user confirms their engagement with group content despite their lack of engagement, and in sources such as the supplementary survey to the study, in which most participants claimed to visit ALNPL to read its content every day (45%) or several times per week (36%), yet comparatively far fewer regularly made their own posts or comments (90% and 82% claimed to write their own post or comment respectively a few times per year or less often).

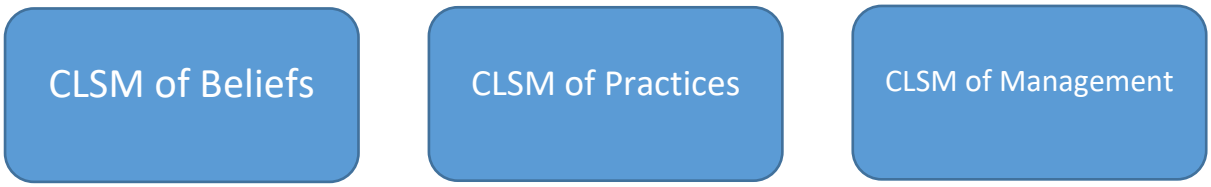
Yet, traces of user engagement with, and absorption of, the norms constructed within the group are arguably visible in a few instances throughout the dataset, such as in those examples shown in Chapter 7, in which group members can be seen to thank other users for all that they have learnt from them, and make reference to having explicitly taken note of what they have been taught. Such comments, while not definitive, certainly appear to suggest that these users are making conscious attempts to note and internalise the linguistic (and ideological) instruction which is being directed at

them. They arguably point to the culmination of the proposed cyclical process in which collective group norms are first constructed and shaped by individuals, and then passed on to, acknowledged, and (in ideal cases) internalised and replicated by other individuals: thereby concretising and disseminating the new, authentic variant.

The users of the groups under study, while lacking the resources and reach of larger organisations such as the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* or the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, seem to take a step further than many grassroots advocates and activists who appeal for change, or focus their efforts on the enactment of smaller scale changes within their immediate local environment (such as through creating educational materials, launching local educational or vocational programmes, or introducing localised signage). ALNPL members, in particular, appear to view their mission as far grander. Moved by a sense of urgency over the perceived decline of Catalan, and an apparent distrust in the relevant traditional authorities to take any meaningful action to address it, these Facebook users seem to be taking the matter into their own hands. Their actions mimic the status, corpus and image/discourse planning processes of higher order language policymakers, albeit in a distributed and collectivised fashion. And, beyond these policymaking processes, they themselves also integrate the policy implementation processes by not only creating and setting new ideological and linguistic standards, but personally internalising, replicating and reinforcing them at the same time through joint transformations of their own practices and beliefs. In this way, more than simply (and ineffectively) commenting on or reacting to external language management or practices, ALNPL appears to be *competing with them*, occupying the role of "policy analysts" and "policy practitioners" in their own right, and effectively "replacing official actors", as predicted by Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018: 735).

9.2 CLSM: A story in three parts

Given that the proposed theory of *Collective Language Self-Management* extends from the concepts of language self-management, and language policy more generally, of Bernard Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2021), this thesis has argued that CLSM can similarly be considered as composed of three elements:



9.2.1 CLSM of Beliefs

Chapter 6 of this thesis argued that, just as the management of beliefs is a major component of traditional language management processes – cultivating particular perceptions relating to a given linguistic variant or variety, or its speakers, their culture or their identity (e.g. Haarmann, 1990, Ager, 2005) – so too is it a crucial component of CLSM, and in itself, an agentive act.

In the context of the current case study, it is argued, members of ALNPL, by iteratively posting ideologically-laden messages and media to the group, collaborate in the joint construction of a shared interpretative frame through which to understand the Catalan language, and the issues facing it (e.g. Goffman, 1986). In doing so, they can be viewed as simultaneously accomplishing several interrelated tasks. Firstly, as a collectively built ideological construct, this interpretative frame serves as an agentive response *per se*, effectively challenging dominant discourses propagated by external language managers and speakers more generally. For example, it refutes officially and popularly disseminated notions like that which claims that Catalan is not threatened by its absorption of Castilianisms, or even that the institutions tasked with managing it can be trusted to act in its best interests.

Secondly, the iterative creation of this ideological and discursive framework – through collectively posting ideologically consistent media into a shared space – serves as a model for use by group members to continually reflect on and transform their own perspectives on the Catalan language today through a process of self-management of beliefs. It allows members to challenge any pre- or misconceptions, and to reinforce and revalidate their vision of the contemporary Catalan sociolinguistic landscape, and their commitment to restoring the authenticity of the Catalan language. Moreover, it also serves as a recruitment tool, whereby future members can be persuaded to collaborate in the same mission (cf.

Snow et al., 1986), and extend the reach of the language self-management, and thereby the wider transformation of the language itself.

And finally, with these ideological foundations in place, it prepares users to engage in the investigative and (self-)corrective practices to which the group is dedicated.

The theoretical tools of social and lifestyle movements contribute significantly to the understanding of this process (e.g. Snow et al., 2014, Benford and Snow, 2000, Hunt et al., 1994, Snow, 2004a, Snow, 2004b, Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow et al., 1986, Haenfler et al., 2012, Cherry, 2006, 2015, 2018, Bertuzzi, 2017, Büchs et al., 2015, Spiteri, 2020, Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). These theories underline, on the one hand, the nature and function of the interpretative frames created: to diagnose problems, identify solutions, and assign responsibility and blame. And, on the other, they highlight how the strength and momentum of the movement (the collective mission) is reliant on its uptake and embodiment by its constituent members (the individual users). In other words, the strength of this collectively-constructed competing vision of Catalan is only as strong as the degree to which each member of ALNPL "buys into it", thereby demonstrating the collective-individual linkage which is proposed to underpin Collective Language Self-Management.

9.2.2 CLSM of Practices

Chapter 7 focussed on the more manifest aspect of language management: the attempt to modify the form and usage of the language itself. Where traditional language management connotes a process in which one person tries to enact changes to the manner in which another speaks (e.g. Spolsky, 2009), the process of Collective Language Self-Management is posited to occur in two interconnected phases. In the first, an "authentic" lexical, grammatical or orthographical norm is established through deliberative or corrective processes at the collective level (reminiscent of the "noting" and "adjustment design" phases of Language Management Theory (e.g. Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015, Sherman and Švelch, 2015). And, in the second, this norm is acknowledged by other group members and incorporated into their own linguistic repertoire through individual processes of self-management, thereby allowing a new linguistic standard to be both "planned" and "implemented" at the same sociolinguistic scale.

This process is elucidated within the case study presented, in which three collective processes for establishing new, "authentic" norms of Catalan can be observed. The first is a process of linguistic research, in which group members are encouraged to interrogate the language they use, and the language they see and hear around them, for suspected *catanyol*. While this process can be assumed to occur more frequently offline than online, the fruits of this research can be seen occasionally through posts such as those in which users provide dictionary entries, grammatical explanations, or lists of neologisms to avoid with their authentic equivalents.

The second process observed is one of metalinguistic discussion, in which users query the "correctness" or "authenticity" of certain linguistic phenomena to the collective, and thereby engage debate among other users. In these debates, different arguments can be observed defending or denouncing the phenomena in question according to different criteria. While consensus is sometimes reached between members, it is argued that participation in the debate itself, even if unresolved, potentiates self-reflection among those involved, as well as those observing – creating space in which language practices (and thereby the language itself) can be open to scrutiny and change.

Finally, the most marked and controversial phenomenon that can be observed within the group is that of language policing. Witnessed in many other similar studies, and explicitly encouraged by group administrators, language policing serves as a means of identifying and rectifying perceived errors: of initiating contextualised changes to language practices. This is achieved both reactively – by "correcting" the posts or comments of other users – and proactively – where incorrect forms (from both group interactions and other external sources) are "modelled" within posts alongside more acceptable variants. This policing, it is argued, serves both a policy implementation and generation function – aligning erroneous language practices within the established group policy of authenticity, while also adding to the collective norms against which future practices will be measured.

Through all three of these process, the Catalan language is iteratively, and continually, subjected to collective scrutiny, such that, over time, users collaborate in the formation of a new, "authentic" counter-standard; and one which, in turn, is explicitly concretised and immortalised in a dynamic, user-generated language manual, which is hosted within the group.

This collective effort, which often manifestly targets the practices of individual users whose language usage is corrected (as well as the general corpus of the language itself), also, again, serves as a model for other users of the group, who can assess their own language practices against those deemed correct or incorrect by the group, and thus make changes accordingly. In this way, the collective process engages the individual one.

Again, while the process of self-management can be assumed to take place largely silently, it is attested to through several comments of thanks and commitments to improve future language practices. And, as a result of these self-transformations, the new counter-standard is both planned and put into practice simultaneously.

9.2.3 CLSM of Management

The final aspect of the proposed theory of Collective Language Self-Management is the "Management of management", and it is one that is not directly considered either by the original Spolskyan theory, nor arguably by any other mainstream theory of language policy. Authority, if not power, is accepted as a prerequisite of any language management process (or at least for the attempts to enact change to be accepted and implemented) (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Given that the same individuals are engaged in both the planning and implementing associated with CLSM, and the resultant lack of hierarchical power differential which characterises many instances of language management (e.g. administrator – teacher, government – citizen, parent – child), Chapter 8 posits that for CLSM to function effectively – and particularly the especially face-threatening activity of language policing – a process of authority negotiation can be assumed to be required.

Using the theoretical frameworks provided by Paterson (1967) and van Leeuwen (2008, 2007) as a guide, the chapter goes on to look at this process in detail with respect to the case study, observing the bases on which positions of authority are continually claimed, ascribed or denied between different users. Results revealed that factors such as anonymity vs. identification, personal example, knowledgeability (and validity of knowledge claimed), perceptions of the purpose of the group, belief in the group mission and the manner in which to carry it out, and politeness were invoked as relevant factors; of equal, if not more

importance than the tentative *de jure* authority derived from a user's official role assigned by the platform.

While language policies may be, and indeed often are, challenged in any setting, the option to enforce compliance with language management measures, often open to businesses, governments or schools, is drastically limited when the degree of structural authority possessed by the language manager is reduced. And, as CLSM is theorised to depend on individuals working together to both write and enact policy through self-initiated and self-directed transformation, that the success of the initiative rests on continual episodes of negotiation seems logical.

9.3 Centre-out language planning

A final point made in this thesis is that CLSM can be imagined to differ from traditional top-down or bottom-up language planning in terms of its directionality. While in these traditional configurations policy is created by one party at one pole of society (either the "macro" or the "micro") with the intent to influence the other, the operation of CLSM is, as has been evidenced above, essentially circular – with policy created, debated, and implemented (absorbed) by the same individuals. For the policy to achieve widespread change, therefore, more speakers are needed to participate in the endeavour – which is achieved by current members sharing the work of the group and enticing others to join. As such, the direction of expansion is not upwards or downwards, but *outwards*, with the central nucleus of language change expanding with each new member.

It has to be stated, however, that this process is largely inferred within this thesis, and observed only fractionally and indirectly within group posts. This is indeed one limitation of the current work, and a larger-scale, multisited ethnographic project could aim to explore and validate this hypothesis in greater detail in future.

9.4 Contributions and limitations of this thesis

It is hoped that the work in this thesis marks only the first step in elaborating a theory of Collective Language Self-Management, and that future work will build upon the foundations

laid here. While tentative, it could be argued that the main contributions of this thesis include:

- "Fleshing out" the preliminary theory of collectivised self-management introduced by Spolsky (2021) in his final major work, while also providing further empirical analysis of the core concept of self-management more generally
- Exploring language management within the domain of social media, a domain which Spolsky (2021, personal communication) asserted remained to be explored within the context of his original theory
- Similarly, contributing to current literature surrounding the mechanisms and functioning of language policing, as called for by several academics such as De Bres (2015)
- Offering a response to the call by Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018) for more research into the manners in which new media tools can allow "ordinary" individuals to become policy analysts and policymakers in their own right
- Relatedly, this thesis has arguably added to the growing literature base examining the agency of these "ordinary" individuals within the language policy and planning process. In particular, it has challenged Spolsky's (2019b) disempowering assertion that language advocates – lacking the authority and resources of language managers – must depend on the latter to enact any meaningful change by demonstrating how such individuals can arguably assume control of a process of macro-èsque language planning for themselves, in competition with traditional authorities.
- Finally, at the heart of the core theory advanced, the success of which relies on the collective action of individual members, it offers an example of how both structure and agency can be considered together in an analysis of language policy, as called for by Johnson and Ricento (2013).

9.4.1 A primary limitation: seeing the *Self* in *Self-Management*

A significant, albeit perhaps understandable, limitation of this study is that the *self* aspect of CLSM – in other words, the individual reflective, and self-transformative process by which new ideological and practical norms are presumed to be internalised – cannot easily be observed. This is especially the case with respect to the beliefs component, explored in Chapter 6.

This may be understandable because, as asserted in that chapter, the process of reflection, deliberation and decision-making which precedes action – captured in Archer's (2003, see also Mirvahedi, 2019) concept of *internal conversation* – is conducted intrapersonally, and remains thus invisible unless expressed. It is possible to infer the *intention* of individual engagement and persuasion through certain textual elements within the posts, particularly direct addresses to members by posters, and especially with the benefit of the theoretical lenses afford by Snow and Benford (1988)'s *framing processes* as well as critical and ethnographic analyses – which has been the attempt herein. This intent is revealing, and indicates the essentiality of self-reflection and self-actualisation to membership of the group. However, as it does not demonstrate these processes *actually occurring*, this approach really only reveals one side of the coin.

A possible analytical approach might have been to consider comments made by users accompanying posts, or to examine the types and quantities of reactions a post has received (i.e. like, love, care, wow, sad, or angry). The former has some merit as an approach, and on occasion within this chapter, as well as within the following two, reference ismade to the opinions expressed by other members on posts. However, there are four reasons that render this approach undesirable for the current analyses:

1. The sheer quantity of comments left for some posts would make a detailed analysis very time-intensive, and this unfortunately puts it outwith the scope of this study.
2. If the process of *self-management* is internal, it would seem to follow that commenting on it explicitly would be exceptional.
3. Related to Point 2, as alluded to above, while 82% of respondents to the Supplementary Survey indicated that they visited the group and read the posts of others at least once a week or more often, only 18% claimed to comment on the posts of others this often. This would indicate that a majority of individual responses to content posted are silent (i.e. not expressed through comments).
4. In the case of CLSM of beliefs especially, the comments that are left often do little to illustrate the processes of self-reflection and self-actualisation theorised to be inherent, instead merely expressing agreement or disagreement, or adding supplementary discussion. This arguably does not provide much additional insight into the internal processes of belief management. As regards the *Self-management*

of practices, on the other hand, more evidence – such as an expressed commitment to change practices – is visible, and is explored where possible.

Point 2 can also be used as an argument against an analysis of Facebook reaction types and quantities, from which can be deduced purely the level of active engagement that a post has received, and the general opinions of those who have engaged. Opposition to the framing in which group members are involved is, of course, relevant and significant, and this was explored further within Chapter 8.

In the Supplementary Survey conducted in late 2022 for this study, one question asked if (and if so, how) ALNPL contributed to the protecting or saving of the Catalan language. Many of the responses reveal general agreement with the framing of the group, which may, at best, represent the product rather than the process – *changed* perspectives, rather than acknowledgement of the agentive self-reflection that led to them. Two answers submitted might be interpreted as providing more evidence of the latter:

> It raises consciousness about the topic. **(P064)**
>
> Within the group, you are pushed to used Catalan **(P063)**

The first response highlights the role of the group in "raising consciousness" of the issues facing the language among members, while the latter refers to its "push[ing]" of members to use Catalan. Both might be considered as potentially evincing the personally transformative aspect of the group's activities. However, this remains very implicit.

In order to probe this further, an additional question was posed by the researcher directly to participants through a post made to the group:

> **Researcher post:**
>
> Hello friends!
>
> A small question that would help me a lot with my research: By being a member of this group:
>
> 1. Have you learned anything new about the Catalan language, the situation of Catalan (in France, or in any of the Catalan countries), the (Northern) Catalan culture, etc.?
> 2. Has the way you think/your perspective changed about/on the language, your identity, your participation in the Catalan-speaking world (or in defending the language), the Catalan speaking community, the problems facing the language, etc.?
>
> Any story/comment would be extremely useful to me, and many thanks in advance ☺
>
> Best wishes,

> Stephen.

This post generated six responses from users, of which three are potentially insightful:

> It has challenged me to be more rigorous in the terminology, even though occasionally I don't agree **(P088)**
>
> Everything that relates to making people find out about issues related to our language always turns out to be positive and opinions shared from different areas of our linguistic domain are very enriching. **(P089)**
>
> …I have learned loads of things, since 1'O[179] I have seen the Catalan map grow in all directions, from North to South and East to West how powerful the longing to revive, generation after generation, every brushstroke of culture and tradition of the Catalan identity. I've learned that none of us speak the language well, I've learned that beyond spelling, linguistic and syntax are that which explain a way of life and I make efforts to know how to express myself better, to be able to live with all the good things that our land gives us. I have learned that being Catalan is a life's journey, whatever it's like, wherever you live, because whatever the case, whatever you want to know or learn is written in some book or some legend… **(P090)**

Each of the above responses to the query posed would appear to suggest, at least to some extent, a change in beliefs among members. In consonance with the reflective and suspicious mentality, as well as a desire to seek "authenticity" in language use, which group members attempt to cultivate, P088 concedes that their membership of the group has motivated them to "be more rigorous" (i.e. more reflective and critical) in their practices. Moreover, the word "challenge", implying deliberate effort, seems to imply that this attentiveness is not a quality that P088 would have developed naturally without stimulation from the group.

The response by P089 is more generalised, not relating directly to the personal experiences of this member. However, the notion of "making people find out about issues related to our language" may allude to the transmission and internalisation of the discourses of endangerment, urgency, victimisation, and self-blame and responsibilisation constructed by the group.

Finally, the response by P090 expresses a number of facts that they have "learned" being a member of the group, including to view the linguistics of the language as more significant than a simple concern over orthography, but actually as a "way of living". This assertion would seem to relate primarily to the endangerment discourses constructed by the group which position the qualitative and quantitative deterioration of the language as promising

[179] This refers to the date (**1**st **O**ctober 2017) of the Catalan independence referendum.

greater consequences beyond solely the linguistic. P090 also seems to have incorporated the discourse of self-blame and self-responsibilisation, as indicated in the phrases "I've learned that none of us speak the language well" and "I make efforts to know how to express myself better". Through such phrases, the member seems to be expressing a belief in the problematic nature of their own speech, as is continually advocated within the group, as well as a sense of belonging to a community of others who have achieved the same enlightenment ("none of ***us***"). Finally, they express a commitment to improve their language behaviours, as a result of this revelation.

While the above constitutes an imperfect window into the agentive process of *self-management of beliefs*, which follows the clearer *collective* process of frame construction, it nevertheless provides some evidence of the connection between group and individual action within ALNPL, which forms the basis of the theory of *Collective Language Self-Management of Beliefs.*

9.4.2 A secondary limitation: inability to measure success

An important point to emphasise is that this thesis sought only to describe and characterise the activities of group members, with a view to elaborating a theory of *Collective Language Self-Management*, and its mechanisms. It posits that those engaging in such a form of language management may participate in a process of competitive policymaking, assuming many of the activities of macro-level language planning in place of traditional language planners, and potentially spreading (through the posited model of *centre-out language planning*) an alternative standard to that promoted by the latter. What remains outwith the scope of this thesis, however, is an evaluation of these activities in the current case study, and a judgement of their effectiveness and success in truly reforming the Catalan language.

While this would be an interesting line of inquiry to adopt, it would require a far larger and longer-term study than was possible for the current case, including, for example, additional survey and language usage data to infer whether participants in the case study groups continued their militancy in favour of "authentic" Catalan, and to use the "authentic" variants identified by the group, when away from the Facebook groups in question, as well

as offline. This bridge between online regulatory behaviour and offline practices could form the basis of future research.

9.4.3 A final limitation: narrowed focus

One final, rather regrettable, limitation that must be acknowledged is the focus, within the majority of the thesis, on data from *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua*, and the relative omission of *Jo parli català rossellonès*. One reason for this relates to the fact that, of the two groups, ALNPL is the only one that possesses an explicit mission that arguably presupposes action from the group as a collective *and* as individuals, thereby facilitating the cohesiveness of data analysis and elucidation of the theory proposed. A second, more practical, reason is that given the sheer wealth of data that could be presented from both groups, space restrictions would mean that a significant reduction in depth of analysis would be required in order to incorporate both. Thus, a decision was taken to focus on ALNPL on this occasion. It is hoped that a future paper will complement the analyses presented here with those conducted on data from JPCR.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Blank Supplementary Survey

English

Welcome screen, language selection

Benvingut! Bienvenue! Welcome!

Si us plau, seleccioneu una llengua del menú desplegant, i després feu clic a la fletxa per començar.

Veuillez selectionnez une langue du menu déroulant, et puis cliquez sur la flèche pour commencer.

Please select a language from the drop-down menu, and then click on the arrow to begin.

ENG - Welcome, Age discrimination

Welcome!

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this survey! It will be a huge help to my PhD project, and will also contribute to research about the Catalan language. It contains 6 sections.

1. Consent to participation and agreement to data usage
2. About you (basic information)
3. About you (your political opinions)
3. About the language(s) you use
4. About Catalan (part 1)
5. About your Facebook usage
6. About Catalan (part 2)

This survey might take a while to complete, as it encourages you to answer some complex questions, often using your own words. **Please take your time and answer as honestly and thoughtfully as you can.** And please do feel free to take a break at any time. If you close the survey, and re-open it on the same computer, you will be able to continue from where you left off.

To say thank you for taking part, you may choose to be entered into a prize draw to win one of five Amazon vouchers worth €50. You will be asked if you would like to enter the

draw at the end of the survey.

You must be 16 years old or over to take part in this survey. To continue, please confirm that you are 16 or over below to continue.

- ○ I am 16 or over and would like to continue
- ○ I am under 16 and will stop here

ENG - Eligibility

You must also be a member of either *Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua* or *Jo parli català rossellonès* to take part in this survey.
Are you a member of one, or both, of these groups?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

ENG - Consent

Participant consent and agreement to data usage

Before answering this section, please read the accompanying information document to familiarise yourself with the aims of this study, and how your data will be used. This can be found here:

Participant information sheet

When you have done this, please read the following statements carefully, and click your answer: "Yes" or "No".
Please note: you must answer yes to all the questions below in order to take part.

Consent to participation:

I consent to take part in the study described on the following page: Survey.

Yes	No
○	○

Agreement to data usage:

I understand that the identifiable data (my name, my e-mail address, my Facebook username and profile URL) that I will be asked for will be collected only for the purposes of linking my responses to previously collected data, and will not be shared with individuals outside of the research team.

Yes No

I understand that anonymized data from this study will be used for current and future research purposes

Yes No

I consent to my anonymized responses being shared with other researchers working in related areas.

Yes No

I consent to my anonymized responses being used in publications open to the wider public, including blog posts and articles on the World Wide Web.

Yes No

I understand that the survey will contain questions about my political opinions (e.g. regarding Catalan independence) and that I will be allowed to skip these questions if I prefer.

Yes No

Right to withdrawal:

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, and that I may stop the survey at any time, and may withdraw from the study and have my survey responses until 2 weeks after I have taken part.

Yes ○ No ○

EN - Consent Failure

Sorry to see you go...

You have answered "No" to one or more of the questions in the last section. Unfortunately this means that you cannot take part in the survey. We thank you for your time!

If you think you made a mistake and you'd like to try again, simply close this page and re-open the survey to start again. Press the arrow to close the survey.

ENG - Demographic information

About you (basic information)

What is your full name?

Please enter the link to your Facebook profile:
(This is so that we can match your responses to your posts and comments within the group. It will never be shared outside of the research team.)

What is your e-mail address?

What year were you born?

How would you describe your gender identity?

- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Non-binary
- ○ Intersex
- ○ [ ] Prefer to self-define:

What was your town or city of birth? (Please also include the country)

[ ]

Which town or city do you live in now? (Please also include the country)

[ ]

How would you describe your nationality?

- ☐ Catalan
- ☐ Northern Catalan
- ☐ French
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ [ ] Other:

End of section 1

You have completed section 1 of 6.
You may wish to take a break now! When you are ready to continue, click the arrow.

EN - Political questions

About you (your political views)

The questions in this section relate generally to your views regarding the independence/increased autonomy of Catalunya (del Nord). Remember, your personal details will never be released outside of the research team, and you may skip any question you do not wish to answer.

Do you believe that Catalunya should be an independent country?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Undecided
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Do you think Northern Catalonia (currently geographically located within the French state) should:

- ○ Be part of an independent Catalunya
- ○ Be an independent country in its own right
- ○ Should remain French territory but should receive more autonomy
- ○ Should remain as it is
- ○ Unsure
- ○ Prefer not to answer

End of section 2

You have completed section 2 of 6.
You may wish to take a break now! When you are ready to continue, click the arrow.

ENG - Sociolinguistic Questions - all languages

About the language(s) you use

Which languages do you use? (Please enter all languages spoken below in any order)

☐ Language 1:	☐ Language 6:
☐ Language 2:	☐ Language 7:
☐ Language 3:	☐ Language 8:
☐ Language 4:	☐ Language 9:
☐ Language 5:	☐ Language 10:

How would you rank these languages in terms of how comfortable you are using them?
(1 = your native language, or your most dominant language if you are bilingual)

Space will be provided later if you would like to add more information.

» Language 1:

» Language 2:

» Language 3:

» Language 4:

» Language 5:

» Language 6:

» Language 7:

» Language 8:

» Language 9:

» Language 10:

How often do you use these languages?
(This includes both online and offline use of the language)

Space will be provided later if you would like to add more information.

	Once a year or less	Several times a year	Several times a month	Several times a week	Every day
» Language 1:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 2:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 3:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 4:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 5:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 6:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 7:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 8:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 9:	○	○	○	○	○
» Language 10:	○	○	○	○	○

How do you mostly use these languages? (Please select all that apply)

	On social media	Texting, e-mailing, phone/video calls	At school, college or university	With friends and family	At work	When shopping	In the street	Other
» Language 1:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 2:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 3:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 4:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 5:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 6:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 7:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 8:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 9:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
» Language 10:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Would you like to add more information?

(You can leave this blank if you prefer.)

End of section 3

You have completed section 3 of 6.
You may wish to take a break now! When you are ready to continue, click the arrow.

EN - Sociolinguistic questions - Attitudes to endangerment

About Catalan (part 1)

How would you describe your proficiency in Catalan?

	No proficiency	Limited proficiency	Intermediate-level proficiency	Advanced-level proficiency	Native or native-like proficiency
Reading	○	○	○	○	○

	No proficiency	Limited proficiency	Intermediate-level proficiency	Advanced-level proficiency	Native or native-like proficiency
Writing	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding	○	○	○	○	○

How important is it to speak Catalan to identify as Catalan?

- Not at all important ○
- Somewhat important ○
- Very important ○
- Extremely important ○

To what extent do you believe that the Catalan language is under threat or endangered?

- Not endangered at all ○
- Somewhat endangered ○
- Significantly endangered ○
- Critically endangered ○

What do you think is/are the biggest threat(s) facing the Catalan language today?

Some people believe that Catalan today is endangered. What do you think makes them think this way?

To what extent do you think that the following are responsible **for causing** the problems facing the Catalan language today?

	Not at all responsible	Somewhat responsible	Very responsible	Entirely responsible
The French Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
The Catalan Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
The Spanish Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
"Ordinary" Catalan speakers	○	○	○	○
The media	○	○	○	○
Learners of Catalan	○	○	○	○
Other (please specify):	○	○	○	○

Please explain your answers:

To what extent do you think that the following are responsible **for finding solutions to** problems facing the Catalan language today?

	Not at all responsible	Somewhat responsible	Very responsible	Entirely responsible

	Not at all responsible	Somewhat responsible	Very responsible	Entirely responsible
The French Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
The Catalan Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
The Spanish Government (and related institutions)	○	○	○	○
"Ordinary" Catalan speakers	○	○	○	○
The media	○	○	○	○
Learners of Catalan	○	○	○	○
Other (please specify):	○	○	○	○

Please explain your answers:

In your opinion, what is the best way to protect (or save) a language?

What can you personally do to protect (or save) your language?

End of section 4

You have completed section 4 of 6.
You may wish to take a break now! When you are ready to continue, click the arrow.

EN - Social media

About your activity on Facebook

Which of the following groups are you a member of on Facebook?

- [ ] Jo parli català rossellonès
- [ ] Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua

How long have you been a member of this/these group(s) (approximately)?

» Jo parli català rossellonès

» Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua

What motivated you to join this/these group(s)?

» Jo parli català rossellonès

» Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua

How often do you do the following in the group(s)?

	Visit the group (to read others' posts or comments)	Comment on others' posts
» Jo parli català rossellonès		
» Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua		

How would you describe the priorities and main activities of the group Jo parli català rossellonès?

How would you describe the priorities and main activities of the group Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua?

What kinds of things do you like to read/see in the group Jo parli català rossellonès? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ News articles about Northern Catalonia
- ☐ News articles about other parts of Catalonia
- ☐ News articles about other countries and languages
- ☐ Posts about Catalan grammatical rules or vocabulary
- ☐ Posts and discussions about authentic Catalan
- ☐ People correcting each other's Catalan
- ☐ Activism posts: surveys, petitions, events, etc.
- ☐ Resources for learning Catalan
- ☐ Posts about the Catalan culture/identity
- ☐ Quotations
- ☐ Other (please specify):

Is there anything you don't like about the group Jo parli català rossellonès?

What kinds of things do you like to read/see in the group Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ News articles about Northern Catalonia
- ☐ News articles about other parts of Catalonia
- ☐ News articles about other countries and languages
- ☐ Posts about Catalan grammatical rules or vocabulary
- ☐ Posts and discussions about authentic Catalan
- ☐ People correcting each other's Catalan
- ☐ Activism posts: surveys, petitions, events, etc.
- ☐ Resources for learning Catalan
- ☐ Posts about the Catalan culture/identity
- ☐ Quotations
- ☐ Other (please specify):

Is there anything you don't like about the group Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua?

To what extent do you think the group **Jo parli català rossellonès** contributes to protecting or saving the Catalan language?

Doesn't contribute at all

Contributes somewhat

Contributes a lot

To what extent do you think the group **Aprenguem la nostra pròpia llengua** contributes to protecting or saving the Catalan language?

Doesn't contribute at all

Contributes somewhat

Contributes a lot

Please explain your answer(s)

End of section 5

You have completed section 5 of 6.
You may wish to take a break now! When you are ready to continue, click the arrow.

EN - language purism/policing

About Catalan (part 2)

How would you describe the following practices?

(Drag each practice to the appropriate box - dangerous or not dangerous.)

Items

Catanyol (words and grammar borrowed from Castlian)

Francatalà (words and grammar borrowed from French)

Codeswitching (switching between Catalan and another language in the same conversation)

English

Not choosing Catalan before another language in conversation

Bilingualism

Spelling mistakes

Grammatical mistakes

Other (please specify):

Dangerous to Catalan (in order from most to least dangerous)

Not dangerous to Catalan

To what extent do you think it is important to speak "authentic" Catalan?

- Not at all important
- Somewhat important
- Very important
- Extremely important

How important is it to correct people who speak Catalan incorrectly or inauthentically?

- Not at all important
- Somewhat important
- Very important
- Extremely important

Please explain your answers:

Have you ever corrected anyone's language use on any of these groups?

	Yes	No
Jo Parli Català Rossellonès		
Aprenguem la nostra pròpia lengua		

Has anyone ever corrected your language use on any of these groups?

	Yes	No
Jo Parli Català Rossellonès		
Aprenguem la nostra pròpia lengua		

How did this make you feel?

EN - Follow-up

Nearly finished!

To say thank you for taking part, I would like to enter you into a draw to win one of five Amazon vouchers worth €50. If you would like to enter this draw, please re-enter your e-mail address and confirm which country's Amazon store your voucher should be bought for.

If you do not wish to enter the draw, you can leave this question blank.

E-mail address

Amazon store (e.g. UK, France, Spain...)

Do you have anything final you would like to add that hasn't been asked?

Thank you very much for having completed this survey!

It may be necessary to ask for further information or to conduct interviews in the future. Would you be be happy for me to contact you about this?

- Yes
- No

"Policy, Policing and Resistance in Catalunya (Nord) Online" - Stephen McNulty, University of Edinburgh
For more information, or if you are having problems with this survey, please contact Stephen.McNulty@ed.ac.uk.

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