

### ***Master Thesis***

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**Title of the thesis:** Effects of Language Ideologies on Learning a Minoritized Language: Argentinian Potential New Speakers of Catalan in Mallorca

### **Abstract**

The factors affecting the acquisition of a second language have been widely studied. However, language ideologies have not been considered alone as a factor influencing this acquisition. Moreover, previous research states that potential new speakers of a minoritized language are confronted with extra difficulties in this process of acquisition. Hence, in this research I want to know whether language ideologies affect learning a minoritized language by conducting research in Mallorca. My aim is to focus on the effects, if any, of the language ideologies of adult

Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca to better manage this possible effect in Mallorcan language policies. Therefore, I am specifically focusing on immigrant potential new speakers. To a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, I will conduct semistructured interviews and open-code and analyze them. I will base my analysis on the micro level, as I will be asking for interviewees' experiences.

## **Keywords**

Language ideologies, Argentinian, Mallorca, Balearic Islands, Catalan, minoritized languages, L2 acquisition, new speakers.

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## 1. Research problem statement

Modern nation-states use a set of strategies to create their imagined communities based on an ideologically-laden social discourse. One of these ideologically-laden discourses is about language. In our contemporary society, these language discourses flow around the globe, usually unconsciously, together with the people who carry them in the form of language ideologies. Due to their usually unconscious appearance, those people who move from one point to another of the globe may continue acting according to them into the host society. Some discourses about those languages that have experienced colonization processes, the minoritized languages (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaría, 1999; Álvarez Cáccamo, 1991, as cited in DePalma, 2015), might affect their vitality and, therefore, hinder language diversity around the globe.

This is the case of Catalan, which, despite the efforts of the revitalization policies after being pushed into the margins during Franco's dictatorship, continues in a critical vitality because still the colonization discourse persists and there is a dominant-dominated relationship between Spanish and Catalan, respectively, in the Catalan speaking territory. These sociolinguistic dynamics trigger the acquisition of Catalan by non-Catalan speakers, who here will be called potential new speakers in an attempt to challenge traditional and hierarchical concepts such as foreign speakers or non-native speakers (Extra, Spotti & Van Avermaet, 2009; O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015; Spotti, 2011). Hence, I want to investigate whether, despite the sociolinguistic dynamics of Catalan in Mallorca, there is an impact of the language ideologies of potential new speakers of Catalan on learning Catalan. Further explanation on this will be provided in the following sections.

I strongly believe that this research can contribute with new knowledge in the sociolinguistic field and it can have an impact on the language policies in Mallorca. Governmental language policies in Mallorca aim to spread the use of Catalan around its linguistic territory. New speakers are one of the target populations in order to achieve this, as they can contribute to change language use and attitudes. Therefore, increasing the knowledge about the factors that may promote the adhesion of these potential new speakers to Catalan language, not only will contribute with a greater knowledge for policy makers when designing language policies in Mallorca, but it will also consequently contribute to the improvement of potential new speakers' life conditions, as well as to the maintenance of the linguistic diversity in Mallorca.

A literature review was carried out in order to find previous studies regarding the impact

of language ideologies of potential new speakers and learning a minoritized language in the host society. Some studies have been found regarding Welsh new speakers and their motivation to learn Welsh (Rosiak, 2018) or about the construction of the identity as a new speaker of Welsh (Selleck, 2018). Others regarding the concept of new speaker in a Catalan territory have also been used as a basis for this research (Ó Riagáin, 2008; Pieras-Guasp, 2002; Tudela, 2016; Villaverde, 1995; Waas, 2008). However, no previous research that specifically addresses the possible impact of language ideologies in acquiring Catalan in Mallorca has been found. Hence, this is the gap that this research addresses. On the one hand, a lot of effort has been put in social sciences to study the underlying language ideologies in the social discourse (Blommaert, 2005) as well as in knowing the attitudes towards minoritized language speakers (Ó Riagáin, 2008; Pieras-Guasp, 2002; Tudela, 2016; Villaverde, 1995; Waas, 2008). On the other hand, there are recent studies from Lou and Noals (2019, 2020) about immigrants' mindsets. Moreover, a lot of research regarding the fact of learning a new language and the factors that affect the learning process of a new language has been conducted (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Clément, 1980; DePalma, 2015; Dörnyei, 1990; Gardner et al., 1989; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Higgins, 2010; Menezes, 2013; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001; Schumann, 1986; Skehan, 1991; Wang, 1999; Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012) under concepts like 'second language', 'L2', 'learner', 'non-native', or 'non-mother tongue' as oppositional constructs to terms such as 'native', 'mother tongue', 'first language', 'L1', and 'primary language' (Cook, 2002; Ekstrand, 1976; Murchadha et al., 2018; Pavlenko, 2002).

On the one hand, language ideologies are understood as multiple ideas about language structure and language use produced by positioned individuals, groups and/or institutions in a socioeconomic and political system indexing unequal power dimensions and linking those ideas with personal and/or group's identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology (Blommaert, 2006; Boix & Woolard, 2020; Kroskrity, 2014; Woolard, 1992; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 2021). On the other hand, from the factors influencing L2 acquisition, I choose motivation, individual agency, reasons to acquire L2, language aptitude, affective factors, ethnolinguistic vitality, intergroup relations, social competition and input factors, because they are in a previous step of the beginning of the acquisition process. Indeed, language ideologies are treated as a factor affecting all the previously mentioned factors.

The targeted population are adult Argentinians living in Mallorca that do not speak Catalan, as they are the second biggest group of people born abroad of Spain and residing in Mallorca.

Nevertheless, I also take into account people born in Argentina and living in Mallorca who do speak Catalan or understand it to see if there is actually this impact of language ideologies on learning Catalan. Thus, it is arguable that I choose this migrant group, also taking into account that I already did my bachelor's thesis based on the first biggest migrant group residing in Mallorca: people born in Morocco. The results of that study pointed towards the necessity of the creation of a welcoming network in Mallorca and its villages, among others.

According to the Balearic Institute of Statistics (IBESTAT), 20,357 people from the 912,171 living in Mallorca are Argentinians. Several historical facts, such as continuous succession of unstable Argentinian governments since 1930; the fall of the government of Juan Domingo Perón in 1955; and the beginning of a military dictatorship in 1976, will drive Argentina into a huge external debt and into an impoverished and polarized Argentina. Unemployment and poverty increments and migration processes are reversed: if before 1960, people from close countries, as well as from Europe immigrate to Argentina; from 1960, Argentinians will immigrate to those countries. It is not my intention to delve deep into the causes that made Argentinians migrate (e.g., push and pull factors of migration; Rodríguez, 2003). However, it is relevant for our research to take into account three different Argentinian immigration waves. In 1966, after the *noche de los bastones largos* [night of long canes] the Argentinian brain drain started and a massive political exodus took place by the end of the military dictatorship (1976-1983). Those were the first two waves of Argentinian migrants, highly skilled and some of them temporarily returning to Argentina between 1992-1996 because of an apparent economic stability. After the dictatorship, Argentina had to do the transition into a democratic society and catch up with the widely spread globalized society and still authoritarianism remained and hinder the recuperation of the sociopolitical and economic crisis with historical episodes like *el corralito*. Then, the highest wave of Argentinian immigration was between 1998-2002.

Lattes (n.d., as cited in Jofre, 2003) state that 37% of Argentinian immigrants lived in Spain and Italy around 1980. Indeed, between 1998-2000, there was an increase of 50% of passport expeditions to Argentinian immigrants. Cultural shared heritage was one of the reasons that pulled Argentinians to go to Spain, but also social networks between previous generations of Mallorcans immigrating to Argentina in the 19th century, as well as Argentinians that emigrated previously. Moreover, Jofre (2003) also points out the salience of tourism since 1960 in Mallorca as a pull factor for Argentinians. Thus, I believe that this group is relevant not only because of their

important presence but also because of the likelihood that they join the dominant-dominated sociolinguistic dynamics in Mallorca due to them speaking the dominant language, Spanish, as a possible first language. Indeed, for this reason of being Spanish speakers, adults who were born in Argentina can only be considered (potential) new speakers of one of the two official languages of Mallorca: Catalan. Therefore, this potentiality of becoming new speakers is relevant not only for the maintenance of Catalan use but also because of the possible effects that Catalan language acquisition can have on inclusion in the new society. Hence, these are the research questions:

RQ1- What, if any, is the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca?

RQ-2: If so, why is there an effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca?

RQ-3: How does the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca work?

RQ-4: Why does the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca work like this?

After dealing with these questions, I address my main RQ and, afterwards, through transferability I provide general guidelines for the effect of language ideologies of potential new speakers on learning the minoritized language(s) of the host society in similar sociocultural settings.

## **2. Theoretical background**

In this section, I present the theoretical framework of this study. I use the following concepts as my key concepts of my research: minoritized languages, (potential) new speakers, language ideologies and learning the host society's language(s). I dive into the relation of those concepts to each other in order to make sense of the development of my research questions.

### **2.1. Minoritized languages and (potential) new speakers**

Minoritized languages in Europe, often called regional languages (Extra & Gorter, 2001), are those languages that have experienced colonization and imperialism processes (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 1999; Álvarez Cáccamo, 1991, as cited in DePalma, 2015). During the 20th century, these languages started reversing the methodological nationalism that pushed them into the

margins. This was also the case of Catalan, which, with the turn of Spain into democracy after Franco's dictatorship, regional governments of the Catalan linguistic area promoted with revitalization policies (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015). This was a moment in which those languages that were marginalized, like Catalan, started being used, for example, in education. Other changes took place on a global scale: the turn into a network and superdiverse society (Castells, 2010; Vertovec, 2006). Migration processes increased in complexity —multi-trajectories— as well as in channels and status (Vertovec, 2006). Hence, new arrivals also performed their role in this globalization process in the Catalan areas.

These two processes, on the one hand, linguistic revitalisation policies and, on the other, new arrivals, flow into one: minoritized languages wanted to increase their public presence and immigrants were potential new speakers. Indeed, the term new speaker arose from areas with a minoritized language, such as *neofalante* in Galician or *neo-brétonnat* in Breton (O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015; Piller, 2001). Around Europe, from the perspective of a minoritized language, new speakers were seen as the key factor to overcome the homogenization that globalization brings with it and, therefore, they were seen as the ones who would help in the maintenance of linguistic diversity (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015).

The concept of new speaker is not new and it has always been related to migration, mobility and the need of access to employment, education and health (Extra, Spotti & Van Avermaet, 2009; O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015; Spotti, 2011). Moreover, despite the benefit that minoritized language communities saw on the new speakers phenomenon, it also could have —and had— a negative impact on the aforementioned languages. Minoritized languages are those languages subjected to colonialism and imperialism processes that nation-states used to build their imagined community (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaría, 1999; Álvarez Cáccamo, 1991, as cited in DePalma, 2015; Appadurai, 1996). The construction of the modern nation-states through methodological nationalism strategies (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002) situated the languages different from the dominant in the periphery. Then, peripheral languages were associated with a low status: they were not useful to fully operate in those societies because, contrary to the dominant language, they were not the mediator of access to employment, education and health. Hence, immigrants also come into those social dynamic forces and by joining as a new speaker of the dominant language, they help the language shift from peripheral and minoritized languages to the central and dominant language (O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O'Rourke, Pujolar &

Ramallo, 2015). Moreover, in this paper we propose the concept of potential new speakers in order to address those inhabitants of a minoritized language territory that still do not speak it, despite understanding it. Also, the concept of host society will be used to refer to the society that receives new arrivals. In this case, the host society will be Mallorca.

## **2.2. Language ideologies**

With the new scope of the phenomenon of globalization, several sociolinguistics such as Jan Blommaert (2013), have made evident the turn from a sociolinguistics of distribution to a sociolinguistics of mobility. In the latter, language is understood as a toolkit, a set of indexically ordered mobile resources that people deploy functionally organized in their daily life (Blommaert, 2013). Deducing from this, in this research, language is understood as a set of unequal mobile resources around the globe which are historically determined and socially constructed (Heller, 2007, as cited in Piller & Takashashi, 2011).

For our research we focus on the sense of the term language when joined with the term ideology. One of what might be the first definitions that comes to mind when thinking about ideology is a set of ideas about something. Jan Blommaert (2006) and Kathryn Woolard (1992) respectively propose two preceding waves of analysis of the conception of ideology.

According to Blommaert (2006) there are two main ancestors for the study of ideology. Blommaert understands that Marxist theories identified ideology as “the mediating link between material and ideational aspects of reality” (Blommaert, 2006, p. 510). Hence, power dynamics in society were an important focus of this first ancestor of the study of ideology. Woolard (1992), on her behalf, embraces this approach under two main lines: (a) testing ideology as a coherent system, and (b) testing ideology as a conscious or implicit phenomenon.

The second predecessor of the study of ideology is the conception of it as a collective psychology (Blommaert, 2006), as a socially-situated and experimental-derived dimension (Woolard, 1992). This is the ideology of ‘world views’ and ‘belief system’ terrain of authors like Franz Boas or Benjamin Lee Whorf (Blommaert, 2006). Therefore, concepts such as social cement or total concept emerge to explain how ideology “turn groups of people into communities, societies, and cultures” (Blommaert, 2006, p. 510). Authors like Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin and Valentin Nikolaevich Voloshinov also present the linguistic sign as ideological, and this is

further developed by scholars such as C.S. Peirce and Michael Silverstein, being the latter one of the founders of today's conception of language ideology (Blommaert, 2006; Kroskrity, 2015).

According to Paul V. Kroskrity (2015) Silverstein's article of 1979 can be considered the beginning of today's concept of language ideology. Before this Silverstein's inception in 1979, other scholars had already started building a path towards language ideology conceptualization. C.S. Pierce explored semiotic models emerged from what he called *indexical* connections between linguistic signs and social contexts. Pierce's conception was further developed by Roman Jakobson (1957, 1960, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015), Dell Hymes (1964, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015) and John Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015) and that, according to Kroskrity (2015) allowed the foundation of the ethnography of communication.

Marxist theories mentioned earlier, also contributed to the attention of ideology in the study of language within language anthropology, especially in the United States and Europe (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015). Kroskrity (2015) mentions Susan Gal (1979), Jane Hill (1985), Judith Irvine (1989) and Kathryn Woolard's (1985) contributions as earlier works in this field.

Hence, there have been several, now becoming traditional, language ideology definitions. Silverstein understands language ideology "as sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015, p. 95). Irvine understands it as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989, p. 255, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015, p. 96). Other later scholars, such as Jan Blommaert, Kathryn Woolard and Emili Boix, define language ideology as morally and politically loaded representations of linguistic forms and social structures (Blommaert, 2006; Boix & Woolard, 2020; Woolard, 1992, 2021). This conception underlines the fact that language ideology is not only about languages but also about group and personal identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Therefore, this conception points out the creation of a social order through communication, through language, understood as a social process. This means that individuals as well as institutions are social actors that through their communicative practices shape the social structure and the linguistic forms (Woolard, 2021). Those are Whorf's world views that Silverstein reinterpreted as "indexically organised language-ideological complexes" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 511).

In this line, Kroskrity understands language ideologies as the “beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation-states” (Kroskrity, 2010, p.192, as cited in Kroskrity, 2015, p. 95). Therefore, Kroskrity (2015), with his definition, highlights three elements of language ideologies: its positionality, multiplicity and awareness. Hence, language ideologies need to be addressed in plural (multiplicity) due to the multiple indexes that can be expressed by them by interested individuals or groups (positionality and awareness).

Related to language ideologies, there is the concept linguistic norms of usage (Calaforra, 1997), which is going to be useful to deduce the language ideologies from interviewees' daily linguistic interactions. Linguistic norms of usage are implicit orientations to proceed when interacting linguistically with someone transmitted through the socialization process and the acquisition of the communicative competence. Aracil (1974, as cited in Calaforra, 1997) points out that these linguistic norms of usage, turn explicit when there is a linguistic conflict between two or more language communities. Hence, language ideologies will be deduced from the linguistic norms of usage that interviewees deploy in their daily interactions.

From all this precedent literature, we propose the following definition of language ideologies to operate with in this research: language ideologies are multiple ideas about language structure and language use produced by positioned individuals, groups and/or institutions in a socioeconomic and political system indexing unequal power dimensions and linking those ideas with personal and/or group's identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology.

### **2.3. Learning the host society's language(s)**

Mobility has always been part of human history. Currently, the new scope of the already existing globalization, has “intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images, and discourses around the globe...resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organisation and culture...” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 13). This continuing increased diversity in society asks nation-states for regulation. In this context, language is not only one of the mobile resources within globalization but also a requisite to have access to employment, education and health (Piller & Takashashi, 2011; Spotti, 2011). In this research, we are in the second language (L2) acquisition terrain, as we base our study on the learning of Catalan, the target language (TL), in Mallorca. Hence, new

arrivals that learn this language in that specific sociocultural context, are acquiring a language spoken, studied and used in many societal areas —administration, schools, health, among others—in Mallorca (Dörnyei, 1990, p. 48).

The study of the factors influencing the acquisition of an L2 has been widely exploited. Given our interest in language ideologies as a factor influencing the acquisition of Catalan, it is crucial that we take into account the other influencing factors identified by previous scholars. There have been several models explaining these influencing factors on the L2 acquisition. Cenoz and Valencia (1993) divide these factors into two big groups: individual factors, on the one hand, and contextual factors, on the other. Despite this binary division being too general, it is useful for us to operate in this research.

At the individual level, there are classified factors such as motivation (Dörnyei, 1998; Gardner, 1985, as cited in Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Schumann, 1986; Skehan, 1991) individual differences (Gardner, 1979, as cited in Giles & Byrne, 1982), individual agency (DePalma, 2015), different reasons to acquire the L2 (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990; Graham, 1984, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990; McDonough, 1981, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990; Schumann, 1986; Skehan, 1991), language aptitude (Schumann, 1986; Skehan, 1991), personality (Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012), age (Snow, 2002, as cited in Hu, 2016; Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012); gender (Higgins, 2010; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001; Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012; Wang, 1999); learner styles (Skehan, 1991; Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012) and learner strategies (Skehan, 1991; Zafar & Meenakshi, 2012). Schumann (1986) also considers affective, personality, cognitive, biological and personal factors.

At the contextual level, there are factors like social milieu (Gardner, 1979, as cited in Giles & Byrne, 1982), which includes, at the same time, the type of context —formal or informal— in which the L2 is acquired (Gardner, 1985, as cited in Skehan, 1991; Gardner et al., 1989); the number of languages spoken in the area (Ball, Giles, & Hewstone, 1984; Gardner, 1988, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990), the ethnolinguistic vitality of the TL and L2 (Ball, Giles, & Hewstone, 1984; Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981, as cited in Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Clément, 1980; Gardner, 1988, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Giles, 1978, 1979, as cited in Giles & Byrne, 1982; Landry & Allard, 1990, as cited in Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Schumann, 1986), the cultural and social circumstances (Ball, Giles, & Hewstone, 1984; Gardner, 1988, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990: 48; Gardner et al., 1989), the intergroup relations (Ball, Giles, & Hewstone, 1984;

Gardner, 1988, as cited in Dörnyei, 1990), the individual mobility, social competition and social creativity (Giles & Byrne, 1982) and learner's social networks (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993). Schumann (1986) also considers input and instructional factors.

DePalma (2015) puts the attention on minority contexts, as ones that "provide a special challenge for learning these languages, as the informal linguistic interactions beyond the classroom that are usually a defining characteristic of language study abroad (SA) programs are not widely available" (DePalma, 2015, p. 426). Moreover, DePalma specifically states that Spanish speakers, as so are Argentinian potential new speakers of Catalan, will have more difficulties in learning the minoritized language as everyone knows the dominant language, Spanish (DePalma, 2015).

According to Menezes (2013), it has been shown that factors influencing L2 acquisition could be conceptualized as a chaotic and complex system, as it is not a linear system and can incorporate opposed elements. Then, the second language acquisition model "should be considered as a set of connections within a dynamic system that moves in the direction of the "edge of chaos" considered as a zone of creativity with the maximum potential for learning" (Menezes, 2013, p. 407).

Deducing from all what has been said, language ideologies could be found and manifested in individual and contextual factors influencing L2 acquisition because they can be produced by positioned individuals, groups and/or institutions. Moreover, language ideologies establish a link between the multiple ideas about language structure and language use with personal and/or group's identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology. Hence, investigating language ideologies of potential new speakers can contribute to better understanding and knowing their sociocultural characteristics and therefore to choosing the better way of managing both the maintenance of Catalan as a minoritized language and the necessities of new arrivals (Pereña, 2005).

Regarding all the aforementioned factors, in my research, I am going one step behind the acquisition process, as I am interested in those potential new speakers of Catalan, that is to say, Argentinian people who despite living in Mallorca, do not speak Catalan. For this reason, we are going to select and further elaborate on some of the individual and contextual factors that, we will argue, belong to this previous situation before deciding to learn and use Catalan. At the individual level, I will use: motivation including language attitudes and individual agency; reasons to acquire the L2, including migrant project and affective factors. At the contextual level, I will use

ethnolinguistic vitality, including intergroup interactions and input factors.

Motivation is conceptualized as individual's beliefs and thoughts, such as language attitudes, related to the desire, the reasons and the effort that the individual needs to do in order to acquire a language (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Dörnyei, 1996; 1998; Durstall, 1975 as cited in Ekstrand, 1975; Schumann, 1986; Skehan, 1991). Therefore, in this definition, language attitudes, the reasons to acquire the language, individual agency and affective factors are included.

Language attitudes will be understood as the consequence of language ideologies (Tudela, 2015). According to Gardner (1979, as cited in Giles & Byrne, 1982), attitudes are correlated with motivation which, in turn, is correlated with L2 achievements. However, attitudes and L2 achievements are not correlated. According to Durstall (1975, as cited in Ekstrand, 1975), reasons to acquire a language will be divided in instrumental and integrative reasons. Constraints and rewards of acquiring a language will also be considered (Skehan, 1991) and individual agency is expected to be found as a constraint of the process of learning Catalan, as a minoritized language. According to DePalma (2015) and Perales and Cenoz (2002), new speakers of minoritized languages have to invest more effort in learning these types of languages because of social inertia of using the dominant language with strangers or maintaining the language used at the first contact, among others. In these constraints of acquiring and using a new language, Perales and Cenoz (2002) also mention embarrassment feelings in adults of using a language in which they are not proficient, especially in cases such as the Basque or the Catalan, where Spanish is an alternative that new speakers might have a previous contact with. In my research the factors of individual agency and affective factors (Schumann, 1986) are especially important because it is expected that all interviewees have Spanish as their initial language (L1).

The concept ethnolinguistic vitality will be used as a conceptual tool according to Cenoz & Valencia's (1993) interpretation. What I am interested in from this concept specifically for this research are the following three dimensions. Firstly, status, understood as a "community's economic, social, sociohistorical and language prestige" (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993, p. 114). Secondly, "demography, which includes group numbers, their concentration, proportion, birth rate, exogamy/endogamy, immigration and emigration patterns" (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993, p. 114). Thirdly, institutional control factors: "formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community including the mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, culture and politics" (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993, p. 114). I will be investigating demographic and

status factors by looking for interviewees' social networks and intergroup interactions; interviewee's opinions regarding the value of a same cultural product in Catalan or Spanish, as well as their opinion about not being understood in Catalan at public administrations in Mallorca.

### **3. Research strategy and methods applied**

In this section we are going to address our research design, sample strategy, data collection, data analysis and research quality indicators.

#### **3.1. Research design**

This research follows fully qualitative methods. The main goal of this research is the study of the effect of language ideologies on learning a minoritized language in order to accurately know the causes and the way this effect works to later be addressed in language policies. As I did not find specific literature on this topic, I will carry a study which will allow us to deeply look into each variable and better understand this phenomenon.

#### **3.2. Sample strategy**

The population I focus on are adult —18 years old or more— Argentinians living in Mallorca but not speaking Catalan and that did not attend any kind of primary elementary or high school education in a Catalan speaking area. Deducing from the characteristics —see section 1— of the target population back into 2003 —given the lack of recent studies like Jofre's study (2003)— several sampling techniques have been used. Deducing from the characteristics of the target population back into 2003 —given the lack of recent studies like the one by Jofre— several sampling techniques will be used. Among my contacts, I randomly, but carefully selected the informants. With data from 2019 of the Center of Documentation in Sociolinguistics of the Balearic Islands (CDSIB), I expected that my interviewees are from some of the first four Mallorcan villages that have a higher percentage of people born in Argentina: Banyalbufar (22.7%), Sant Joan (15%), Mancor de la Vall (13,9%) and Lloseta (13.1%). Moreover, I also expected to find informants from Alcúdia (10.4%), because back in 2003 Jofre situated a lot of

Argentinians living there, and Palma (10%), because it is the capital of the island.

In order to heighten the quality of my research, I conducted a quota sample and included, 6 adult men and 5 adult women, as the data of the 1st of January of 2020 indicates a slightly higher presence of Argentinian men (10,475) than women (9,882). Selected Argentinians have not been studying in a Catalan school (whatever Catalan speaking area might be), as I am interested in Argentinians living in Mallorca but not speaking Catalan. Nevertheless, informants who speak Catalan are also included in order to check if there is some difference on the impact of language ideologies regarding the Catalan language proficiency. After finding the first few informants, I found further informants with the help of first informants. In a way, I used snowballing techniques. Further information regarding interviewees is provided in the following subsection '3.2.1. Background information'.

### **3.2.1. Background information**

Eleven people were interviewed: five adults who identify themselves as women, Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester and Estrella, and six adults who identify themselves as men, Darío, Fernando, Nando, Juan, José Luis and Luis. For reasons of privacy and ethics in research, these names are pseudonyms. At the end of this subsection there are two tables (table 1 and table 2) with classified information regarding their background information.

The average age of the interviewees is 41 years old with the youngest being 36, Nando, and the oldest 75 years old, Juan. All the interviewees were born in Argentina and came to Mallorca as adults. With the exception of Estrella, who was born in San Juan, all of them were born in the north-east of Argentina in the following cities: Concordia, Rosario, Federación, Paraná, Posadas, Mar del Plata, Morón, Tres Arroyos and Mendoza.

Six of them, Gabriela, Ester, Estrella, Darío, Nando and José Luis obtained a bachelor's degree in Argentina (3 women and 3 men). The others studied until High School, Martina, Juan and Luis, or professionalization studies, Manuela, whereas just one of them, Fernando, could not continue studying after being 10 years old. Fernando explains that he was born in a very poor family and he had to work to help his family.

Five of them, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Nando and José Luis, have lived permanently in Mallorca since they arrived for the first time, staying here for 4 years the shortest, Nando, and for 20 years the longest, Manuela. The rest have lived in different places than Mallorca since their first arrival: some went back to Argentina, such as Gabriela, Estrella, Darío and Juan; and others

lived in other places of Spain, Fernando, or in other countries, Luis. In the case of Estrella, Luis and Ester and José Luis, Mallorca was not their first destination: Málaga, Murcia and France were their first European destinations, respectively. Seven of the interviewees, Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Darío, Nando and José Luis, had already moved around Argentina from their birth places for study reasons, to cities such as La Plata, Rosario, Buenos Aires or Mendoza.

The reasons that pushed and pulled them out from Argentina are quite different. In five cases, Gabriela, Martina, Ester, Darío, Juan and José Luis, family reasons were the priority together with the willingness to change their lives. Darío and José Luis followed their respective girlfriends to Europe; Gabriela, Martina and Ester had some relatives living here (a sister and some cousins), and Estrella decided to migrate so that her husband could have a better job. In one case, Manuela, the main reasons to migrate were economic as Argentina was in the *corralito* crisis, she explains. The rest of the interviewees migrated because they mainly wanted a change in their lives. Juan and Luis decided to move to Mallorca after spending there some days as tourists —in the case of Juan it was family reasons together with the willingness of a change. Ester was planning her migration to Europe for a long time, mainly because she wanted to travel around Europe and living in Argentina did not allow her to do that.

They all settled for the first time in Palma (Gabriela, Martina, Darío, Fernando, Nando, Juan and Luis), Portocolom (Manuela and Estrella) and Cala d'Or (Ester and José Luis). Those are touristic places and, indeed, with the exception of Gabriela who worked as a doctor, Juan who worked as a businessman, Nando and Darío who did not find a job when they arrived here, the rest worked in the touristic or hospitality sector. Their current place of residence has changed in the case of Gabriela and Darío (Santa Maria del Camí), Manuela and Estrella (Felanitx), Ester and José Luis (Palma), and Fernando and Juan (Lloseta). Only Nando and Luis continue living in Palma. Now, Ester, Estrella, Nando and José Luis have a job that matches their previous academic education: odontologist, occupational therapist, psychologist and music teacher, respectively.

With the exception of Nando and Luis, the rest have children: between 6 months (Gabriela and Darío) until 49 years old (Juan). The children of Gabriela, Estrella, Darío and Juan were born in Argentina, the ones of Martina, Ester and José Luis in Mallorca. Fernando's daughters were born in Galicia. In all the cases, interviewees want their children to learn and understand Catalan. Ester adds that she is worried about English education at the public school where her 2 years old child is going to go. She also explains that she has some family who has just arrived and also has

children at the public school in Mallorca, where the majority of the courses are in Catalan, and that they complain a lot because they do not understand anything. Same happened with Estrella that she did not understand Catalan when she attended the school meetings of her child, who is now 21, but she says that she could guess the topic they were speaking about and she always had the option of asking the teachers after the meeting.

All interviewees have at least one of their parents or parent family with migrant background on their family in Argentina, except for Fernando who seems to have indigenous background, as he remembers watching a picture of his great grandfather dressed as an indigenous. Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Nando, Juan and Luis have at least one great grandparent or grandparent who came from Italy to Argentina. It is related with what Jofre (2003) and Rodríguez (2003) explains regarding the migration movements to Argentina from close and European countries, specially Spain because of the shared cultural heritage, before 1960. In all these cases they know the story because their parents explain it to them but they say that no cultural element was passed on to them. Some of them remembered their grandparents speaking Spanish with some Italian words and expressions. Still some of these expressions are used by the interviewees. None of their great grandparents or grandparents passed Italian on to their parents nor to them. Juan explains that the fact that his grandfather abandoned his initial language, Italian, might have something to do with the difficulties of adaptation for people who did not speak Spanish in Argentina:

Juan: Yes my father's family, [...], my father is born in Sicily [...]. *Este* he is already deceased. My dad was born in Sicily, he lived for a few years in the capital, in Buenos Aires. He arrived in Argentina with 11 years [...] that is, he did primary schooling almost all in Italy [...]. He's been so concerned about learning Spanish that he never spoke to me in his language. I've never had, I have never had my grandfather, well yes, my grandparents spoke a little Italian to me when I asked them. I was very curious. And they were asked, my dad was so worried. You can see that back then in Buenos Aires, it was a little hard for every immigrant who didn't speak Spanish". (self-translation of Juan's interview transcription)

Three of the interviewees have their family coming from other places than Italy. The grandparents of Estrella and the father of Luis went to Argentina from Spain: Cáceres and Málaga, in the first case, and Murcia in the second case. The parents of Darío were born in Paraguay. The grandmother of Ester was from a Russian background born in Germany, who went to Argentina with her family. The great grandparents of José Luis were born in Luxembourg and Damasco, respectively. In the case of these two last interviewees, the initial language of their great grandparents, grandparents or parents were not transmitted to them. Only in the case of José Luis there was a gastronomic maintenance of the culture of origin of this part of his family.

Spanish was the language spoken at home by all the interviewees with all their family members as well as the language spoken between their parents, with the exception of Darío's parents who spoke Guarani between them but did not pass it on to their children. This lack of language transmission to their children, Darío experienced as a negative thing, who after turning 18 or 19, decided to speak English to their siblings to make their parents experience what he experienced:

Darío: And then in my house, when my parents talked to each other, they always spoke in Guarani and then I speak to my brothers in English so that they don't understand.

Catalina: Really?

Darío: To return the kindness. (self-translation of Dario's interview transcription)

It is noticeable that Gabriela and Darío initially responded Argentinian or Rioplatense to the question which was the language they spoke at home in Argentina. In terms of current language spoken by the interviewees, all of them are plurilingual. They speak at least Spanish and one language more, Italian (Fernando). Italian is a recurrent second language for them and in four cases Portuguese (Darío), French (Ester and José Luis) and Japanese (Juan). Martina, Ester, Estrella, Darío, Nando, Juan and Luis knew that Catalan was spoken in Mallorca before going to live there. Estrella did not expect it to be as spoken and required as it was. It is remarkable that interviewees'

L1 is Spanish because this situates them in a different sociolinguistic position than immigrants from other countries in Mallorca. They are already proficient in one of the two official languages in Mallorca. However, from the point of view of the maintenance and revitalization of Catalan in Mallorca, this fact can hinder these processes. For Argentinians living in Mallorca, because of having Spanish as their initial language, it might seem easy to join the dominant sociolinguistics dynamics and socially increase the use of Spanish in Mallorcan society hindering the presence and public health of Catalan. However, we have to take into account that Spanish in Argentina is not the same as in Spain (some informants call it Argentinian or Rioplatense instead of Spanish and on first arrival have difficulties adapting to Spanish in Spain).

Regarding Catalan self-reported proficiency, Gabriela, Manuela, Estrella and Darío took formal courses and got B1 (Gabriela), B (Manuela), according to the old system. Estrella and Darío did not get to do the exam. There is a gender difference in taking Catalan courses: three of the four interviewees who took formal courses in Catalan are women and two women are the ones with a certificate. Moreover, Gabriela is the only of the eleven interviewees who is studying a formal Catalan course. Six interviews were carried bilingually: I spoke Catalan and the interviewee answered me back in Spanish. Despite Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Darío, Fernando, Nando and Juan can understand Catalan, none of the interviewees spoke Catalan to me.

To finalize this section, I am going to comment on the migrant project of the interviewees. Except for Fernando and Luis, the rest of the interviewees are willing to definitely stay in Mallorca. Fernando is thinking about retiring in Asia and Luis is thinking about living in another place of the world temporarily.

*Table 1.* Women background information

Name	Gabriela	Martina	Manuela	Ester	Estrella
Age	39	40	44	40	56
Place of birth	Concordia	Rosario	Federación (born) Concordia (lived there until she went to Mallorca)	Paraná	San Juan (but when she was 1 year old, her family moved to Buenos Aires)
Children	Yes, 2 (3 years old and 6 months old)	Yes, 1 (5 years old)	Yes, 3 (17 years old, 14 years old and 10 years old)	Yes, 1 (2 years old)	Yes, 1 (20 years old)
Catalan	B1	She can understand it but	B (old system)	Understands it	A2

proficiency		she has never spoken it			Understands very little
Time living in Mallorca	2008-2013 and 2020-now [5 years + 1'5 years]	13 years	20 years	9 years	2006-2010 and 2015-now [4 years + 7 years]
Places of residence in Mallorca	1 <sup>st</sup> time: Palma 2 <sup>nd</sup> time: Santa Maria del Camí	Palma	Portocolom Cala d'Or Now: Felanitx	Cala d'Or Portitxol Now: Palma	Portocolom Now: Felanitx
Education	Bachelor's degree (medicine)	High school (she started 2 bachelors [psychology and Sciences of the Education] but did not finished them)	Professional degree in marketing technician	Bachelor's degree (odontology)	Bachelor's degree (Occupational therapy)
Current job (if applicable) and place of job	Doctor (radiology) Inca	Marketing in a company	Attention to the airport incidents	Odontologist	Occupational therapist

Table 2. Men background information

Name	Darío	Fernando	Nando	Juan	José Luís	Luis
Age	44	44	36	75	41	38
Place of birth	Posadas	Mar de Plata	Morón (Buenos Aires)	Tres Arroyos	Paraná	Mendoza
Children	Yes (3 years old and 6 months old)	Yes (23 years old and 21 years old)	No	Yes (49 years old, 45 years old and 34 years old)	Yes, 1 (2 years old)	No
Catalan proficiency	A1-A2	Understands it	Understands it	Understands it	Understands it	Null
Time living in Mallorca	2008-2013 and 2020-now [5 years + 1'5 years]	1998- ? 2020- now	4 years	30 years (with an interruption of 10 years when he came back to Argentina after retiring)	9 years	15 years
Places of residence in Mallorca	1 <sup>st</sup> time: Palma 2 <sup>nd</sup> time: Santa Maria del Camí Now: Lloseta	Palma Colònia de Sant Jordi Porretes Algaida	Palma	Palma (Es Vivero) Lloseta	Cala d'Or Portitxol Now: Palma	Palma
Educatio	University degree	Primary studies until he was 10	Bachelor's degree (psychology)	High school (he studied until	Bachelor's degree (music)	High School

n	(electronic technician)			he was 13, and then combined it with work)		
Current job (if applicable) and place of job	Mantenimiento (Santa Maria del Camí)	Construction worker (several villages in Mallorca)	Psychotherapist (Palma)	Retired (used to be a business man related to selling and publishing books)	Guitar teacher	Rent a car

### 3.3. Data collection

The data collection tool in this research are semi-structured interviews. I developed an interview guide (see annex 8.1.) with open questions based on the key concepts of my research question: language ideology and factors affecting learning the host society's language(s) (see 3.4.). I strongly believe that interviews are the best tool to deeply investigate my topic, as qualitative data will allow me to dig deeper in interviewees' story and understand how the two main variables are related in their case. I took a participant role as an interviewer and the interviewees took a teacher role (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

For ethical purposes, each interviewee signed an informed consent before starting the interview where the topic of the interview, their rights and the usage of the collected data were explained. Their names are anonymised by using a pseudonym (Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Estrella, Darío, Fernando, Nando, Juan, José Luis and Luis). Their feelings were taken into consideration as much as possible by including a debriefing part where they were asked how they felt and if they wanted to ask, add or change something about what they have said, as language ideologies in the Catalan context is a sensitive topic.

Two interviews, out of eleven, were conducted online and the rest were offline. In six cases, Gabriela, Manuela, Ester, Darío, Fernando and Nando, the interviewees were conducted bilingually: I spoke Catalan to the interviewees and they answered me back in Spanish. This was a way that I had to ensure that the self-reported proficiency of Catalan, was at least real at the level of comprehension. With two interviewees, Martina and Juan, the organization process of meeting was done in Catalan but the day of the interview they asked me to do it in Spanish. Despite asking each interviewee their language preferences, the fact that I was allowed to speak in Catalan to six

of them might have increased socially desirable answers.

### 3.4. Data analysis

Concept-driven coding has been used to carry on the analysis and structure it. From the five indicators of the proposed definition of language ideologies for this study, I used three of them: language use, language and aesthetics and language and morality. The indicator of learning the language(s) of the host society is self-reported language proficiency. Furthermore, I also considered previously selected factors affecting the L2 acquisition as factors that influence learning Catalan.

*Table 1.*

L2 Acquisition Factors	
<u>Individual Factors</u>	<u>Contextual Factors</u>
motivation	Ethnolinguistic vitality
Individual agency	Intergroup relations
Reasons to acquire L2	Input factors
Language attitude	
Affective factors	
age	
gender	
place of residence	

These variables are followed to organize the interview guide and, consequently, the interview itself. The interview guide is composed of six sections. The opening, the first block, where I thank the interviewee for investing their time in speaking with me and I explain to them the topic, their rights and the way their data is going to be treated. The next four blocks consist of:

background information, individual factors influencing the acquisition of an L2, contextual factors influencing the acquisition of L2 and language ideologies. The last block, the debriefing, where I ask the interviewee how they are feeling and if they want to add, change or ask something. Further elaboration on these blocks can be found in section 4.

Analysis has been approached as an ongoing process from the very beginning of the research proposal until the end of its development. During interviews, few notes have been taken in order to be able to later detect the main topics in the recordings and transcribe those specific fragments. Transcriptions are verbatim in order to dig deeper into the information. Not relevant fragments have been taken out using this symbol: [...]. Interviews' transcriptions can be found in annex 8.4.

Based on the interviews two main tables have been created. On the one hand, I have created a table where transcribed fragments are organized for every interviewee in every question asked. On the other, I have created another table with a summary of all the answers to every topic given by interviewees. These two tables can be found in annex 8.2. and 8.3., respectively.

### **3.5. Research quality indicators**

In order to reach the highest possible construct of validity, I have pilot tested the interview script. I also used intersubjective agreement together with my thesis circle colleagues and supervisor about the main theoretical concepts and their indicators. For the internal validity, interviews were prepared by highlighting in the interview guide the main topics I want to address in the case of running out of time. I tried to ask the main same questions in a non-leading way. Moreover, an interpretative approach has been leading while carrying the interviews and their analysis. There are right or wrong answers but the closest interpretation to what the interviewee-teachers wanted to say. This closest interpretation has been checked both during the interview but also once I have transcribed the interviews, sent them to the interviewees and asked them if they agree with it or want to change something. This fact also ensures reliability. None of the interviewees had comments or suggestions. Finally, regarding the external validity, transferability is chosen instead of generalizability, given the entire qualitative nature of the studied data. My aim is to carefully develop an analytical transferability by indicating that similar contexts as the one studied, could have similar developments of the phenomenon. These statements are cautiously made, as the sociolinguistic dynamics of a society, despite being similar to others, lay upon specific historical

layers.

## **4. Analysis of the interviews**

The results of the analysis are going to be commented upon in this section. Individual factors and contextual factors are going to be presented in order to understand the underlying linguistic norms of usage from which language ideologies emerge.

### **4.1. Factors affecting the acquisition of an L2**

The results of the analysis of the interviews show the relevance in the interviewees' daily linguistic interactions of the individual and contextual factors presented in section 4.1. Individual factors contain individual agency, reasons to acquire Catalan and affective factors, and contextual factors contain social networks and status factors. Language ideologies can be deduced from these factors based on the underlying linguistic norms of usage of their daily interactions.

#### **4.1.1. Individual factors**

At the individual level, there is general agreement regarding the reasons to acquire Catalan, as being primarily instrumental. However, integrative reasons are also mentioned. Nine interviewees out of eleven firstly mention instrumental reasons to acquire Catalan, and more specifically they refer to the necessity of meeting the language requirements for public jobs in Mallorca. Whereas four interviewees, Estrella, Fernando, José Luis and Luis, only express instrumental reasons to acquire Catalan in Mallorca, seven interviewees also mention integrative reasons and four of these seven firstly mention integrative reasons and secondly instrumental reasons. It is remarkable that three out of these four interviewees are 39-40 years old women with children aging between 6 months and 5 years old, Gabriela, Manuela and Martina. These three interviewees explain that the main reason why they want to learn Catalan is to be able to broaden their social network as well as to be able to understand everything school related of their children. Two individual arguments regarding integrative reasons were mentioned: Gabriela has a very strong conviction about the fact that learning Catalan will help her to achieve a sense of belonging to Mallorcan society, while Manuela believes that Catalan is a language that has to be learned in order to maintain it, as a way to maintain Mallorcan culture. Gabriela and Manuela, acquiring Catalan goes beyond practical issues as it is also related with identity. Especially Gabriella introduces Catalan to her personal

identity as an element to belong to the host society, Mallorca. One interviewee, José Luis, mention the density of Catalan speaking people around him as a factor that pushed him to understand Catalan. He explains that his motivation and reason of improving in understanding Catalan was his working environment, where people who used Catalan in all the areas of their daily life.

Moreover, in two interviewees' case, the reasons to learn Catalan were not instrumental nor integrative but the presence of an agent. In their case, there was a person influencing their decision of learning Catalan. In the case of Manuela, she had a positive agent influencing and motivating her to learn Catalan: a Catalan speaking woman she worked for who insisted that Manuela had to learn Catalan to get a public job in the future. Contrary to this positive agent, Luis had a negative agent who demotivated him to learn Catalan. He felt discriminated by the teacher of a professionalization course he was attending because she did not explain anything to him in Spanish and he did not understand anything.

When considering the contributions of Catalan in their lives, interviewees also differentiate between instrumental and integrative contributions, with the same number of interviewees as mentioned before, considering firstly or only instrumental contributions and the same number of interviewees considering firstly integrative contributions. Despite one interviewee, Estrella, considering Catalan as not contributing at all in her life, four interviewees explain that Catalan can contribute to improve the services they offer. Gabriela, Ester, Nando and José Luis think that Catalan, at least understanding it, can contribute to make them better professionals and offer a better service. Fernando thinks that understanding Catalan contributes to him working for Catalan speakers and increasing his clients. Integrative contributions include the feeling of belonging. Gabriela thinks learning Catalan can contribute to a sense of belonging and Manuela thinks learning Catalan can bring her respect and value of Mallorcan language and culture. Moreover, in this integrative contributions, two interviewees, José Luis and Luis, mention accessibility: Catalan can direct them to different local information, for example through the internet.

Instrumental reasons to acquire Catalan in Mallorca seem to be related to affective factors of feeling pressured to learn Catalan. All interviewees answer that they feel pressured by institutions regarding their accessibility to public jobs, despite only one of them, the doctor, having a public job. The fact of Catalan being a requirement is a social pressure they feel on them and that has made two interviewees, Estrella and Nando, feel discriminated in the labour market. Although Ester not being able to apply for a job and José Luis being rejected from his job because of not

having a Catalan certificate, they see this fact as a good idea so that people with that knowledge can have easier access to local jobs, and specifically jobs in which there is a need to interact with local people.

Regarding the feeling of pressure, all interviewees differentiate between the social level and the individual level. None of the interviewees feel pressured when individually interacting with Catalan speakers. In the case of Martina, for example, the requirement is imposed by herself because she feels she has a duty of understanding Catalan, as she considers she has been living in Mallorca for 13 years and it is already time to learn Catalan.

Interviewees report other affective factors. Together with feelings of imposition, politicization, love, laziness and frustration there is only one feeling shared by all interviewees: shyness. Darío feels laziness because he does not find a moment to learn languages and frustration because he thought Catalan would be easier to learn. Martina and Manuela define their relationship with Catalan as good, unproblematic, despite the fact that Manuela says that Catalan is politicized and should not be. Estrella thinks the same, and the relationship she has with Catalan is a kind of love-hate relationship: she wants to learn it just for the pleasure of learning another language spoken in Mallorca but does not understand why Catalan needs to be a requirement for developing a public job and why Spanish is not required for such a job. Three interviewees, Manuela, Estrella and Juan, relate Catalan with politics as something relevant for their affective factors, as they raise the politicization of the language as something specifically related to Catalan language. Manuela mentions the word imposition. Fernando and Juan base their relationship with Catalan on love. They love Mallorca, so they love Catalan, they explain.

Shyness is the most shared feeling regarding Catalan, when it comes to interviewees putting an effort in pronouncing Catalan sounds. This is related to two issues: the difficulties of learning Catalan in Mallorca and their initial language (L1), Spanish. On the one hand, interviewees, with the exception of two of them, Gabriela and Estrella, do not report general difficulties in learning a language. One interviewee, Juan, puts the emphasis on the difficulty or easiness of understanding Catalan speakers depending on the origin of the interlocutor. He considers that there are some Catalan speakers who are easy to understand and some others who are not, depending on the place of Mallorca where they are from. Another interviewee, Luis, despite not having initiated the learning process of Catalan, does not think Catalan is a difficult language to learn because he has seen a lot of his friends learning it. However, all interviewees

agree on Catalan being especially difficult when acquiring its pronunciation. On the other hand, the feeling of shyness appears when considering Spanish, interviewees' initial language, as an alternative that Catalan speakers understand and speak. Darío and Gabriela explain that if they lived in a place where only one language was spoken, they would not have time to consider feeling shyness. Three interviewees, Darío, Gabriela and Manuela, report one difficulty more in acquiring Catalan: finding interlocutors. Their contacts who spoke Catalan told them that, after initiating the relationship in Spanish, it was weird and strange to change to Catalan and they did not speak Catalan to them. Gabriela is constantly asking her colleagues to speak Catalan to her, as does Fernando in order to improve it. For Fernando, it took 14 years to understand Catalan, as people did not speak it to him.

Catalan is not perceived as a real necessity despite the main reported instrumental and integrative reasons to acquire it. Moreover, affective feelings of shyness do affect the usage of Catalan, as interviewees do not feel comfortable nor proficient in speaking Catalan. Individual agency, manifested through the necessity of looking for interlocutors to learn and practice Catalan, is mentioned as something that two interviewees have to deal with.

#### **4.1.2. Contextual factors**

In the previous subsection, one interviewee mentioned the importance of his work environment as a reason to learn Catalan. In order to know what interviewees' linguistic norms of usage are, the demographic and status factors taken from the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality are going to be commented upon.

Two main contextual factors are relevant when acquiring Catalan in Mallorca: interviewees' social networks and status factors. Despite more than half of the interviewees having sporadic contact with Catalan speakers or people born in Mallorca, interviewees' social networks are basically ingroup relationships in Spanish. In all cases, with the exception of three interviewees, Fernando, Nando and Juan, interviewees mainly interact with people born in Argentina who live in Mallorca or in Argentina —in this last case it is mainly their family—, or people who live in Mallorca and are from non-Catalan speaking territories of Spain, for example Madrid. The three interviewees mentioned as an exception, Fernando, Nando and Juan, do interact with Catalan speaking people or people born in Mallorca, but they do it in Spanish. There is another

group of six interviewees, Gabriela, Manuela, Ester, Darío, Fernando and José Luis, who interact with people born in Mallorca and with Catalan speakers: the parents of the school of their children, in the case of Gabriela; a friend with whom Manuela does the slaughtering feast —a traditional Mallorcan festivity where a pig is killed—; and work colleagues, in the case of Ester, Darío, Fernando and José Luis. All the linguistic interactions mentioned so far are in Spanish. On the contrary, two interviewees, Gabriela and Manuela, speak Catalan with some interlocutors and in some specific contexts: at work and at slaughtering feast, respectively. Therefore, more than half of the interviewees have contact with Catalan speakers in Mallorca and report intergroup interaction in Spanish rather than Catalan. The implications of these interactions are that the language they mainly, or even only use, in their everyday relationships is Spanish.

Despite this self-reported intergroup interaction, interviewees do feel a separation between Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers. Two interviewees, Ester and Fernando, think that Spanish speakers and Catalan speakers do interact in their daily lives but to some extent because, according to Ester, Spanish speakers will only be able to know what Catalan speakers want them to know about some conversations in Catalan, as the latter will translate to the former what they consider appropriate. Fernando says that from the first time he arrived in Mallorca until now these two groups interact more, but still they are separated. This separation is also noticed by Martina who says that people tend to look for the people with whom they share language and culture and there is a real division between Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers. The rest of the interviewees do not answer specifically to this question. Classifying speakers of one and another language might be based on the accent when speaking Spanish. Interviewees, with the exception of three, Gabriela, Nando and Luis, explain that they are able to differentiate Catalan speakers just listening to them speaking in Spanish because they have a Catalan accent. This Catalan accent is referred to Catalan sounds, like the *l*, that are different in Spanish but Catalan speakers produced them as they are done in Catalan when speaking in Spanish.

Another factor relevant for interviewees' acquisition of Catalan in Mallorca is their perception of the amount of Catalan speakers in Mallorca. In this regard, interviewees, except for two of them, Ester and José Luis, differentiate between Palma, the capital of Mallorca, as an area with less Catalan speakers, and the rest of the island, with more Catalan speakers. Two of the interviewees point that Palma is a very international and cosmopolitan city where not only Catalan is spoken. However, one interviewee, despite saying that there are a lot of people speaking Catalan

in Mallorca, explains that she is amazed with the very small number of Catalan speakers she has at her job in Inca. This is in line with the two exceptions I mentioned above: one exception in which the interviewee says that she does not know what to say and another who says that Catalan speakers in the island are a minority. It seems that in their imaginary of Catalan speakers in Mallorca, in general, interviewees' perception of the amount of Catalan speakers in Mallorca is high but they only interact with these Catalan speakers in Spanish.

Before moving into status factors, it is also remarkable to notice that two interviewees say that Catalan is going to maintain their number of speakers in the future. Another interviewee says that Catalan is being recovered now and another thinks that Catalan is going to disappear as time goes by. Another interviewee thinks that Catalan speakers have to be the real agents of the revitalization of the language because he feels that what he can do is very little: learning it and promoting it as a family language if his partner does speak it.

Regarding the status factors, all interviewees are guided by comfort and practicality. The value attached to the same cultural products differing in language, one in Spanish and the other in Catalan —I proposed to them examples like a newspaper or Youtube or Instagram videos—, is by four interviewees, Gabriela, Martina, Estrella and Fernando, depending on the consumer. Three interviewees, Ester, José Luis and Nando, say that they would equally value the product but they would consume the product in Spanish because that is easier for them. On the other hand, there are four individual interpretations. Luis considers that it has nothing to do with the person but with the quality of the product itself. Darío thinks that consuming one cultural product in one specific language is a social differentiation tool. He explains that from his experience, in Argentina, access to Portuguese channels was only paying and that was how he learned Portuguese, as opposed to some of his friends. Then, he explains that having access to specific TV channels or radio programs might create a difference in people and therefore they will acquire different social capitals. Fernando mistrusts current media, but when he wants to know something about Mallorca he consults local media in Spanish, as José Luis does but he tries to consume local media in Catalan. Nando considers that the product will have higher quality in the language in which it has been produced. Therefore, interviewees consume cultural products in Spanish because of feeling more comfortable and not having to put an extra effort to understand it. They personally do not relate the language of the product with its prestige, despite acknowledging that some people would better value a cultural product in Catalan rather than in Spanish and vice versa. Regarding status,

interviewees' perception of the linguistic variety spoken in Mallorca can also be included as something that need further study to better know what the status perception of Catalan in by Argentinians. They all consider Mallorcan as a dialect of Catalan. Martina considers it as a mixture of Italian and French. However, they all acknowledge that there is a social polemic regarding the consideration of Catalan as a dialect or as a language. Six of the interviewees, Gabriela, Darío, Manuela, Estrella, Fernando and Juan, have had conversations with some people who considered Mallorcan as a language different from Catalan. Only Manuela has regular contact with them: the colleagues with whom she celebrates the slaughter feast.

Despite all interviewees agreeing, as shown in the previous subsection, about Catalan being a requirement to access public jobs in Mallorca, for all of them it is not an issue that a public worker cannot attend a user in Catalan. Four interviewees, Gabriela, Darío, Fernando and Nando, consider that the public worker should be prepared to understand and serve in the two languages, at least. Fernando adds that they should also be prepared to serve people in English because there is a lot of tourism in Mallorca. Indeed, this is the reason why Luis considers that this situation, the situation in which you are not understood in Catalan by a public worker, could be completely real because of the amount of people from other parts of the world living and working in Mallorca. Juan considers that not serving someone in Catalan is having a closed mind. However, all interviewees would speak Spanish to someone that does not understand Catalan in a public job in Mallorca. The first four mentioned interviewees, Gabriela, Darío, Fernando and Nando, before changing to Spanish, would politely criticise the lack of language skills of the public worker, specifically based on the language requirements that they are supposed to have. Two other interviewees, Estrella and José Luis, would just speak to them in Spanish and two more interviewees, Martina and Manuela, would put the emphasis on communication rather than the language itself.

The interviewees' main interactions are ingroup interactions. They feel a separation between Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers reinforced by specific linguistic characteristics when Catalan speakers speak in Spanish. Interviewees localize Catalan speakers outside the capital city and, with the exception of one of them, do not think that the amount of Catalan speakers is going to increase in the future. They do not value more or less a cultural product depending on the language but depending on the receiver's preferences and comfort. Finally, not being understood in Catalan at a public administration is not a huge problem for them, despite some of them consider

it should not be like that because public employees are required to know Catalan to access that job. Therefore, interviewees' social networks and status factors deploy the underlying linguistic norms of usage from which language ideologies are going to be deduced.

## 4.2. Language ideologies

In this last subsection, I will comment upon the language ideologies of the interviewees. Departing from the definition of language ideologies that I propose in section 4.2., I select three elements that might be relevant for the acquisition of a minoritized language: language usages, language and morality and language and aesthetics. In order to detect the underlying ideas regarding language that are present in interviewees' daily interactions I will combine the findings from the two previous subsections. This way, linguistic norms of usage will emerge from their daily interactions and language ideologies are going to be conceptualized as a direct consequence of it.

Regarding language and aesthetics, in the subsection 4.1.2. it has been mentioned how interviewees, with the exception of two of them, are able to detect who is a Catalan speaker by listening to them speaking only in Spanish. I think it is remarkable the smiles of three interviewees when I asked them about this. One interviewee, Manuela, said that her daughter speaks Spanish as Catalan people: she invents a lot of words, has a weird accent and does not remember a lot of words in Spanish. It seems that in interviewees minds there is certain association between the following facts: the more proficient you are in Catalan, the less proficient you are in Spanish.

In subsection 4.2., social networks of interviewees were commented upon and Spanish was the mainly used language of interaction by interviewees, despite two of them speaking Catalan at work and with one group of friends, respectively. I will dig deeper into these interactions in order to uncover language usages as well as language and morality. Results in this regard, point towards three main language ideologies shared by interviewees: (a) be polite, speak Spanish; (b) Catalan is only for Catalan speakers, (c) Catalan in Mallorca is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary.

The first language ideology encountered in the interviewees' linguistic interactions can be summarized as follows: (a) be polite, speak Spanish. This language ideology is based on the linguistic norms of usage since interviewees report that Catalan speakers usually speak to them in Spanish and this makes interviewees feel respected. Hence, these are dimensions of language usage

and language morality. Results point towards family and friends as the areas where Catalan is less used because Spanish is the language they mainly and, apart from two interviewees, only use. This does not mean that all the people whom they interact with have Spanish as their initial L1, but most of the interlocutors, even if they are Catalan speakers as L1, automatically change to Spanish when speaking to them. This automatic change makes interviewees feel respected and grateful and, with that, they understand that their interlocutor is an educated person who tries to make things easier for them. Luis distinguished in his daily interactions people who speak to them in Catalan to bother him and people who speak to Spanish as an act of consideration. The automatic change of language is related to the fact that a Catalan-Spanish conversation is not usual. There is always language accommodation from Catalan speakers to Spanish when speaking with interviewees. Nevertheless, two interviewees mention experiencing once a Catalan-Spanish conversation. Ester says that, at her work with the help of one of her colleagues, she had a Catalan-Spanish conversation with a young woman who did not want to speak to her in Spanish, but that has been the only time she has had that experience. Darío considers that Mallorcan people have a kind of brain plasticity, as they constantly mix Spanish and Catalan in one sentence. Moreover, five of the interviewees, Gabriela, Manuela, Ester, Darío and José Luis, hear Catalan very often: some of their colleagues (Gabriela, Ester, Darío), friends (Manuela) or students (José Luis) speak in Catalan but when they speak directly to them, they do it in Spanish. There are two exceptions to these fully Spanish interactions, and those are the friends of the slaughtering feast of Manuela, and the colleagues of Gabriela.

The second and third language ideologies encountered and related to each other are (b) Catalan is only for Catalan speakers and (c) Catalan in Mallorca is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary. These language ideologies can already be deduced from the linguistic interactions mentioned in the paragraph before, where Catalan speakers address to interviewees usually in Spanish. However, there is another area of these linguistic interactions in Spanish that relate Catalan to ingroup usages: language usages in interactions with strangers. Two interviewees have their own techniques depending on the language they want to be addressed by strangers. Nando says that he finds himself currently asking for more language change to Spanish than when he arrived in Mallorca. Darío uses two techniques depending on the language he wants to be addressed: if he wants to be addressed in Catalan he uses the Catalan expression “Tell me” [“*Mana*”] and if he wants to be addressed in Spanish he says “Excuse me” in Spanish [“*Perdona*”].

This way, the interlocutor already knows that he wants to speak that language and does the automatic change. However, in general, interviewees do not need techniques to ask people to speak to them in Spanish because that is the most usual language strangers use to address them or the language they use after hearing some accent that might not relate the interlocutor with Catalan speakers. One interviewee mentions interactions with strangers in Catalan. Manuela explains that 20 years ago when she arrived in Mallorca, in Portocolom, more people spoke to her in Catalan at the beginning of the interaction because they still did not know who she was. Two other interviewees, Ester and José Luis, who also arrived in Portocolom did not have any contact with Catalan there. This might have something to do with the epoch in which one and the other arrived at Mallorca: Manuela arrived more than 20 years ago, and Ester and José Luis did so nine years ago. Four interviewees, Gabriela, Manuela, Darío and Nando, expect to be addressed in Catalan by a stranger outside Palma. They relate the language in which they are going to be addressed to their perceived Catalan speakers' density in the different zones of Mallorca, mentioned in section 4.1.2. In the case of Martina, the first languages she expects to be addressed in by a stranger are German and Spanish. She explains that she does not have any problem in being addressed in Catalan by a stranger but if she is addressed in Spanish she can communicate better. Ester says that English is the language she has encountered more coming from strangers, but Spanish is the language that she uses when partying with friends and meeting new people. Estrella does not care about the language in which she is addressed in the street, it only depends on her ability to answer back in that language or not. Fernando understands that being addressed in Catalan would be the normal linguistic use with a stranger in Mallorca, whereas José Luis, would expect being addressed in Spanish but being addressed in Catalan would not cause him any negative feeling. Nando feels an outsider when being addressed both in Spanish and Catalan. He says that when he first arrived in Mallorca, it was difficult to adapt to the Spanish from Spain. This might have to do with what two interviewees, Gabriela and Darío, answered as home language: *Rioplatense* or *Argentinian*. From these language interactions two linguistic norms of usage can be deduced: whenever someone speaks in Spanish the answer back is also in Spanish, and Spanish is used in interactions with strangers. Hence, the language ideology that can be deduced from this language interactions is that Catalan is only for Catalan speakers, it is mainly used as an ingroup language not useful to interact with new speakers and foreigners. Furthermore, as seen in section 4.1.2., those new speakers, like Gabriela and Manuela, who want to learn and practice Catalan in Mallorca, have to

keep on asking for it and, even after asking for it, Catalan speakers do not speak in Catalan to them following the idea of being respectful and making things easier for those potential new speakers. All these language interactions contribute to deploy a feeling of unnecessary of Catalan in Mallorca: Catalan speakers do not speak it to strangers not outgroup people, even when those require to be addressed in Catalan. The only feeling of necessity of Catalan is its requirement to access a public job, but only one interviewee, Gabriela, has a public job. From this a separation can be deduced between public life and individual life. This is reinforced by interviewees' ideas regarding the functions and the utility of a language.

All interviewees, with the exception of Estrella, understand that language has two main functions: communication and culture maintenance. Interviewees associate Catalan in Mallorca with culture maintenance and the maintenance of Mallorcan roots and history. Martina mentions that Spanish is a universal language and Catalan is a language related to the maintenance of the roots. Fernando says that if Catalan language disappears, some elements of the Catalan culture will disappear too and he understands that this is part of the evolution of humanity.

Fernando: Some things do. Some things in the language are going to stick to the culture. There's a lot of traditional stuff here, that if you lose your language and these people who live so deep, so, so, so long, that they live it so much... their kids are not going to do it. Things are going to be lost but this is inevitable, it's part of evolution. (self-translation of Fernando's interviews transcription).

Related to the cultural dimension there are individual thoughts regarding cognitive benefits and politicization of the Catalan language. Nando considers the first language of someone as related to cognitive benefits when using it, especially when people are doing psychological therapy, which is his job. Politicization of the Catalan language is mentioned spontaneously by three interviewees, Manuela, Estrella and Juan. They understand that Catalan language is directly related to politics. Juan specifically mentions the separatism process that Catalonia is aiming at.

Interviewees' opinion regarding the utility of Catalan is contextual. Six interviewees, Martina, Darío, Fernando, Nando, José Luis and Luis, understand that Catalan is useful depending

on the context and José Luis adds also depending on the situation of every individual. This note of José Luis is also supported by Estrella, who says that a language is useful depending on the user, and what the user needs to do and is required to do. These six first mentioned interviewees consider that despite Spanish being a more globally spoken language, Catalan is useful in Mallorca economically and laborally (Darío) or it helps to better communicate with clients (Nando). Two interviewees, Manuela and Ester, think that Spanish is more useful than Catalan anywhere because it is way more spoken than Catalan. Manuela emphasizes that her children will need a high level of Spanish and not Catalan if they want to study in a Spanish speaking area. One interviewee, Gabriela, counteract these ideas by referring to English. She says that speaking in terms of usefulness, English is yet more useful than Spanish to study and work, but that does not mean that people, and more specifically she refers to her children, do not have to learn as many languages as they can. One other interviewee, Juan, raises a question as an answer to the comparison of the utility between Spanish and Catalan: why do we need to compare languages? Then, it can be deduced that (c) Catalan is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary. This means that interviewees perceive social pressure in the public labour market, however in the one-one interaction and private labour market, which is where all of them with one exception belong, it is not necessary and this pressure vanishes.

Despite the encountered general language ideologies, some individual language ideologies or language ideologies shared by few interviewees specifically regarding Catalan can also be commented upon. Gabriela's individual language ideology is the following: speaking Catalan is going to make me more Mallorcan. She is the interviewee with strongest commitment in acquiring Catalan because, despite of having it as a requirement for her job, she wants Catalan to help her to achieve a feeling of belongingness to Mallorca and she wants to be an example for her children. For Martina, Darío and Ester, Catalan is the language they need to understand in order to be updated of what their children do at school. It is remarkable the use of understanding rather than speaking, a language skill that they expect on their children. They also show an interest in acquiring Catalan related to their children, but in their case it is more related to practical issues, such as understanding what the teachers say. In Luis a specific language ideology is detected: young people who speak Catalan to me might have bad intention. This is because, as mentioned earlier, he understands that an old person can speak Catalan to him because some kind of less proficiency, but with young people he expects bad intention behind this linguistic usage. Luis strictly relates

linguistic usage with language and morality.

All in all, three main language ideologies shared by interviewees have been found. Morality is associated with language when interviewees feel respected when they are addressed in Spanish in Mallorca —(a) be polite, speak Spanish. Interviewees do not feel appealed to speak Catalan because they deduce from their daily language interactions that (b) Catalan is only for Catalan speakers. Consequently, despite the institutional pressure they feel with regard to Catalan language requirements to access public jobs in Mallorca, interviewees think that (c) Catalan in Mallorca is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary.

## **5. Discussion**

Results have been articulated around interviewees' daily linguistic interactions. In these interactions, individual and contextual factors influencing the acquisition of Catalan in Mallorca have been touched upon in order to understand the underlying linguistic norms of usage from which language ideologies have been detected. Several conceptual proposals of scholars like DePalma (2015), Durstall (1975, as cited in Ekstrand, 1975), Junyent (1999), Perales and Cenoz (2002), Puigdevall et al. (2022), Skehan (1991) and Woolard (2021) have been confirmed and detected.

Despite encountering individual language ideologies, three main language ideologies shared by interviewees have been encountered: (a) be polite, speak Spanish; (b) Catalan is only for Catalan speakers and (c) Catalan in Mallorca is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary. These three main language ideologies are totally related to each other and can be found in interviewees' daily linguistic interactions manifested in the underlying linguistic norms of usage. In turn, therefore, these language ideologies are also found and manifested in the individual and contextual factors impacting the acquisition of an L2.

It seems that Mallorcan imagined community (Appadurai, 1996) is created in a way in which Catalan is not needed to achieve a sense of belonging for people born in Argentina and living in Mallorca because it is possible to have this feeling by speaking Spanish, which is their initial language. This will of belonging to Mallorca through Catalan language has not any difference regarding the density of Catalan speakers that interviewees perceive in the zone of Mallorca where they live, even the amount of years residing in Mallorca has not any impact on this willingness, except for Matins who considers that living more than 13 years in Mallorca is

already enough to start learning better Catalan. This feeling of unnecessary of Catalan to belong to Mallorcan community is manifested in interviewees' motivation to acquire Catalan. In this research, from the proposed definition of motivation (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Dörnyei 1996; 1998; Durstall, 1975, as cited in Ekstrand 1975; Schumman, 1986; Skehan 1991), two dimensions of it have been commented upon: the reasons and the effort to acquire Catalan in Mallorca. Durstall (1975, as cited in Ekstrand, 1975), has been useful and matched the necessities of classifying the reasons that interviewees manifested to acquire Catalan, into instrumental and integrative reasons. As seen in the results, interviewees mainly manifest instrumental reasons to acquire Catalan in Mallorca, despite two strong integrative reasons deployed by two interviewees, Gabriela and Manuela. Regarding integrative reasons the gender factor stands out: three interviewees, Gabriela, Manuela and Ester, out of the four who manifest primarily integrative reasons are 39-40 years old women with young children aging from 6 months to 5 years old, who, at least, want to be able to understand everything related to their children's school. This does not happen with men of similar age and being fathers of similar children. In the case of the fathers, they put the emphasis on the children learning Catalan, but not themselves and they do not mention being able to understand anything related to the school of their children. Despite some lines before mentioning the null impact of the time of residence in prioritizing integrative reasons to acquire Catalan, it seems that it has a difference in one interviewee, Gabriela. Gabriela who has been living in Mallorca a total of 6,5 years, manifests a strong necessity of belongingness to Mallorca, as contrary to the softness of the same will by Manuela, who has been living in Mallorca for more than 20 years. In line with Skehan's (1991) proposal of taking into account the rewards and constraints when learning an L2, it seems that these three young mothers are the only interviewees who think that Catalan will bring them rewards rather than only constraints. This dualism of rewards and constraints when acquiring an L2, is also related to the contributions that Catalan can make in interviewees' lives. These contributions are also classified as instrumental and integrative (Durstall, 1975 as cited in Ekstrand, 1975) and instrumental are also the priority contributions: access to public jobs, improving the service they offer and easier access to local information. The same two interviewees, Gabriela and Manuela, who manifested belongingness as a main contribution of Catalan in their lives, also mention one constrain, shared also with Dario: difficulty in finding interlocutors to practice and learn Catalan. DePalma (2015) and Perales and Cenoz (2002) rise awareness of the added difficulty that new speakers of a minoritized language, the so-called individual agency, have

to acquire it, and this is confirmed by this research. However, the most widely shared constrained is the difficulty of the pronunciation of Catalan sounds. This constraint is also mentioned by Perales and Cenoz as a very common feeling in adult new speakers of a minoritized language. Perales and Cenoz especially mention this regarding languages such as Catalan, as these new speakers might have had contact with Spanish before Catalan. This is definitely the case of our interviewees who have Spanish as their initial language. Indeed, them having Spanish as their initial language is a key issue that might differ with other potential new speakers of Catalan living in Mallorca with other initial languages rather than Spanish. In places like Mallorca, Spanish is usually the first language that immigrants have contact with when they first arrive to the host society. Minoritized languages like Catalan are not usually in this first contact. Moreover, in the case of the interviewees from this research, Spanish is not only the language through which they have their first linguistic contact with Mallorca but also the language they feel more proficient in, as it is their initial language. Therefore, they join the dominant sociolinguistic dynamics taking place in Mallorca, where Spanish is also an official and dominant language and Catalan a minoritized language (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 1999). Then, feelings of pressure rise when they encounter Catalan language requirements to access public jobs in Mallorca, together with feeling shyness, what Perales and Cenoz (2002) call embarrassment feelings, when adults try to use a language in which they are not proficient. This affective factor, using the terminology of Schuman (1986), of pressure related to the language requirements to access public jobs in Mallorca closes the cercle, as it is related to the instrumentality interviewees report they perceive of Catalan in Mallorca. However, this self-reported and perceived instrumentality is not real. This means that there is a lack between the reported necessity of Catalan in Mallorca and the real necessities of interviewees. This is manifested in their social networks and, therefore, in their daily interactions, as well as in the status of Catalan perceived by interviewees.

Contextual factors studied in this research have shown the predominance and, with two exceptions, unique use of Spanish in interviewees' daily linguistic interactions. They all report that Catalan speakers always address to interviewees in Spanish. They mention an automatic language change. Two interviewees, Gabriela and Manuela, have two spaces, the work and on group of friends, where they keep on asking to be addressed in Catalan. Individual agency (DePalma, 2015) appears again and in this case clearly as micro-immersion contexts that new speakers need to create in minoritized language societies to acquire it. Moreover, these two spaces, enable interviewees to

freely speak Catalan without feeling shyness nor judged. Those are what Puigdevall et al. (2022) propose as safe spaces. Hence, ingroup relationships are the predominant together with sporadic contact with Catalan speakers, both interactions in Spanish. Related to the predominance of ingroup daily relationships, might be the feeling of groups segregation that interviewees report between Catalan and Spanish speakers. Not only interviewees' closest and daily linguistic interactions are in Spanish, but also interactions with strangers. Therefore, the automaticity of the language shift to Spanish by Catalan speakers and the use of Spanish as the language to interact with strangers, lead to the encountered language ideologies and closes the cercle again. The publicly necessity of Catalan in Mallorca is directly related to language requirements to access to public jobs, a requirement that interviewees are not asked for because, except for Gabriela, they all work in the private sector. Therefore, this publicly utility turns individually unnecessary as their daily interactions are mainly ingroup and in Spanish, language that they use with Catalan speakers and with strangers. In this regard, the dualist proposal of Woolard (2021) detecting in Catalonia Spanish as the anonymity language and Catalan as the authenticity language is confirmed in Mallorca. When Catalan speakers automatically change to Spanish to the interviewed potential new speakers, as well as Spanish is the language used with strangers, Catalan gains an ethnic connotation and is presented in society as an ingroup language, only for Catalan speakers, and as the marked language, in terms of Junyent (1999). This is manifested in interviewees affective variables, when three of them express feeling Catalan as a politicized and an imposed language, as opposed to Spanish which is the non-marked language, the language for everyone. Hence, a very brief summary of this is that Spanish is enough to live in Mallorca and Catalan is for those who speaks it at home or who have to present it as a formality to access a public job. Thus, all these language ideologies are manifested in their daily linguistic interactions indexing unequal power relationships between the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan and Spanish (Blommaert, 2006; Boix & Woolard, 2020; Kroskrity, 2014; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1992, 2021). The latter is widely used in detriment of the former.

Thus, the concept of new speakers, as seen in section 2.1., related to mobility and migration and the consequent access to employment, education and health care (Extra, Spotti & Van Avermaet, 2009; O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015; Spotti, 2011), needs to be modified with the sample of this research as already proposed before its beginning, as potential new speakers. All interviewees, with two exceptions, understand Catalan but do not speak

it, also with two other exceptions. All interviewees, also with two exceptions, came to Mallorca with their studies done, so access to education has never been a problem for them, except for one of these two who did not have studies in Argentina and wanted to do a professionalization degree but left it because everything was in Catalan. However, there is a relevant remark to do here. Despite Catalan being spoken by two of the interviewees, with specific people and moments, the majority of the interviewees, except for two, Luis and Estrella, do understand Catalan. This means that, despite them not interacting in Catalan with Catalan speakers and not speaking Catalan, there needs to be some kind of daily presence of this language in their lives so that they are able to understand it.

Before moving into commenting the research questions for this study, possible bias regarding sample characteristics is going to be mentioned. The sample of this research is diverse in gender. There are 5 people who identify as women and 6 people who identify as men, proportional to the statistical data of the IBESTAT according to which more men than women born in Argentina live in Mallorca. In terms of age, socioeconomic status and family migration background, however, the sample is not so diverse. All interviewees are around 41 years old with the exception of Juan who is 75 years old. There is one interviewee, Fernando, with a low socioeconomic status, but all the rest have middle high socioeconomic status, as they studied a bachelor, a professionalization studies or, at least, until high school. Their socioeconomic status might also be deduced from the reasons to migrate to Europe, and more specifically to Mallorca. In one case, Manuela's case, economic reasons due to the crisis of *el corralito*, are mentioned as the main factor to migrate to Mallorca. The rest of the interviewees migrated as a way of changing their lives and improving them, which might be related with economic reasons but not always. However, when they arrived in Mallorca, Gabriela and Juan, where the only two interviewees who could develop a job in line with their studies, in the case of Gabriela, and with what they had been doing before, in the case of Juan. The rest started working in the tourism and hospitality sector or did not find a job. Now all the interviewees work, except for Juan who is already retired, and five of them, Gabriela, Ester, Estrella, Nando and José Luis, do it in line with their previous academic background. Regarding their family migration background, seven out of eleven, Gabriela, Martina, Manuela, Ester, Nando, Juan and Luis, have Italian or Spanish migration background. This still reduces the diversity of our sample, to 40-ish, middle high status white people born in Argentina and moving to Mallorca led by the willingness of changing their lives.

My expectations of finding interviewees from the seven places with more percentages of people born in Argentina —Banyalbufar (22.7%), Sant Joan (15%), Mancor de la Vall (13.9%), Lloseta (13.1%) and Alcúdia (10.4%)—, were not fully met. From the expected places, I found five interviewees living in Palma (Martina, Ester, Nando, José Luis and Luis) and two in Lloseta (Fernando and Juan). Apart from these expected places, I found two interviewees living in Santa Maria (Gabriela and Darío) and two more in Felanitx (Manuela and Estrella), where, in both villages, people born in Argentina represent the third migrant group in 2019. Despite the differences, Felanitx might be similar to Alcúdia in the sense that a lot of migrant people work in the tourist sector in Portocolom or Cala d'Or, which are touristic places very close to Felanitx, where those workers usually find a place to settle. However, the expectations of finding 5 women and 6 men, was met. Finally, it has also to be taken into account myself as an agent that can push interviewees to produce socially desirable answers.

Before concluding this section, I want to state again my research questions:

RQ-1- What, if any, is the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca?

RQ-2: If so, why is there an effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca?

RQ-3: How does the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca work?

RQ-4: Why does the effect of the language ideologies of Argentinian potential new speakers on learning Catalan in Mallorca work like this?

Language ideologies have been encountered as socially and individually multiple, as they are produced by individuals, groups and institutions immersed in a socioeconomic and political system in which they are positioned. One example of language ideologies of each positioned subject: Estrella saying that Catalan cannot contribute at all in her life (individual), interviewees coinciding that they feel respected when a Catalan speaker address to them in Spanish (group), and Catalan being required to access public jobs in Mallorca (institutions). In this research, interviewees' language ideologies referred to language use (their daily linguistic interactions) and structure (the constraints of acquiring Catalan in Mallorca). From these ideas unequal power dimensions are indexed, such as Spanish being related to anonymity and Catalan to authenticity, limits the latter language to be a home language while the former is widely used in Mallorca,

specially in Palma. Then, despite Catalan being explicitly promoted by the Government of the Balearic Islands, it is socially weaker —less used— than Spanish. Moreover, these ideas are linked to morality, aesthetics and in one case, Gabriela's case, to identity. To morality because of the idea that speaking one language in Mallorca, Spanish, makes you more respectful than speaking another language, Catalan. To aesthetics because having Catalan accent when speaking Spanish is related to a sign of being less proficient in Spanish, and consequently, of being less educated. To identity, because Gabriela thinks that speaking Catalan will make her more Mallorcan.

Therefore, all these encountered multiple and positioned ideas regarding language use and structure are manifested in individual and contextual factors impacting the acquisition of an L2 by Argentinians living in Mallorca, such as motivation and their daily linguistic interactions. Hence, there is an effect of language ideologies on Argentinian potential new speakers in learning Catalan in Mallorca (RQ-1) but it is not an homogeneous effect. The majority of the interviewees self-report instrumental reasons to learn Catalan in order to be able to access public jobs. Still, out of eleven, two have a Catalan certificate. Indeed, two of them cannot continue nor access such jobs because of the lack of Catalan level and they think it is fine. Still, no desire to formal studies of Catalan language arises. Estrella thinks that Catalan cannot contribute at all in her life but she keeps on learning it. Manuela thinks that Catalan is imposed by institutions in Mallorca, but she has a Catalan certificate and thinks that learning Catalan is a respectful act towards Mallorcan language and culture. Darío wants to be part of the linguistic grow of their children but he does not speak Catalan. Juan loves Mallorca and its people but does not speak Catalan, neither. Some of the interviewees consider inappropriate that Catalan is not spoken at public institutions in Mallorca but they would speak to the public workers in Spanish. Despite a cultural product having the same prestige form the point of view of interviewees, they would always consume the Spanish product. Therefore, it seems that there is a real separation between understanding Catalan and using it. It seems that in this regard, individual factors, such as shyness, individual agency, and difficulties in pronouncing Catalan sounds, and contextual factors, such as Catalan speakers never speaking Catalan to them nor to strangers, are more important than their language ideologies. However, in one interviewee, Gabriela, language ideology has more effect than her shyness or individual agency. Nevertheless, it could be said that the three main language ideologies encountered have an effect on preventing interviewees to cross the line from understanding to using Catalan in their daily live because they do not see the point in doing that: Catalan is not

necessary to be full citizens in Mallorca. Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980, as cited in Dörnyei, 1998) theory of reasoned action and theory of planned behavior is useful to understand this line between understanding and using Catalan in Mallorca. According to the theory of reasoned action, the performance of a specific behaviour, in this case learning Catalan, depends on the person's perception of the social pressures put on them to perform the behaviour in question. According to the theory of planned behaviour, it depends on the perceived easiness or difficulty of performing the behaviour. Thus, interviewees perceive social pressure by the language requirements, but they do not act upon it because they do not experience this pressure in their jobs nor in the administration nor in their daily interactions with Catalan speakers. Moreover, when trying to learn Catalan, they have to put extra effort in finding an interlocutor to practice with. So, there is an impact of the ideas of unnecessary and ethnicity of Catalan on learning and using it in Mallorca. However, I think that despite they all daily interactions are in Spanish there is happening something that should be further investigated. Without interviewees having formal courses of Catalan and without having daily interactions in Catalan, they are able to understand Catalan and have a conversation with me speaking Catalan to them and they answering back to me in Spanish. Then, indeed, the density of Catalan around them is not so little.

Thus, in this research I can just answer the first RQ-1 I proposed, as further research needs to be done regarding the reason of this impact (RQ-2), the way language ideologies work in new speakers' mindsets (RQ-3) and why they work like that (RQ-4). This will be further developed in my PhD by using mixed methods, as I think that a quantitative approach next to qualitative data will shed light in the not yet answered three research questions. Moreover, some further research regarding how they actually acquire Catalan without any formal course is necessary. This way, I am aiming to understand how potential new speakers can cross the line from understanding to using Catalan in Mallorca.

In the meanwhile, however, I do think that there are already some recommendations for the institutions in Mallorca. Taking into account the results of this study together with all its limitations, there are some interventions that institutions could do. I would determine three different target groups for the institutions: potential new speakers, new speakers and speakers of Catalan. In general, for all these three target groups it is needed more sensibilization and education regarding language diversity and its maintenance as something that has to be the duty of all the people living in Mallorca, not only for Catalan speakers. Kalev et al. (2006) demonstrated with the

policies to manage gender discrimination at the workplace that the most effective strategies are those who aim at shared responsibilities. I think that the priority is to change Catalan speakers daily linguistic dynamics of interaction and I think that to do so, their language ideologies have to change. It is a matter of sensibilization and understanding the consequences of losing diversity as human beings. I draw on other diversity sensibilization movements, such as gender diversity or environmental diversity. I propose institutional interventions at schools, public administration services and workplaces. Regarding schools, the curriculum should be adapted, as it is being done with gender and environmental diversity, to understand what language diversity means and which kind of language diversity there is in Mallorcan classrooms. Public administration services should make visible their ability to attend in Catalan so that Catalan speaker do not have to ask for it, as well as ensure that there is a minimum of public workers with these Catalan language skills. At the workplaces, employers should receive regular subventions so that their employees attend to diversity courses. This education proposals lie on the base of understanding the role of each of us in maintaining diversity, in this case linguistic diversity. Moreover, a huge important issue to tackle in these courses is the critique and reconceptualization of the Catalan speaker. The ethnicization of Catalan do not help to its acquisition and use by new speakers. Regarding education, two interviewees, José Luis and Ester, mentioned the difficulties in finding Catalan courses in Palma. Therefore, they suggested that the process to get the information is easier. In this regard, I am thinking about possible public campaigns by the institutions that place big posters in the street with places and schedules of Catalan classes in Mallorca.

Catalan speakers are definitely one important key in reversing the ethnicization of Catalan. Increasing the presence of Catalan speakers in the areas, specially in Palma neighbourhoods, where there is more migration and where Spanish is generally the language used independently of the origin and linguistic background of the interlocutors, might contribute to making Catalan speakers not feeling a minority and changing the linguistic dynamics. I am fully conscient that I am proposing a remodulation of the infrastructure of Palma and this is far from my scope. But I think preventing socioeconomic and linguistic segregation might be socially and linguistically useful.

I strongly believe that public institutions of Mallorca should invest in researching more about language ideologies from potential new speakers, new speakers and Catalan speakers in order to propose more customized and targeted language campaigns. I believe that institutional efforts should go on the direction of desethnicizing Catalan language. Catalan should be

promoted as a useful language for interactions with potential new speakers, new speakers and strangers. I think this is the first step towards the increase of the use of Catalan, because as seen, understanding Catalan seems to be ensured. This desethnicization needs to be done together with Catalan speakers, because they are the primary agents of preventing language shift. Therefore, by pursuing the anonymity of Catalan, its public use might be increased, as well as its perception of utility.

## 6. Conclusion

In this research it has been studied the effect of language ideologies on Argentinian potential new speakers learning Catalan in Mallorca. To do so, fully qualitative methods have been followed in the form of eleven semistructured interviews to five people who identify themselves as women and six people who identify themselves as men. Diverse profiles have been interviewed with an average age of 41 years old, with higher education with two exceptions, with children, except for two interviewees, and with a basic understanding of Catalan, except for two interviewees who do not understand Catalan at all, and two more who have a B1 language certificate. The interviews have been conducted online and offline and both in Catalan and Spanish. Coded-driven analysis has been followed.

It has been found that language ideologies impact the acquisition of Catalan in Mallorca but further research needs to be done regarding this impact, as the research questions regarding the reason of this impact, how it works and why it works like that have not been answered. General guidelines of the impact of language ideologies on learning Catalan in Mallorca cannot be applied to the entire sample of this study, as different interviewees have different language ideologies that impact differently on them. Nevertheless, three general language ideologies have been detected among all the interviewees: (a) be polite, speak Spanish; (b) Catalan is only for Catalan speakers and (c) Catalan in Mallorca is publicly necessary and individually unnecessary. These language ideologies have been deduced from their individual and contextual factors influencing the acquisition of a second language, such as motivation, social networks and status factors. Interviewees daily interactions are mainly in Spanish: they use Spanish with their closest cercle, at their workplace or when attending public administrations, as well as with Catalan speakers. Despite acknowledging Catalan requirements to access a public job in Mallorca, interviewees do not have such a requirement. All these ingredients together rise the unnecessary of Catalan in their

daily life and the feeling that Catalan is an intragroup language of the Catalan speakers. This ideology is in line with what previous scholars like Kathryn Woolard (2021) and Carme Junyent (1999) found. Therefore, Catalan is the marked language, the ethnic language. Gender differences regarding the motivation of learning Catalan have been found with women presenting higher integrative reasons to acquire Catalan than men. Hence, despite the basic knowledge of Catalan and the perception of it as required to have public jobs, its usage is not ensured by the interviewed potential new speakers. There is a line they still did not cross from understanding and using it which need further research. Further research is also needed regarding the conditions under which interviewees, without attending formals courses nor interacting in Catalan in their daily life, were able to learn and understand Catalan.

Mallorca public institutions should aim towards the desethnicization of Catalan language in public spaces, so that more potential new speakers could actually put into practice the Catalan they know and Catalan speakers use their language to welcome them. To do so shared responsibilities strategies are proposed at school, public administration services and workplaces. Moreover, Palma's urbanization is called into attention to rethink and restructured it, so that socioeconomic and linguistic ghettos are disrupted.

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