

TRANS-FOLK AS CULTURAL RESISTANCE AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION IN PLURINATIONAL SPAIN

El trans-folk como resistencia cultural y reconstrucción de identidades en la España plurinacional

Aina MONFERRER-PALMER 

Universitat de València

ABSTRACT: This article explores Iberian trans-folk, a recent musical phenomenon that revives traditional music through underground and urban aesthetic codes, primarily punk and rave. Based on a corpus of musical collectives active in 2022, the research applies Stratum Theory (Hartmann and Copland) to conduct a six-level semiotic analysis: timbre, rhythm, melody, harmony, lyrics, and audiovisual elements. The results reveal that these groups, such as Califato 3/4, Chill Mafia, and Palmer, reinterpret Iberian periphery identities by blending traditional roots with contemporary expressions and critical values. The study concludes that Iberian trans-folk represents a form of cultural revaluation and resistance against music industry absorption, promoting local identities in a context of global crisis. The prototypical bands of the phenomenon we have studied are Califato 3/4, Rodrigo Cuevas, Chill Mafia, Boyanka Kostova, Baiuca and Palmer.

Keywords: Trans-folk; Traditional music; cultural identity; semiotic analysis; underground music movements.

RESUMEN: Este artículo explora el fenómeno del transfolk ibérico, una corriente musical reciente que retoma elementos de la música tradicional desde códigos estéticos urbanos y underground, principalmente punk y de cultura rave. A partir de un corpus de colectivos musicales activos en 2022, la investigación aplica la Teoría de los Estratos (Hartmann y Copland) para realizar un análisis semiótico en seis niveles: timbre, ritmo, melodía,

armonía, letras y estética audiovisual. Los resultados muestran que estos grupos, como Califato 3/4, Chill Mafia y Palmer, reinterpretan la identidad de las periferias ibéricas fusionando raíces tradicionales con expresiones contemporáneas y valores críticos. Se concluye que el trans-folk ibérico representa una forma de revalorización cultural y resistencia frente a la absorción de la industria musical, promoviendo identidades locales en un contexto de crisis global. Las bandas prototípicas del fenómeno que hemos estudiado son Califato 3/4, Rodrigo Cuevas, Chill Mafia, Boyanka Kostova, Baiuca y Palmer.

Palabras clave: trans-folk; música tradicional; *riproposta*; teoría de estratos; arte de contexto.

1. INTRODUCTION

There are two currents in the use of folklore in contemporary music that can be likened to the currents of architectural restoration: *a*) strict fidelity to the sonorities and the origin of these traditional songs, as they were used centuries ago, or *b*) reinterpreting this folklore from the expressive, material, and sonic codes within the current socio-historical reality. The first current corresponds to the first two modes of treating folklore according to Torrent (1990 [2019]; 2023): the traditional chain and restoration, while the second current would correspond to the *riproposta*.

This dichotomy is portrayed in the dialogue between Clara Fiol and Biel Majoral, two Majorcan musicians from different generations who possess in-depth knowledge of Balearic folklore despite their generational distance¹. On the one hand, Biel Majoral believes that traditional songs must rigorously preserve their original form and singing space, while Clara Fiol, a member of Marala, argues that for the music of oral tradition and folkloric roots to have any chance of survival, it must be used as material to create without sacralising it. She considers this heritage as just another creative material in today's music. In the words of Clara Fiol:

I am in favour of the maximum deconstruction of traditional music, and I believe that this is a form of respect. We had a conversation with Biel Majoral, a prominent

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=imMWKX2yCps> Clara Fiol, with her broad vision of what folklore is and what its space is in today's post-society, affirms that, if we have been in contact with folklore, we can invent new melodies from the traditional melodies of our memory repository and this could even be folklore, as Marala does in some songs or, for instance, Palmer in 'Xiquet de Simat' or in 'Pastora'.

figure in traditional music in Majorca, and he raised several objections and reservations. He is convinced that if traditional music is not sung with a certain effect and in a specific place, it will cease to exist. However, I believe that this world has already perished, and we now live in a frenetic, globalised society. While there is much to learn from our historical ways of life, the reality is that the spaces where these songs were once sung no longer exist; they are confined to a very small segment of society (interview with Clara Fiol, April 2022, unpublished, translated from Catalan).

It is from this angle, also shared by Vicent Torrent (1990 [2019]), member of the Valencian folk group Al Tall, that Iberian trans-folk develops. In the first song of their album *Épic Solete* (2023) titled 'Coti x Coti', which has achieved platinum status with over 13 million streams on Spotify, The Tyets blend reggaeton with *sardana*². However, as has occurred in other cases, a media controversy has arisen over the vulgar language and the use of the Spanish language model in this successful LP by The Tyets. There is also criticism of the vulgar Basque model with constant words taken from Spanish used by Chill Mafia, which, in many songs, is closer to Spanish with Basque interjections than the other way around³.

This paper explores Iberian trans-folk, a musical phenomenon that involves a return to traditional music through underground aesthetic codes, primarily punk and rave. This movement emerged around the year 2020 from initiatives spread throughout the Spanish periphery. Its music combines traditional material with the aesthetic and expressive codes of urban music. While manoeuvres of reappropriation of this aesthetics by the mainstream can be identified, a non-exhaustive map of self-managed musical collectives with horizontal links between them is emerging. These collectives are creating spaces for the reappropriation of traditional music with a critical, ironic, and political edge. This movement is connected both aesthetically and in terms of approaches to current home-produced electronic music.

In order to present a representative sample of this phenomenon, our focus is on a study corpus comprising groups that were active in 2022 and are part of the emerging Iberian trans-folk wave produced with electronics. These groups are

2. <https://www.naciodigital.cat/noticia/261229/the-tyets-disc-de-plati-per-coti-x-coti> This is one of the three recent incursions of Catalan folklore into the mainstream, along with the song 'G3 N15' by Rosalía and the presence of the *castellers* in the music video 'Circus Maximus' (2023) by Travis Scott. Catalan folklore has probably not achieved such worldwide repercussion since Pau Casals' 'Cant dels ocells'.

3. <https://binary.media/chill-mafia-el-euskera-lo-solemos-utilizar-para-que-no-nos-entiendan-si-viene-la-policia/> In a previous work, we studied the paradox of hip-hop in Catalan, where musical groups used the standard language to rap, breaking the expected pragmatic correlation between communicative situation and language model used (Monferrer, 2019).

closely associated with minority languages and geographical varieties of Spanish. The intention is not to establish a closed corpus but rather to compile an open sample of this phenomenon. The selected corpus includes the musical collectives Califato 3/4, Rodrigo Cuevas, Chill Mafia, Boyanka Kostova, Baiuca, and Palmer, all of whom were active during 2022.

In this study, we operate on the following hypothesis: there is currently a proliferation of musical collectives that, through their songs, contribute to the reconstruction of the identity of the Iberian peripheries. These collectives draw inspiration from their roots and blend them with contemporary aesthetic codes. Although we pinpoint the inception of this movement around 2020, it has roots in preceding decades across various Iberian territories. Figures such as Triana, Enrique Morente (García-Peinazo, 2023), or Camarón in Andalusia, Fermín Muguruza with his multiple projects in Euskadi (Peris Llorca 2007), Pomada in Catalonia (Palau i Monferrer-Palmer, 2023), or Orxata Sound System in Valencia serve as precursors to Iberian trans-folk (González Collantes & Lacueva, 2017). Even though these precursors emerged in socio-historical contexts different from the current moment marked by local and global, individual, and collective crises.

2. METHODOLOGY

What renders this new movement — the Iberian trans-folk — cohesive is its emergence in recent years, parallel to the pandemic, and its values, which can be discerned through the lens of contextual art, specifically from the operational art of modal aesthetics (Claramonte, 2011). For the semiotic analysis of the songs, we will employ Stratum Theory, a framework synthesised by Claramonte from Hartmann and Copland (2016, p. 70):

Copland's proposal for the stratification of music aligns seamlessly with that suggested by Hartmann. *Timbre* is intricately connected to the very materiality of musical instruments — the inorganic — while *rhythm* clearly refers to pulsation, to the characteristic beat of the organic. *Melody*, in turn, can only be conceived in relation to the very structure of our psyche, wherein memory plays a fundamental role. The various forms of *harmony* are undoubtedly rooted in conventions and postulates of a cultural and socially objectivised order. It's noteworthy that harmony, although placed last — as stated by Copland — serves as a framework, akin to the central voussoir in a semicircular arch. As the last stone to be placed, it supports all the others (translated from Spanish).

In addition to these four semiotic layers (timbre, rhythm, melody, and harmony), we will introduce two more layers to facilitate a comprehensive multi-modal analysis of the semiotic artifact, namely the song: a fifth layer, semantic, for the analysis of the lyrics; and a sixth layer, semiotic, where we will consider

the audiovisual elements accompanying the song. In the results section, we will revisit this layered analysis for synthesis.

In this study, multiple methodologies for multimodal song analysis have been amalgamated, which can be summarised as: *a*) Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1997) or constructivist rhetoric (Chico Rico, Pujante et al., 2022); and *b*) The analysis of the work of art through the art of context (Claramonte, 2011) in conjunction with Stratum Theory (Hartmann, 1959).

In selecting the corpus, the following inclusion criteria were considered, recognizing that not all groups whose songs were selected meet every criterion, though all meet several:

- Active bands in 2022.
- Self-managed bands from Spain's peripheral, plurinational regions, characterized by a strong network of mutual support. Groups that usually engage in collaborations, remixes and often share producers or designers, contributing to a cohesive yet diverse underground scene.
- Intentional revival of native traditions through the integration of popular electronic music codes.
- Widespread use of queer expressive codes that intersect with traditional elements, challenging conventional heteropatriarcal codes.
- Collectives where political expression rarely appears explicitly in lyrics but manifests subtly across multiple layers of their work, often through irony.

In addition to this primary corpus, the analysis also considered influential precursors and occasional songs from non-prototypical collectives, which have played a significant role in shaping the trans-folk phenomenon.

All analysed musical collectives express themselves from the local to the global and engage in experimentation with electronic music rooted in tradition. In this context, the tradition of proximity emerges as both a creative vein and a pillar of identity. Torrent (1990 [2019], p. 175), in his study of Valencian popular music, identifies three levels of treatment of traditional music from a contemporary perspective: the traditional chain, the restoration, and the *riproposta*. This study specifically focuses on the analysis of a series of *riproposta* within the Iberian scene, which have surfaced since 2019 and continue to be active in 2022⁴.

4. The playlist featuring the songs analysed in this study (with influences considered prior to 2022) can be streamed here: <https://open.spotify.com/playlist/7p7fIV6N8fGniyXUINII6J?si=KJxzbGgoSR2xzGbsn8uykw>

This new Iberian trans-folk aligns with theories of music revival (Bithell and Juniper, eds., 2013), conceptualised as a process of revalorisation of past musical styles. It involves presenting them to a contemporary audience through reinterpretation practices. This process is deeply intertwined with cultural, social, and political dynamics, significantly influencing surrounding identities and discourses.

3. ART OF CONTEXT ANALYSIS

3.1. *Four axes of the emergence of the trans-folk phenomenon*

The emergence of the Iberian trans-folk phenomenon is not accidental and can be primarily explained along four axes.

The first axis relates to the prefix ‘trans-’, going beyond François Lyotard’s classic concept of *postmodernity*, marking the decline of grand narratives and challenging American cultural hegemony. With the demise of the Cold War, Fukuyama predicted a lasting US hegemony, which now appears to be faltering. Even European social-democratic capitalism is no longer perceived as secure, intensifying a sense of ‘no future’ among Western youth. This dynamic influences how they articulate their identity through artistic expression, characterised by irony and postmodern melancholy.

In the second axis, the ‘trans-’ prefix also alludes to the digital-mediated transformation of the current social media context. Here, interactions increasingly occur through social networks rather than in physical public spaces. Physical attendance at protests is often overshadowed by pseudo-protests on social networks. In this trans-pandemic and post-15M era, governed by Ley Orgánica 4/2015 de Protección de la Seguridad Ciudadana, commonly known as the Ley Mordaza (gag law), live concerts take on a significant role as spaces for the effective and affective expression of protests. This, coupled with the challenges posed by the climate crisis and a pervasive sense of societal collapse, contributes to identities entering a state of instability and crisis.

These musical collectives originated and developed within a socio-political context dominated by the pervasive sense of a no-future outlook. This environment is characterised by a scarcity of street protests, dampened by the surge of expressive activities on social networks. Far from succumbing to populism or embracing conventional and innocuous folklore (known as ‘jocfloralista’ in the Catalan-speaking context), Iberian trans-folk aspires to thrive within the realm of diversity. It stands against monolithic, centralist, and conservative identity frameworks. Much like traditional music, pop, folk, and trap have become symbolic channels for the oral transmission of ideologies emerging from grassroots movements, eventually facing absorption by the industry behemoth of the music sector.

In the third axis that underpins the concept of trans-folk, employing Deleuze and Guattari's nomenclature, musical collectives within the trans-folk genre articulate themselves by creating rhizomes rather than planting roots. This approach aligns with the postmodern notion that nothing new can be invented in art (Reynolds, 2013). The trans-folk movement engages in musical deconstruction, particularly in the first layer (timbre) through the technique of sonic collage, i.e., sampling, and in the second layer (rhythm) by imitating traditional rhythms with electronic beats.

The fourth and final axis pertains to the understanding that the label 'trans-folk' does not signify a neo-Romanticism or post-Romanticism movement. The latter were rooted in elitism and conservatism, exemplified by Carlism in Spain, imperialist tendencies in Germany, etc. Such movements were viable during the era of grand narratives but do not align with the current perspective, wherein we observe the emergence of new folklores in times of crisis. Trans-folk is distinguished by a contextual critical attitude embedded in one of the layers of the song or in the practices of a musical collective. It stands apart from traditional folk, which, with its romantic roots, often leans towards conservatism. Traditional folk tends to prioritise the faithful preservation of heritage elements without considering the potential subversion of traditional messages that can be discriminatory (sexist, racist, homophobic, etc.).

3.2. Delocalising and relocalising tradition: aesthetic convergences in Iberian trans-folk

Viewed through the lens of contextual art, Iberian trans-folk aspires to delocalise, relocalise, and contemporise the language of tradition. Despite certain eclecticism, it can be asserted that the movement is aesthetically characterised by an iconography and sonority closely associated with trap, punk (post-punk), and rave culture. Many of these groups share a homemade electronic sonority. Through innovative combinations (such as jota with trap, copla with baile funk, etc.), they forge new avenues for contemplating identity, revisiting, and revitalising the symbolic references of each territory.

In this regard, for example, the artist Verde Prato elevates Kortatu to the pantheon of Basque folklore⁵. Similarly, Palmer, following in the footsteps of Orxata, introduces the techno typical of the Ruta del Bakalao as a characteristic

5. Verde Prato, the musical project of Ana Arsuaga from Toulouse, encompasses a diverse range of influences, spanning from bachata rhythms to Basque folk. Arsuaga demonstrates a remarkable ability to transmute traditional Basque melodies and rhythms into an intimate pop experience

element of Valencian folklore. He also incorporates copla artists like Concha Piquer and renowned Valencian guateque singers such as Nino Bravo or Els Pavesos into this sonic landscape. Along similar lines, the Sevillian collective Califato 3/4 seeks references to their own folklore beyond the widely known, exploited, and commercialised flamenco, which has been a part of the Spanish cultural export for centuries (Farnié, 2018). Furthermore, trans-folk offers a queer perspective on the rural. A paradigmatic example of this is Rodrigo Cuevas, who crafts his trans-folk creations in an Asturian village with fewer than 20 inhabitants.

In summarizing the formal characteristics shared by all these Iberian trans-folk bands, which are active in 2022, self-managed, and hail from the periphery of Spain, we can highlight: *a)* the intent to reclaim autochthonous traditions through the lenses of trap, punk, and rave music, featuring a less polished electronic production that prioritises lo-fi finishes over virtuosity; *b)* the incorporation of new elements into what is traditionally considered autochthonous (such as the infusion of techno and Nova Cançó in the Valencian case, singer-songwriters or radical Basque rock in the Basque case, verbena music in the Galician case, etc.); *c)* the widespread use of queer expressive codes challenging traditional hetero-patriarchal norms; *d)* a non-polemical advocacy, where the political is not confined to the explicit layer of the lyrics but permeates multiple layers of expression; *e)* the self-organization and interconnections between different trans-folk bands, evident in collaborations, remixes, and shared designers or producers, all converging within underground scenes across various regions of Spain.

3.3. Contemporary influences and socio-historical context in Iberian trans-folk

As we navigate the third decade of the 21st century, there exists a tangible need to reassess Iberian territorial identities and modes of operation in response to the post-15M and post-pandemic social shortcomings. These factors have cultivated a sense of frustration among young people, further intensified by the ascendancy of trap music —propelled by the democratization of music production software in recent years, a causal relationship elucidated by authors such as Castro (2019) and Besora and Bagunyà (2018). A sentiment of entering a new era is taking shape in territorial identities, leaving behind the legacy of the Transition, ETA, the myth of progress, and the aftermath of the real estate crisis. In this evolving context, the hegemony of certain traditionalist identity symbols is waning among new generations, necessitating a recalibration of these symbols.

From a post-colonial perspective (Said, 2003; Bhabha, 2002), it is noteworthy that nearly all Iberian trans-folk groups incorporate bases from reggaeton or other styles rooted in Central and South American folklore into some of their songs. For instance, the Basque-Navarrese group Chill Mafia explicitly recognises Tego

Calderón, the Cuban reggaeton artist, as one of their main influences⁶. Similarly, the Galician artist Alejandro Guillán underscores the impact of Central and South American music on his project Baiuca⁷.

Remaining within the Galician sphere, Ivan Ferreiro stands out as a key figure in the commodification of folklore, particularly with the creation of the opening song for the *Fariña* soundtrack—an internationally popular series, thanks to Netflix—featuring the lyrics ‘O que tengo que fazer, pra non ter que ir no mar, sobra peixe que vender e fariña para amasar’ (2018). Before *Fariña*, the theme of drug trafficking had already been explored in Galician cinema, as seen in the film *Entre bateas* (2001), becoming an integral part of trans-folk Galician identity. A notable precursor in this regard is the opening theme of the series *Narcos*, the bolero ‘Tuyo,’ specially composed by Rodrigo Amarante (2015)⁸.

The musical and cultural association with the world of drug trafficking in trans-folk is not coincidental; rather, it functions as a mechanism of enunciative connection between American trap—or gangsta rap—and the music of the youth in the Iberian underground. Notably, both Galicia, the Basque Country, and the Mediterranean coast emerge as key points of entry for drugs owing to their geographical locations. This reality is mirrored in the trans-folk songs originating from these territories.

We observe this precise mechanism, for instance, in the following verses of ‘Críto de lâ Nabahâ’ by Califato 3/4: ‘No me sube la estampita que Curro me ha regalao,’ which links a traditional Catholic element, the holy cards (*estampita*), with LSD cartons, commonly referred to as ‘tripis’ in Spain. The Valencian group Palmer similarly employs this mechanism when dedicating a song from their album *Solatge* (2022) to Xiquet de Simat, a notable Valencian ‘pilota’ player, drug dealer, robber, and businessman in the early 20th century (Usó, 2021). Thus, the processes of decolonisation in American music, marked by the ascent of reggaeton, trap, and other genres from marginalised groups, have left a discernible influence on Iberian trans-folk.

This movement emerges from a distinct socio-historical context, specifically the post-15M era, within a society increasingly centred around smartphones. In this setting, songs become crucial avenues for advocacy, serving as conduits for both the playful elements within the meta-spaces of online communication and the physical revelry spaces such as concerts, festivals, and clubs. The challenges posed by the 2020 pandemic, the severe climate crisis, and the precarious living

6. https://www.eldiario.es/cultura/musica/chill-mafia-tiempos-punki-carinoso-colegas_1_8899582.html

7. <https://jenesaispop.com/2021/05/07/412074/baiuca-influencias/>

8. https://radio.callmefred.com/histoire_chanson/tuyo-rodriago-amarante/

conditions in Spain—including low wages, expensive rents, and uncertainties about the future of the welfare state—intensify this prevailing sentiment, particularly among the youth, who are the primary creators and consumers of avant-garde music.

In the realm of music creation, the diminishing barriers to accessing home production and recording techniques (home studio) have coincided with the surge of urban music. The advent of trap music in Spain since 2017 (with artists like Yung Beef, Kinder Malo, Cecilio G.) has led to the widespread presence of low-cost music productions in the country's most listened-to charts. These occurrences align contextually with the imperative to articulate new minoritised identities through hood rhetoric.

3.4. *Basque trans-folk: Chill Mafia*

Chill Mafia constitutes an artistic collective formed by a tightly-knit group of friends from Iruña. Their organizational structure aligns seamlessly with the art of context: friends with expertise in audiovisuals and music come together to create the Chill Mafia collective. They identify themselves as a 'cuadrilla' (crew), a term that encompasses their roles as singers, DJs, MCs, graffiti artists, producers, and designers. Their musical blend encompasses reggae, dub, reggaeton, hip hop, traditional Basque songs, as well as influences from black and Latin music. Moreover, they effortlessly merge urban and rural universes, combining elements such as 'marmitako' (a traditional Basque dish) with canned beer, tracksuits with 'txapela' (Basque beret)⁹.

In their ironic lyrics, Chill Mafia employs a vulgar Basque model with constant interference from Spanish, a choice that aligns cohesively with the original linguistic register of Atlanta trap and rap culture at large. The use of vulgar and colloquial linguistic registers in music produced in minority languages has not always been well-received, given the considerable influence of the standard model in such contexts (Monferrer, 2019). In Chill Mafia, the urban and the rural seamlessly merge, mirroring a similar amalgamation found in Boyanka Kostova's Galician trap. Consequently, many Iberian trans-folk artists are not entirely comfortable with the label of *urban music*. As Castro notes (2019, p. 36):

Yet, the term 'urban music' is not an ideal fit either, as it serves as a euphemism crafted to culturally appropriate certain musical genres of black origin. Additionally, this expression tends to marginalise and discriminate against the portion of the Spanish music scene that originates not from urban environments, but rather from

9. <https://osopolita.org/artista/chill-mafia/>

the countryside—the realm often referred to as ‘empty Spain,’ as aptly characterised by Sergio del Molino (translated from Spanish).

Their lyrics exhibit a nimble multilingualism, characterised by continuous code-switching that mirrors the colloquial linguistic practices prevalent among groups of young people in Pamplona (Gobierno de Navarra, 2020, p. 27). Noteworthy examples include verses like ‘mueve el culo y gora ETA’ (‘shake your booty and gora ETA’) from the song ‘Barkhatu’, wherein they display a novel construction of identity by treating the now-extinct terrorist group with historical distance and integrating it as a pop culture element.

Chill Mafia may not have come into existence without crucial antecedents in Basque music, particularly revolving around the influential figure of Fermín Muguruza. As one of the pioneers of Basque radical rock and a versatile cultural creator, Muguruza’s impact is noteworthy. A graphic precursor to trans-folk can be traced in the album covers of Kortatu (see fig. 1), particularly evident in their first album, *Aizkolari* (1985), and *A Frontline Compilation* (1983). These covers ingeniously unite traditional graphic references with punk aesthetics. Another significant project involving Muguruza, Negu Gorriak, stands out for their eponymous debut album in 1990, which incorporated hip-hop bases and traditional samples, blended with the sounds of punk rock. While these elements were initially integrated as intros or aesthetic elements, their fusion into the layers of the song was still in its early stages.

The Clash could be considered one of the potential influences on Negu Gorriak. In the late ‘70s, The Clash had already embraced a fusion of black music with Anglo-Saxon sounds, incorporating reggae, rockabilly, ska, among other genres (Reynolds, 2005 [2020], pp. 38-39). In Negu Gorriak, Muguruza replicated The Clash’s manoeuvre, introducing various influences into Basque radical rock across different layers of the song. Notably, this included the incorporation of the endogenous popular tradition.



Figure 1. From left to right: the cover of Kortatu’s album *Aizkolari* (1984), Kortatu’s compilation *A Frontline Compilation* (1988), Negu Gorriak’s first album (1990), and the eponymous album of Selektah Kolektiboa (2000).

In the realm of self-organisation in Basque popular music, the work of Esan Ozenki, the music production company founded by Fermín Muguruza and others, stands out. This platform has supported projects like Selektah Kolektiboa (2000). Chill Mafia emerges as the heir to this legacy, embracing an ironic language more attuned to its context and less ideologically explicit. Similarly, entities like Breaking Bass Records in Andalusia or Raül Refree in Catalonia have played pivotal roles as musical agents, contributing to the development of trans-folk. The functioning of trans-folk aligns with the concept of the underground, as defined by Reynolds (2010, p. 191):

As a concept, the underground does not carry significant political content; it is not tethered to revolutionary aspirations, ideas of utopian social organisation, or counter-cultural ideals (beyond a libertarian attitude towards drug use). Not explicitly anti-capitalist, undergroundism embodies the struggle of micro-capitalist entities (independent labels, small clubs) against macro-capitalism represented by the mainstream leisure and entertainment industry (translated from Spanish).

3.5. *Andalusian trans-folk: Califato 3/4*

The band Califato 3/4 emerged from the collaboration of groups within the electronic music scene in Seville, all affiliated with the Breaking Bass Records label. Their musical fusion incorporates elements from hip hop, rock, electronic, flamenco, and various folkloric expressions, all presented with a rave aesthetic. Califato 3/4's songs actively promote pride in Andalusian cultural identity, including the utilisation of their language model, traditionally considered vulgar within the Spanish language. Notably, they even employ an Andalusian spelling in the transcription of lyrics and graphic communication.

Califato 3/4 has released their music through the Sevillian label Breaking Bass Records. Apart from Califato 3/4, Breaking Bass Records has been the launchpad for numerous musical projects with a trans-folk reference, including Kid Cala (EP *Moonlight*, 2022) and Le Parody (EP *Trilla*, 2022)¹⁰. In their subsequent albums, *Puerta de la C  nne* (2019) and *La Contra  e  a* (2021), Califato 3/4 presents a more consolidated sound. They initially released *La Contra  e  a* on Bandcamp (28 February 2021, Day of Andalusia) before making it available on other streaming platforms, a decision motivated by a belief in fairer compensation for artists compared to platforms like Spotify. This gesture aligns with the art of context, reflecting the political implications in the practices of music collectives. It resonates, for instance, with the approach of the Valencian collective Orxata

10. <https://breakingbassrecords.bandcamp.com/>

Sound System (2003-2014), which, for the same reason, never published its music on Spotify (González Collantes & Lacueva, 2017).

3.6. *Galician trans-folk: Boyanka Kostova and Baiuca*

Boyanka Kostova, a Galician duo, is renowned for their musical project featuring ironic lyrics that blend urban and folk music—such as trap with *muiñeira*. If Chill Mafia can be seen as heirs to Negu Gorriak, Boyanka Kostova follows in the footsteps of Galician punk rock bands from the 80s, like Siniestro Total. Originating from Santiago de Compostela, they have become a pivotal presence in Galician trans-folk trap. Their debut album, *Vella Canción Galega* (2018), introduced a fusion of urban music with traditional folk. Just over a year later, they delved into various musical genres, including drill, reggaeton, *muiñeira*, funk, combined with hip hop and traditional samples, in the LP *Os dous de sempre*. This album was named the Galician Album of the Year 2020 by *Mondosonoro*¹¹.

Ortiga, the solo project of Manuel González (Chicho), one of the members of Boyanka Kostova from Santiago de Compostela, seamlessly blends Caribbean influences with urban music, infused with the rich tradition of Galician *verbenas* deeply rooted in local festivals. In the track ‘Acostumbrao’, they collaborate with Grande Amore, a notable figure in the Galician post-punk scene, who is also active in the national indie festival circuit, alongside other post-punk groups such as La Élite (Lleida) or La Plata (Valencia), among others. It’s noteworthy that this post-punk scene often overlooks its own traditional roots; only in some minor instances do they compose lyrics in their own language or incorporate traditional references in certain layers of their songs. Additionally, Ortiga and Grande Amore joined forces to release an EP of techno music titled *Los Rastreadores* (2021).

Strengthening their connection with the *verbena* tradition, in 2023 Ortiga collaborated with Pili Pampín, a renowned artist in Galician circles with a career spanning since the early ‘90s. Their joint effort resulted in the LP *Ortiga y Pili Pampín*, where they infused popular pieces from the Galician songbook with the lively spirit of the *verbena*.

The more house-oriented facet of Galician trans-folk is embodied by Baiuca, the musical project helmed by Alejandro Guillán, hailing from Catoira. Guillán initiated the project by extracting and melding details from his assortment of traditional records to construct a sample library encompassing traditional voices, tambourines, ‘conchas’, flutes, and bagpipes. Baiuca amalgamates the spirituality

11. <https://www.mondosonoro.com/blog-musica/2020-mondo-sonoro-galicia-castilla-y-leon/>

and mysticism of Galician tradition with ambient atmospheres, house beats, and the dynamism of techno.

His initial mixtape, *Faiado*, was unveiled in May 2017, accompanied by videos crafted by Adrián Canoura, a video artist who has also collaborated with other musical collectives within the trans-folk genre, including Guerrero, Nistra, Blanco Palamera, and Ronroneo. With his album *Solpor* (2020), Baiuca refined his proposition, transcending electronic pop music and establishing connections with artists such as Nicola Cruz (Ecuador and France), El Búho (Argentina and Mexico), and Chancha Vía Circuito (Argentina)¹². Galician trans-folk incorporates the Latin American tradition as a component of its identity, acknowledging the migratory history of the Galician people, which has fostered numerous cultural exchanges. This mirrors how, for instance, the habanera from Cuba is integral to the traditional music of certain Catalan-speaking regions (Torrent, 1990 [2019], p. 89).

3.7. Asturian trans-folk: Rodrigo Cueva

Rodrigo Cuevas is an Asturian musician who delivers an exuberant, danceable, and queer trans-folk riproposta. In his visual performance, he embraces an aesthetic that defies binary gender norms. Cuevas asserts that he draws inspiration from the landscape of a small village with fewer than 20 inhabitants in Conceyu de Piloña, where he resides. The visual aspect of his project incorporates queer aesthetics, ranging from transvestite styles with ‘tonadillera’ influences and vogue touches to Queen-inspired aesthetics—all while staying rooted in traditional Asturian elements.



Figure 2. A photograph from Rodrigo Cuevas' website and two frames from music videos that illustrate his queer visual language.

12. Collaborative song between Baiuca and El Búho ‘A Minha Fraga’ (2020): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CrDhXbva-k&t=5s>. Collaborative song between El Búho and Chancha Vía Circuito ‘Sueno en Paraguay’ (2013), both groups are self-acknowledged influences by Baiuca: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5PCuUQYKfw>

Cuevas acknowledges the importance of his musical training at the conservatory, enabling him to comprehend musical codes and explore different harmonies. Despite surpassing the boundaries of classical academic music in his creations, it's worth noting that a characteristic of Iberian trans-folk, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, is its underground expression. Therefore, conservatory technique and instrumental virtuosity may distance the authors from the aesthetics and methods associated with this specific contextual revival identified as Iberian trans-folk.

In this context, projects like *Le Parody* or *Ruiseñora*, which blend electronic music with folk and other genres to create original sounds and timeless lyrics that subvert tradition, share proximity with trans-folk. However, they might not fully align with the genre due to the vocal virtuosity of their performers. For instance, the album *Tercer cielo* by Rocío Márquez and Bronquio (2022) stands as an aesthetic milestone in Andalusian trans-folk, weaving together flamenco vocals and electronic music. Although published by the mainstream label Universal Music Spain, it could be considered somewhat peripheral to the movement we are addressing. On the Catalan or Valencian front, there are projects that blend tradition with modernity, maintaining a prevalent vocal virtuosity over electronic arrangements. Examples include *Marala*, *Sandra Monfort*, *La Maria*, *Maria Arnal*, or *Tanxugueiras*.

3.8. *Catalan or Valencian trans-folk: Palmer*

Palmer is a Valencian musical project led by Jordi Palau and Aina Monferrer, taking an unconventional approach that reimagines Valencian tradition through a punk and rave aesthetic, accompanied by an experimental techno live performance. They actively contribute to crafting a symbolic space where tradition is playfully deconstructed. Similar to the Valencian group *Orxata Sound System* (2003-2014), of which Jordi Palau was a member, *Palmer* incorporates the distinctive techno sounds of *Sonido de Valencia* (Oleaque, 2017) into the fabric of Valencian popular music. This fusion includes elements such as *cants de batre*, *jotas*, *copla*, or lullabies from the Valencian folk songbook.

Palmer collaborated with *Califato 3/4* on Volume I of remixes for *La Contraçena* (2022), offering their version of 'Pascual Márquez 33'. The two groups first crossed paths during the 2019 and 2020 editions of the *Emac* festival in Borriana. This festival has been a hub for various trans-folk artists, including *Ruiseñora*, *Maria Arnal*, *Baiuca*, *Rocío Márquez*, and *Lorena Álvarez*. Participating in such festivals, where they share the stage with other Iberian trans-folk acts, plays a crucial role in fostering a cohesive musical scene within this contextual art movement.

4. RESULTS

After analysing all the data, it is coherent to assert the existence of a recent phenomenon involving musical collectives situated in the peripheries of the Spanish state. Through their music, these collectives contribute to the reconstruction of identity beyond centralist uniformity. The movement, which we term Iberian trans-folk, reinterprets traditional elements using contemporary technical resources and adopts a postmodern mode of expression. This semiotic operation updates the territorial identities of the state's peripheries, connecting them to anti-racist, LGBTQI+, and post-colonial values. Rooted in punk, rave, and trap aesthetics, the core of Iberian trans-folk tends to self-organise outside mainstream cultural industry structures, engaging in affinity groups, collectives, cultural exchanges, collaborations with like-minded artists, and the organization of small festivals and concerts in unconventional venues. In the Iberian trans-folk scene, the following cultural focal points can be identified:

a) The Basque scene, exemplified by groups like Chill Mafia existing in a double periphery from Pamplona, along with other manifestations close to trans-folk such as Verde Prato, Gorpuzkingz, or Merina Gris, contrasts with the radical Basque rock of the 1990s. Notably, none of these groups explicitly express political claims in their lyrics. Instead, they shift their politicisation towards ways of doing things and employ enunciation mechanisms with subtle subversion, such as irony. This approach helps them avoid the inherent sententiousness often associated with traditionalist nationalism. Interestingly, members of Chill Mafia express frustration about feeling compelled to make political claims in their music solely because they perform in Basque. Ironically, they describe their music as 'K-pop subsidised by the Basque government'¹³.

b) The Andalusian scene showcases Califato 3/4 as a paradigmatic group within the trans-folk movement. Other notable agents in this movement include the project of the producer Bronquio with Rocío Márquez, as well as Le Parody. Antecedents of Andalusian electronic trans-folk can be traced from the tonadilleras (Rocío Jurado, Carmen Sevilla, Isabel Pantoja, Lola Flores) to the fusion of flamenco and electronica that has existed since at least the 1970s. Examples include Camarón's *Leyenda del tiempo*, multiple projects of Kiko Veneno, Enrique Morente's *Omega*, groups like Triana (from which the Sevillian group Derbi Motoreta's Burrito Cachimba draws inspiration), and the Sevillian rap metal group Narco, in which Curro, a former co-founder of Califato 3/4, is a member. In Extremadura trans-folk, which also incorporates Canarian influences, Ruiseñora stands out, with connections to Califato 3/4 and Le Parody.

13. <https://acero.metalmagazine.eu/post/chill-mafia-txapelas-con-chandal-y-autotune>

c) In the Galician scene, Boyanka Kostova emerges as a key player in the trans-folk movement, with one of its members also contributing to the Ortega project. These trans-folk collectives in Galicia assert their identity by blending rap, verbena, and Caribbean influences, reflecting the migratory connection between Galicia and Latin America. They proudly incorporate these features into the fabric of contemporary Galician culture, seamlessly intertwining them with traditional Galician genres like the muiñeira. Baiuca, another notable name in the Galician trans-folk landscape, embraces a more domesticated aesthetic, bordering on house and ambient, yet maintaining a strong presence within trans-folk consumption circuits¹⁴.

d) In the Catalan context, the Valencian collective Palmer stands out as the project that best embodies the Iberian trans-folk label, particularly in light of their second LP, *Solatge* (2022)¹⁵. Jordi Palau, a member of the now-defunct Valencian collective Orxata Sound System, is part of Palmer, bringing with him a legacy of pioneering the fusion of folk and electronic music in Catalan during the early 2000s¹⁶.

In *Solatge*, Palmer incorporates references from postmodern Valencian folklore, including Nino Bravo, Concha Piquer, el Titi, Joan Monleon, or Manuela Trasobares, alongside figures like the medieval preacher Sant Vicent Ferrer or samples from the Misteri d'Elx. The album assimilates Bakalao into its own folklore. Furthermore, just as radical Basque rock of the '90s spread to other cultures like Valencia (Obrint Pas, La Gossa Sorda), now Valencian electronic music from the Ruta del Bakalao or Sonido de Valencia has become a reference in the trans-folk songs of other territories (Chill Mafia, Califato 3/4, Bronquio, or Boyanka Kostova).

However, the trans-folk movement is not yet well-articulated in other peripheral Iberian geographies, such as Castilian and Aragonese territories. Initiatives akin to the trans-folk riproposta, which we have been discussing, seem not to have taken root there. Instead, traditional music in these regions continues to manifest

14. Among the interconnections of trans-folk, we highlight the pasodoble mixed with funk dance (funk carioca) in 'La magia de tu melena' (2021) by Ortega and Rodrigo Cuevas. On the other hand, the Galician Tanxugueiras serve as an example of how the mainstream music industry appropriates trans-folk ideas, as they were on the verge of representing Spain at Eurovision 2022 with a song in Galician.

15. <https://www.enderrock.cat/noticia/24094/aina-palmer-recuperem-referents-ruta-bakalao-es-recuperen-poemes-ausias-march>

16. Catalan projects mixing folklore and electronic music came together in the early 2000s at the FONA festival (Festival de Música Electrónica Aborigen): <https://www.enderrock.cat/noticia/762/segona-edici-oacute-fona-festival-uacute-sica-electr-ograde-nica-abor-iacute-gen>

itself primarily in the context of chain and restoration, according to Torrent's classification (1990 [2019], p. 175).

4.1. *When mainstream absorbs trans-folk*

The opposition to this current of Iberian trans-folk, self-managed and post-modern, would be projects in which the capitalist dynamics of the music industry reabsorb these ideas to capitalise on them. This pattern has occurred with numerous other genres such as punk, techno, grunge, or trap. In Fisher's words (2009, p. 13): 'Kurt Cobain knew that he was just another piece of spectacle, that nothing runs better on MTV than a protest against MTV.'

C. Tangana can be interpreted as a kind of antagonist of trans-folk by reappropriating the stylistic ideas of this movement to bring them to the core of the music industry from his enunciative self-located in the epicentre of Spanishness. For example, in the song 'Demasiadas Mujeres,' which opens his album *El Madrileño* (2021), C. Tangana includes Holy Week icons. His music is articulated from the Madrid identity constructed largely on the basis of the reappropriation of referents from Andalusian culture, and it is released under the multinational label Sony Music Entertainment.

Furthermore, in 2023, C. Tangana published a Celta de Vigo anthem with aesthetic sound codes that refer to Galician electronic folklore. He attributes his link with the team to the fact that his father was a Celta fan¹⁷. Another similar case would be that of the album *Fuerza Nueva* (2019) by El Niño de Elche with Los Planetas, in which the folkloric reference is used as creative material with no intention of contextual art or social commitment¹⁸.

As a paradigmatic case of overcoming linguistic self-hatred (Ninyoles, 1978) in Spanish pop, it is worth highlighting the change in the use of linguistic variety by Juan Ramón Rodríguez Cervilla (Jota), the Granada-born singer of Los Planetas. From the beginning of his career in the mid-1990s until 2017, Jota used neutral Spanish. It was in 2017, with his album *Zona Temporalmente Autónoma*, when the singer reconciled with his diatopic variety, embracing his accent from Granada, and stopped hiding it in his singing. This coincided in time with his interest in introducing the traditional Andalusian element into other layers of the song. Around this time, Spanish indie music began to explore the creative possibilities of folklore, with Los Planetas leading the way alongside key Spanish indie pop artists such as La Bien Querida and Nacho Vegas.

17. 'Oliveira dels cen anos' (2023) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_6f0JQOfM8

18. Two anti-heroes of Iberian trans-folk like C. Tangana and the Valencian Niño de Elche collaborate on songs like 'Tú me dejaste de querer', from *El Madrileño* (2021).

The interrelations between trans-folk and mainstream music are becoming more constant, indicating the music industry's interest in this resource. An example of this is the Catalan lullaby 'La mare,' performed by Valencian former Operación Triunfo contestant Alba Reche and produced by Baiuca. In this case, the singer's limited knowledge of her own language is evident in the Spanish pronunciation of words like 'fills' such as /fil/, among other signs of cultural alienation.

On the contrary, an example of the reappropriation of Iberian folklore by a mainstream singer, based on information, respect, and mediation by endogenous artists, is Rozalén's album *Matriz* (2022). In this album, the singer from Albacete includes songs in Asturian ('Te quiero porque te quiero,' featuring Rodrigo Cuevas), Galician ('A virxe do Portovello,' featuring Tanxugueiras), Catalan ('Amor del bo,' featuring Sílvia Pérez Cruz), or Basque ('Xalbadorren Heriotzean')¹⁹.

5. FINAL REFLECTION: THE IBERIAN TRANS-FOLK FROM THE STRATUM THEORY PERSPECTIVE

We now revisit the Stratum Theory explained earlier to apply it to the songs and groups analysed in this study. The first stratum, the most basic, is that of the inorganic (Hartmann), which aligns with timbre according to Copland's classification. In her album produced by Raúl Refree, *El mal querer* (2019), Rosalía utilises samples (sound collages based on remnants of duly processed real recordings) of everyday sounds to incorporate semiotic elements from the real world into her narrative—a resource she also employs in *Motomami* (2022)²⁰.

In this lowest layer, noteworthy trans-folk producers, such as the Valencian Blu Boi²¹, sample iron noises, engines, old bed springs, and other sounds from autobiographical rural environments, integrating them into their beats²². These sonic textures, where the material and the synesthesia produced by almost tactile

19. In this same album, Rozalén carries out an exercise of subversion of song lyrics to update the lyrics of 'Pichi', the popular chotis: https://www.elespanol.com/eldigitalcastillalamancha/cultura/20221127/rozalen-cambia-pichi-madrid-convierte-feminista-quedado/721677849_0.html

20. A clear reference for this technique in international folk electronica is the music of the aforementioned British artist of Tamil descent M.I.A. For example, in 'Paper Planes', which became popular on the soundtrack of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008), Diplo, M.I.A.'s producer, builds the beat (the rhythmic base) with samples of gunshots combined with a cash register opening: <https://open.spotify.com/track/1ixbwbeBi5ufN4noUKmW5a?si=af47d021fb064ddf>

21. Blu Boi, apart from his own project *Jove x sempre* (2021), has produced for Palmer and Sandra Monfort on the trans-folk scene, as well as for María Escarmiento, a former Operación Triunfo contestant, on the mainstream scene.

22. For example, the beat of the song 'OtraVez' includes the sound of a spring bed: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VnYlg8KcDWo>

noises are prominent, can be heard, for example, in Palmer's songs like 'Aixarquía,' 'Pastora,' or 'Llombriu,' all produced by Blu Boi.

The second layer, starting from the bottom and described by Hartmann as organic, aligns with rhythm in Copland's classification. Rhythm, a fundamental element in traditional music for synchronising everyday cadential activities (such as putting a baby to sleep) or collective tasks (like ploughing, washing, kneading bread), is reclaimed in trans-folk. Traditional rhythms can be directly recovered with their original instrumental sonority (timbre), or they can be recreated using electronic sounds, as demonstrated by Baiuca. In other instances, traditional rhythms are preserved but translated into electronic timbres using tools like a drum machine (e.g., Roland 808, 909) or a Digital Audio Workstation (DAW). Examples of this approach can be found in the EP *Palmerita Palmerita* (2023) by Ruiseñora or *Trilla* by Bronquio featuring Le Parody (2022).

The third layer corresponds to the realm of the psyche or memory, as per Hartmann. Melody, according to Copland, is what remains most memorable in songs over time. Notably, neuroscience research has shown that Alzheimer's patients tend to lose the ability to speak earlier than their ability to recall melodies (Baird et al., 2019). Additionally, anthropologists posit that the human capacity for both verbal and musical communication likely evolved simultaneously (Patel, 2008). Undoubtedly, melody is intricately connected to verbal phrasing. Since at least the Romantic era, melodic phrases have been perceived as units of meaning in a musical composition, establishing a parallel with grammar that bridges the third and fifth strata.

In trans-folk, melodies of tonadilleras and coplistas are elevated to the canon of traditional music in Spanish villages. A notable example is Califato 3/4's EP *Lola* (2023), dedicated to songs by Lola Flores. The merchandising for this EP is designed by Branca Studio, a Catalan designer who is actively contributing to shaping the aesthetics of the trans-folk scene. Branca Studio has created poster and cover designs for various groups, including Baiuca, Califato 3/4, Chill Mafia, and Palmer²³.

The fourth layer corresponds to the cultural or social-objectified in Hartmann's classification, which aligns with harmony in Copland's terms. The sensation of harmonic beauty in Western taste is generated by stable and progressive classical chords that tradition marks as correct. However, this perception is rooted in the relativity of social learning and a specific historical tradition rather than a universal beauty (Patel, 2008). In the trans-folk productions analysed, there is a tendency towards minimalism. Therefore, apart from the aforementioned groups that focus

23. <https://www.brancastudio.com/ca>

on polyphonic a cappella singing, the production tends to minimise harmonies, giving more weight to the rhythmic and melodic elements, representing the second and third strata.

We add a fifth layer, indispensable for the analysis of the multimodal artifact song: the lyrics. This fifth layer can be combined with the other four and with the song unit in different senses, ranging from the play of contrast to semantic continuity with the music (Conforte & Dolz, 2023). Thus, there are multiple relations and directionalities of meaning between the song and the lyrics, which, in turn, can trigger meaning towards the light or the transcendental. In Iberian trans-folk, we find a tendency towards subtle subversion of meaning, such as irony. Although it is not a closed movement, we have been able to identify a tendency among collectives in Iberian trans-folk that operate within the art of context with a clear awareness of their socio-historical situation, as outlined in this study.

6. REFERENCES

- Baird, A., & et al. (Eds.). (2019). *Music and Dementia: From Cognition to Therapy*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190075934.001.0001>
- Besora, M., & Bagunyà, B. (2018). *Trapologia*. Ara Llibres.
- Bhabha, H. (2002). *El lugar de la cultura*. Manantial.
- Bithell, C., & Hill, J. (Eds.). (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199765034.001.0001>
- Chico Rico, F., & Pujante, D. (2022). *Una retórica constructivista. Creación y análisis del discurso social*. UJI.
- Castro, E. (2019). *El trap. Filosofía millennial para la crisis en España*. Errata Naturae.
- Claramonte, J. (2016). *Estética modal, libro segundo*. Tecnos.
- Claramonte, J. (2011). *El arte de contexto*. Nerea.
- Conforte, A., & Dolz, J. (2023). A letra de canção como componente de um complexo semiótico alguns pressupostos teóricos e uma proposta didática. *EntreLetras*, 14, 92-110. <https://doi.org/10.20873/uft2179-3948.2023v14n1p92-110>
- Farnié, D. (2018). Invención y reinversiones de la identidad flamenca. In Archilés (Ed.), *No solo cívica. Nación y nacionalismo cultural español*. PUV.
- Fisher, M. (2009). *Capitalist Realism. Is there no alternative?* Zero Books.
- García-Peinazo, D. (2023). Un género en disputa: Flamenco, autenticidad y política en las revistas españolas sobre música popular urbana (1962-1976). *Resonancias*, 27(52), 157-178.
- Government of Navarra. (2020). Datos sociolingüísticos de Navarra, 2018. https://gobiernoabierto.navarra.es/sites/default/files/estudio_soilinguistico_2018.pdf
- González Collantes, C., & Lacueva, M. (2017). Orxata Sound System. Música local, libre, colectiva y cooperativa. *Kamchatka. Revista de análisis cultural*, 9, 373-396. <https://doi.org/10.7203/KAM.9.10140>

- Monferrer, A. (2019). Pragmaestilística del discurs del hip-hop en valencià. *Comunicació: Revista de Recerca i d'Anàlisi*, 36, 51-69. http://revistes.iec.cat/index.php/TC/article/view/145791/pdf_1516
- Ninyoles, R. (1978). *El conflicte lingüístic valencià*. Eliseu Climent.
- Palau, J., i Monferrer-Palmer, Aina (2023) Futur postfolk. En *Sarau. Cultura popular per a la transformació social*. Caliu.
- Peris Llorca, J. (2007). Las redes de una globalización alternativa: Fermín Muguruza en el cruce de caminos. *Arrabal*, 5-6, 281-291.
- Patel, A. D. (2008). *Music, language, and the brain*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/mp.2009.26.3.287>
- Reynolds, S. (2010). *Después del rock*. Caja Negra.
- Reynolds, S. (2013). *Retromanía*. Caja Negra.
- Said, E. (2003). *Orientalismo*. Debolsillo.
- Torrent, V. (2019). *La música popular*. Institució Alfons el Magnànim.
- Torrent, Vicent (2023) *Sobirania Musical. Reflexions des de la perspectiva d'Al Tall*. Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant.
- Usó, J. C. (2021). *Arroz, horchata y cocaína*. Matrioska.
- Van Dijk, T. (Ed.). (1997). *Discourse Studies. A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Sage. (Spanish translation published by Gedisa, Barcelona, 2001). <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446289068>