COMMUNICATIVE RESONANCE: ROMANIAN, SPANISH AND CATALAN IN THE LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF ROMANIAN SPEAKERS IN MALLORCA

Jorina FENNER
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena
anna.jorina.fenner@uni-jena.de

Abstract

Romanian speakers in Mallorca are a part of the quarter of Romanian speakers (Merlan, 2024) who live outside of Romania or Moldova. They also form the second largest migrant group in Spain (Ambasada României în Regatul Spaniei, 2024) which has been a prime destination of migration for Romanians since the 1990s (Anghel et al., 2019). In Mallorca, Romanian speakers are confronted with Catalan and Spanish; two other Romance languages; as well as the various languages of tourism. Against this multilingual backdrop, the present study focuses on the language use and language attitudes of first and second-generation Romanian speakers.

Keywords:

Romanian Studies, language attitudes, language use, multilingualism, migration.

Introduction

Romanian users in Mallorca are a part of the estimated 25% of Romanian speakers worldwide who live outside of Romania or the Republic of Moldova (Merlan, 2024, p. 7). Spain has been one of the most favoured destinations for migration from Romania (Anghel et al., 2019) in Europe since the 1990s, with Romanians forming the second biggest migrant group in the country (Ambasada României în Regatul Spaniei, 2024). Living on the Balearic Islands, Romanian speakers navigate between Spanish and the local variety of Catalan; two additional Romance languages besides Romanian; as well as the various languages of tourism.

Drawing on fieldwork from the island of Mallorca, the present study investigates the roles that Romanian, Spanish and Catalan play for first and second-generation Romanian speakers; specifically in terms of language use and language attitudes. Building on a complementary data set, including interviews, observations of the linguistic landscape and language portraits, two main research questions are followed: 1) Which language(s) are used in which language domain? 2) Which language attitudes are present with Romanian speakers regarding Romanian, Spanish and Catalan in Mallorca? The study considers the perspectives of first-generation as well as second-generation Romanian speakers.

The analysis and discussion strive upon topics like family language policies and the effects of institutional support for Catalan on the local Romanian speakers. They also consider the interplay of narratives around the Latin roots of Romanian and sense making processes in a Romance language speaking environment as well as the influence of solidarity on the language attitudes of Romanian speakers in Mallorca. They are preceded by an introduction to Romanian migration to Spain, Catalan-speaking areas and Europe. Additionally, an overview on the sociolinguistic context of Mallorca as well as an outline of the methods are provided. The conclusion offers a grasp of the multilingual experience of Romanian speakers in Mallorca, contextualises the Mallorcan case in that of Romanian speakers in Europe and offers possible scopes of future research.

1. Romanian Language and Migration in Europe

Experiences of migration, due to economic motives, characterize the Romanian society at least since the end of the Socialist era (Anghel et al., 2019, p. 8) and Romanians are considered to be particularly mobile citizens of the European Union (Anghel et al., 2019, p. 2). Migration from Romania to European countries is placed in three distinct stages by Anghel et al. (2019, p. 9-11): A smaller group of “pioneers” (p. 9) in the aftermath of the 1989 revolution, labour migration from the early 2000s and diversified migration after 2007. In the early 2000s there was a growing demand of labour in Southern European countries, like Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, when Romania experienced a shortage of employment opportunities with the former socialist industry collapsing at the same time. When Romania entered

the European Union in 2007, at a time of economic crisis, Romanians migrated increasingly to Northern European countries. The concepts of migration were more liquid and often transitioned between more temporary and more permanent modes. This stage included migration from Romania as well as from previous destinations of migration, like Spain, to Northern European countries. It also saw the appearance of more diverse migration profiles between different levels of professional qualification.

With regard to the migration to Spain, where Romanians currently form the second largest group of foreign nationals (Ambasada României în Regatul Spaniei, 2024), Marcu (2022, pp.4-5) also offers a three stages model of Romanian migration. The "pioneer-stage" (1990-2002) marks lower-middle class population who are aiming for a better economic status and form communities around the churches. The employment was centered around the fields of domestic services, agriculture, ceramics industry and construction. This is followed by a second stage (2002-2007) that sees more organized networks, a growing, more transnational community and networks of highly trained professionals. In addition, a heightened mobility between Spain and other countries became a mode of living for a group of professionals, such as doctors, researchers and entrepreneurs. The entry to the European Union together with the economic crisis coincide with the third stage of migration, as identified by Marcu (2022, pp. 4–5). Spain saw a continued immigration of Romanians despite difficulties in sectors like construction. While the associative initiatives are reported to have lost their importance, virtual networks of mobile students studying in Spain and other EU countries experienced a rise. Next to the harsh economic conditions in post-socialist Romania and the more favourable labour market abroad, Romanian migration to Spain was influenced by the relatively low cost of living, the mild climate and linguistic factors as Romanian is, just like Spanish, a Romance language (Marcu, 2018, p. 3).

It should be highlighted that not all Romanians share Romanian as their first language since it is a multilingual and multiethnic country. At the same time, not all Romanian speakers have Romanian citizenship. Romanian is the first language of the majority of Moldovans in the Republic of Moldova and a minority language in neighboring countries, like Serbia and Ukraine (Kahl, 2008, p. 67). However, in this outline a focus is placed on migration

from Romania as all Romanian speakers who participated in the study shared a migration history from Romania. Romanians form the seventh biggest migrant group[1] on the island of Mallorca which has about 950,000 inhabitants. In total, there are around 7,500 persons with Romanian citizenship who currently live in Mallorca (Institut d'Estadística de les Illes Balears, 2024).

For Spain, Romanian migration and mobility can be seen in the context of different strategies that Marcu shows as driven by three guiding motives: mobility in order to support the parental generation, the direct family or to facilitate family reunification (2018, p. 13). Similarly, Anghel et al. underline (2019, p. 3) the importance of identity, belonging in the shapes of kinship and local solidarity as well as friendship for Romanian-speaking communities in Western Europe. Religion in turn has been found to be of increased importance with regards to belonging and social capital (Anghel et al., 2019, p. 11). Attachment also plays an important role regarding the desire to end the migration project and return to Romania: Ghergina and Plopeanu statistically linked the wish to return to Romania with an emotional sense of belonging and attachment as well as regular visits to the home country. Other factors such as regular remittances, voting in elections and age were found to be less impactful on the desire to return to Romania (2020, p. 886).

Previous research also investigated language use, language attitudes and issues of identity in the Catalonia and the Valencia region. Analogous to the situation in Mallorca, Romanian speakers in Catalonia and Valencia are required to interact not only with Spanish but also with Catalan. A study among young Romanians found that there was a strong tendency to adapt to the majority culture in the image of the self but also linguistically. With a progressively decreasing use of Romanian in the family in accordance with the length of stay in the country of migration Spain. The authors even characterize the observed developments as "neglect[ing] themselves culturally in order to join the host culture" (Petreñas et al., 2018, p. 12).

[1] In 2024, the most numerous groups with foreign citizenship in Mallorca were: Morocco (~24,000), Colombia (~20,000), Germany (~19,000), Italy (~18,000), United Kingdom (~13,000) and Argentina (9,000). People without Spanish citizenship makeup around 20% of the island's population (Institut d'Estadística de les Illes Balears, 2024).

In Castelló de la Plana in the Valencian region, Amorós-Negre finds that the prevalent family language policies of Romanian speakers favour the use of Spanish above all since it is "linked directly to integration into the host community" (2022, p. 273).

While the first generation more strongly associates Romanian with their places of origin and as a part of their identity, making them more involved in issues of intergenerational transmission, the second generation lives a much more transnational and translingual identity. Both generations neither present a sense of resistance to the dominance of Spanish in the region nor to linguistic assimilation practices (Amorós-Negre, 2022, pp. 273–274).

Also in Castelló de la Plana, Schulte studied the language use, language attitudes and contact-induced grammatical features of second-generation speakers of Romanian who were either born in Spain or migrated from Romania before entering primary school (2025, p. 4). The informants are reported to move between Romanian and Spanish easily, although the proportion of using Romanian in the family domain appears to vary and depend on the interlocutors (Schulte, 2025, pp. 13–16). While the first generation is reported to use mainly Romanian among each other and to address the second generation, the second generation in parts involves Spanish and the local variety of "Rumañol" that mixes Romanian and Spanish. When communicating within the second generation, Romanian is typically absent and Spanish or "Rumañol" are used (Schulte, 2025, p. 16). Schulte draws a distinction between public and private language use: Spanish is more frequently chosen in a public setting and "Rumañol" is only present in private domains. Catalan appears in connection with the educational system but Spanish is described as the dominant language for all participants of the study. However, no difficulties are stated in connection with the language and the language use accommodates the language of the interlocutors (Schulte, 2025, p. 18). In terms of heritage language education, Schulte reports no formal education in Romanian outside of limited offers by the churches in Castelló de la Plana despite the rather large Romanian community (Schulte, 2025, p. 16). The second-generation Romanian speakers in the study share the belief that it is important to maintain a connection with the „linguistic and cultural heritage" (Schulte, 2025, p. 28), however, Schulte also connects the high level of social integration of the second-generation

Romanian speakers with a possibility of language loss between the second and the third generation (2025, p. 29).

Romanian also appears with a limited status in spotlights on previous research from different migration contexts. The aspiration to assimilate linguistically to the surrounding majority languages seems to dominate language practices of Romanian speakers all across Europe. Despite reported emotional attachment to the first language, a pattern of language loss in the second or third generation emerges as a likely scenario even in places with more concentrated Romanian-speaking communities, such as Northern Italy, the Castelló de la Plana region or Southern Germany.

Omer's research with Romanian and Moldovan families living in French-speaking areas in Belgium and France, for instance, paints a similar picture: The interviewees of the study underline the importance of the majority language French (and to a certain extent of English) for their children rather than Romanian. The reasons for passing their Romanian language skills on to their children are centered around identity and/or matters of affection but to varying degrees. And French is presented as the language that their children should know foremost by the majority of parents. It is noted that no difficulties were reported by the parents with regard to the acquisition of French (Omer, 2023, pp. 130–131).

From the Italian migration context, a comparable development is reported by Cohal who studied the Romanian of children from Romanian-speaking families in the North of Italy. Here, the findings too point to a decrease in language skills within the second generation, showing highly asymmetric multilingualism with a focus on the majority language Italian (Cohal, 2024, p. 64).

In Germany, Merlan observes analogous beliefs among Romanian migrants in Bavaria: Romanian is replaced by the surrounding majority language, German, to facilitate social integration in many cases (2021, p. 78). Here too, the use of Romanian is centered around the use in the family domain with German continuously present alongside it. And asymmetric bilingualism in the second generation with a wider repertoire in German than in Romanian is observed (Merlan, 2021, p. 110).

2. The Sociolinguistic Setting of Mallorca: Multilingualism, Language Use and Linguistic Landscapes

Living in Mallorca, the largest of the Balearic Islands, Romanian speakers encounter at least two other Romance languages in their everyday lives: Spanish and Catalan appear both in a written and in a spoken form. The present section aims to shed light on the background and interplay of Catalan and Spanish as well as the languages of tourism on the island to provide an overview on the sociolinguistic backdrop that may take effect on the language use and language attitudes of Romanian speakers in Mallorca.

The role of Catalan in Spain has undergone changes in the past 50 years. After considerable state-led repression during the Franco régime, Catalan reemerged in many language domains in the area of Catalonia (OECD, 2012, p. 231): This was supported both through substantial institutional measures and the wide-spread use of the language as a symbol for democratic values. The positioning of the language as a standard language, open to new speakers, created a language shift and found association with cultural capital as much of the middle class had maintained the language (Reyes & Carrasco, 2018, p. 4). Next to Catalonia, Catalan also has an official status in the Valencia region and on the Balearic Islands (Duggan, 2017, pp. 80–81).

On the Balearic Islands, a number of measures were implemented to increase the institutional support in favour of Catalan: In 1983, Catalan was made an official language alongside Spanish (Pérez, 2015, p. 53). As part of the 1986 Language Normalization Act it was decreed that students of the Balearic Islands should learn Spanish and Catalan alike during their way through the educational system. In 1997, a bill was passed that introduced a minimum of at least half of the classes in Catalan with no upper limit established (Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons, 2019, pp. 245–246). And in 1998, the Balearic Islands were granted the legal responsibility for education (Pérez, 2015, p. 54). The role of Catalan in the educational system was frequently reformed due to shifts of political power between centre-leftist or progressive and conservative actors. With the former displaying a tendency to strengthen the use of Catalan as opposed to the later (Ballester Cardell & Marí Mayans, 2021, p. 148; Duggan, 2017, p. 81). A study from 2013 showed that students display a similar proficiency of both Spanish and Catalan which may be

credited to institutional support of Catalan through the educational system (Pérez, 2015, p. 54). The university of the Balearic Islands (UIB) located in Palma de Mallorca, for example, offers the majority of its courses in Catalan (Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons, 2019, p. 246). These oscillations between policies which, for instance, require an advanced level of Catalan for civil servants, in the education sector or the health sector were met with a sense of insecurity over the current policies and even the notion that these frequent policy changes inhibited the expansion of Catalan in more language domains (Ballester Cardell & Marí Mayans, 2021, p. 149).

The perspectives of L3 speakers of Catalan at the University of the Balearic Islands point to a divergence between the perceived status of Catalan in the Catalonia region compared to the Balearic Islands. L3 Catalan speakers, who likely have a migration history to Mallorca have been found to display a strong tendency in favour of monolingualism compared to their L1 and L2 peers (Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons, 2019, p. 255). These findings appear to a certain extent contradictory to the developments observed in Catalonia: In a long-term ethnographic study, Garrido finds that acquiring a functional knowledge of Catalan acts as a pathway to social acceptance in an Emmaus community in Barcelona (Garrido, 2019). Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons' (2019) findings appear to rather echo Amorós-Negre's study on Romanians in Castelló de la Plana in the Valencian region, where family language policies favour Spanish which is seen as "linked directly to integration into the host community" (2022, p. 273).

A detailed account on language attitudes of young people in Mallorca was published as part of a report from 2023 on language attitudes of young people on the Balearic Islands. The authors draw on quantitative material that was collected in 2004, 2014 and 2016 respectively as well as qualitative research data, collected in the forms of individual and group interviews (Castell et al., 2023, p. 170). The research questions combine three main strands: linguistic muda, language use and practices, language norms and ideologies and language attitudes (Castell et al., 2023, p. 170). The term "linguistic muda" describes "the specific biographical junctures where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire" (Pujolar, 2019, p. 165). In the report, Castell et al. find that in Mallorca's Palma Bay area, it is especially likely for Spanish speakers to keep Spanish as their usual

language and for Catalan speakers to switch to another language than Catalan (Castell et al., 2023, p. 170). This holds even more true for those who were born abroad - like the Romanian speakers in this study - who are 11 times less likely to switch to Catalan as their usual language than a person born in a Catalan-speaking area (Castell et al., 2023, p. 170). On top of that, Spanish is considered by many young people as an anonymous, neutral language that belongs to no particular group and does not act as a point of identification for a certain group (Castell Orell et al., 2023, p. 245).

A way to analyse the dynamics of a multilingual setting in public spaces, such as Mallorca, is through the study of linguistic landscapes. With the aim to "[...] understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of "languages" as they are displayed in public spaces'" (Gorter, 2018, pp. 41–42) researchers have widely studied the (in-)visibility of language(s). The study of linguistic landscapes is often applied in urban settings, for instance, to study the interplay of majority and minority languages (Blackwood, 2015; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Muth, 2012) or street naming practices (Berecz, 2019; Purschke, 2021). But research has also been expanded to encompass rural settings (Reershemius, 2020; Sorescu-Marinković & Salamurović, 2022), schools settings (Biró, 2016) or diachronic language practices on postcards (Almasy, 2019; Fenner & Miladinović, 2024; Ilovan & Maroși, 2018).

How Mallorcan multilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of the island was previously studied by Bruyèl-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2015) who investigated the visibility of Catalan in touristic centers of the Palma Bay. Catalan was found to be mainly present in top-down signs, i.e. signage with a public creator or author, with Spanish dominating the linguistic landscape. Other European languages were also found to be competing with the presence of Catalan. Reasons for the limited visibility of Catalan are placed in a low prestige among local business owners and the pressures of mass tourism. The same authors also investigated the language use at one of Mallorca's prominent beach resorts S'Arenal (2009) in a preceding study. Here they found that next to English, French, Spanish and German act as major languages of communication and are the most common L2 among the interviewed guests. Catalan does not appear to play a pronounced role in this setting (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009). Along the same lines, Pieras-

Guasp (2002, p. 53) finds that the acceptance of Spanish as a lingua franca is linked to the aspect of social mobility due to the tourist industry.

Romanian speakers on the Balearic Island hence live in a highly multilingual sociolinguistic setting that is influenced by fluctuating local language policies which aim to strengthen the position of Catalan to varying degrees and that are especially present in the educational sector, on the one hand and Spanish on the other hand. What is more, they are exposed to the diverse languages of migration and tourism at least in the public sphere as studies of the local linguistic landscapes show.

3. Methodology

The current study draws on a complementary data set that draws on three data sources, including qualitative group interviews, language portraits and observations from linguistic landscapes of Romanian-speaking places. All data for the data set was collected by seven data collectors during fieldwork on the island of Mallorca in 2023.

The data collectors recruited first- and second generation Romanian speakers in potentially Romanian-speaking places on the island and in public spaces at the center of Palma de Mallorca. The Romanian-speaking places of investigation acted as starting points for the fieldwork in Mallorca and were selected using online mapping services, social media searches and contacts at the University of the Balearic Islands. Over the course of the explorative fieldwork, certain places were added in accordance with the respondents' information. Among the places were Romanian grocery shops, a Romanian specialty restaurant and a Romanian Christian parish. All places that were described by the interview partners as public community places for Romanian speakers in Mallorca were eventually visited for documentation and recruiting purposes. There was a noticeable overlap between the places that were named by the different interviewees as Romanian-speaking places although the interview groups did not know each other. It may therefore be assumed that all prominent public Romanian-speaking places were visited. However, it was not possible to recruit participants for the current study at all sites.

The first data source derives from a total of four semi-structured interviews of 20-90 minutes with four female and five male Romanian speakers in groups of two or three. The interview languages were Romanian

and Spanish with code-switching within the interviews. Quotes from the interviews appear in the original language alongside English translations in the analysis. All respondents lived in Romanian-speaking family contexts or partnerships in Mallorca and shared a migration history from Romania. They migrated to the island as adults and are therefore referred to as first-generation Romanian speakers in this study.

The second data source for the present study are two language portraits by female second-generation Romanian speakers collected in Palma de Mallorca. The use of language portraits is described by Busch (2018, p. 53) as a method that allows reflections on language repertoires and that raises awareness for multilingualism. During the process respondents were asked to use differently coloured pens for visualising the languages they know in a body outline provided by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Vienna (2024). Next, short interviews were conducted and the respondents were invited to describe and explain the portraits which they produced. The respondents of the language portraits were both female, migrated to Mallorca as children and grew up in Romanian-speaking families on the island. They are, therefore, considered second-generation Romanian speakers in this study. Despite the relatively small sample size of the language portraits, the data analysis shows a promising basis for future research in Romanian-speaking communities, both in the Spanish-Catalan context and beyond, considering Romanian as a heritage language.

All interviews, those collected at the Romanian-speaking places and those collected as language portraits, were anonymised using pseudonyms, transcribed with the help of the EXMARaLDA software (Schmidt & Wörner, 2014) and annotated in Catma (Evelyn Gius et al., 2024). The tag set used in Catma considered non-linguistic aspects of the migration story and the local Romanian community alongside aspects of language use, language domains and language attitudes. The non-linguistic categories derived in a deductive manner while the linguistic categories were formed inductively from the interview transcripts. The categories of language use, language domains and language attitudes were additionally divided with respect to Catalan, Spanish and Romanian. The category of language attitude was subsequently split along the lines of the three established dimensions (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 4) affective, cognitive and conative. While the affective dimension

encompasses the feelings that are evoked, in this case, by the respective languages, the cognitive dimension describes the beliefs about the respective languages and the conative dimension considers the behaviours and intentions towards the languages that are investigated (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 4).

Alongside the interviews, the documentation of linguistic landscapes of the Romanian-speaking places of research present a third data source. The corresponding photographs were made available online prior to this publication in a dataset of Mallorcan linguistic landscapes (Fenner et al., 2024). Considering the linguistic landscape as a data source allows for visually studying the interplay of Romanian with Spanish and Catalan at Romanian-speaking places from a variety of perspectives. For instance, the influence of language policies and local multilingualism may take shape in the public language of the documented linguistic landscapes. The data set may also act as a source of comparison with previous studies on the Mallorcan linguistic landscape and provide insights on the language use of shop owners as well as their supposed audience, the customers. The photographs of the places of investigation were qualitatively analysed regarding patterns of language use and selected images were added to the analysis complimentary to the interview and language portrait data.

Using a variety of data sources, namely qualitative interviews, language portraits and images from the linguistic landscape of Romanian-speaking places, allows for a complementary data analysis from multiple perspectives: While the semi-structured interviews create space for longer narratives and anecdotes, the language portraits particularly provide the possibility for more personal reflections in the affective dimension of language attitudes. The photographs of the linguistic landscape capture insights into momentary language practices in the public sphere at Romanian-speaking places on the island.

The analyses in the following sections trace the distribution across language domains and in terms of language attitudes along the affective, the cognitive and the conative dimension regarding Romanian, Spanish and Catalan respectively. The results are presented alongside the discussion to accurately represent the context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 221) in this study. Although some of the respondents dispose of additional languages, like English, German or French in their language repertoires,

these did not play a prominent role in the different narratives around language domain distribution and are therefore omitted from the analysis. Similarly, the contact-induced Spanish-Romanian variety "Rumañol" is not consistently present. Although phenomena of code-mixing and code-switching are reported the participants did not present it as a separate variety. Therefore, it is omitted from the following analysis and discussion too.

4. Analysis and Discussion of Language Use and the Distribution across Language Domains of Romanian, Spanish and Catalan

Romanian, Spanish and Catalan form the three most used languages that were reported by the participants of the present study. Moving along the lines of language domains, i.e. the "social and physical setting in which speakers find themselves" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 121), the language use is traced and analysed. Offering a view of both the local speaker level and their embeddedness in the Mollarcan multilingual situation as well as the wider context of Romanian speakers in Spain and Europe.

In the family and home language domain, Romanian appears as a commonplace part of interpersonal communication for the first and the second generation of Romanian migrants to Mallorca. All participants mention communicating with their families in Romanian. Its importance for communicating with family members who remained in Romania is also underlined (Elena[2], 30). However, the use of code-switching with Spanish is mentioned for the communication in the home setting which presents itself as a multilingual space, like in this statement from a couple that shares a migration history from Romania and lives together in Mallorca: "*a nosotros por ejemplo, nos pasa [...] yo hablo con él en rumano y es una palabra que a lo mejor no me acuerdo y lo digo en español*" [For example, it happens to us [...] I speak to him in Romanian and there's a word that I can't remember, so I say it in Spanish.] (Iulia, 110).

The analysis shows a pronounced importance that the respondents placed on Romanian in the family communication indifferent of the physical location, i.e. Spain or Romania. This holds true for the younger as well as the older participants; of the first and the second generation. The presence of

2 All participants appear under a pseudonym.

Romanian (mainly) as a family language, with the surrounding language(s) present at all times, is also observed in previous studies in Europe (Amorós-Negre, 2022; Cohal, 2024; Merlan, 2021; Omer, 2023; Schulte, 2025). The aspect of communication between the second generation in Mallorca and family members, like grandparents, who remained in Romania, could act as the onset for future research on transnational family settings as Nedelcu and Wyss (2016) demonstrated for Romanian families in Switzerland.

In the field of friendships, Romanian and Spanish are reported to be used interchangeably depending on the interlocutor, with Romanian as well as Spanish-speaking friendships mentioned. Mihai, a Romanian speaker from the first generation, for example, summarises the language use in friendship settings like this: "*Si son amigos rumanos, rumano; si son amigos españoles, castellano.*" [If they are Romanian friends, Romanian; if they are Spanish friends, Spanish.] (108). In the report of Anamaria, who is part of the second generation, Romanian is absent from the language use in the friendship domain, instead, Catalan appears alongside Spanish: "*Depende con qué amigos hablo español y depende con qué amigos hablo catalán*." [It depends on which friends I speak Spanish with and which friends I speak Catalan with.] (003). Although this forms an exception in the current data set, Anamaria's statement points to a divide in language repertoires between the first and the second generation with a second generation which adopts Catalan to a much greater extent than the first-generation speakers.

The domain of media consumption appears to be divided between Romanian and Spanish. Especially news programmes are reportedly still followed in Romanian by the first generation in order to remain in touch with the latest happenings in Romania: "[...] *pentru ca trăim aici ne uităm la știrile aicia și la știrile de acasă*" [Because we live here, we watch the local news and the news from home.] (Ștefan, 011). Another first-generation participant who migrated to Mallorca as an adult stated that they purposefully exposed themselves to Spanish language media as a medium to learn the language, even when they were still physically in Romania (Elena 010). Similar to findings on young people on the Balearic islands (Castell Orell et al., 2023, p. 242), social media appears to be a multilingual domain with a shared use of both Romanian and Spanish as well. Depending on the interlocutor and the topics; with a high capability and willingness to adapt. The internet allows for

contact with multilingual, non-local media outlets and long-distance communication. The use of several of these possibilities for transnational communication practices clearly appear as a common resource among Romanian speakers on the island. Elena described this as follows "*[...] și televiziune acasă; da avem din România prin internet. [...] Mai mult în românește pentru ca vrem și fetele să continue cu limba română.*" [[...] also TV at home, yes we have [it] via the internet. [...] Mostly in Romanian because we want our girls to continue [learning] Romanian.] (029). The media usage of the first generation supports the findings of Amorós-Negre (2022, p. 273) that the Romanian language is especially associated with Romania to which Ștefan continues to refer to as "*acasă*" [home] (011). Elena's statement, in turn, represents the adopted family language policy and the wish to ensure intergenerational transmission of Romanian in her family. The agentive usage of digital resources may form a stepping stone for future research into polymedia in Romanian migration to Spain, similar to Weirich's study on Moldovans in Canada (2024). In the media consumption setting, everyday transnational practices emerge. Showing strategic digital media usage in both Spanish and Romanian.

In terms of (semi-)public spaces where Romanian is used, Romanian grocery (and transport) shops, a Romanian restaurant and different Christian parishes are named in the interviews. Notably, no local cultural events or outlets except for the religious domain were known to any of the respondents. One parish member of a Romanian-speaking Christian church expressed the perceived language domain distribution like this: "*Rumano se habla en la familia o en la iglesia.*" [Romanian is spoken in the family and in the church.] (Romanița, 006). Although not all participants of this study were active members of a religious community, the role of Romanian-speaking Christian churches as spaces where Romanian is used, was highlighted by all respondents. Asked about the parish life, the interview partners from a Romanian-speaking Christian parish described activities inside the church, such as services and informal meetings after the services where Romanian is used for interpersonal communication. Code-switching between Romanian and Spanish is mentioned as a frequent phenomenon among the local Romanian-speaking children at the services: "[...] *ellos se encuentran, empiezan de hablar en rumano, pero terminan en español.*" [[...] they meet

and start speaking in Romanian but finish speaking in Spanish.] (Romanița, 043). It is underlined that this is the only place for some to use their Romanian language skills outside of the family (Romanița, 041), framing Romanian as the in-group language. The parish visited for this study also keeps an exclusively Romanian website and uses an internal messenger group to broadcast information (Bogdan, 061), also in Romanian. On the Balearic islands, Castel Orell et al. observe a similar tendency among Arabic speakers who strongly associate the language with the local mosques (2023, p. 242). Eastern Orthodox Christian churches as a space where Romanian is spoken, is also identified by Dumas in France where Romanian is even used in French-speaking parishes, expressing a socio-religious integration based on both the religious and linguistic background of the Romanian parish members (2024, p. 81). Similarly, Anghel et al. find religion to be an important factor connected to belonging and social capital in Romanian migrant communities (2019, p. 11).

Shops with Romanian products form a particular setting of language use in the public sphere. Next to interview data, we were able to capture the linguistic landscape in a photo corpus (Fenner et al., 2024) that complements the analysis of language use in this case. It is worth noting that two of the four shops that were marked as "Romanian" in online mapping services did in fact not exclusively sell Romanian products but had a focus on Bulgarian products and Bulgarian-speaking owners. The oral communication in the shops that were open at the time of data collection was reported as taking place in Romanian, Bulgarian or Spanish, depending on the interlocutor. With regards to written language use, the selected examples below indicate that Spanish acts as the language of out-group and inter-group communication. Image 1 displays the storefront of a shop which carries Romanian and Bulgarian products and is owned by Bulgarian speakers. The bottom-up, i.e. private, signage describes the product range in Spanish. Additionally, semiotic elements, such as the Romanian and the Bulgarian tricolor flags indicate the specialization of the shop. Inside, informal signage displayed both Bulgarian and Spanish, speaking to the language use of the Bulgarian shop owners. At the very top, a Catalan top-down, i.e. public, street sign may be seen. This division supports the findings of linguistic landscape research from Mallorcan tourist areas (Bruyel-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009; Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-

Garau, 2015) which sees very little presence of Catalan in bottom-up signage and a dominance of Spanish. The Romanian(-Bulgarian) shops appear to present no exception to this pattern.

Image 1: *Signage at a shop selling Bulgarian and Romanian products in Palma de Mallorca (Fenner et al., 2024)*[3]

Image 2 presents a sign of an exclusively Romanian grocery shop which also offers transportation services between Spain and Romania. Next to the semiotic element of a red truck and the indirect use of the Romanian national tricolor with the background colours yellow and blue, the signage displays a language use which includes strong translanguaging elements. The services are described in Romanian and the (Spanish) telephone contacts are indicated in Spanish ('*telefonos*') at the same time. Diacritics are not used in either language, like in the case of "*Romania*" instead of "*România*" and "*telefonos*" instead of "*teléfonos*". The smaller, hand-written elements are in Romanian and in Spanish. The opening hours are given for each day in Spanish while the information of the shop being closed on Wednesdays is added in a separate hand-written sign in Romanian ("*MIERCURI ÎNCHIS*" [Closed on Wednesday]).

3 Photo "Palma_4.jpg" of the data set.

Image 2: *Signage at a Romanian grocery and delivery business in Palma de Mallorca (Fenner et al., 2024)*[4]

The examples from the linguistic landscape underline both the owners' high level of multilingualism and make translanguaging visible in the language use of the public sphere. Both observations may be linked with the Romanian-speaking community in Castelló de la Plana where Amorós-Negre found translanguaging as a phenomenon that is particularly present with the second generation of Romanian speakers (2022, pp. 273–274) and Schulte notes that Spanish is preferred for (spoken) communication in the public sphere (2025, p. 18). Although the issue of authorship in the linguistic landscapes of commercial spaces is very multifaceted (Malinowski, 2009), the linguistic landscapes observed here highlight the importance of Spanish in the commercial setting that are shops which carry Romanian products. The shop owners and supposed authors of the signage presented in Image 1 and

4 Photo "Palma_11.jpg" of the data set.

Image 2, appear to address a supposed reader who understands (written) Spanish and, in the case of the shop in Image 2, Romanian as well. Thereby, not only displaying their own multilingualism but also indicating that of their (imagined) customers. The interplay of the Bulgarian and the Romanian communities in Mallorca remains a subject for future research.

The language domain of public administration appears to be dominated by Spanish from the perspective of the interviewed Romanian speakers. One respondent mentioned that speaking Catalan may evoke sympathies and favorable treatment in this domain (Mihai, 051). Others did not consider Catalan a valuable linguistic resource in this domain and instead underlined the importance of Spanish for all interaction with the state, like Elena who, for instance, mentioned needing Spanish for tax and administration purposes (032).

In the educational domain, Catalan appears in a prominent role. Those with children indirectly encounter Catalan through their children's education and the two respondents from the second generation who migrated to the island as children were directly in touch with the language due to the strong institutional support Catalan receives in the educational system. Romanian on the contrary is not present in the educational system or as extracurricular activities for heritage language speakers; no offers were known to any of the respondents or to be found in an online search. One of the participants from the second generation stated their relationship with Catalan as follows: "*[...] el catalán. Lo asocio a la escuela.*"[[...] Catalan. I associate that with school.] (Anamaria, 019). However, even if the first-generation participants mostly did not report an active use of Catalan, although they claim to understand it, like Ștefan (007) who said "*Mallorquín înțeleg și vorbesc foarte puțin*." [I understand Mallorquín and I speak very little [Mallorquín].]. Thus, for the first generation an exposure to Catalan at least to a certain extent, possibly in the public sphere, may be assumed. Both Catalan and Mallorquín as the glottonyms for the local variety of Catalan appeared in the data set but no comprehensive pattern appeared. The difference in the reported language use of Catalan between the first and the second generation and the reported use of Catalan in the educational system the data set indicates; similar to the friendship domain; a shift towards Catalan in the active repertoire of Romanian speakers from the second-generation onwards.

In terms of language domains, it may thus be seen that Romanian is predominantly used in the family, in the church and in friendships - similar to other Romanian-speaking communities all across Europe (Amorós-Negre, 2022; Cohal, 2024; Dumas, 2024; Merlan, 2021) - with a shared presence with Spanish in all settings. Especially in public settings and administrative interactions, Spanish appears with a prominent role. The examples from the linguistic landscape, support the use of Spanish for outside communication as well as the high degree of multilingualism. As for Catalan, the local language policies, especially in the educational system, seem to take effect when considering that second-generation speakers adopted Catalan to a much broader extent into their language repertoire than their parents' generation.

5. Analysis and Discussion of Language Attitudes towards Romanian, Spanish and Catalan

In this section, we trace the respondents' language attitudes towards their first language Romanian and the surrounding majority languages Spanish and Catalan along three lines of analysis: the affective, the cognitive and the conative dimension. While the affective level covers indications that express feelings, the cognitive level represents beliefs about the three languages and the conative dimension includes expressions of behaviour or intentions (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 4). The three languages are consecutively explored and analysed, starting with Romanian and continuing with Spanish and Catalan. However, it is worth noting that it is not uncommon for the three strands of analysis, the reported attitudes for each language and the possible causes to be overlapping or even contradictory (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 4).

5.1 Language Attitudes towards Romanian

In congruence with the domain distribution, Romanian is described as intertwined with family communication on the affective level. While the participants of the interview study often only indirectly referred to the affective level of their language attitudes towards Romanian, the language portraits particularly enabled the affective perspective. In the language portrait below (Image 3), Diana symbolically drew a heart and placed Romanian at the centre of the heart, speaking to the interpersonal importance of Romanian in the affective dimension. The usage of iconic elements, like

the heart, is common in language portraits. The heart metaphor is often associated with familiarity (Busch, 2018, p. 64). Diana (003) phrased the feeling of closeness like this: "*El rumano es mi. Es mi idioma nativo [...] Pues está dentro de mi corazón, de la cabeza y realmente dentro de todo mi cuerpo*." [Romanian is me. It is my native language [...] It is in my heart, in my head and truly in my whole body.]. It may therefore be said that the language remains of high affective influence although it is absent from the majority of language domains as became apparent in the previous section.

Image 3: *Language portrait by a second-generation Romanian speaker in Mallorca*

The affective and the cognitive level overlap regarding the community building aspect at the Romanian-speaking Christian parish that was visited as part of the current study: It appears as an accepted belief that being able to use and hear Romanian as part of the services attracts new congregation members (Romanița, 002) and creates the sense of connection, calling the church like an "oasis" (Romanița, 002) and like a "family" (Maria, 004). In these metaphors, which speak of community and connection, the participants' affective attitude towards Romanian and its role in the community becomes

evident. At the same time, it shows the belief that a Romanian-speaking space with Romanian as the in-group language acts as a means to attract and include other Romanian speakers. The appeal of a Romanian-speaking space and the affective connection between the first language, Romanian, and the church community is explained by Romanița (006) with the example of congregation members who live in mixed families: "*la parte rumana siente la necesidad de hablar [el rumano].*" [The Romanian part feels the need to speak [Romanian].]. The sense of emotional urgency that is embodied by the expression of "need" and the belief that emotional or spiritual connection are intertwined with the Romanian language resurfaces in connection with the observation by another participant from the parish. A (re-)turn to the Romanian language (and the church) once a certain degree of (economic) stability has been reached is implied: "*Empiezan, que necesitan algo más.*" [They begin to need something more.] (Bogdan, 045). Considering this shift in priorities in terms of linguistic muda presents a promising link for a study with a larger scope.

The distinction that Bogdan draws between the desire to be established in Mallorca and the wish to be part of a community may be analysed in terms of the categories of status and solidarity in language attitudes research. While status is driven by " 'the desire to get ahead in some way' [...]" the driving force of the solidarity dimension is "'the desire to be accepted by [a social] group' [...]." (Woolard, 1989, p. 90 cited in Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 11). In the narratives presented at the church, the initial foregrounding of aspects associated with economic stability and upward social mobility (status) are subsequently superimposed by the wish for attachment and belonging (solidarity).

Aside from the community and solidarity aspect of Romanian in Mallorca, beliefs about the shared Romance roots of Romanian, Spanish and Catalan appeared in the interviews with the first-generation speakers: A sense of belonging in Spain or Mallorca is expressed in allusion to the common Romanian national narrative which associates Romanian with its Latin, and therefore Roman, roots. This linguistic and historical link is used to reason a close connection of Romania with Western Europe and as a consequence for a certain othering of the (South) Eastern European neighbours with Slavic or Finno-Ugric national languages (Murgescu, 2008, p. 315). During the interviews, one participant phrased it like this "*Son como nosotros, son*

latinos [...].“ [They are like us, they are Latins[5].] (Mihai, 089), referring to the majority population in Mallorca. The fact that this connection is pointed out repeatedly by the first generation may be seen in the light of the (Socialist) Romanian curricula which strongly emphasize a teleological historiography based on the Romance roots which was introduced during the 19th century. During the national communism period, starting in the 1970s, these historiographical beliefs were an important part of history classes (Murgescu, 2008, pp. 318–320). It is therefore likely that this narrative was transferred from Romanian classrooms to Mallorca in this way.

The cognitive and the conative level intersect regarding language maintenance and intergenerational transmission with a part of the respondents. While there are no cultural activities aside from religious congregations reported, those with children shared their family language policies and intentions to maintain Romanian on the family level. That the issue of language maintenance more generally appears to be associated with those who have children may be exemplified by the spontaneous reply by one of the respondents when asked about language maintenance activities on the island in general “*noi, nu avem copii*” [“Us, we don’t have children.”] (Iulia, 044). In line with distribution along language domains, parents describe their efforts to expose the children to the Romanian language solely on a private level and are not aware of any language related community activities. Receptive language skills are quoted as markers of language competencies and a source for language maintenance, like in the case of Elena. Her daughter “reads books in Romanian” (006) and - as outlined i more detail regarding media usage in the previous section - Romanian-speaking TV programs are chosen at home “*[...] în românește, pentru că vrem şi fetele să continue cu limba română.*” [[...] in Romanian because we want the children to continue [learning] Romanian.] (029). These skills are considered as crucial for keeping the ability to communicate with family members in Romania intact (Elena, 030). In the case of intergenerational transmission motives from the solidarity dimension appear, just like in the church setting, as a driving force for the continued use of Romanian. In turn, no status variables are presented as reasons for maintaining Romanian in the family language policy. Although a number of the respondents make use of their Romanian language repertoire

5 “Latin” refers to “of Roman descent”, not Latin American.

as part of their professional lives, this motive for intergenerational transmission or language maintenance more generally remains absent from the narratives.

The practice of connecting with other Romanian speakers extends into several spheres outside of family language policies on the behavioural (conative) level. Regular visits to Romania, "[...] *in fiecare an [...]*" [[...] every year [...]] (Mihai, 069) link the behavioural with the affective level. Another practice is that of sending parcels as a material token of connection between family members which is a process described by both Mihai (071) and Iulia (073) but also one of the services offered in the signage in Image 2. The exchange of parcels as a practice between grandparents in Romania and grandchildren abroad was previously described by Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri (2023) as a means to foster a sense of intergenerational connection.

Another behavioural aspect that carries an affective connection and expands from solely linguistic issues is a visit to the Romanian speciality restaurant which was also included in our field work. One of the guests Iulia (027) mentioned coming on her day off to enjoy a traditional soup (*ciorbă*). The engagement with Romanian language and culture on a behavioural level may also be observed with the congregation members at the Romanian-speaking Christian parish who travel from all across the island to join the services (Bogdan, 034). On the note of intentions regarding Romanian, those with children are determined to ensure intergenerational transmission in the family. Others do not seem to set any intentions with regards to their Romanian.

The language attitudes towards Romanian revolve around aspects of family and connection, or the solidarity variable, while the status variable is absent. This may not only form a possible explanation for the relatively low levels of organisation outside of the Christian parishes but it also alludes to the low levels of status and prestige attributed to the Romanian language in the Mallorcan context. Although Romanian is not believed to be appropriate for most language domains, on the affective level a connection to the language is presented by the second generation just as much as by the first generation: be it through the expression in the language portraits or on the behavioural level which shows significant commitment to maintaining ties with Romanian family, friends and culture.

5.2. Language Attitudes towards Spanish

Spanish plays a pronounced role in the language use of all investigated Romanian speakers as shown in the preceding section on language domain distribution. The language attitudes towards Spanish that were expressed by the first-generation speakers are centered around the cognitive and conative dimension rather than that of affection and feelings. However, the respondents convey a sense of ease when describing their navigation of habitual multilingual encounters using Spanish or switching between Spanish and Romanian.

The second-generation Romanian speakers stress the affective importance of Spanish for friendships in their language portraits (cf. Image 3 and Image 4). Diana who created the portrait shown in the section above (Image 3) explained that Spanish had become "*[...] también realmente ya es como mi idioma*" [[...] it has truly already become like my language too.] (003), lifting it to a similar level as her first language Romanian which she also called "her language". In the body silhouette both languages appear next to each other and seem intertwined. While representing the high degree of adoption of Spanish in Diana's language use, this may have been enabled by the attitudes of young Mallorcans who see Spanish as neutral and belonging to no particular group (Castell Orell et al., 2023, p. 245); an attitude which Diana likely shares. Similarly, the respondent who created the language portrait below (Image 4) said that she associates "*casa*" [home], "*amigos*" [friends] and "*cercanía*" [closeness] (Anamaria, 019) with Spanish. The language attitudes of Diana and Anamaria on the affective level align with other second-generation Romanian speakers in Catalonia (Petreñas et al., 2018, p. 12) and the Valencia region (Amorós-Negre, 2022, pp. 273–274) who are reported to adapt linguistically to the majority culture and make use of translingual resources.

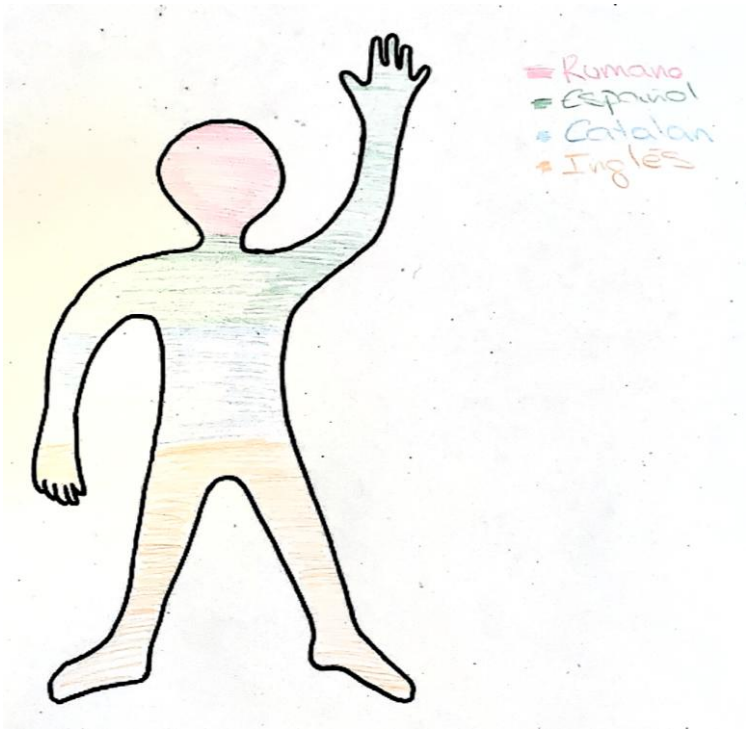

Image 4: *Language portrait by a second-generation Romanian speaker in Mallorca*

Although the first-generation Romanian speakers do not express similarly emotionally charged views, the perceived importance of Spanish for living on the island becomes evident with the cognitive and the conative dimension intersecting: When asked, if they spoke Spanish, two respondents emblematically replied with "*da, normal [...].*" [Yes, of course [...].] (Ștefan, 005) and "*ba, da [...]*" [Well, yes.] (Elena, 032). No resistance to the dominance of Spanish appears to be present with the first or the second generation, similar to Amorós-Negre's observations (2022, pp. 273–274) in the Valencia region.

The common belief, or cognitive expression of attitude, that knowing Spanish is essential for living in Mallorca, is reflected in the ambition to learn Spanish well and the anecdotes that were shared about the efforts to learn the language. The language learning process is recalled by everyone in the first generation even if they had been on the island for many years. For example, Elena remembered starting to learn Spanish before migrating to Mallorca by strategically exposing herself to Spanish-speaking media: "*[...] eu personal*

mă uităm la telenovele în România [...]" [[...] I personally watched telenovelas in Romania [...]] (010). What is more, Spanish is presented as a language that is easy to learn for Romanians - a belief that is also influential in the Romanian community in Spain and present as a reason for migration to Spain (Marcu, 2018, p. 3). Some respondents even presented a timeframe at the point of migration for adults where the language learning process lasts about 6 months to a year. Ştefan (009), for example, presented the time needed for acquiring a basic level of Spanish like this "*[...] noi români suntem [...] undeva la şase luni [...].*" [...] us Romanians, we are [...] at about six months[...].

Romanian as a first language is, thus, perceived as a resource to acquire Spanish and also often connected with an explanation of the shared Romance language roots of both languages, like in Mihai's (082-083) explanation: "*[...] e uşor. Es fácil el castellano. [...] es de latin.*" [[...] it is easy, Castilian is easy. It comes from Latin.]. Hence, the shared linguistic roots of Romanian and Spanish are not only used to argue a sense of belonging in another Romance language speaking place, as outlined in connection with language attitudes towards Romanian in the previous section, it also reappears interlinked with beliefs about language learning. Both motives are in turn connected to the reasons for choosing Spain as a country of migration. That shared Romance roots are prominent among the first generation likely represents the continuation of a common Romanian national narrative and historiography which underscores the Roman heritage in Romania (Dahmen, 2001, p. 727; Murgescu, 2008, p. 315). Similarly, for the second generation no difficulties in learning Spanish are reported. A finding that is shared with Schulte's observations from Castelló de Plana (Schulte, 2025, p. 18) and even Omer's research in France (2023, pp. 130–131) where no difficulties are reported in learning French.

On the conative level, Spanish appears to take on a prominent role, just like in the language domain distribution. Examples on the behavioural level include learning Spanish with Spanish co-workers (Elena, 013) or switching between Romanian and Spanish as needed on social media (Maria, 078). The high level of multilingualism and the competent usage of translingual resources is not only expressed in the signage of the Romanian shop (Image 2) but also in the fieldwork of the present study: To accommodate all data collectors who each disposed of different levels of

Spanish or Romanian, the participants often switched between both languages. Similar to observations for young persons in Mallorca (Castell et al., 2023, p. 174), the initial language most often appears to be Spanish. No new intentions regarding Spanish were mentioned by the participants.

Thus, knowing Spanish when living in Mallorca is just as essential as it seems self-explanatory to the respondents. The perceived importance is reflected in the recalled efforts to learn the language by the first-generation Romanian speakers. The second generation shares characteristics with other second-generation Romanian speakers in Europe (Amorós-Negre, 2022; Cohal, 2024; Merlan, 2021; Petreñas et al., 2018; Schulte, 2025) in being linguistically adapted to the majority language(s) and disposing of translingual as well as transnational resources. Additionally, they seem to share linguistic behaviour with other young people in Mallorca (Castell et al., 2023) and were likely influenced by the commonly held belief that Spanish is an unmarked language that belongs to no particular group (Castell Orell et al., 2023, p. 245). In turn enabling the adoption of Spanish for young Romanian speakers as a language that has become their own.

5.3 Language Attitudes towards Catalan

In the analysis of language use of the previous section, a limited use of Catalan in the different language domains became apparent, especially with regards to the first-generation Romanian speakers. Likely in this way, the affective dimension remains primarily characterised by the respondents as neutral or indifferent. Anecdotes of perceived top-down pressure reflect a certain distancing from the language among the first generation: Romanița (015), for example, reports with a sense of incomprehension on the obligation to know Catalan in medical professions (cf. Ballester Cardell & Marí Mayans, 2021) that she heard about from acquaintances. The second-generation Romanian speakers interviewed for the language portraits presented Catalan as part of their language repertoire with less resistance than the first generation. The first-generation speakers unanimously reported similar statements to Maria's "*Entendemos [...] pero [...] no lo hablamos.*" [We understand it [...] but we don't speak it.] (014).

In this way, the first-generation Romanian speakers in the current study shows similarities to Mallorcan students from countries with strong

monolingual policies who tend to have more negative attitudes towards learning Catalan (Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons, 2019, p. 245) and L3 Catalan speakers at the University of the Balearic Islands who show a higher share of negative attitudes towards the use of Catalan in public spaces (Calafat Vila & Calero-Pons, 2019, p. 252). Indeed, it is possible that language policies from Romania take effect here: The case of the Hungarian minority may act as an example for the monolingual policies in Romania that likely influenced the language attitudes of the first-generation Romanian speakers. Although minorities, such as the Hungarian minority, receive support on certain legislative levels, in practice, Romanian is the unmarked language of communication in most public settings where there is a Romanian majority population (Horváth & Toró, 2018, p. 217).

The similarities of Romanian and Catalan are also quoted as the reason why children with Romanian as their heritage language experience little difficulties in school regarding instruction in Catalan - which a description by a second-generation Romanian speaker on learning Catalan in school supports (Anamaria, 003). In anecdotal reference, parents even recalled their children receiving praise because they allegedly spoke better Catalan than their peers from Spanish-speaking families (Bogdan, 017-018); further underscoring the belief that the Romance language roots of Romanian are of tremendous help for learning other Romance languages, like Catalan.

Nevertheless, for the first generation a language repertoire that includes Spanish (and Romanian) appears to be perceived as sufficient for their lives on the island: "*Înțelegem, și eu și soțul, înțelegem. Dar nu vorbim. Pentru că nu prea avem nevoie.*" [We understand it, myself and my husband too, we understand it. But we don't speak it. Because we don't really need it.] (Elena, 015). It may thus be assumed that the informants share the beliefs of Mallorcan business owners who do not perceive Catalan as a high prestige language on the island (Bruyel-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009); Elena and her husband do not see any need to add Catalan to their productive language repertoire. Other than Garrido (2019) found in Barcelona, the first-generation Romanian speakers do not seem to see Catalan as a pathway for social integration into the local community. This difference should be seen in light of the different status of Catalan in Catalonia and Mallorca. And it should be

further explored if this difference remains present among Romanian speakers in more rural settings of Mallorca.

With regards to the conative level, no intentions are voiced to learn or improve Catalan. Regarding the reported behaviour, a difference between the first and the second generation may be observed: With the exception of Mihai, a highly multilingual respondent who reported strategically using Catalan to interact with public administration (051), the linguistic abilities of the first generation appear to remain on a receptive level, not shifting to the productive level. The second generation, interviewed for the language portraits, appears to switch to Catalan with ease. Diana (019), for example, mentions a trip to Barcelona where she noted a difference between the variety spoken in Mallorca and in Barcelona and adapted accordingly, speaking to her high level of competence in Catalan. The institutional support for Catalan in the educational system which is credited with strengthening similar capabilities in both Catalan and Spanish (Pérez, 2015, p. 54) thus appears to be successful among second-generation Romanian speakers who received their formal education in Mallorcan institutions.

The case of Romanian speakers in Mallorca may thus act as an example for the success of the institutional support of Catalan in the educational system. A more expanded study on Romanian speakers who went through the local school system may deliver further insights on acceptance of such language policies, language learning and the perception of the different varieties of Catalan between the generations and in a minority language group more generally. The reported language attitudes by the second-generation Romanian speakers in this study, reflect the ambition and capability to linguistically adapt, similar to other young Romanians in a Catalan-speaking context (Petreñas et al., 2018, p. 12; Schulte, 2025, p. 18). The expressed beliefs by the first-generation Romanian speakers of this study which, different from the second-generation speakers, attribute a low status to Catalan underscores the implied shift in language use between the generations that became apparent in the connection with the language domain distribution.

Conclusions

The present study investigates the language use and language attitudes of Romanian speakers in Mallorca. It shows how first and second-generation

Romanian speakers navigate between Romanian, Spanish and Catalan in the multilingual setting of Mallorca. While the language use is analysed along the lines of distribution across language domains, the language attitudes are studied using the categories of the affective dimension (feelings), the cognitive dimension (beliefs) and the conative dimension (behaviour/intentions).

In terms of distribution along language domains, the analysis shows a similar development to Romanian communities in other Catalan-speaking areas (Amorós-Negre, 2022; Petreñas et al., 2018; Schulte, 2025) with regard to the use of Romanian: Romanian is primarily found in the family setting and partially within the friends and in church contexts. Spanish, in turn, occupies most of the language domains at least with a shared presence. This is underscored by the observations from the linguistic landscape which indicate Spanish as the language of out-group communication. The educational and parts of the public domain appear to form an exception to the dominance of Spanish. These language domains are where first-generation Romanian speakers report to interact on a receptive level with Catalan, while second-generation speakers make use of Catalan as a productive part of their language repertoire. This difference implies a shift in the language repertoires between the generations.

Language attitudes towards Romanian are shaped by the solidarity variable and particularly linked to local family communication, contact with family members in Romania and the religious context on the affective level. Romanian is also believed to be an important source for learning Spanish and understanding Catalan by the first-generation speakers who underline the shared Romance language roots in the cognitive dimension. This linguistic connection is at the same time used for reasoning a belonging of Romanians in a Romance-speaking environment, like Mallorca.The prominence of these narratives in the conative dimension among first-generation speakers may be linked to historiographies that underline the Roman heritage of Romania, e.g. in Romanian classrooms since the 1970s (Murgescu, 2008).

For Spanish, the language attitudes reflect the results of the language domain distribution in terms of language use and show the dominant role of Spanish. Status variables particularly shape the attitudes of first-generation Romanian speakers who present Spanish as the key language for navigating

everyday life in Mallorca. All first-generation speakers recall the language learning process, underlining the perceived importance of acquiring the language in the cognitive dimension. The second-generation speakers stress the affective dimension of Spanish in their language portraits, showing a high level of adoption of Spanish on all levels of communication.

The language attitudes towards Catalan appear to diverge between first and second-generation Romanian speakers, especially in the cognitive and the conative dimension: Different from the second generation, the first generation largely perceives no need to make Catalan part of their productive language repertoire. On the conative level, this attitude is also reflected in the linguistic landscape which sees no bottom-up usage of Catalan in Romanian-speaking places. The second generation keeps Catalan in their productive language repertoire without any reported sense of resistance. This development may be seen both in the light of institutional support for Catalan in the education sector and as a sign for the strong translingual repertoire of the second-generation Romanian speakers. It also presents a divergence from previous research in Barcelona (Garrido, 2019) which found Catalan to act as a door-opener for Eastern European migrants to a community.

Studying Romanian speakers in Mallorca the current study presents several starting points for further research: The narrative which links the Romance language roots of Romanian with belonging in the affective and the cognitive dimension may be explored in more detail; also regarding its dissemination across different migration contexts.

A future study may also consider the minor role that Catalan plays on the cognitive level among first-generation speakers to explore if this remains present in the rural areas of Mallorca or if this is an urban phenomenon. The implied shift in language use and language attitudes between the first-generation and the second-generation Romanian speakers regarding Catalan also forms a subject for future research with a larger sample size.

Additionally, the issue of intergenerational transmission may be addressed in the frame of a future study. Especially the division between the communicative resonance or affective value that Romanian continues to hold for first and second-generation Romanian speakers and the reported language use. It should be investigated how the affective dimension can be used as a resource for language maintenance practices and heritage language teaching.

The language language use and language attitudes examined for the present study represent perspectives on the multilingual setting of Mallorca. They show the high level of translingual resources of both first-generation and second-generation Romanian speakers and the different roles of Romanian, Spanish and Catalan for the two generations. These experiences link Romanian speakers in Mallorca with other Romanian speakers in Catalan-speaking areas and beyond.

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