

THE MIRROR EFFECT:

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF THE AMAZIGH AND

QUECHUA COMMUNITIES IN CATALONIA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyses the effects of Catalan in the linguistic ideologies of immigrant people in Catalonia who come from a minoritised context. The study is framed within language ideologies studies. It follows other studies in Catalonia on the so called *languages of migration*. Two communities have been researched: the Amazigh and the Quechua communities in Catalonia. The main point argued is that Catalan does have an effect on these communities; it makes these communities self-identify with the Catalan society. This phenomenon is called mirror-effect (Cortès-Colomé, 2016). This effect raises awareness of their background, and it triggers a change of linguistic representations and language ideologies. The study also looks at the general language ideologies of these communities and their negotiation with the mirror effect. The research was carried out through quantitative and qualitative research. It includes surveys and semi-structured interviews of about one-hour duration collected thanks to participants of each community. Based on the data, the study presents a picture of the language ideologies of these communities towards their heritage languages, their dominant languages, Catalan and Spanish. This study is the first looking at the mirror effect regarding whole communities, and not only individuals.

Key words: mirror effect, heritage languages, language ideologies.

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1. Introduction, hypotheses, research questions and theoretical framework

According to GELA (Grup d'Estudi de Llengües Amençades, University of Barcelona)¹ more than 300 languages are spoken in Catalonia. Moreover, IDESCAT² (Institute of Statistics of Catalonia) numbers Catalans with an *initial language*³ other than Catalan and Spanish as 10.6% of the total population (EULP2013, 2015: 30). Data from the same institute shows that Catalan is clearly an endangered and minoritised language; both variables “language use” and “initial language” drop drastically between the 2003 and 2013 surveys, whereas Spanish remains stable and dominant in these categories (EULC2003, 2005; EULP2013, 2015).

The demographics in Catalonia –7.553.650 inhabitants in 2013, slightly decreasing due to the economic crisis – have also changed substantially in the 2003-2013 period. The population has increased to 850,000, 701,000 of them born outside Spain (DGPL, 2015: 53). In fact, only 63.7% of the Catalans was born in Catalonia (ibidem: 7-8). Thus, alloglots –here and henceforth L1 different from Spanish or Catalan – have increased by 400,000 in these 10 years (ibidem: 16).

From the IDESCAT data, linguists have inferred that foreign populations integrate essentially in Spanish (DGPL, 2015: 27, 59). This has provoked an increase in “mainly Spanish” habitual speakers –32.9 in 2003 to 35 in 2013 – and a decrease in “mainly Catalan”

¹ <http://gela.cat/doku.php?id=llengues> <consulted 13/07/2018>

² IDESCAT publishes once every 5 years the “Survey of the Language Uses of the Population” (EULP) from the year 2003. 2018 survey is yet to be published.

³ “Initial language” is the terminology used in Catalonia for L1.

ones –46.2 in 2003 to 41% in 2013⁴. This increase in population due to the arrival of foreign migrants has therefore altered the linguistic dynamics in Catalonia (DGPL, 2015: 39).

All these data account for an interesting situation, where a dominant language –Spanish – is most related to the working class, and a subordinated declining language –Catalan –, related to the middle class (Pujolar, 2009: 91). The latter is also present in domains normally reserved for dominant languages, such as mass media, high culture or politics, and with an evident presence in the public space (DGPL, 2015: 51).

In this scenario, this study explores what happens when members of a minoritised foreign community migrate to Catalonia. The communities chosen are the Amazigh and the Quechua, with a known common minorisation trait shared with the receiving community.

The present work intends to contribute to a less-studied field: heritage languages (or immigration languages), and more deeply, heritage languages understood as endangered languages (Ogoshi and Hayasi, 2004: vi). It also intends to introduce these languages into the public debate and increase awareness of them, as well as promoting and maintaining them as a part of Catalonia's heritage.

The paper finally aims to contribute to the new tendency in Catalonia which advocates multilingualism as a strategy for revitalising (or normalising) Catalan, in opposition to bilingualism and the official language policy and planning carried out in Catalonia ever since the end of Franco's dictatorship in 1975.

My main HYPOTHESIS that contact with Catalan may be followed by a phenomenon called *mirror effect* (described below). Following this, I hypothesise that the language ideologies, language use and language attitudes of the Quechua and Amazigh communities living in Catalonia are determined by this mirror effect.

⁴ Data concerning only population who has lived in Catalonia for at least 15 years.

Some scholars in Catalonia from the GELA Research Group have observed and described what they call MIRROR EFFECT. According to them, contact with a minority language may act as a stimulus for some foreigners to re-evaluate their own cultural and linguistic heritage or even to reinterpret their language origins. (Cortès-Colomé et al.: 2016: 276). In fact, in Catalonia some studies have suggested that contact with Catalan sometimes prompted a shift in language ideology (see Junyent et al.: 2011; Barrieras and Monrós, 2005).

More concretely, it can make these speakers reevaluate the sociolinguistic situation of their languages and become engaged cultural and linguistic activists or even become activists for Catalan, adopting it as their preferred language in Catalonia. Then, the mirror effect projects the representation built in Catalonia onto their homeland and inspires a sort of solidarity among minoritised individuals and prompts sympathies to multilingualism. It also provokes changes in language ideologies and linguistic behaviour (Cortès-Colomé et al.: 2016: 275-281). This paper is the first to analyse the mirror effect on whole communities rather than individuals, with the aim to generalise the previous results. I have found only one comparable study in the literature: Language attitudes of adult immigrant Panjabis in Catalonia (Larrea, 2017) (see 3. Literature Review).

The RESEARCH QUESTIONS aimed to be answered by this study are, in order of importance:

(a) Does the mirror effect apply to the Amazigh and Quechua communities? If affirmative, how does it affect them? Does it affect individuals from these communities or is it a widespread phenomenon affecting the whole community?

(c) What are the main language ideologies of the Quechua and Amazigh communities in Catalonia? Does mirror effect determine their language ideologies? What is the relationship between language ideologies and the mirror effect?

2. Literature review

2.1 Language ideologies

As Woolard explains, there is no single core literature on language ideologies and there are a number of different emphases. She defines them as: “Representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998: 20-21). As she is one of the main authorities on language ideologies in Catalonia, I will follow her theoretical framework and emphases.

Woolard herself has done extensive work in Catalonia during three decades on language ideologies, attitudes and linguistic representations. She has coined two relevant concepts for language ideology studies: *authenticity* and *anonymity*, which I will use in the data analysis. According to her, “the ideology of authenticity credits a language variety with value insofar as it expresses the essential, distinctive nature of a community or a speaker, a view associated with Romantic particularism”, whereas “the ideology of anonymity holds that a language is valuable as a neutral, objective vehicle of expression equally available to all users, a view associated with enlightenment universalism” (Woolard, 2008: 304-306).

Recently, Woolard and other scholars have documented “a trend to displace the source of authority for Catalan away from authenticity and toward anonymity, and even beyond to a new, still inchoate legitimating ideology that challenges both of these modern discourses.” (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 134-135).

A group of researchers from the research group IdentiCAT (Open University of Catalonia), led by Joan Pujolar, have contributed to sociolinguistics with concepts like “*muda lingüística*”. A linguistic *muda* is defined as “moments of transformation of the linguistic practices of particular individuals which also involve adopting new forms of self-presentation” (Puigdevall et al., 2018; see also Pujolar and González, 2013 and Pujolar and

Puigdevall, 2015). They have also done research Catalan newspeakism and other minority languages and language ideologies and attitudes of Catalan youth (see O'Rourke et al., 2015; Puigdevall et al., 2018).

The Research Centre on Sociolinguistics and Communication (CUSC, University of Barcelona) and its members have also done a large amount of work on language ideologies. Relevant to this study is their description of the *accommodation norm* for which Catalan speakers code-switch to Spanish with people perceived as allochthones (see Boix, 1993; Vila and Galindo, 2012). At the same time, the Intercultural Spaces, Languages and Identities Research Group (GREILI, Pompeu Fabra University) have studied the language attitudes towards English and the idea of *linguistic cosmopolitanism* in Catalonia (see Trenchs et al., 2014).

Finally, looking at Quechua and Amazigh language ideologies in their countries of origin will contribute to the response of my research questions. Some reference studies are those of Hornberger (1988), King (1999), Luyckx (2004) and Coronel-Molina (2007) for Quechua and Marley (2004), Hoffman (2006), Reino (2013) and Bullock (2014) for Amazigh.

2.2 Heritage languages

I refer as heritage languages to those languages spoken by immigrant communities in a given community (Aalberse and Muysken, 2013; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, after King and Enns-Kananen, 2013). Heritage languages have been historically considered in danger due to homogenisation tendencies in urban nation-state areas. Nevertheless, some authors see an awakening of linguistic heritage and new opportunities to defy homogenisation policies and

processes and declining nation-states in this *glocal* area (Bastardas, 1996: 129; Boix-Fuster, 2015: Chapter 7).

2.2.1 Heritage languages in Catalonia

GELA, the research group that coined the term *mirror effect*, have also worked in language transmission in migrant families, as well as inventorying the alloglot languages in Catalonia – more than 300⁵.

In one of their studies about language transmission in the most Catalan speaking areas in Catalonia they picture (1) a big shift towards Catalan, (2) a small shift towards Spanish, (3) a small shift towards unofficial languages of origin, particularly Arabic to Amazigh, and a small shift towards official languages of origin, including some Arabic-to-Amazigh shifts and one Quechua to Spanish shift (Comellas et al.: 2017: 181-182).

Interestingly, this situation contradicts the general trend stated in transmigration studies: the preference of majority languages –such as Spanish– over minority ones –such as Catalan– (Ros, 2006: 53, in Comellas et al., 2017: 182), demonstrating the special linguistic situation in Catalonia which may be responsible of triggering the so called mirror effect. And in fact, they also give clear data on the mirror effect amongst the Amazighs (ibid.: 184). They finally also remind us that in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, on which our study is based, points to the overwhelming adoption of Spanish instead of Catalan in case of language shift (ibid.: 183).

Comellas (2018) has also compared the transmission of Portuguese and Galician as heritage languages in Catalonia. Galician, as a minority language, is very likely to converge to

⁵ See <http://gela.cat/doku.php?id=llengues>

Spanish and has a transmission rate much lower than Portuguese, although some cases of mirror effect have been spotted amongst Galician speakers.

In another recent study, Barrieras and Ferrerós (2018) have carried out quantitative research on alloglot languages among college students. They report (1) a shift⁶ from the three groups to Spanish and Catalan, higher among minority language speakers; report a (2) high rate of transmission of all groups, which diminishes when looking at the language of identification and (3) some cases of shift towards the majority language of the country of origin as well as (4) some cases susceptible to be interpreted as mirror effects.

Other authors from different research groups have also worked with alloglot languages in Catalonia. Language ideologies studies on Moroccan and African women (Pujolar, 2005), Chinese youth (Trenchs-Parera, 2013) and the Japanese community (Fukuda, 2009) are of special interest.

Larrea's (2016) thorough and extensive study on the language ideologies of the Panjabi community in Catalonia resembles ours, especially because it intends to cover a whole minority language community. Having established differences between Pakistani and Indian Panjabis –the first undergoing a shift from Panjabi to Urdu and the latter considering Panjabi their national language–, he identifies four major language ideology groups: (1) pro-Panjabi/anti-Hindi – pro-Catalan activism, (2) defence of Panjabi – acceptance of Catalan and Spanish, (3) indifference towards Panjabi – anti-Catalanism and (4) anti-Panjabi monolingualism – Indifference towards Catalan and Spanish. Some individuals in the two first groups (mainly Indian Panjabis) fit into the mirror effect definition, although the majority analyses the Catalan sociolinguistic situation through Pakistani or Indian sociolinguistic principles' glasses. His study is of reference for our discussion.

⁶ By "shift" they mean a non-coincidence between L1 and Language of identification. "Maintenance" stands for a coincidence of the two.

2.2.2 Quechua and Amazigh as heritage languages

In addition to being heritage languages in Catalonia, both Quechua and Amazigh are considered minoritised languages in their countries of origin. Amazigh is the language of 40% of the population in Morocco (12 million speakers) and 25% in Algeria (7 million speakers), where it is official, and it is spoken as well in other North-African countries (Fidalgo, 2015: 95, Lamuela, 2005: 1-2; see Boukous, 2011; El Aissati, 2001; Múrcia and Zenia, 2016; for the Amazigh sociolinguistic situation).

Quechua is spoken in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, Colombia and Argentina by 10 million people or so. Peru is the country where it is more widespread, with 4 million speakers, and Bolivia and Ecuador follow with more than 2 million speakers respectively (Gràcia, 2010: 1-2 see Kendall and Hornberger, 2004; Moseley, 2010 for the Quechua sociolinguistic situation).

Moreover, Amazigh and Quechua diaspora makes their languages fit into the category of “heritage languages” or “immigration languages”. Most of these languages are believed to be endangered, being it difficult to maintain them out of the original territory (Blas-Arroyo 2005, 455 and Edwards 2010, 21, after Larrea, 2017: 51; Bastardas 1996: 129).

In Catalonia, there is a large number of both Amazighs and Quechuas, although it is very difficult to count groups from minoritised background due to occultation, lack of prestige and other problems (problematised by Comellas et al., 2010). Nevertheless, there have been attempts to identify the migration fluxes of Quechuas and Amazighs in Catalonia.

Ecuador is the third largest nationality in Catalonia (around 50.000 people); Peru and Bolivia are the homeland of around 20.000 respectively (Barrieras, 2013: 2). However, Latin Americans in Spain can obtain the Spanish nationality with just 2 years of residence, so these

numbers are likely to be much higher (Alarcón and Garzón, 2011: 45). We can probably assume that there must be thousands of Quechua speakers in Catalonia.

The Moroccan nationality is the largest immigrant community in Catalonia (more than 240,000), representing more than 20% of the overall immigration. At the beginning the host country expected them to speak only Arabic, but in fact it discovered that most of them speak Amazigh. Between 50 and 80% of the Moroccan population in Catalonia are L1 Amazigh speakers. There are also some Amazigh speakers among the Algerian community (around 9,000 in Catalonia). Some authors presume that Amazigh is in fact the third most spoken language in Catalonia, just behind Spanish and Catalan (Barrieras, 2013: 9-10).

Amongst the Amazighs there is a large number of endonyms and exonyms (Barrieras: 2013: 13). In this research I have not encountered self-identification problems in the Amazigh community, they accept all endonyms and exonyms and feel part of the same nation. This can be related to the rise of the Amazigh movement (Maddy-Weitzman, 2012).

Overall, there is very little work on Quechua as a heritage language. One example is Mendoza-Mori's study (2017). On the contrary, Amazigh as a heritage language is relatively well-studied in countries where this language has a significant presence, such as France or Belgium. A prominent author of reference is Chaker (1997; 2003; 2013).

Unfortunately, there is no specific study on Quechua or Amazigh as heritage languages in Catalonia, as most studies look at nationality within a nation-state framework. There are thus studies on Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Bolivian and Moroccan immigration, although only some of them mention Quechua and Amazigh speakers and differentiate L1s.

These studies have reached some conclusions on these nationalities' language ideologies in Catalonia. Latin-Americans are believed to constitute a sole category amongst the research

community. Thus, most of the consulted studies do not differentiate between nationalities (Comellas, 2006; Corona, 2012 and 2016; Garzón, 2012; Newman, 2011; Patiño-Santos, 2018; Sanvicén-Torné, 2017), although others do (e.g. Garzón, 2011 for Ecuadorians). The common assumptions of Latin-Americans' language ideologies are: (1) Spanish as the dominant language for Latin-Americans as well as Spanish citizens determines their language ideologies, (2) monolingual nation-state ideologies in Latin-America are widespread, even among plurilingual individuals, (3) extreme racialisation, minorisation and stigmatisation, (4) rigid language hierarchy, with English above Spanish and other languages considered *patois*, and (5) a considerable degree of hostility towards Catalan.

Moroccan nationals are believed to constitute another category of language ideologies. They have been researched by Alarcón (2011), Comellas (2006), Sanvicén-Torné (2016; 2017), and Vila et al. (2013) who found: (1) neutrality towards Catalan or certain animosity, (2) Catalan and Spanish are very similar (low effort to know both), (3) multilingual ideologies – the more languages the better, but some more instrumental than others (4) major gender differences and (5) high rates of illiteracy.

In Alarcón and Garzón (2011) shared ideologies have also been identified: (1) strong link identity-heritage language, although low prestige and seen as not useful, (2) Catalan perceived as strong cultural capital and a factor in upward mobility, but (3) Spanish perceived as useful, as the language of communication.

Finally, a relevant study on Catalan associations promoting alloglot languages and cultures has described the mirror effect in the Ukrainian, Pakistani-Panjabi, Sikh-Indian-Panjabi as well as the Amazigh and Quechua interviewees (Pera-Ros, 2017).

3. Methodology and data collection

The methodology used in this dissertation combines both quantitative and qualitative methods from an ethnographic point of view. Some researchers, such as Auerbach and Silverstein (2003: 28-29), Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė (2013: 50), Codó (2008: 171), Labov (1972: 97) or Schilling (2013: 66) encourage this combination, as it strengthens the quality and thoroughness of the study, complementing the lacks of each method. I will use the qualitative data to structure the analysis and discussion, with quotes supporting the explanations. The quantitative data will be used to support the qualitative analysis.

3.1 Metadata

Questionnaire data was obtained from surveys with two different versions; one per community (see Appendices). Each version has a Catalan language version and a Spanish one. The surveys ask for different things:

Firstly, 8 questions about the participant's profile: age, gender, country of birth, country of birth of their parents, education, profession, mother tongue and languages known and in what level. Then it follows up with 7 Likert-type (Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė: 83, Low, 1999) questions about language ideologies which ask the participants to rate on a scale of 1 to 5 the importance of languages with regard to SCHOOL, WORK, TRADITIONAL CULTURE, SURROUNDING CULTURE, IDENTITY, CHILDREN'S FUTURE and WELLBEING⁷.

The languages asked for are Catalan, Spanish and Arabic /Spanish, Quechua/Amazigh and English, depending on the community. The survey finishes with another Likert-scale

⁷ By surrounding culture I mean the linguistic performances within their immediate social circles and leisure time. By wellbeing I mean for quality of life and also standard of living. The concepts in Catalan/Spanish are difficult to translate to English.

question, asking if they think the linguistic situation of their community is similar to the one of Catalan, a question misunderstood by some people and interpreted in a range of different ways, invalidating its results (Low's problematisation of the Likert-scale questions, 1999). Five-point Likert scales were chosen because of their suitability for studying attitudes, beliefs and opinions (Rasinger 2008: 61-62; in Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė, 2013: 83; Schleef, 2013: 47).

The form of interview chosen is a semi-structured interview (see Appendices) using ethnographic and friend-to-friend social network approaches, recommended for gathering qualitative data (Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė, 2013: 51, 93-94; Meyerhoff et al., 2012; Hofmann, 2013: 34).

The main topics followed during the interviews were: BACKGROUND and EARLY LIFE, FAMILY SPHERE, WORKING and ACADEMIC SPHERE, RELATIONSHIP WITH LANGUAGES, MIGRATION and also attempting to develop more insight into the LAST 8 QUESTIONS FROM THE SURVEY. Before all the interviews, the participants filled in the survey.

Apart from these data, I also took part in some community activities in which participant observation was carried out, contributing to the qualitative data, gaining familiarity with community practices and improving the relationship with them (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 68-71; in Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė, 2013: 101). This data will not be used for the analysis, and it can be consulted in the Appendices.

The set of data collected consists of 34 surveys and 6 semi-structured interviews from the Quechua community and 48 surveys and 9 semi-structured interviews from the Amazigh one. Traditionally, for surveys at least 30 respondents are required for each variable/subgroup. In our case, we took each community as the smallest subgroup (Hatch and Lazaraton, 1991; in Schleef, 2013: 52).

All the Amazigh interviewees are from different parts of Morocco. The Quechua interviewees are from Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (see Table 2). The data presented in this paper is an analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data, which complement each other. The surveys were processed using Google Forms. The interviews were recorded with a Samsung phone excepting two of them, which were written down right after the interview because of the reluctance of the participants of being recorded. All participants have been anonymised for this study and have given their consent when necessary, as well as being offered the final outcome of the study and a copy of the interview if interviewed.

A naming convention has been established for the semi-structured interviews, which will be used when quoting in the data analysis. Quotes will also have a reference code ([Q-1], [Q-2] and so forth). For the originals (with the same code), see Appendices.

Q/A	Quechua community/Amazigh community
1/2/3...	Number of the interview time-ordered.
H/D	Gender of the participant: H–man/D–woman.
30/35/40...	Approximate age of the participant

Table 1: Naming convention for the semi-structured interviews.

A1H45	Q1D45(Bolivia)
A2H40	Q2H45(Peru)
A3D20	Q3D50(Peru)
A4H20	Q4H50(Ecuador)
A5D20 (A5D20S/A5D20H)	Q5D40(Peru)
A6H40	Q6H50(Peru)
A7D40	
A8D40	

A9H40	
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Table 2: Semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Contact with the communities

The surveys were initially distributed mainly on-line, with a good response from the Amazigh community and no response whatsoever from the Quechua community. After trying to distribute them on-line, I distributed them on paper face-to-face, allowing for participatory observation as well as a better interpretation. Thus, the vast majority of the surveys from the Quechua community were obtained face-to-face, and around 60% of the surveys from the Amazigh community were obtained on-line, the others being on paper.

In the case of the Amazigh community, all the on-line surveys were self-administered, leading to a bias meaning that respondents have a particular socioeconomic background and age (Schleef, 2013: 52). For paper versions some of them were interviewer-administered or -assisted (*ibidem*: 52) because of language/literacy problems in Spanish/Catalan.

The fact that most of the quantitative data was obtained by/with the interviewer (40% of the Amazigh surveys were obtained this way) makes the questionnaire data more ethnography-oriented than random, and thus more concordant with the qualitative data.

The contacts for the qualitative data and face-to-face surveying were not obtained completely randomly, as it would be unattainable in the present case. The variety of fields explored, however, (see Appendices) helped reach different socioeconomic, cultural and geographic backgrounds from both communities (Hofmann, 2013: 32). I have to draw

attention to the fact that a particular profile within the Amazigh community –cultural and political activists aware of their identity– was overrepresented in the qualitative data⁸.

3.3 Fieldwork and data collection issues

One of the main issues during fieldwork was related to the role of the researcher, his presence influencing on the data and the attitudes and ideologies towards the researcher himself, which would be interesting to be treated as a relevant object of study in its own right. Labov (1972) theorised one of the first and most studied theories about the influence of the researcher, THE OBSERVER’S PARADOX. Sallabank talks about the RESEARCHERS’ PARADOX, a preferable term for my study (2013: 60). Studies on the role of the researcher have been elaborated further by other researchers, such as Heller, Pujolar and Pietikäinen (2013), Meyerhoff, et al. (2012). The researcher’s affected both the researcher-administered surveys and the interviews.

No especial strategy to minimise the paradox has been followed (*ibidem*: 124-125), although before each interview I clarified my position, the basic goals of the study and gained the confidence and trust of the interviewee.

Following Heller et al. (2013: 30-31; 57-65) and Sallabank (2013: 60) I assume that a research project is inherently non-objective. A self-defined and identified researcher’s role and position can at least raise awareness of the possible researcher-focused bias, accepting the researcher’s paradox as part of the research project. This self-definition has to be well thought-through before the fieldwork and oriented towards the scientific community, the researcher itself and the researched social groups. In fact, the research project is a political

⁸ Receiving more responses from more engaged people when working with a minority community is not surprising. It would be interesting to problematise this issue in further research.

intervention affecting both the participants and society itself, and this is the approach I am taking (see Introduction).

A big question which occurred constantly during fieldwork was “WHAT LANGUAGE TO SPEAK?” My personal political position in Catalonia for years has been to speak only Catalan. This personal principle had to be broken during fieldwork for many reasons, especially with the Quechua community and essentially because of comprehension issues. Moreover, speaking Catalan sometimes encouraged people who did not feel confident to speak it back to me. In very few other cases, speaking Catalan provoked negative attitudes towards me and the research project.⁹ This all prompted me to change to Spanish or ask what language I could use.

As a researcher, I was sometimes OTHERISED. Whereas with the Amazigh community I was always treated as native Catalan speaker, I had a different experience with the Quechuas. They would often not believe I was Catalan because of my Catalan accent in Spanish and my (North-European, as told) physical appearance. I was also identified as a Catalan nationalist (“you are very Catalan”; “your Catalan is very Catalan”). Their impression of me was of a person in a higher social position, which affected their answers in very different ways, but especially with regard to Catalan¹⁰.

These issues may be related to the racial complex¹¹ of the Quechuas (van Dijk, 2005), which additionally can motivate them to give answers thought to please/flatter the researcher, –Foddy’s “question threat” (1993: 120-123).

⁹ Again, this arising issue when working with minorities would be interesting to be explored more in-depth.

¹⁰ They would sometimes overrate their judgements of Catalan in the surveys or apologize when judged negatively or for not knowing Catalan.

¹¹ Term used by some interviewees.

Schleef (2013) calls into question the problematic nature of questionnaires. Overgeneralisation was the main issue reported, especially regarding English (“*English is very important*”).

The unwillingness to admit to certain facts/attitudes/behaviours, described by Foddy (1993) was also a recurrent spotted issue. Quechua shame of admitting indigenous-related facts or Amazighs remarking they like Arabic (an attitude found amongst Catalans toward Spanish) are good examples of it.

It is worth mentioning that the vast majority of the questionnaire problems described could have not been observed had all the questions been answered online. These problems, if analysed as a research object, can help us understand many things about our research.

4. Data analysis

4.1 Qualitative data

4.1.1 Mirror effect

As hypothesised, a mirror effect has been found in a number of individuals. In the following table, I present the list of the interviewees, I determine if the mirror effect has been found or not and I indicate the language the interview was carried out in.

Interviewee	Mirror effect found	Language of the interview
A1H45	Yes	Catalan
A2H40	Yes	Catalan
A3D20	Yes	Catalan
A4H20	Yes	Catalan
A5D20	No	Spanish
A6H40	Yes	Catalan
A7D40	Yes	Spanish and Catalan
A8D40	Yes	Catalan
A9H40	Yes	Catalan
Q1D45	No	Spanish
Q2H45	No	Spanish
Q3D50	No	Spanish

Q4H50	No	Spanish
Q5D40	Yes	Spanish and Catalan
Q6H50	Yes	Spanish and Catalan

Table 3: Mirror effect

At first glance one can observe two phenomena: the higher proportion of ‘mirror effects’ among the Amazighs than among the Quechuas and the indicative link between the language the interview was carried out in and the existence of the mirror effect.

When analysing the possible identification of a minority migrant community (Quechua and Amazigh) with the minority in their host country (Catalan) I have found that (1) all the interviewees have compared both situations to some extent and at some point in their life trajectories, (2) all the interviewees have interpreted the parallels using the sociolinguistic background of their home country. This last phenomenon is called TRANSPOSITION by Larrea (2017: 137). The two points have been also observed during the participant observation and face-to-face surveying.

There are two cases of mirror effect among the Quechuas. Q6H50 already had a Quechua identity and sensibility towards his mother tongue, especially as a Quechua musician. Already in Catalonia, he felt that the situation of Catalan was similar to the one of Quechua and felt the need to learn Catalan, use it, promote it and defend it as the autochthonous language. He also fights to include Quechua-related curriculum into public education.

[The Quechuas] feel identified, and then they make a comparison and say [...] “it’s our job/responsibility to rescue our tongue”, and they identify [with the Catalan case]. [Q-1]

The interviewee Q5D40 had a different experience. She was denying her roots before coming to Catalonia, when she realised she had to recover her Quechua identity and culture,

an endeavour she still keeps carrying on. Like Q6H50, she defends plurilingualism, although she does not feel especially committed to Catalan, a language she ‘had to learn to integrate’ and because her need to thank Catalan society for ‘awakening her identity’:

Q5D40: But now I am recovering my language. Since I emigrated to Catalonia I was questioning it all the time. I was learning a language that everyone defends, because it is their identity and their language. And I was asking myself why I hadn’t done anything for my language and my identity.

Researcher: Are you referring to Catalan?

Q5D40: Yes. Catalan has awakened the need of learning my language and my customs again. [Q-2]

Within the Amazigh community there are also two major types of mirror effect: the ones who were already sensible towards their minority heritage (A2H40, A6H40, A8D40 and A9H40) and the ones who developed this sensibility once in Catalonia (A1H45, A3D20, A4H20 and A7D40). Interviewees from both groups point out that the first contact with Moroccan schooling, in Arabic, is a first shock and makes them question many issues.

A6H40: It is true that there are people who never thought of it before, and once here, in the host society... they recognise themselves, they value themselves, and this is a bit shocking. [Q-3]

A4H20: [School] is a big issue, and your Amazigh part, your history and cultural identity were not reflected in the educational system. Then you started questioning. Who am I? [Q-4]

In the first case, the interviewees already started to identify themselves as Amazighs when they started to study in Moroccan universities and migrated from rural Amazigh areas to Arab-dominant cities. Their case shows how university, the Amazigh movement and Moroccan activism worked as a trigger to developing their engagement towards their minority language. Once in Catalonia, the mirror effect has been triggered, for which they feel “Amazigh-Catalans”, they use Catalan as their preferred language and feel identified with it.

A2H40: But the strongest awareness started at university. There I found the Amazighist faction.

Then I realised that you are in your own country, your land, and they are denying what is yours and you have to give in to the dominant discourse! [Q-5]

In the latter group, we find Amazighs who came to Catalonia at a very early age as children (A3D20, A4H20), and as they say they could potentially have developed this sensibility had they grown up in Morocco. In Catalonia, and thanks to the contact with other Amazighs and the Catalan situation, they have become defenders of the Amazigh language and culture and use Catalan as their preferred tongue. Interestingly, some of A4H20’s siblings prefer Spanish and feel Spanish and Moroccan, whereas he and his older brother, due to the mirror effect feel Amazigh-Catalan and use Catalan as their preferred language and identify with its situation.

A4H20: So the oldest [sibling] and I are the ones who speak more in Catalan, the ones who live in Catalan, and the others more in Spanish. [...] Ever since [we lived in] Sant Andreu, the difference already came about, because I studied in a high school with more Catalan

people and they had studied in one with more Spanish speakers; from the beginning you can already feel it. [Q-6]

There is also the case of A1H45, one of the few examples in the data of an Amazigh with the mirror effect with basic education and identified with the working class. His first contact with Catalan was in a support association in his host town and then he changed his language ideologies and linguistic representations towards both Amazigh and Catalan. He is an engaged activist for many causes, including immigration and Amazigh heritage culture, and the mirror effect may be the trigger or just be a part of his militancy.

A1H45: I use Catalan in the Cornellà association. Some people use it. They are Catalan speakers. There is no Catalan-speaking working class, they all speak Spanish. The people with whom I speak Catalan are middle class: youths, students... [Q-7]

Finally there is the case of A7D40. She belongs to an upper-middle class urban-Arabised Amazigh family who stopped transmitting Amazigh, and she is the only one in her family wanting to recover her traditional identity and customs. Once in Barcelona, she has recently started to identify herself as a Berber rather than a Moroccan. She is learning Catalan and has positive attitudes towards it, as the autochthonous language of Catalonia.

A7D40: I have recently started. When they ask me I reply “my origins are Berber but I am from Morocco”. Very recently. In my family they think I’m crazy. [Q-8]

The Amazighs that have undergone the mirror effect feel that Catalans also identify themselves with Amazighs, making it a parallel effect. However, A2H40 and A8D40 criticise

the lack of empathy of Catalan institutions, and they denounce the treatment of Amazigh as a non-important language, even though it is the third language of Catalonia. At the same time, they are proud and thankful of the progress made towards the recognition of Amazigh in Catalonia.

Furthermore, Q5D40 and Q6H50 also complain about the lack of interest on introducing and visibilising the heritage languages. The latter, though, accepts the difficulty of dealing with such a great linguistic diversity of more than 300 languages.

There is an interesting point two interviewees have made. Both A1H45 and Q5D40 have remarked that their fight for identity, culture and language is very much linked to the fight for other more or less related causes, which have to do with minoritisation and discrimination. This means that the mirror effect has gone beyond the sociolinguistic situation to affect other fields:

Researcher: what do you think we can do to reverse Catalan and Amazigh discrimination?

A1H45: Fight. Fight and fight. It is up to us, we have to do something. We must fight. For languages and for other things as well. [Q-9]

Researcher: You said there is discrimination towards Latin-Americans.

Q5D40: Not only Latin-Americans, but towards a lot of people! Other immigrants as well. Towards Maghreb people even more! Especially because women are more covered, and because they have an accent. Racialised feminism is not the same as white feminism. It has all to do with discrimination. I am aware that a Black woman is more discriminated than I am. It is one of the things I have learned here. [Q-10]

4.1.2 Language ideologies

Most of the Amazigh interviewees have undergone a mirror effect. There is a clear difference in language ideologies between these and those that don't. Interviewees A5D20 (henceforth A5D20S and A5D20H), who insisted on carrying out the interview in Spanish despite knowing Catalan, are the only example of the second case. However, during participant observance and face-to-face surveying I could also talk to people with this profile.

A5D20 were educated in Catalonia and learned both Catalan and Spanish after coming with their families, but have always lived in a Spanish-monolingual-speaking area and have used Catalan in very isolated circumstances. Now that they have started college they are discovering other domains of use of Catalan:

A5D20H: In Cornellà Spanish is more commonly spoken, much more. But now that I have left Cornellà Catalan is spoken more widely outside. In my school Catalan was only spoken in Catalan class. Everything else in Spanish. [Q-11]

In their area even school was in Spanish, despite the obligation to teach in Catalan in the public system. After claiming to speak Amazigh almost every day, participant A5D20H adds:

A5D20H: but I think I use more Spanish. It is normal because we are in Spain. [Q-12]

When asked about cultural associations, A5D20S mentions one where her brother is involved, where they teach Spanish and Arabic, but no Amazigh or Catalan:

A5D20S: my brother is involved in one in Tarragona. He told me that they will teach Spanish for free, they keep doing things for people to learn Spanish, and also they are doing Arabic classes... [Q-13]

Their identity is an amalgamation between Moroccan and Spanish as the main inputs and Amazigh and Catalan as secondary:

Researcher: Do you feel Moroccan?

A5D20H: Yes... Well, let's see, here they say you are Moroccan, and there they say you are Spanish...! So well, I feel I'm both, but where am I really from? A5D20S: From Gibraltar! (laughs).

R: And your parents? Not Spanish?

A5D20: Moroccan.

R: Do you feel Amazigh/Berber?

A5D20: Yes.

R: More than Moroccan, the same, or less?

A5D20H: Not more than Moroccan. A5D20S: It is really the same, because we Berbers are in Morocco, so you feel Moroccan. A5D20H: I don't know.

R: Would you like to add any thoughts?

A5D20S: So here we are not really discriminated by language. A5D20H: Whatever, we are Moroccans. [Q-14]

Catalan is for them something from their outside world, something that can be useful in the future, whereas Amazigh has a strong symbolic value for their identity as the family language. However, Arabic is thought of as more useful than Amazigh because of its higher number of speakers and Amazigh is thought of as a non-written language particular to a

certain area in Morocco. They would like to learn Arabic, as it is important for religion. Their older siblings educated in Morocco do know Arabic, but some of their parents or grandparents don't. It responds to a language hierarchy dominated by Arabic (see Hachimi, 2013). The same narrative is used when talking about Spanish as a wide-spread language and Catalan as a local language:

A5D20S: [when explaining to Catalans what is Amazigh] so for example they didn't know that she being Arab and me being Amazigh we have a different language. I would tell them that it is like Catalan and Spanish. Spanish would be Arabic and Catalan would be Amazigh.

Researcher: In what sense do you compare it?

A5D20S: That Arabic is spoken in all Morocco, and Spanish in all Spain. Berber would be spoken in just one area. And Catalan in just one area. [Q-15]

Researcher: And for your identity? Which languages are important?

A5D40: Amazigh.

R: And how about Arabic?

A5D40S. We would like to learn it. A5D40SH: Yes, learn it, but not for identity. Arabic is more important but not for identity.

R: And Catalan and Spanish?

A5D40H. Spanish more than Catalan. We use it more, we know it more.

R: Are they equally useful?

A5D40S. Catalan is useful in Catalonia, but you go out from Catalonia and it is not so useful. Spanish is useful everywhere. [Q-16]

The language ideologies of A5D20 are representative of a sector of the Amazigh community. There is another sector with similar ideologies that values religion as the pillar of the identity, and Arabic as its central element. Some ideologies related to this group were found during the participant observation. The two girls, however, seem to know something from the Amazigh movement and to claim some things which could be said by the Amazighist group.

The group affected by the mirror effect was majorly aware and a defender of their Amazighness. Most of them denounce the discrimination of Amazigh and Catalan, and they treat these languages as their languages of identity and languages of their daily life (except for A7D40, who does not speak Amazigh).

R: Which is your preferred language? Why?

A2H40: Catalan. I know it better. I feel more comfortable when speaking in Catalan [he learned Spanish before Catalan].

R: Do you have another reason?

A2H40: [...] In a diversity context [...] the common language has to be Catalan, We are in the land of Catalan, its original land, where it was born. [...] I have to be coherent with myself. If I am a militant for the defence of the autochthonous language of the Amazighs, for its recognition, so I have to be for Catalan and minoritised languages. [Q-17]

They defend the equality and usefulness of all languages. They also value Spanish and Arabic (and sometimes French) as useful languages broadly present in their societies, languages that they know and use with pride, although they do not play a major role in their identity.

Researcher: What languages are important for your identity?

A1H45: Amazigh is the most important language for my identity. Not Arabic. I am glad to know it and speak it, but it's just for communicating, not for identity. Spanish and Catalan are also important. Catalan more. But Amazigh is the most important.

Researcher: What languages are more useful?

A1H45: All languages are equal. Amazigh, Arabic, Catalan, Spanish, English, French... All contribute something. The more languages you know, the better. [Q-18]

For them, Catalan is the autochthonous language of Catalonia and should be the preferential one. Some of them started to learn Spanish and thought Catalan was the language of a small minority or in severe regression before realising it was not and starting to learn Catalan (Junyent et al., 2011: 97).

Researcher: In the beginning you spoke only Spanish, right?

A2H40: Yes, the first jobs, the construction sector... But I slowly started discovering the reality. Associations, college people... who spoke Catalan and told me it was not complicated. The key [to start speaking Catalan] was in the association X. [Q-19]

They value the Catalan language 'normalisation' language policy process and wish it could be implemented in Morocco.

Researcher: Is there anything from the Catalan case you wished to import to Morocco?

A6H40: Yes, like the school... the cultural heritage... to feel proud of your language and culture... Like in Catalonia, where they are advanced, they have many things, we will probably go the same way, we will be able to learn many things. [Q-20]

Quechua language ideologies vary depending on the existence of the mirror effect, although it does not create two clearly differentiated groups as in the Amazigh case. A gradation from Spanish monolingualism and hostility towards minority languages to plurilingualism and minority languages activism is well-represented in the data.

Quechua activism or awareness does not entail a mirror effect or positive language ideologies towards Catalan, as it does in the Amazigh case. Catalan is seen as an imposition for some people –during fieldwork I was even told off for speaking Catalan, as if I was not allowed–, some others see it as a useful language only in the labour market and a few as the autochthonous language of Catalonia to promote, learn and defend (this is only the case of Q6H509). In fact, interviewee Q5D40 has contradictory opinions towards Catalan, both positive and negative, despite having undergone the mirror effect:

Researcher: Do you think there are barriers to learning Catalan?

Q5D40: They make it difficult, don't they?! If you have an ease for languages yes, but if not, no, no! In my son's school there is a couple who only spoke Catalan. The secretary didn't ever speak to me in Spanish, always in Catalan. It's not that I don't understand it, but my preferred language is Spanish. And they went "boom" [=insisting]! [Q-21]

Overall, Spanish is seen as the main communicative tongue in Catalonia and the most useful. Moreover, it persists in being the anonymous dominant language above all. English shares a dominant position with Spanish as the omnipresent global language in the Quechua discourse. There is a clear language hierarchy, with English and Spanish, worth learning, valued above Quechua and Catalan, not worth learning. Some Quechuas have a discourse framed outside this hierarchy, yet contradictorily their language practices in fact follow it. Quechua is an authentic language for a number of Quechuas, important for their identity.

However, for others it can also be a language of shame and trauma which has to be hidden. In fact, a lot of Quechuas abandon their language to become monolingual in Spanish when they come to Spain, and they keep this practice even when they return to their countries. The following pair of fragments are essential in understanding Quechua language ideologies and the contradictions mentioned:

Q3D50: At home I speak Quechua but my children don't understand it. Well, they understand something but don't want to speak.

Researcher: Do you think they are ashamed of speaking it?

Q3D50: Yes, because of shame. When I speak Quechua they say "mum, what are you doing?!" They say they don't understand anything, and speaking Quechua is a lot of work. When my daughter came here she had language issues. [...] We focused on Spanish when we came because of this. When she was little she spoke Quechua, but not anymore. We focused on helping her pronounce Spanish correctly; she didn't know how to conjugate.

R: Is it more important for her to speak Spanish rather than Quechua?

Q3D50: No, for me it's very important that she speaks Quechua, at home I always speak it with my husband. But now it's too late for her, she's already grown up. I have an older daughter. She knows more Quechua. [...] She spoke more Quechua. [...] But when she came here with me she decided not to speak more Quechua. I don't know why, I don't understand it. [Q-22]

Q1D45: I use Quechua quite a lot, almost every day. When I meet a Bolivian I speak in Spanish, and if I see s/he might know Quechua I ask and speak in Quechua. Not all Bolivians

know Quechua. Also a lot of Bolivians do know it but they don't want to say they do and don't use it. To those who don't know it I yell at them and tell they should learn it (laughs).

Researcher: Why do you think this happens?

Q1D45: I don't know... They don't want to say, they are ashamed of it. Maybe because here in Catalonia they don't use it, it's not used, it's not useful. I yell at them, too, they have to be proud to speak Quechua, of their language and culture. [Q-23]

The fact that Spanish is the dominant language of both Catalanian and Quechua societies is perhaps the strongest factor determining language ideologies, as Comellas suggests (2006: 424). In fact, Quechua language ideologies are not much different from the described language ideologies of the Latin-American community in Catalonia (see section 2.2). This phenomenon can explain not only the low amount of mirror effect cases and the disperse results of it compared to the Amazigh mirror effect, but also the limitations of Catalan learning and use. It also explains the big mismatch between language ideologies and actual language practices and use, especially with Catalan but also with Quechua.

Researcher: Do you think Catalan is useful in Catalonia?

Q4H50: Here in Catalonia I think so, quite important. They ask for Catalan.

R: Would you like to have the occasion to speak and learn more Catalan?

Q4H50: Yes, as I told you make an effort and speak more. It is a very rich language.

R: Do you think that the time factor has influenced your Catalan learning?

Q4H50: Exactly, time. Work. [he has lived 18 years in Catalonia working in agriculture and industry sectors]. [Q-24]

It is worth mentioning some common thoughts expressed by both groups. Both are on the limitations of becoming a Catalan speaker. A high number of interviewees complain about the linguistic convergence practice of Catalans, by which they speak Spanish to people perceived as a foreigner (Boix, 1993; Vila and Galindo, 2012). The other one is related to social class and time management, and it is made by people who wish to learn Catalan but cannot due to extensive working hours (especially Quechuas) or people who justify the fact that others do not know Catalan, for example Amazigh children with their parents.

Researcher: Did you use Catalan during the [Catalan] courses?

Q2H45: Yes, with a friend from the courses we used to meet to talk [in Catalan]. But as I told you, when you have a child your life changes, you devote yourself to making a living.
[Q-25]

4.2 Quantitative Data

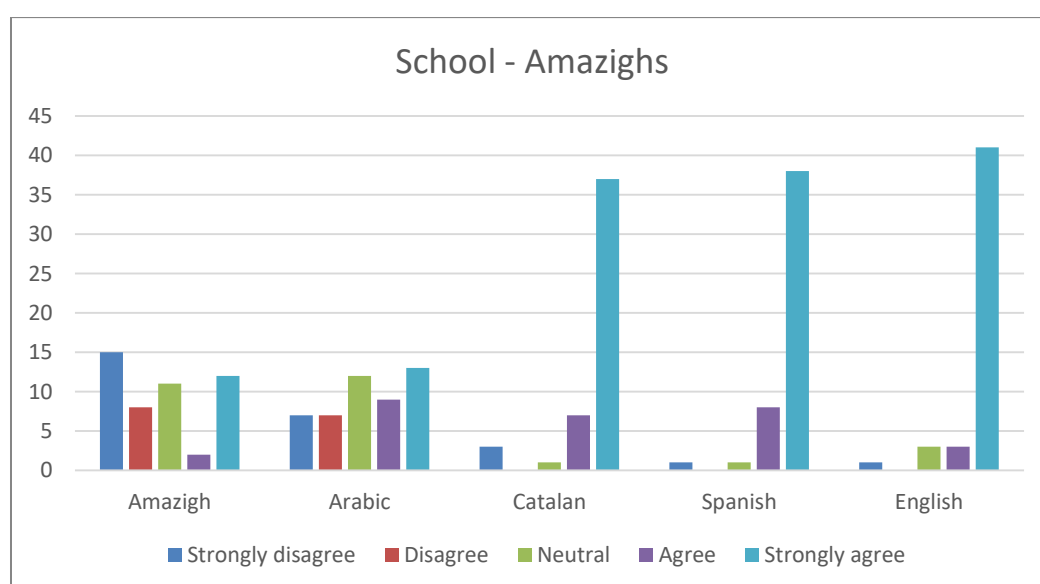
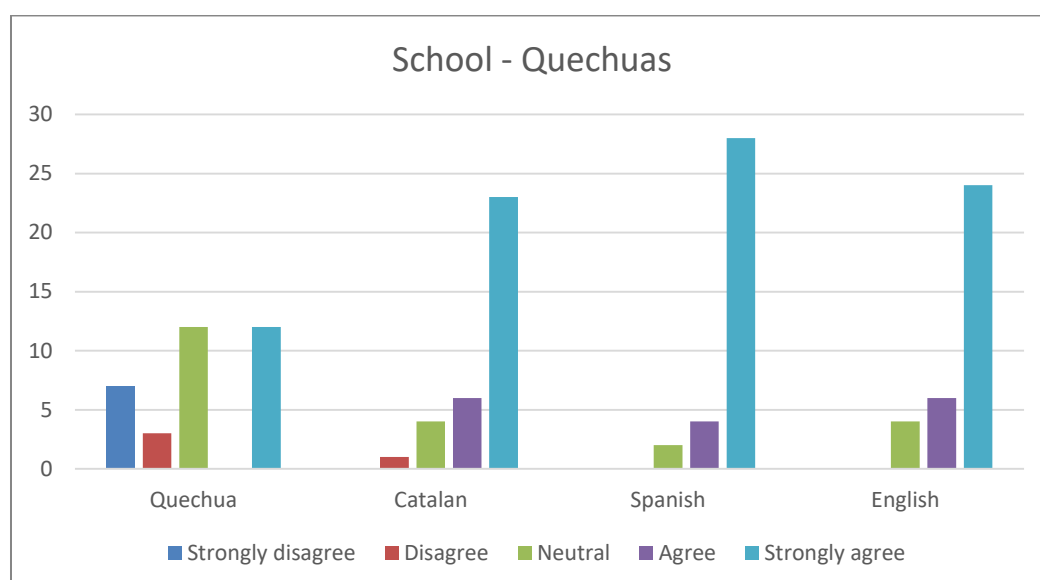
4.2.1 Mirror Effect

It is very difficult to identify the Mirror Effect with just quantitative data. In the surveys, a question created just for this aim –a Likert-scale-question asking for similarities between the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia and the country of origin– was overwhelmingly misinterpreted and its results not relevant (see section 3.1). Apart from this question, different tests using SPSS were tried to back up the qualitative data. As they do not constitute a sound backing up, I have included them in the Appendices section.

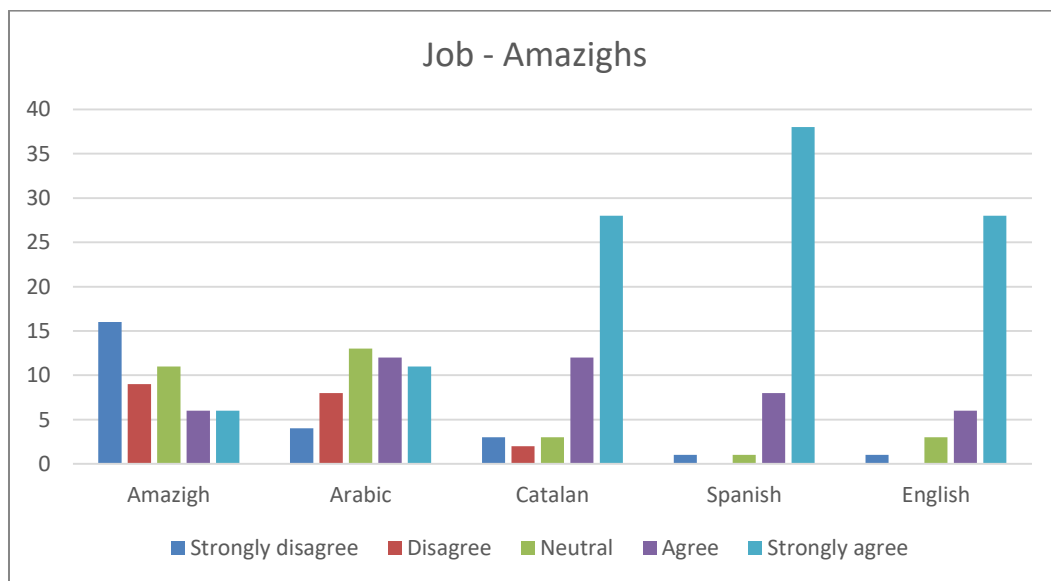
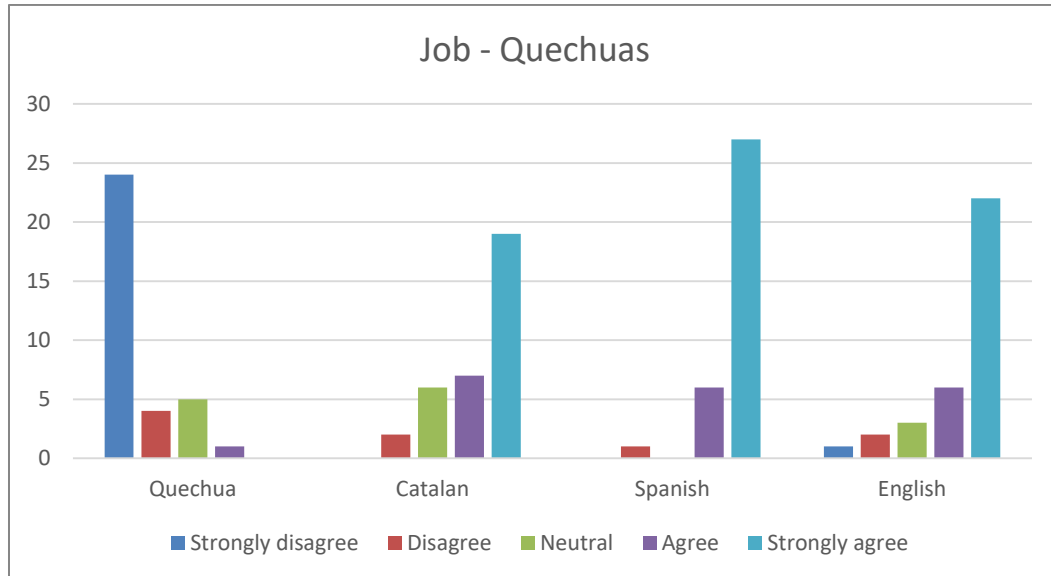
4.2.2 Language ideologies

Quantitative data is essential for describing the bigger picture of the language ideologies and generalising the results over the whole communities. For the profile of the participants of the surveys, see Appendices. Below I present the results of the Likert-scale questions on language ideologies included in the surveys:

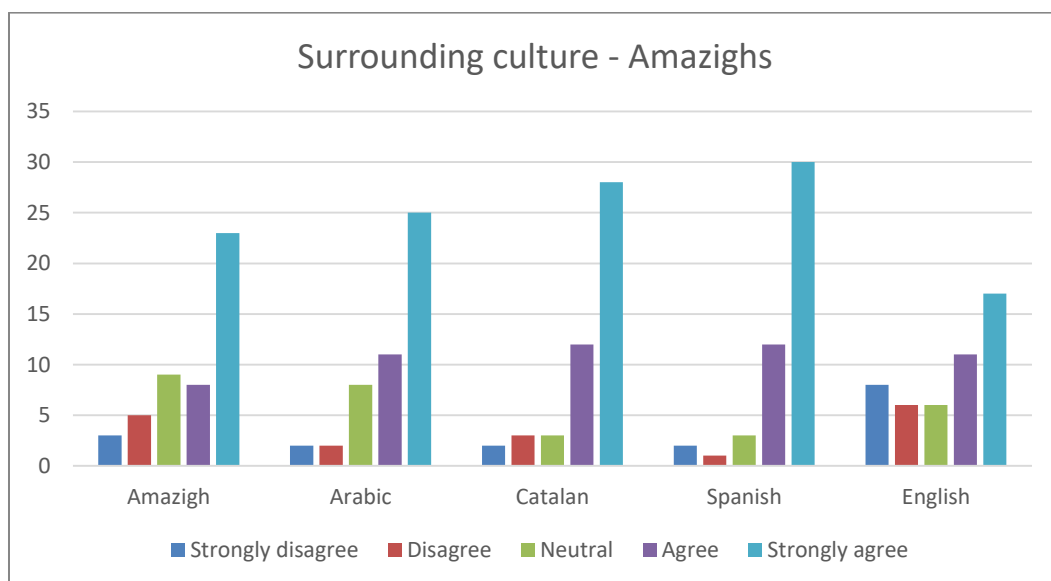
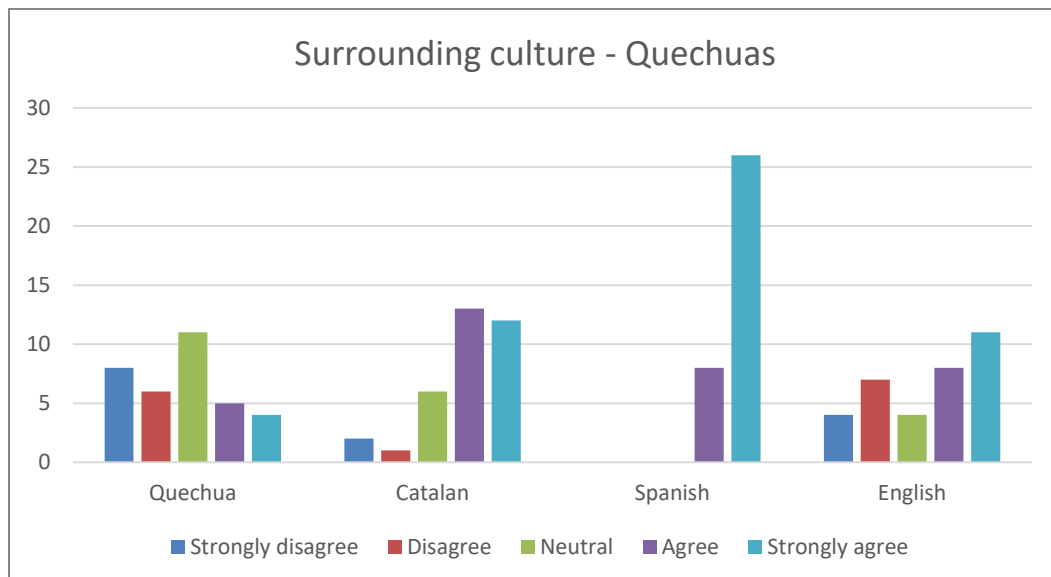
a) Language X is important at SCHOOL



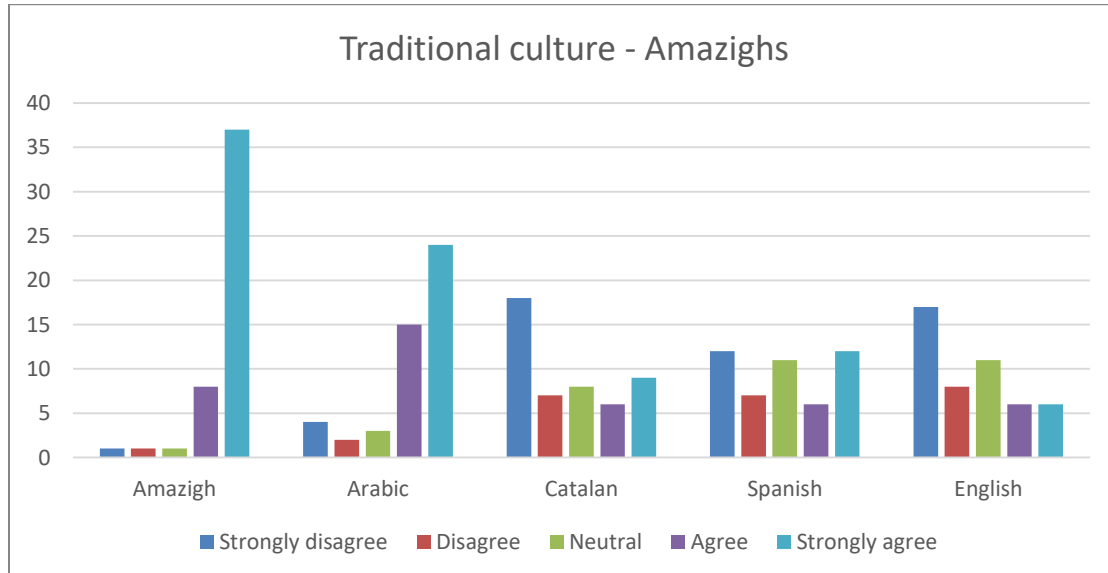
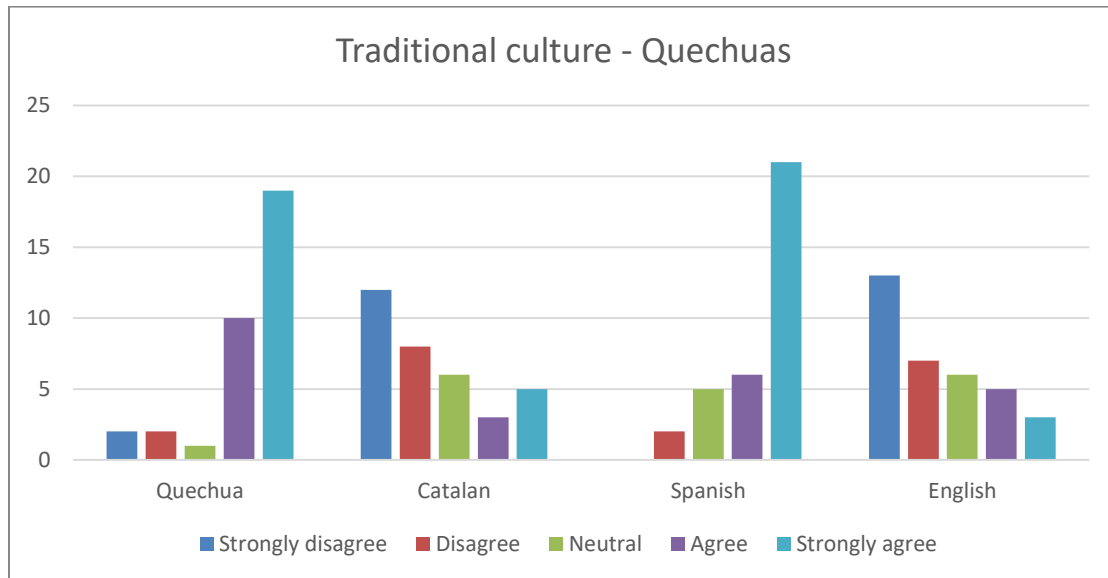
b) Language X is important to find a JOB



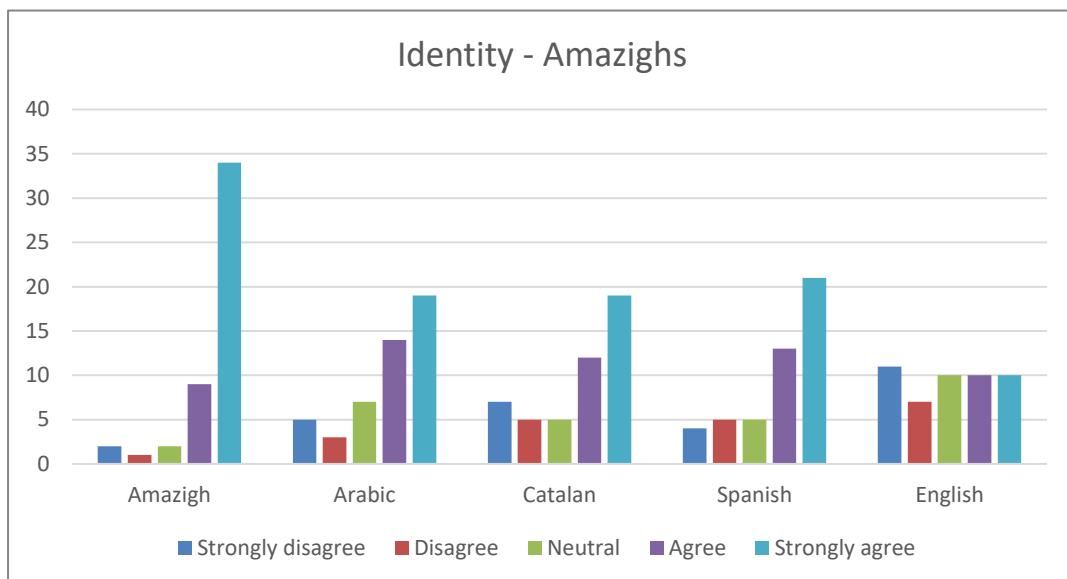
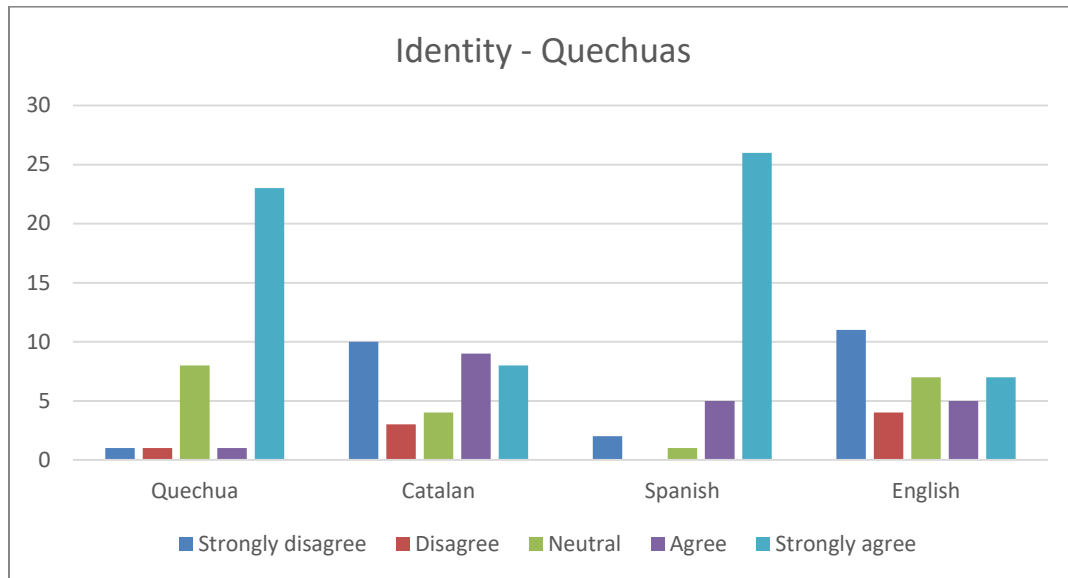
c) Language X allows me to access my SURROUNDING CULTURE



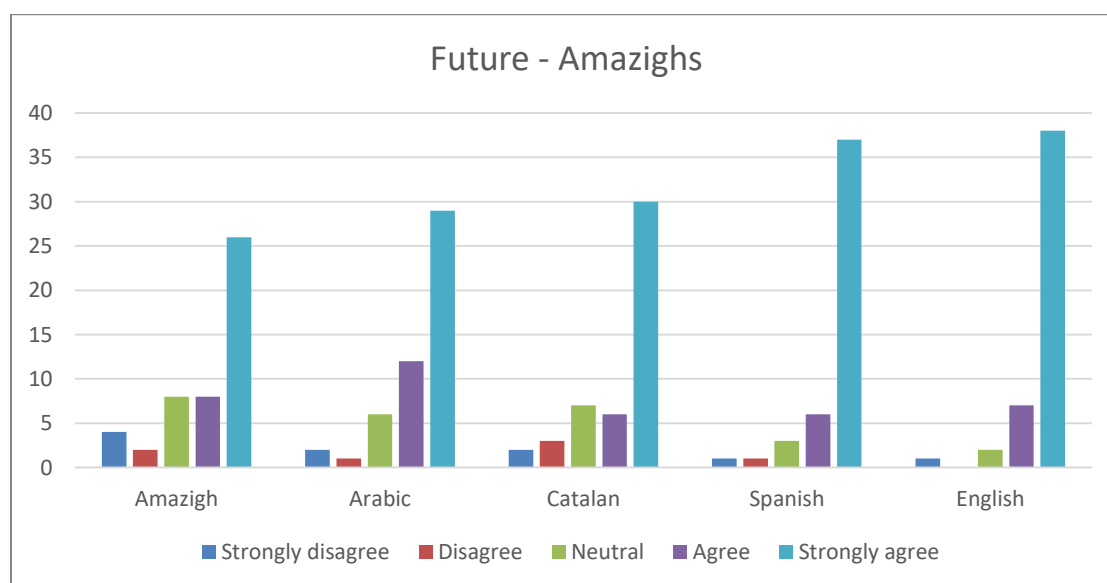
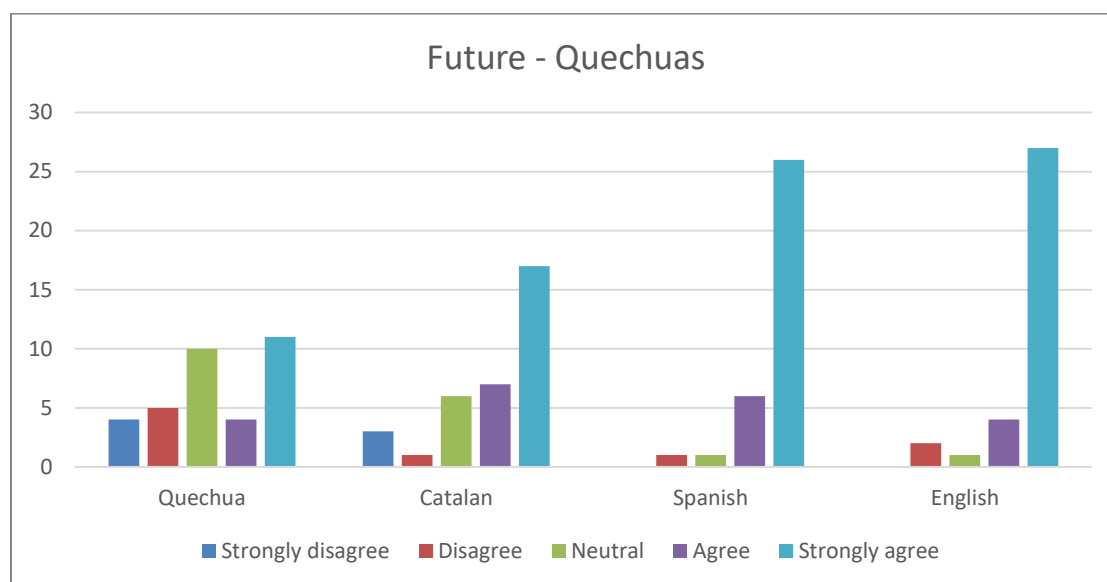
d) Language X allows me to access my TRADITIONAL CULTURE



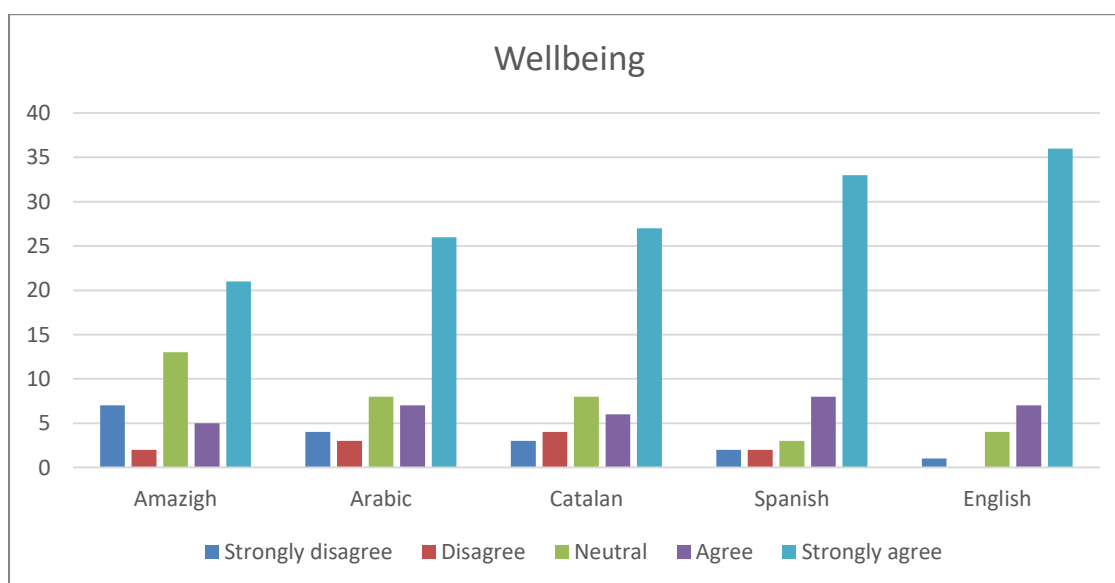
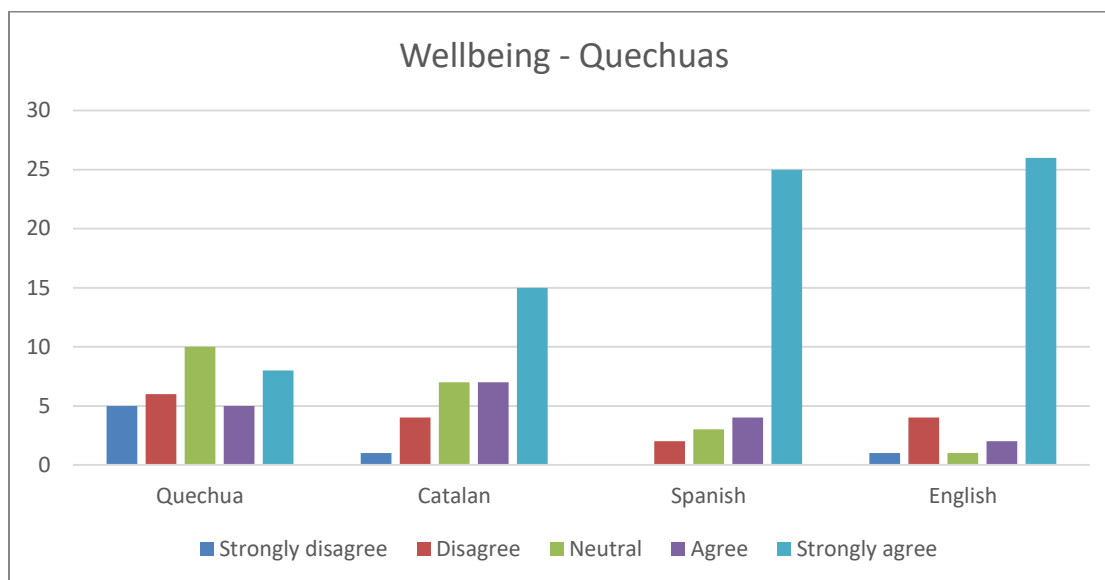
e) Language X is important for my IDENTITY



f) Language X is important for the FUTURE of my children



g) Language X is important to improve my WELLBEING



As can be seen, these graphs support my assumptions extracted from the qualitative data and allow for generalisation. However, the biases the samples may have must be borne in mind (see section 3. Methodology).

Quechuas only value their language highly in questions related to authenticity: identity and traditional culture. It can be assumed that they don't think Quechua is a useful language. Negative attitudes towards Catalan can also be observed, as well as a general high rating of English and Spanish, confirming the described language hierarchy.

In contrast, Amazighs rate Catalan and Spanish quite equally, with Spanish being regarded as slightly more useful than Catalan. This also demonstrates that the sample is varied enough to represent both described groups of Amazighs. Amazigh is also valued similarly to Arabic, with the latter being seen as slightly more useful than Amazigh, but with a minor role for identity and tradition.

These data support the lower mirror effects found among the Quechuas than among the Amazighs. Another interesting observation is how Amazighs rate Arabic and Spanish compared to how Quechuas rate Spanish. Spanish is an evident anonymous dominant language for Quechuas, the highest in their language hierarchy. The fact that Spanish is dominant for both Quechuas and Catalans and its implications is clearly reflected in the data. I consider the idea of the Quechuas/Latin-Americans Spanish monolingualism and the Amazigh preference for plurilingualism also well-supported by these data.

5. Discussion

5.1 Mirror effect

The mirror effect is a complex phenomenon affecting linguistic representations, language ideologies and language attitudes differently according to the particular evaluated community and to the background of each individual within a particular community.

I have developed the scale presented below showing the three stages involved in the mirror effect:

- 0) Identifying parallels between Catalan and their minority language. Unidirectional transposition.
- 1) Triggering a change of linguistic representations and language ideologies – Fishman's ideological realm (1991: 114). Bidirectional transposition.
- 2) Triggering a change of language practices, language and culture activism (action). Bidirectional transposition.

Stage 0 is common to all individuals belonging to a minoritised community. This Stage only presupposes the establishment of parallels between the two minoritised communities and the analysis of the host community with the glasses of the sociolinguistic beliefs in the original community –TRANSPOSITION. Stage 1 implies a change in the ideological world but no engagement, no action taken responding to the change in the language ideologies. Those are cases of potential mirror effect, an effect that is prevented by some factors. In this stage we can include, for example, interviewee Q4H50. He was a Quechua teacher back in Ecuador. After coming to Catalonia, he has been working in underqualified jobs. He sees parallels with the Catalan situation, he has learned some Catalan and would like to speak it more despite not using it and he would like to implement Catalan linguistic policies in Ecuador and be

engaged with more Quechua cultural activities. Other Quechuas sensible to their Quechua identity can fit into this Stage: Q1D45 and Q2H45.

We can talk about the mirror effect only in Stage 2. The mirror effect or Stage 2 implies a (1) bidirectional transposition, for which the sociolinguistic situation in the host country modifies the sociolinguistic beliefs acquired in the home society AND ALSO (2) taking action and engaging: a change not only in language ideologies but also in language practices, for instance linguistic *mudes* (Pujolar and Puigdevall, 2015). Therefore the cases analysed and treated as a mirror effect fit in Stage 2.

I have differentiated these three stages because I believe the language ideologies of the individuals are determined or can be well-defined according to the Stage they are in. Thus I am also concretising the definition of the mirror effect by limiting it to Stage 2 cases.

As seen, the Amazigh and Quechua communities are affected differently by the mirror effect.

Table 4 schematises the Quechua studied cases:

Participant	Before emigrating to Catalonia	After emigrating to Catalonia
Q5D40	Previous awareness of Quechua identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quechua cultural activism. - Sensitivity towards host autochthonous language (Catalan). - Identification with Catalans.
Q6H50	Denying Quechua identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rediscovering of the self Quechua identity. Partial identification with Catalans. - Activism against different types of discrimination.

		- Partial identification with Catalans.
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Table 4: Quechua mirror effect.

The main effect on the first participant is triggering activism for Quechua as a heritage language in Catalonia and learning and defending Catalan. There is a bidirectional engagement: towards both his culture of origin and host community. The main effect on the second participant is rediscovering her Quechua identity. The mirror effect has triggered a mainly unidirectional engagement, and although her attitudes towards the host community have changed and it has triggered activism against all types of discrimination, there is some hostility to Catalan linguistic practices.

The following table summarises the different Amazigh mirror effects:

Participants	Before emigrating to Catalonia	After emigrating to Catalonia
A2H40 A6H40 A8D40 A9H40	Awareness and activism.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identification with Catalan. - Amazigh-Catalan identity. - Catalan as the preferred language. - Amazigh activism.
A1H45 A3D20 A4H20	No awareness of the Amazigh specificity (reasons: social class/age).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discovering their Amazigh identity and identifying with it. - Same effects as in group 1.
A7D40	Awareness but no engagement.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exploring and describing her Amazigh identity. - Slight Catalan identification.

Table 5: Amazigh mirror effect.

Unlike the Quechua community, the mirror effect is quite wide-spread within the Amazigh community. The main difference is the moment in which Amazighs become engaged with their heritage language and culture: before or after emigrating. A particular case is that of A7D40. Unlike the others, who come from lower-middle/working class Amazigh rural areas, she comes from an Arabised urban upper-middle class. She seeks to rediscover her traditional identity and origins.

Henceforth, I identify (1) common factors that can facilitate/hamper the mirror effect and (2) factors particular to each community involved in the mirror effect.

Common factors:

(a) SOCIAL CLASS: working-class life in Catalonia occurs overwhelmingly in Spanish (Pujolar 2009, 95). No contact outside a working-class peripheral area may mean a lack of contact with Catalan. Also, as pointed out, long workdays do not allow people to do other activities, such as learning languages, leisure time or association involvement.

(b) ACCESS TO CATALAN: related to the previous factor, access to Catalan and the Catalan-speaking world is key to the mirror effect and the possibility of learning this language. As seen, it was crucial for A1H45 but did not exist for A5D20. Associations and other socio-cultural institutions in Catalonia may be a good source of contact with Catalan.

(c) HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: the history experienced by the Quechua nation (colonisation) and the Amazigh nation (Arabisation, Islamisation, colonisation) are two different processes with points in common but also lots of differences. The higher

amount of similarities of the Amazigh case with the Catalan than of the Quechua case with the Catalan also may affect the possibilities of mirror effect.

(d) MENTAL FRAMEWORK or geographical, socio-political and historical framework used by individuals or communities to frame concepts. Thus, for Amazighs it is common to talk about *Catalonia* as a socio-political subject in the Mediterranean, whereas for Quechuas it is more common to talk about Catalonia as a region in *Spain* (and within Europe). These mental frameworks, variable among individuals, may affect language ideologies, linguistic representations and the mirror effect itself.

Factors particular to the Amazigh community, (a) being almost a guarantee to the mirror effect and (b) being highly preventive of it:

(a) AMAZIGH SPRING and AMAZIGH AWARENESS: the recent Amazigh movement (Maddy-Weitzman, 2012) is changing the identity, language ideologies and representations, of the Amazigh world throughout North Africa. Amazigh identity seems to be always followed by the mirror effect. In fact, all participants taking part in associations related to the Amazigh movement have undergone the mirror effect.

(b) ARABISATION and ISLAMISATION: Arabised Amazighs –in the data Amazighs talk about Arabised Amazighs in urban areas– and Islamisation, to the extent that religion becomes the major pillar of identity (El Aissati, 2001), prevent Amazighs from experiencing the mirror effect.

Factors particular to the Quechua community:

(a) **RACIALISATION:** the stigmatisation, the racial complex and the colonial idea of being different seems to impede the identification with Catalans, as white privileged Europeans vs discriminated indigenous people. It is also related to the “mental framework” factor mentioned above (Van Dijk, 2005).

(b) **COMMON DOMINANT LANGUAGE:** the fact that Spanish dominates both Quechua and Catalan puts Quechuas in a comfortable position in Catalonia and potentiates Catalan minorisation (Comellas, 2006: 424). Knowing Spanish before Catalan is a preventing factor identified even by Amazighs. It can also explain why many Quechuas present Stage 1 characteristics but do not take a step further into Stage 2.

5.2 Language ideologies

Language ideologies are highly affected by the mirror effect. The essential difference is that prior to undergoing the mirror effect, the prevailing language ideology is that of monolingualism or language hierarchisation. After undergoing the mirror effect, plurilingualism or language egalitarianism prevails (see Comellas, 2006: 426; Cortès-Colomé et al.: 2016: 275).

In the case of the Quechuas, the mirror effect may determine their language ideologies especially towards their heritage language, whereas for the Amazighs it is particularly determining for local languages.

The following table summarises the general language ideologies found among the interviewees:

	No mirror effect	Mirror effect
Amazighs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish as the common language, some knowledge of Catalan. - Catalan valuable for labour market and school. - Moroccan-Spanish identity, sometimes Muslim identity. Importance of Arabic. - Indifference towards minority languages, not useful. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Catalan as the common language. - Preference for Catalan over Spanish, high knowledge of Catalan. - Amazigh-Catalan identity. - Amazigh activism and minority language defence, plurilingualism, “all languages are equal”.
Quechuas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish monolingualism. - Nation-state identity. - Negative ideologies towards Catalan, sometimes neutral, though acceptance of it as important for Catalans and the labour market. - Quechua as an authentic language, important only to identity and tradition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some learning of Catalan but minor use. - Catalan as an authentic language, Spanish as anonymous. Slight plurilingualism. - Quechua activism. - Quechua-Catalan identity.

Table 6: Language ideologies summary.

6. Conclusion

I have demonstrated, described and analysed the mirror effect phenomenon and how it works in two communities: the Amazigh and the Quechua in Catalonia. This effect is a widespread phenomenon amongst the Amazighs, especially for a particular profile aware of their Amazighness. Amongst the Quechuas, the mirror effect is sparsely found and there is little difference in language ideology compared to non-indigenous Latin-Americans. I have pointed to the racialisation/colonisation factor and the shared dominant language with the Catalan community as feasible reasons for it.

Furthermore, I have developed a three-stage scale explaining the parallels and transpositions between minoritised communities, leading to the mirror effect. This scale results useful to explain the language ideologies of these communities. I have showed that the language ideologies of these communities are determined by their position in the three-scale framework and I the way they are determined, focusing on the differences between individuals having undergone the mirror effect (Stage 2) and those who have not (Stages 0 and 1).

My study is the first to look at the mirror effect community-wide rather than looking at selected individuals. Moreover, it is also the first to propose a theoretical framework defining the mirror effect and its intertwining with language ideologies. This study contributes to heritage language studies, particularly those carried out in Catalonia, and language ideologies studies, particularly on minorities and migration.

In order to further substantiate or generalise more the results of the present dissertation, it would be of interest to do more research on Quechua and Amazigh heritage communities in other contexts, in Spain and elsewhere, and also on other minoritised-background heritage communities in Catalonia and elsewhere.

Finally, I hope my research has had a positive impact on the researched communities, whom I thank again for their participation and engagement.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Participant observation

The following table lists the participant observations I took part in. I distributed some surveys during these activities. The events are coded with a number, after the letters PO (participant observation). The analysis is based only on the interviews and surveys, with some reinforcement references to the participant observation. This is the reason why they are not included in the main text.

Q / A	Quechua community / Amazigh community
1, 2, 3...	Number of the activity time-ordered.
OP	Participatory observance

Table 1: Naming convention for the semi-structured interviews.

A1OP	Attending and observing the final day event of a Catalan for Amazigh people's class.
Q2OP	Visiting and surveying the Kichwa –Ecuador– shops in the Gothic borough.
A3OP	Attending and observing the final day event of an Amazigh language class.
Q4OP	Attending a Peruvian meeting in a Peruvian restaurant.
Q5OP	Taking part in and observing two Bolivian traditional dance groups, their rehearsals, meetings and public performances.

Table 2: Participatory observance events

8.2 Means of contacting the communities

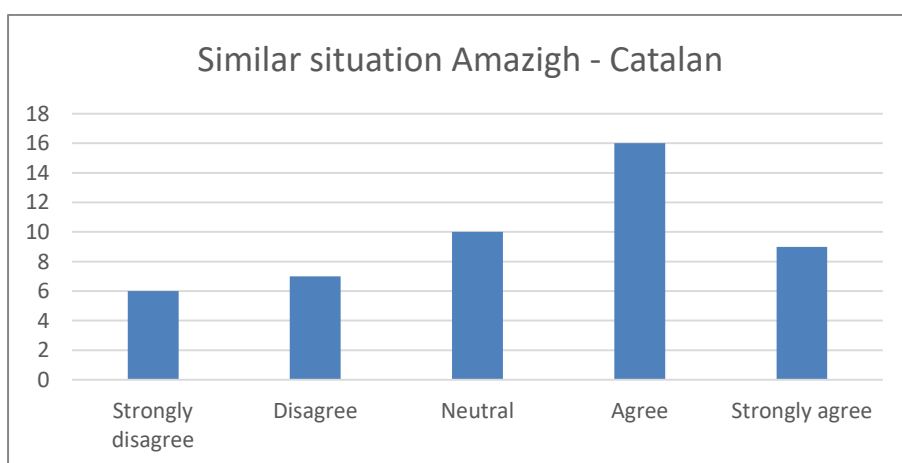
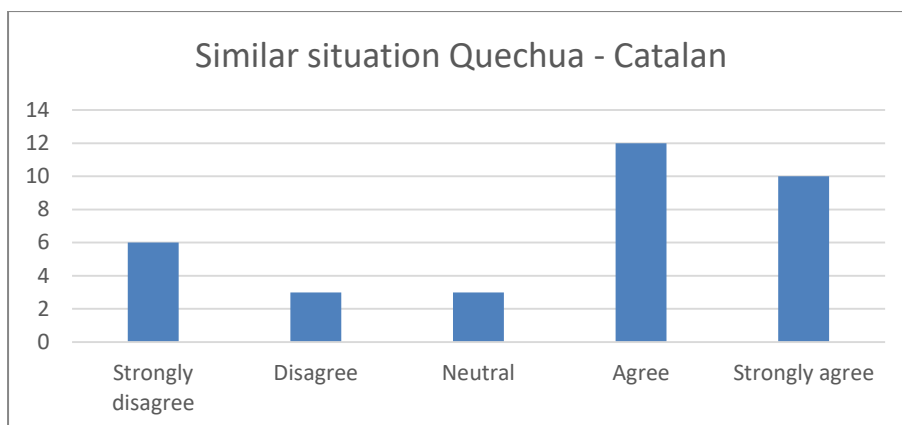
In the table below I present the principal means used to contact the researched communities:

1	Professors and students from the University of Barcelona.
2	Journalists and researchers with links to the communities.
3	Catalan cultural/language organisations.
4	Catalan public School (IES Miquel Tarradell).
5	Different community organisations, mostly cultural.
6	Restaurants and other businesses managed by community members.
7	Personal social network of the researcher.

Table 3: Principal means of contact with the communities

8.3 Quantitative data for the mirror effect analysis

The results I present below are those of the misinterpreted question in the survey oriented to provide some quantitative data on the mirror effect phenomenon. The question can be consulted in section 9.5 (Templates of the surveys):



I also tried to test some particularities regarding the Mirror Effect using the qualitative data. I previously identified some factors involved with the mirror effect. One of these factors is access to Catalan and use of Catalan, which may trigger the mirror effect and therefore a change in the linguistic ideologies towards minority languages. I evaluated the possible relationships using the chi-square test between them in SPSS. My hypotheses were:

- (a) The more knowledge of Catalan, the higher rating of the importance of Catalan in the different language ideology questions.
- (b) The more knowledge of the minority language, the higher rating of Catalan.
- (c) The more knowledge of Catalan, the higher rating of the minority language.

I found significant results only in (b, c), and especially for the Quechuas. Using a 90% confidence interval, I corroborated the following correlations:

Variable 1	Variable 2	P-value
Knowledge of Catalan	Rating of the importance of Amazigh in the labour market.	,064
Knowledge of Catalan	Rating of the importance of Quechua for the participants' identity	,093

Knowledge of Catalan	Rating of the importance of Quechua for the future of the participants' children	,004
Knowledge of Quechua	Rating of the importance of Catalan for the future of the participants' children	,017

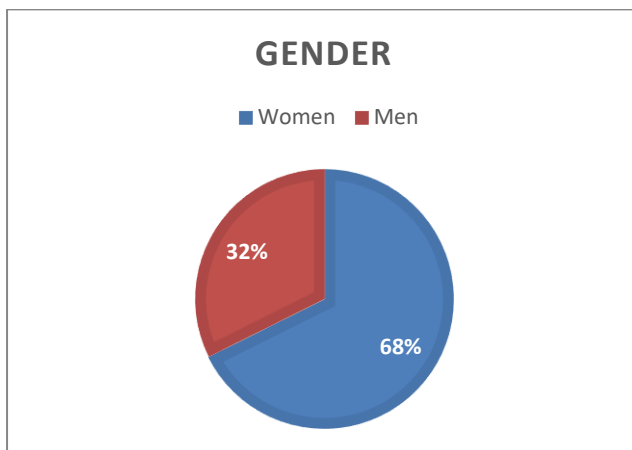
Table 4: SPSS tests.

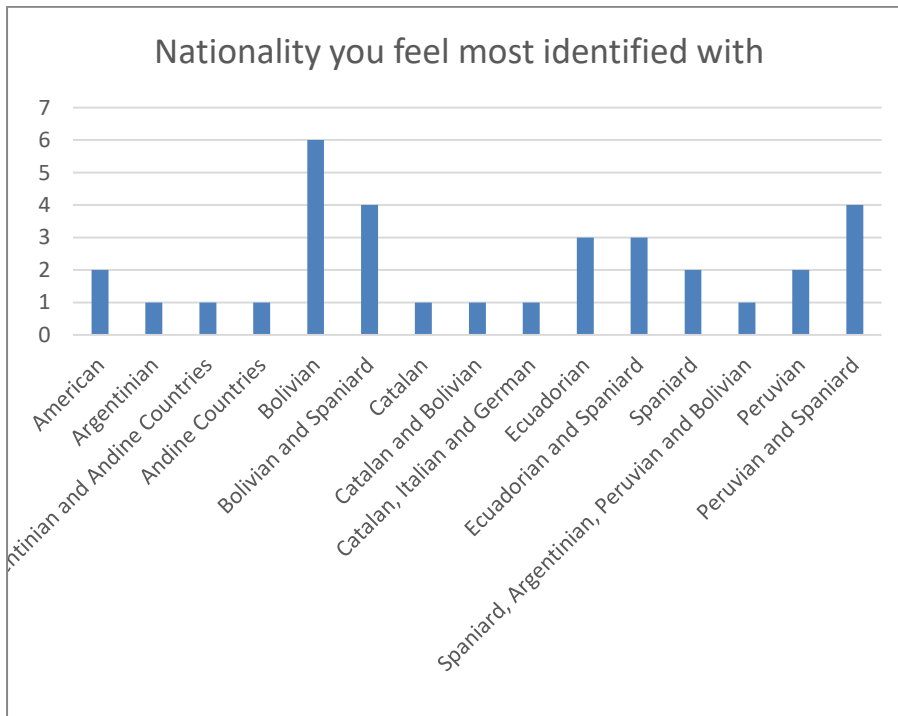
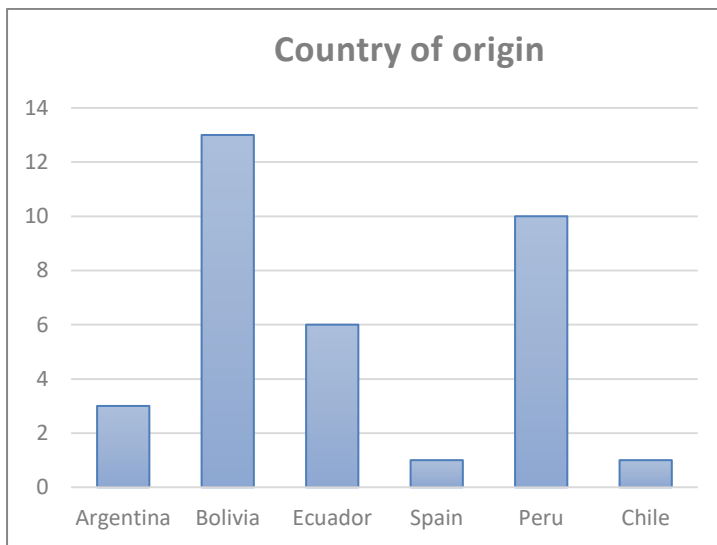
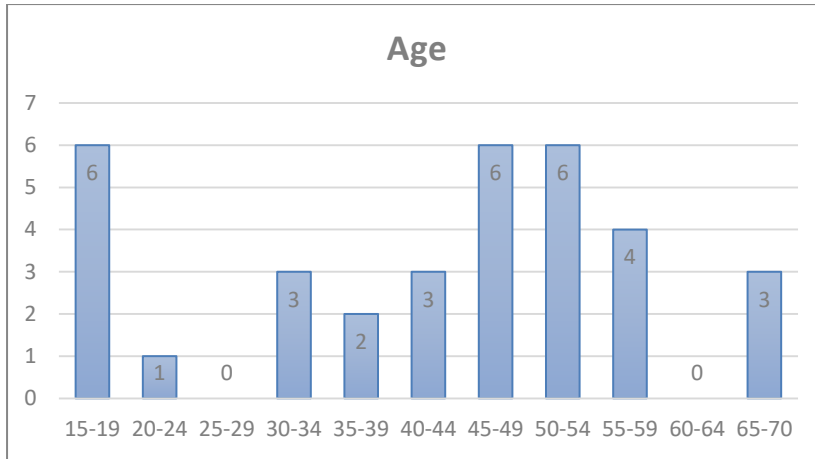
The reasons the results are not significant for the Amazighs may be because knowledge of Amazigh and Catalan is very high among the participants, so it is quite a stable variable. The only relationship found can be explained by the existence of public sector employment as cultural mediators of interpreters, for which both Amazigh and Catalan are required. Knowledge of Catalan among the Quechuas is highly variable, and thus I could find a relationship between the knowledge of minority languages and their importance. Access to Catalan is therefore reinforced as a factor related to the mirror effect.

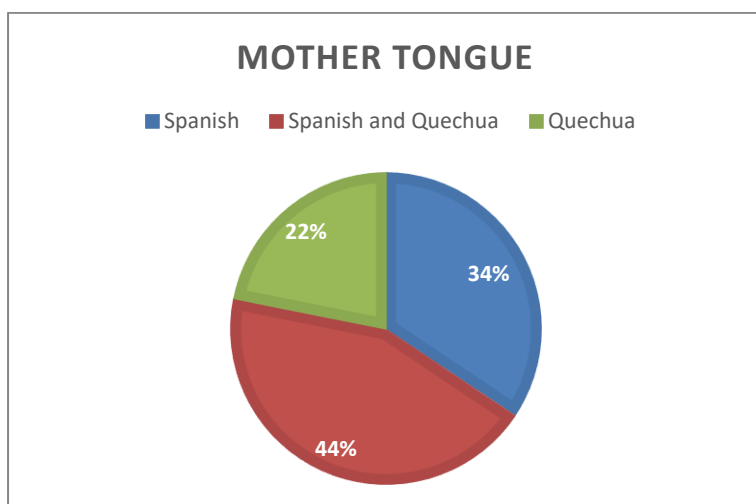
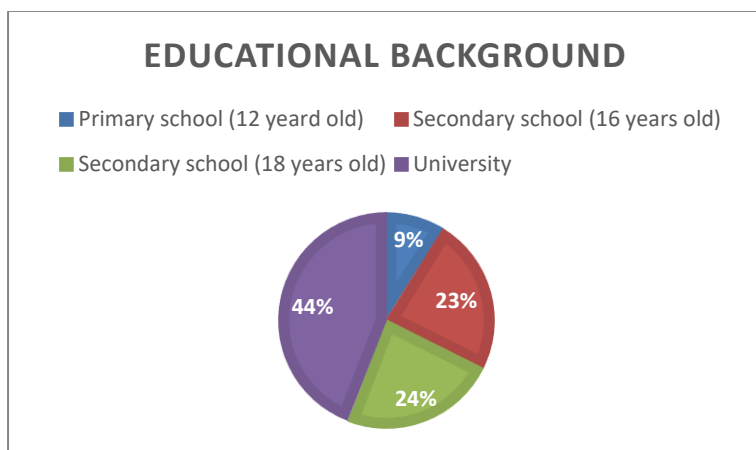
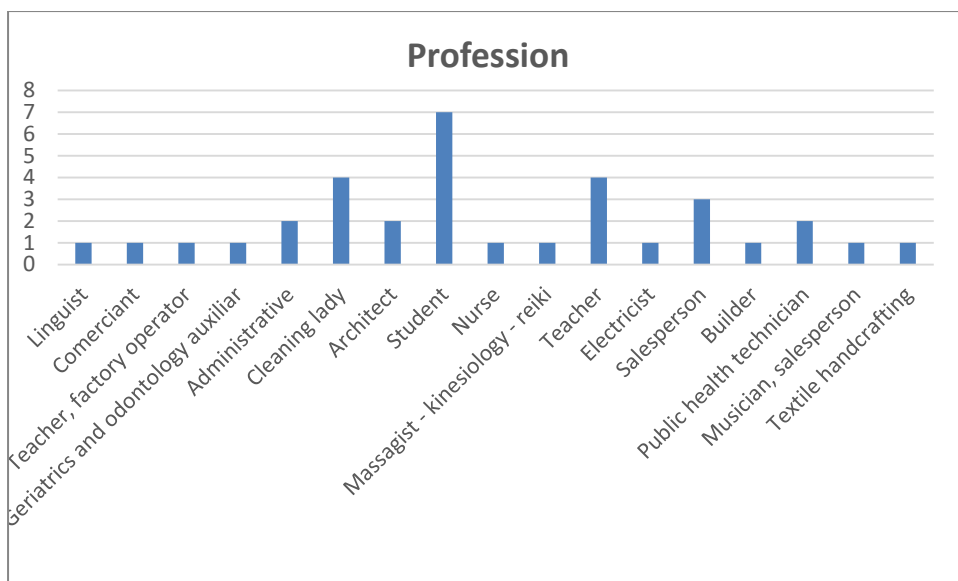
I also tried to relate social class with knowledge of Catalan and rating of Catalan in the Likert-scale questions using the same chi-square test. The results were not significant: to evaluate social class I could only use the education level, as profession is a qualitative variable. The underqualification of a number of participants, especially Quechuas, becomes a problem when obviating profession. Moreover, there is an overrepresentation of college students in the samples, especially among the Amazighs due to online surveying. The samples are therefore biased.

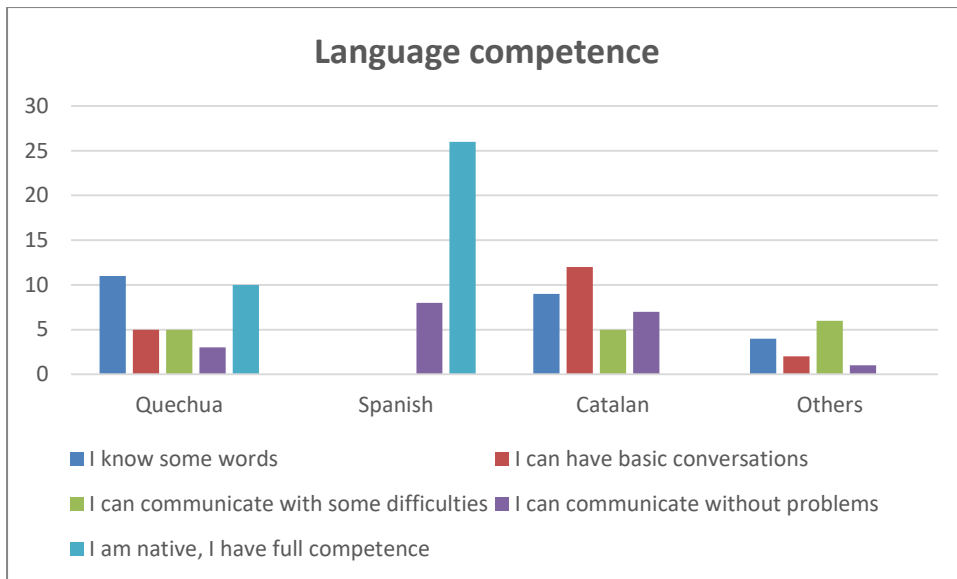
8.4 Profile of the questionnaire participants

8.4.1 Quechua community (34 participants)

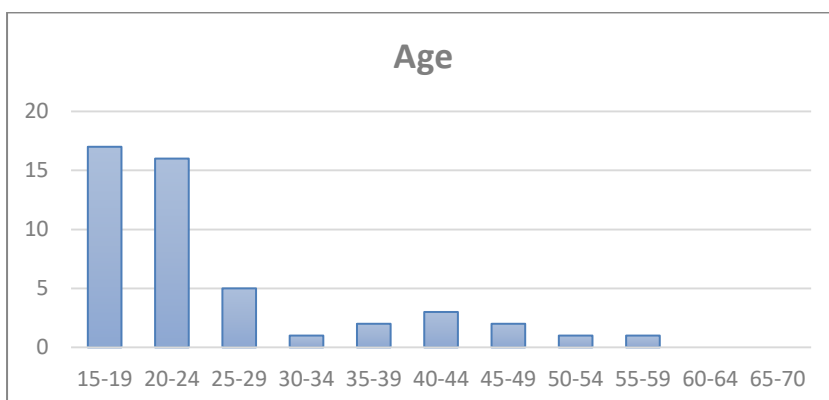
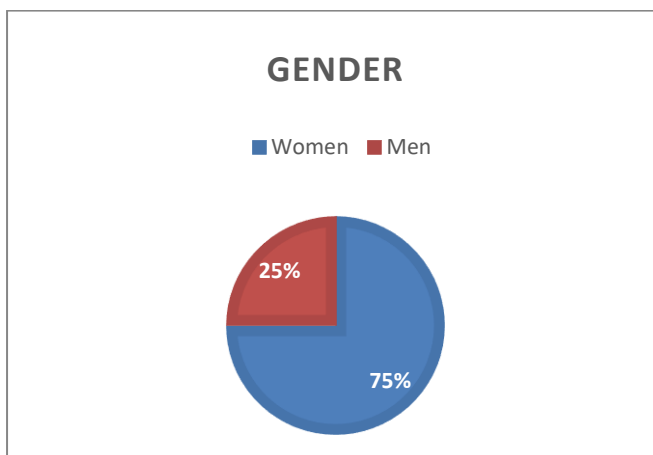


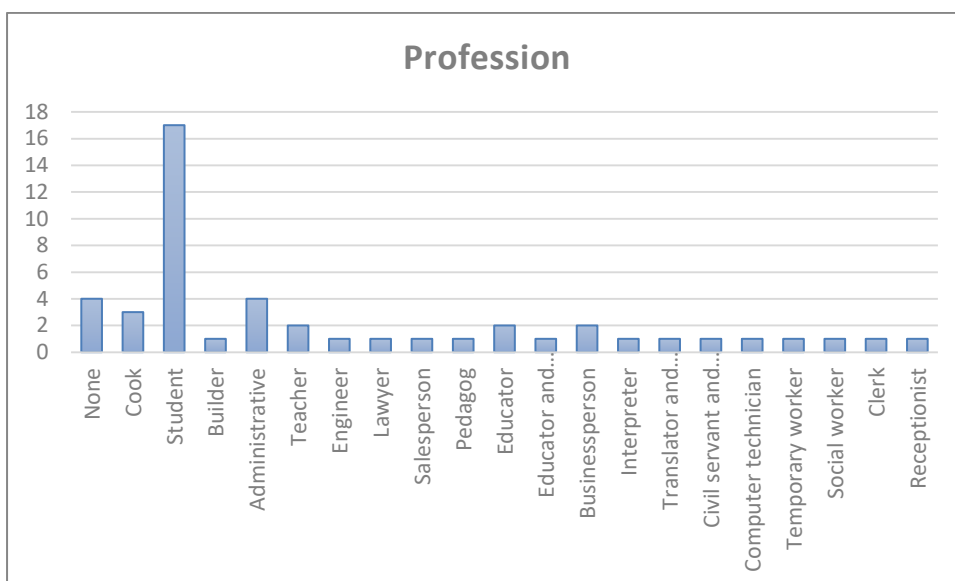
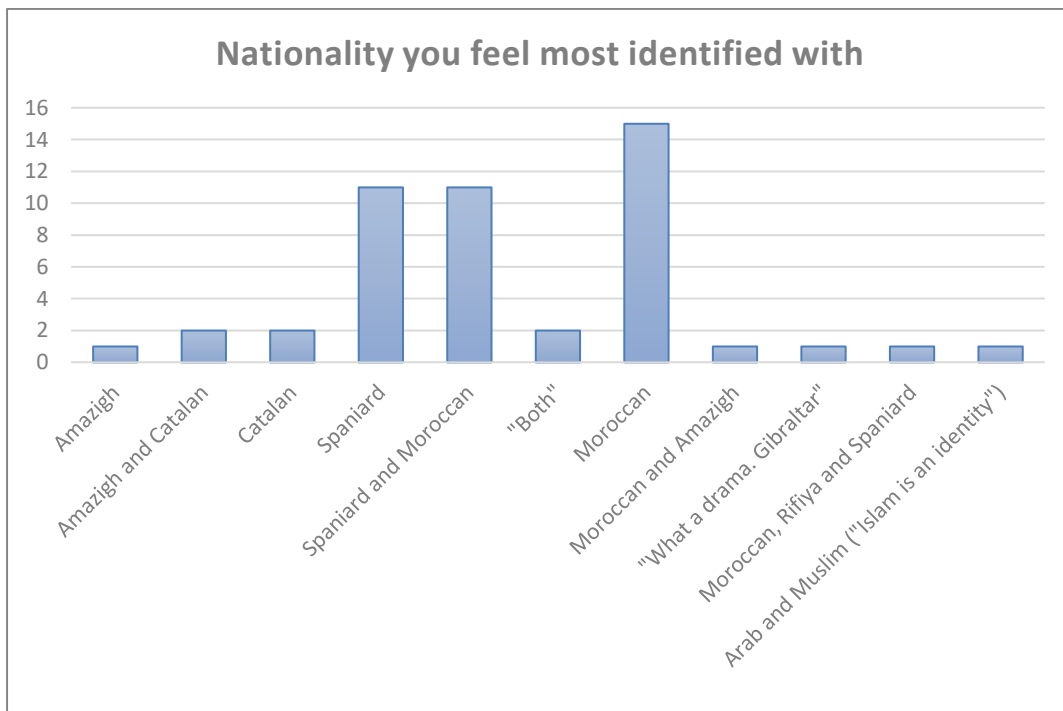
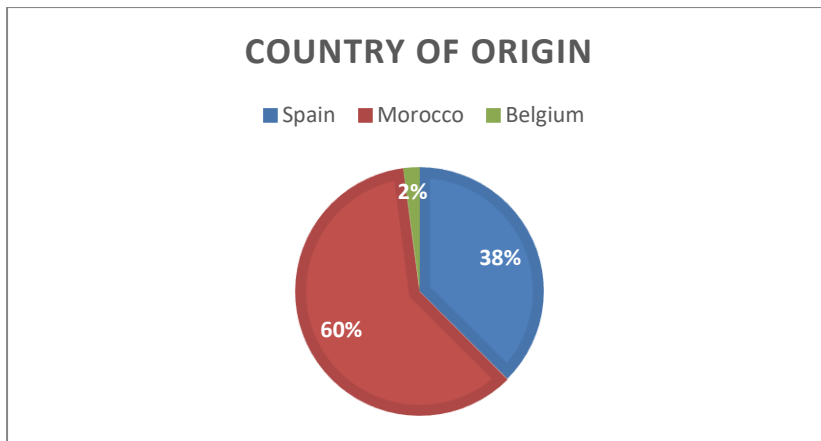






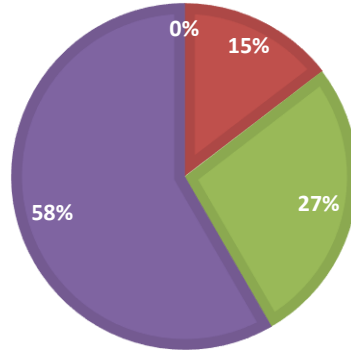
8.4.2 Amazigh community (48 participants)



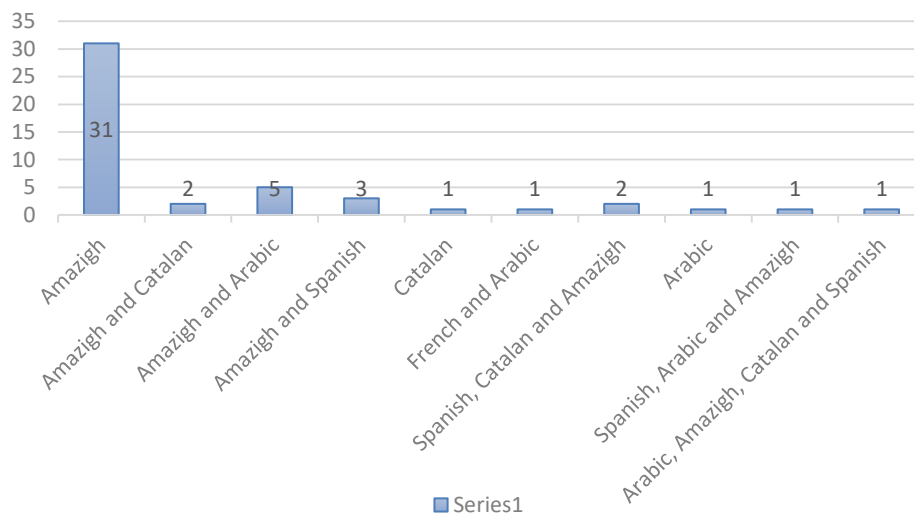


EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

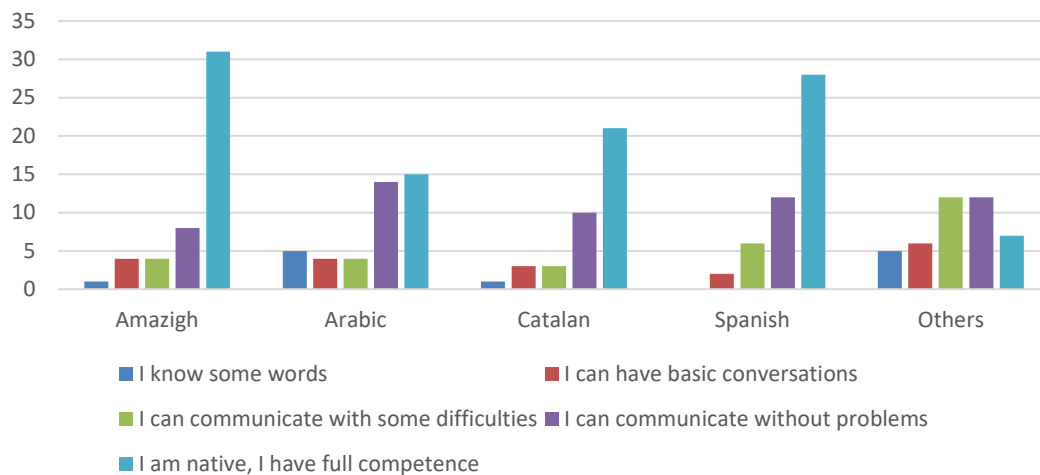
■ Primary school (12 year old)
 ■ Secondary school (16 years old)
 ■ Secondary school (18 years old)
 ■ University



Mother tongue



Language competence



8.5 Semi-structured interview guidelines

- Origins and background
 - Family languages, languages of the childhood.
 - School, languages at school.
 - Educational background, high school experiences, university experiences.
 - Labour market background, professions, languages at work.
- Emigration
 - Causes, previous emigrations before Catalonia, contacts before Catalonia, awareness of Catalan and other minority languages before coming.
 - Working experience, underqualification.
 - Languages learned first, courses taken.
 - Family, friends and social life in Catalonia, languages involved, language uses.
 - Catalan schooling system, Catalan normalisation process.
 - Parallelisms with the Catalan case.
 - Languages spoken and competence.
- Mirror effect.
 - Parallelisms found?
 - Knowledge and use of Catalan, ideologies towards Catalan. Knowledge and use of the minority language, ideologies towards the minority language. Comparison with the time before emigration.
 - Perceptions on the overall community mirror effect.
 - Discrimination in Catalonia, language discrimination, minority languages discrimination, double minorisation/discrimination.
- Language ideologies.
 - Languages considered “useful” and “important” for the participant.
 - Languages in the future.
 - Languages at the Catalan school.
 - Languages within the family, language transmission.
 - Language and labour market.

- Identity, nationality, languages important for identity, tradition, wellbeing, authenticity.
- Minority languages: risk of vanishing? Why?
- English and global languages.
- Perceptions on the overall community language ideologies.

8.6 Original version of the quotes

[Los quechuas] se sienten identificados, y entonces hacen una comparación y dicen [...] “nos corresponde rescatar mi lengua”, y se identifican [con la situación catalana]. [Q-1]

Q5D40: Però ara estic recuperant la meua llengua. Des que he emigrat a Catalunya que m'ho qüestionava contínuament. Estava aprenent una llengua que tothom defensa molt bé, perquè és la seva identitat i la seva llengua. I em preguntava per què jo no he fet res per la meua llengua i la meua identitat.

Researcher: Et refereixes al català?

Q5D40: Sí. El català és el que ha despertat la necessitat de tornar a aprendre la meua llengua i els meus costums. [Q-2]

A6H40: Sí que hi ha gent que abans no hi pensava, que va ser en arribar aquí, en la societat d'acollida... es reconeixen, es donen importància, i això provoca una mica de xoc. [Q-3]

A4H20: [L'escola] és una dificultat molt gran, i la teua part amaziga, la teua història i identitat cultural, no es veien reflectides al sistema educatiu. Llavors ja et començaves a fer les preguntes. Què sóc jo? [Q-4]

A2H40: Però la consciència més forta va començar a la universitat. Allà em vaig trobar amb la fracció amaziguista.

Després em vaig adonar ja aquí que ets al teu país, la teua terra i t'estan negant allò teu i t'has de rendir al discurs dominant! [Q-5]

A4H20: Doncs el [germà] més gran i jo som els que parlem més en català, els que tenim vida en català, i els altres més en castellà. Amb els seus amics... en castellà. Des de [viure a] Sant Andreu, sí, perquè això ve diferenciat perquè jo estudiava a un institut que hi havia gent més

catalana i ells havien estudiat en una escola amb més castellanoparlants, i això des del principi ja es va notant. [Q-6]

A1H45: Utilitzo català a l'associació de Cornellà. Alguna gent el parla. Són catalanoparlants. No hi ha classe treballadora catalanoparlant, tots parlen castellà. La gent amb qui parlo català són classe mitjana: joves, estudiants... [Q-7]

A7D40: He empezado a hacerlo hace poco tiempo. Cuando me preguntan digo "mis orígenes son bereber però soy de Marruecos". Hace poco tiempo. En mi familia me toman como una loca. [Q-8]

Researcher: què creus que podem fer perquè català i amazic deixin d'estar discriminades?

A1H45: Lluitar. Lluitar i lluitar. Depèn de nosaltres, hem de fer-hi alguna cosa. S'ha de lluitar. Per les llengües i per altres coses també. [Q-9]

Researcher: Dius que hi ha discriminació cap als sud-americans.

Q5D40: No només els sud-americans, a molta gent! A altres immigrants també. Als del Magreb per exemple més i tot! Sobretot perquè les dones van més tapades, i perquè tenen accent. No és el mateix el feminisme racialitzat que el feminisme blanc. Tot té a veure amb la discriminació. Jo sóc conscient que una dona negra és més discriminada que jo. Això és una de les coses que he après aquí. [Q-10]

A5D20H: Esque en Cornellà se habla más el castellano, mucho más. Pero ahora que he salido de Cornellà se habla más el catalán fuera. En mi escuela era todo en castellano, se hablaba catalán sólo en las clases de catalán. Lo demás castellano. [Q-11]

A5D20H: pero yo creo que hablo más castellano. Es normal porque estamos en España. [Q-12]

A5D20S: mi hermano está en una en Tarragona. Él me ha comentado que van a hacer castellano gratis, van haciendo cosas así pues para que la gente pueda aprender castellano, también van haciendo clases de árabe... [Q-13]

Researcher: Os sentís marroquies?

A5D20H. Sí... Es que a ver, aquí te dicen que eres marroquí, vas allí y te dicen que eres española...! A ver, por sentirme me siento las dos, pero de dónde soy! A5D20S. De Gibraltar! (ríen).

R: Y vuestros padres? Españoles no?

A5D20: Marroquíes.

R: Os sentís amazighs/bereberes?

A5D20: Sí.

R: Más que marroquí, igual o menos?

A5D20H: Más que marroquí no. A5D20S: Realmente es lo mismo, porque los bereberes estamos en Marruecos, entonces te sientes marroquí. A5D20H: No sé.

R: Queréis añadir alguna reflexión?

A5D20S: Es que aquí realmente no es que estemos discriminadas por la lengua. A5D20H: ni fu ni fa, somos marroquíes. [Q-14]

A5D20S: [contando cuando les explica a los catalanes qué es el amazigh] o sea no sabían que por ejemplo ella siendo árabe y yo amazigh teníamos diferente lengua. Yo les explicaba que es como el catalán y el castellano. El castellano sería el árabe, y el catalán sería el amazigh.

Researcher: En qué sentido lo comparas?

A5D20S: Pues en que el árabe se habla en todo Marruecos, y el castellano en toda España, y el bereber pues se hablaría sólo en una zona. Y el catalán en una zona. [Q-15]

Researcher: Y para vuestra identidad? Qué lenguas son importantes?

A5D40: Amazigh.

R: Y el árabe?

A5D40S. nos gustaría aprenderlo. H aprender sí, pero para la identidad no. El árabe es más importante pero para la identidad no.

R: Y el catalán y el castellano?

A5D40H. El castellano más que el catalán. Los usamos más, los dominamos más.

R: Son igual de útiles?

A5D40S. El catalán sí te sirve en Catalunya, pero sales de Catalunya y no te sirve para mucho. El castellano pues sirve en todas partes. [Q-16]

Researcher: Quina és la teva llengua preferent? Perquè?

A2H40: El català. El domino més. [...] Em sento més segur quan parlo en català. [va aprendre castellà abans que català].

R: Alguna raó més?

A2H40: [...] En un context de diversitat [...] la llengua comuna ha de ser el català. Som a la terra del català, la terra d'origen, on va néixer el català. [...] He de ser coherent amb mi mateix. Si jo [...] sóc militant per la defensa de la llengua autòctona dels amazics, per al seu

reconeixement, doncs ho he de ser pel que fa al català i les llengües minoritzades. [...] He estat durant anys implicat la promoció del català. [Q-17]

Researcher: Quines llengües són importants per la teva identitat?

A1H45: L'amazic és la llengua més important de totes per la identitat. L'àrab no. Estic content de saber-lo i m'agrada parlar-lo, però només és per a comunicar, no per la identitat. El castellà i el català són importants també. El català més. Però l'amazic és la més important.

Researcher: Quines llengües són més útils?

A1H45: Totes les llengües són útils. Amazic, àrab, català, castellà, anglès, francès... Totes aporten alguna cosa. Com més llengües saps, millor. [Q-18]

Researcher: Al principi parlaves només castellà, oi?

A2H40: Sí, les primeres feines, el món de la construcció... Però vaig anar descobrint la realitat poc a poc. Les associacions, gent universitària... que parlaven català i em deien que no era complicat. La clau [de parlar català] estava en l'associació X. [Q-19]

Researcher: Hi ha alguna cosa del cas català que t'agradaria que s'importés al Marroc?

A6H40: Sí, com l'escola... el patrimoni cultural... sí, sentir-se orgullós de la teva llengua, la teva cultura... Com que a Catalunya estan avançats, que tenen moltes coses, segurament que passarem pel camí que han passat ells, que podrem aprendre moltes coses. [Q-20]

Researcher: Creus que hi ha barreres per aprendre català?

Q5D40: Te lo hacen difícil! Acaso te lo ponen fácil? Si tienes facilidad por las lenguas sí, pero si no, no! En la escuela de mi hijo hay un par que sólo hablaba catalán. La secretaria no me habla jamás en castellano, siempre en catalán. No es que yo no lo entienda, pero mi lengua vehicular es el castellano. Y ellas "traca"! [Q-21]

Q3D50: En mi casa hablo quechua pero mis hijos no lo entienden. Bueno, sí entienden algo pero no quieren hablar.

Researcher: Crees que tienen vergüenza de hablarlo?

Q3D50: Sí, por vergüenza. Cuando les hablo en quechua me dicen "mamá, qué haces!". Dicen que no entiende nada, y que hablar quechua es mucho trabajo. Cuando mi hija vino aquí mi hija tenía problemas de lenguaje. [...] Nos centramos en el castellano cuando vinimos por eso. Cuando era pequeña sí que hablaba quechua, pero ya no. Nos centramos en que pronunciara correctamente el castellano, no sabía conjugar.

R: Es más importante que hable castellano que que hable quechua?

Q3D50: No, para mí es muy importante que hable quechua, en casa siempre lo hablo, con mi marido. Pero ahora ya es tarde para ella, ya es mayor. Tengo una hija mayor. Ella sabe más quechua. [...] Hablaba más quechua. Pero yo vine a Cataluña ella se quedó con mi hermana,

allí hablaba mucho quechua con ella. Pero cuando se vino aquí conmigo decidió no hablar más quechua. No sé por qué, no lo entiendo. [Q-22]

Q1D45: Uso bastante el quechua, casi cada día. Cuando conozco un boliviano le hablo en castellano, y si veo que puede saber quechua entonces le pregunto y le hablo en quechua. No todos los bolivianos saben quechua. También hay muchos que lo saben y no lo quieren decir y no lo usan. A los que no saben les voceo y les digo que lo deberían aprender (ríe).

Researcher: Por qué crees que pasa esto?

Q1D45: No sé... No quieren decirlo, les da vergüenza. Quizás porque aquí en Cataluña no lo usan, no se usa, no es útil. A éstos también les voceo, tienen que estar orgullosos de hablar quechua, de su lengua y de su cultura. [Q-23]

Researcher: Cree que el Catalán es útil en Cataluña?

Q4H50: Aquí en Cataluña yo creo que sí, bastante. Piden el manejo del catalán [mercado laboral].

R: ¿Le gustaría tener ocasión de hablar y aprender más catalán?

Q4H50: Sí, como decía de poner de mi parte y hablar más. Es una lengua muy rica.

R: ¿Cree que el factor tiempo ha influido?

Q4H50: Eso, el tiempo. El trabajo. [ha vivido 18 años en Cataluña trabajando en el campo y en fábricas]. [Q-24]

Researcher: ¿Usabas catalán durante los cursos [de catalán]?

Q2H45: Con algun amigo del curso sí, quedábamos para hablar. Pero como te repito, cuando tienes un hijo cambia tu vida, tu situación y... te abocas a llevar el pan a la casa. [Q-25]

8.7 Templates of the surveys

Trabajo de investigación sobre las lenguas en Barcelona

Esta encuesta es parte de un Trabajo de Fin de Máster que está realizando Albert Badosa en el SOAS (Universidad de Londres). Es un trabajo de investigación sobre la relación de las comunidades tamazight, quechua y panyabi con las lenguas en Barcelona. Los datos serán usados solo con fines académicos y todas las respuestas serán anónimas. Ningún dato será compartido con nadie. Los resultados de la investigación serán publicados en la Universidad de Londres y pueden aparecer en otras publicaciones académicas.

* **Necessari**

1. Edad *

Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 15-19
- ☐ 20-24
- ☐ 25-29
- ☐ 30-34
- ☐ 35-39
- ☐ 40-44
- ☐ 45-49
- ☐ 50-54
- ☐ 55-59
- ☐ 60-64
- ☐ 65-70

2. Sexo *

Maqueu només un oval.

- ☐ Mujer
- ☐ Hombre
- ☐ Otro
- ☐ No quiero responder

3. País donde naciste *

4. País/es donde tus padres nacieron *

5. Nacionalidad/es con las que te identificas más *

6. Nivel educativo **Maqueu només un oval.*

- ☐ Educación primaria (hasta los 12 años)
- ☐ Educación secundaria (hasta los 16 años)
- ☐ Educación secundaria (hasta los 18 años)
- ☐ Educación universitaria

7. Profesión *

8. Lengua materna / lenguas maternas *

9. Lenguas que conoces y en qué nivel*Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	Sé algunas palabras	Puedo tener conversaciones básicas	Puedo comunicarme con algunas dificultades	Puedo comunicarme sin problemas	Soy nativo, tengo plena competencia
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otras	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. ¿Qué otras lenguas conoces?

*Passeu a la pregunta 11.***Trabajo de investigación sobre las lenguas en Barcelona**

En esta parte se ha de puntuar del 1 al 5:

- 1- muy en desacuerdo
- 2- en desacuerdo
- 3- ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- 4- de acuerdo
- 5- muy de acuerdo

11. La lengua ... es importante en la ESCUELA*Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. La lengua ... es importante para encontrar TRABAJO **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. La lengua ... me permite acceder a la CULTURA de mi alrededor **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. La lengua ... me permite acceder a mi CULTURA tradicional **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15. La lengua ... es importante para mi IDENTIDAD **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. La lengua ... es importante para el FUTURO de mis hijos **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. La lengua ... es importante para mejorar mi NIVEL DE VIDA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Tamazight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Árabe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. La situación del tamazight es parecida a la situación del catalán **Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.*

- ☐ 1 Muy en desacuerdo
- ☐ 2 En desacuerdo
- ☐ 3 Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- ☐ 4 De acuerdo
- ☐ 5 Muy de acuerdo

Muchas gracias por participar!

No duden en contactarme para cualquier duda o interés que tengan. Más abajo se encuentran mis datos de contacto. Recuérdese que todas las respuestas son anónimas.

19. Querrían añadir algún comentario sobre la encuesta?

20. Aquí tienen mi contacto de la universidad:

656597@soas.ac.uk. Me gustaría hacer entrevistas en persona, si están interesados pueden escribirme o dejar su contacto.

Treball de recerca sobre les llengües a Barcelona

Aquesta enquesta és per un Treball de Final de Màster que està realitzant l'Albert Badosa al SOAS (Universitat de Londres). És un treball de recerca sobre la relació de les comunitats amaziga, quítxua i panjabi amb les llengües a Barcelona. Les dades seran usades només per finalitats acadèmiques i totes les respostes seran anònimes. Cap dada no serà compartida amb ningú. Els resultats de la investigació seran publicats a la Universitat de Londres i poden aparèixer a altres publicacions acadèmiques.

* **Necessari**

1. Edat *

Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 15-19
- ☐ 20-24
- ☐ 25-29
- ☐ 30-34
- ☐ 35-39
- ☐ 40-44
- ☐ 45-49
- ☐ 50-54
- ☐ 55-59
- ☐ 60-64
- ☐ 65-70

2. Sexe *

Maqueu només un oval.

- ☐ Dona
- ☐ Home
- ☐ Altre
- ☐ No vull respondre

3. País on vas néixer *

4. País/os on van néixer els teus pares *

5. Nacionalitat/s amb què t'identifiques més *

6. Nivell educatiu **Maqueu només un oval.*

- ☐ Educació primària (fins als 12 anys)
- ☐ Educació secundària (fins als 16 anys)
- ☐ Educació secundària (fins als 18 anys)
- ☐ Educació universitària

7. Professió *

8. Llengua materna / llengües maternes *

9. Llengües que coneixes i en quin nivell **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	Sé algunes paraules	Puc tenir converses bàsiques	Puc comunicar- me amb algunes dificultats	Em puc comunicar sense problemes	Sóc nadiu, tinc plena competència
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Altres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Quines altres llengües coneixes?

*Passeu a la pregunta 11.***Treball de recerca sobre les llengües a Barcelona**

En aquesta part haureu de puntuar de l'1 al 5:

- 1- molt en desacord
- 2- en desacord
- 3- ni d'acord ni en desacord
- 4- d'acord
- 5- molt d'acord

11. La llengua ... és important a l'ESCOLA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. La llengua ... és important per a trobar FEINA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. La llengua ... em permet accedir a la CULTURA del meu voltant **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. La llengua ... em permet accedir a la meva CULTURA tradicional **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15. La llengua ... és important per a la meva IDENTITAT **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. La llengua ... és important per al FUTUR dels meus fills **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. La llengua ... és important per a millorar el meu NIVELL DE VIDA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Amazic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Àrab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. La situació de l'amazic és semblant a la situació del català **Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.*

- ☐ 1 Molt en desacord
- ☐ 2 En desacord
- ☐ 3 Ni d'acord ni en desacord
- ☐ 4 D'acord
- ☐ 5 Molt d'acord

Moltes gràcies per participar-hi!

No dubteu en contactar-me per qualsevol dubte, interès... Més avall hi teniu les meves dades.
 Recordeu que totes les respostes són anònimes.

19. Us agradaria afegir algun comentari sobre l'enquesta?

20. Aquí teniu el meu contacte de la universitat:

**656597@soas.ac.uk. M'agradaria fer
 entrevistes en persona, si hi esteu
 interessats em podeu escriure o deixar el
 vostre contacte.**

Tecnologia de



Trabajo de investigación sobre las lenguas en Barcelona

Esta encuesta es parte de un Trabajo de Fin de Máster que está realizando Albert Badosa en el SOAS (Universidad de Londres). Es un trabajo de investigación sobre la relación de las comunidades tamazight, quechua y panyabi con las lenguas en Barcelona. Los datos serán usados solo con fines académicos y todas las respuestas serán anónimas. Ningún dato será compartido con nadie. Los resultados de la investigación serán publicados en la Universidad de Londres y pueden aparecer en otras publicaciones académicas.

* **Necessari**

1. Edad *

Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 15-19
- ☐ 20-24
- ☐ 25-29
- ☐ 30-34
- ☐ 35-39
- ☐ 40-44
- ☐ 45-49
- ☐ 50-54
- ☐ 55-59
- ☐ 60-64
- ☐ 65-70

2. Sexo *

Maqueu només un oval.

- ☐ Mujer
- ☐ Hombre
- ☐ Otro
- ☐ No quiero responder

3. País donde naciste *

4. País/es donde tus padres nacieron *

5. Nacionalidad/es con las que te identificas más *

6. Nivel educativo **Marqueu només un oval.*

- ☐ Educación primaria (hasta los 12 años)
- ☐ Educación secundaria (hasta los 16 años)
- ☐ Educación secundaria (hasta los 18 años)
- ☐ Educación universitaria

7. Profesión *

8. Lengua materna / lenguas maternas *

9. Lenguas que conoces y en qué nivel*Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	Sé algunas palabras	Puedo tener conversaciones básicas	Puedo comunicarme con algunas dificultades	Puedo comunicarme sin problemas	Soy nativo, tengo plena competencia
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otras	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. ¿Qué otras lenguas conoces?

*Passeu a la pregunta 11.***Trabajo de investigación sobre las lenguas en Barcelona**

En esta parte se ha de puntuar del 1 al 5:

- 1- muy en desacuerdo
- 2- en desacuerdo
- 3- ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- 4- de acuerdo
- 5- muy de acuerdo

11. La lengua ... es importante en la ESCUELA*Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. La lengua ... es importante para encontrar TRABAJO **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. La lengua ... me permite acceder a la CULTURA de mi alrededor **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. La lengua ... me permite acceder a mi CULTURA tradicional **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15. La lengua ... es importante para mi IDENTIDAD **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. La lengua ... es importante para el FUTURO de mis hijos **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. La lengua ... es importante para mejorar mi NIVEL DE VIDA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quechua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Catalán	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. La situación del quechua es parecida a la situación del catalán *

Selecioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 1 Muy de acuerdo
- ☐ 2 En desacuerdo
- ☐ 3 Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
- ☐ 4 De acuerdo
- ☐ 5 Muy de acuerdo

Muchas gracias por participar!

No duden en contactarme para cualquier duda o interés que tengan. Más abajo se encuentran mis datos de contacto. Recuérdese que todas las respuestas son anónimas.

19. Querrían añadir algún comentario sobre la encuesta?

20. Aquí tienen mi contacto de la universidad:

656597@soas.ac.uk. Me gustaría hacer entrevistas en persona, si están interesados pueden escribirme o dejar su contacto.

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* **Necessari**

1. Edat *

Seleccioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 15-19
- ☐ 20-24
- ☐ 25-29
- ☐ 30-34
- ☐ 35-39
- ☐ 40-44
- ☐ 45-49
- ☐ 50-54
- ☐ 55-59
- ☐ 60-64
- ☐ 65-70

2. Sexe *

Maqueu només un oval.

- ☐ Dona
- ☐ Home
- ☐ Altre
- ☐ No vull respondre

3. País on vas néixer *

4. País/os on van néixer els teus pares *

5. Nacionalitat/s amb què t'identifiques més *

6. Nivell educatiu **Maqueu només un oval.*

- ☐ Educació primària (fins als 12 anys)
- ☐ Educació secundària (fins als 16 anys)
- ☐ Educació secundària (fins als 18 anys)
- ☐ Educació universitària

7. Professió *

8. Llengua materna / llengües maternes *

9. Llengües que coneixes i en quin nivell*Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	Sé algunes paraules	Puc tenir converses bàsiques	Puc comunicar- me amb algunes dificultats	Em puc comunicar sense problemes	Sóc nadiu, tinc plena competència
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Altres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Quines altres llengües coneixes?

*Passeu a la pregunta 11.***Treball de recerca sobre les llengües a Barcelona**

En aquesta part haureu de puntuar de l'1 al 5:

- 1- molt en desacord
- 2- en desacord
- 3- ni d'acord ni en desacord
- 4- d'acord
- 5- molt d'acord

11. La llengua ... és important a l'ESCOLA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. La llengua ... és important per a trobar FEINA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. La llengua ... em permet accedir a la CULTURA del meu voltant **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. La llengua ... em permet accedir a la meva CULTURA tradicional **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15. La llengua ... és important per a la meva IDENTITAT **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. La llengua ... és important per al FUTUR dels meus fills **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. La llengua ... és important per a millorar el meu NIVELL DE VIDA **Marqueu només un oval per fila.*

	1	2	3	4	5
Quítxua	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Català	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Castellà	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anglès	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. La situació del quítxua és semblant a la situació del català *

Selecioneu totes les opcions que corresponguin.

- ☐ 1 Molt en desacord
- ☐ 2 En desacord
- ☐ 3 Ni d'acord ni en desacord
- ☐ 4 D'acord
- ☐ 5 Molt d'acord

Moltes gràcies per participar-hi!

No dubteu en contactar-me per qualsevol dubte, interès... Més avall hi teniu les meves dades.
Recordeu que totes les respostes són anònimes.

19. Us agradaria afegir algun comentari sobre l'enquesta?

20. Aquí teniu el meu contacte de la universitat:

656597@soas.ac.uk. M'agradaria fer
entrevistes en persona, si hi esteu
interessats em podeu escriure o deixar el
vostre contacte.

Tecnologia de

