



Moroccan Immigrants in Spain: Negotiating language, culture and identity

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Dedication

To those who have had to leave everything behind and start anew
To those who were left behind

زورونی کل سنه مره
حرام تنسونی بالمره
زورونی کل سنه مره
حرام تنسونی بالمره
- فیروز -

Abstract

At the center of political discussion regarding the crisis of immigration in Spain, Moroccan immigrants' cultural, religious, and linguistic practices are highly contested and surveilled. Analyzing multilingual situations from a sociolinguistic perspective has traditionally involved characterizing where, when, and how languages are used, utilizing constructs that characterize language use as stable and domain-specific which references static social categories or bounded ethnolinguistic identities. These long-standing constructs in sociolinguistics are unable to account for language use within the complex social realities of Moroccan immigrants in Spain. Using a linguistic ethnographic approach to language which maintains that language and the social world are mutually shaping, I examine the relationship between the sociopolitical realities of the Moroccan immigrant community in Granada, Spain and the role of language use and identity negotiation in Moroccan immigrants' participation in Spanish society in order to refine key concepts in sociolinguistics. The data include sociolinguistic interviews, questionnaires, observations and recordings conducted with 30 first and 28 second generation members of the Moroccan immigrant community as well as eight interviews over the course of ten months with six focal participants. In chapter 1 I contextualize the study and discuss the motivation for investigation. In chapter 2, I provide an overview of previous studies in the characterization of multilingual situations, social identities, attitudes and ideologies. Chapter 3 includes an overview of the methods used in this work. In chapter 4, I present a sociolinguistic description of language use of Moroccan immigrants in Granada as well as describe how Moroccan immigrants conceptualize and characterize their own language use within society. Chapter 5 addresses how identities are enacted in language practices through the use of linguistics structures that reflect their multilingual repertoires. I examine how speakers position themselves in interviews in addition to how this position is negotiated and constructed over time. The sixth chapter discusses the linguistic attitudes and ideologies that are present in the questionnaires and interviews.

I found that first and second generation Moroccan immigrants' language practices are fluid while they are perceived to be domain specific and functionally separated. These fluid language practices were frequently leveraged in interviews and social interaction to negotiate their position as members of past, present, and future or imagined communities. However, speakers' linguistic attitudes and ideologies frame their fluid language practices as separate and distinct.

This project challenges previous constructs in sociolinguistics, namely, the concept of functional and stable language separation while recognizing the socially real consequences of such static conceptualizations of language use. Additionally, this research provides a greater understanding of how Moroccan immigrants' perceptions of political, social, and economic issues interact with identity construction within a highly politicized context which constrains or enables particular kinds of language practices.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Since the March 2004 Madrid bombings, contemporary political discussion surrounding immigration in Spain has focused on the crisis of integration of immigrants, particularly Moroccan immigrants. Politicians, Spanish media, and public discourse claim that proper integration requires immigrants to acquire a place in their new society, not only physically, but socially and culturally, often at the expense of their native language and cultural practices. In this context and in an age of globalization, governments often emphasize homogeneity and uniformity across the population. Policies and discourses of homogeneity and uniformity categorize and discriminate against diversity and diverse linguistic practices (Blommaert, 2010, p. 173). Language use, then, leads to a debate about immigration and multiculturalism and is related to questions of national and ethnic identity (Moustaoui Srhir, 2016, p. 52).

Spain is considered a relatively "new" immigration country as the rise of immigration began after Spain joined the European Union in 1986. Due to its location on the southern border of Europe, Spain has been characterized as the "gateway" for legal and undocumented immigrants from Africa. In Granada, the Moroccan immigrant community makes up 27 percent of the total migrant population and is the largest immigrant group (Junta de Andalucía, 2019). As immigration increases, questions regarding identity become more prominent as new immigrants and subsequent generations born in Spain participate in Spanish society (Moustaoui Srhir, 2016). Recognizing the growing number of immigrants, the mayor and people of Granada proudly label the city as a city of *convivencia* or "coexistence" where people of all faiths and backgrounds live peacefully. However, as many Moroccans have settled in the same region where moriscos (i.e.

converted Christians of Muslim ancestry) lived before their expulsion in the 17th century, they are perceived as a threat to Spanish identity and as the “return of the Medieval Moor” (Flesler, 2008, p. 56). As a result, Moroccan immigrants in Granada continue to face discrimination in housing, education, and the job market. Moroccan immigrants are characterized as “los inasimilables” or the “unassimilable” (Bravo López, 2004) and as such are racialized and socially marked (Mijares, 2004; Rogozen-Soltar, 2017). Additionally, speaking Arabic is often associated with Islam, and, in turn, terrorism. Moroccan immigrants who eschew Moroccan language and cultural practices are favored in social and economic opportunities, resulting in hierarchical and unequal multiculturalism. Those who choose to maintain and transmit Moroccan Arabic are met with indifference by the Spanish government, which prioritizes Spanish literacy over language maintenance. This indifference has been translated into educational policies that often do not respond to the needs of the community (Mijares, 2006).

In communities with large populations of Moroccan immigrants, the Moroccan government has collaborated with the Spanish government to finance Moroccan culture and language courses. These free after-school programs in elementary and high school are developed according to Spanish government standards, however, they inadequately address the needs of immigrant children and their families. For example, these courses are taught in Spanish and Classical Arabic while students speak Moroccan Arabic or Berber with their Moroccan immigrant parents. As a result, students do not gain literacy skills in their first language, Moroccan Arabic or Berber. This, among other factors, has led to an increase in dropouts among Moroccan immigrant students who, in some regions, have the highest dropout rate of any immigrant population in Spain (García-Sánchez, 2014).

Research regarding migrant populations have focused on experiences of Moroccan immigrants in Spain in the media (Aramburu, 2004) in educational settings (García-Sánchez, 2014; Carrasco Pons, 2003; Chacón Rodríguez, 2003) or from a perspective of integration and assimilation in the home (Castaño Madroñal, 1997; Dietz 2002; 2004; 2005). Previous studies on immigrant communities in Spain has focused on large industrialized centers such as the areas surrounding Madrid and Barcelona (Erickson, 2011; Lucko, 2007; Martín Rojo, 2011; Mercado, 2008; Moustauoui Srhir, 2016) and few on aspects of Moroccan immigrant's Muslim identity in Granada (Rogozen-Soltar 2012a, 2012b). Additionally, there has been limited research regarding Moroccan immigrant communities' language use in Spain (see Harjus and Harjus, 2020). Tilmatine and Morgenthaler García (2011) note that contact of Arabic and Spanish in the context of immigrant communities in Spain has received little attention among Arabic linguists and even less research has been done by Hispanic linguists despite the growing number of Arabic-speaking immigrants in Spain. The few previous studies on the subject have primarily focused on Arabic in contact with Spanish in Ceuta (Antón, 2011; Vicente, 2007) or Berber in contact with Spanish in Melilla, two autonomous cities in North Africa (Sayahi, 2011) as well as in Northern Morocco (Vicente, 2011) or Western Sahara (Morgenthaler García, 2011).

Further research in the area of migrant minority languages is crucial to better understand the linguistic needs of linguistic minorities and immigrants in this region. As Fishman (1989; 1999) notes, language is a central aspect of culture and cultural ethnic identity for most groups. By examining the linguistic practices of young adults and how these linguistic practices are used to negotiate multilingual and multicultural identities in a society that blames them for their supposed lack of willingness to integrate (García-Sánchez, 2014), the current study hopes to

provide a view of how language use is affected by larger sociohistorical and political forces. This project addresses the concepts of multilingualism and particularly migrant languages that feature prominently in the debate of integration legislation throughout Western Europe.

1.2 Methodological Considerations and Significance of the Study

One key question in analyzing multilingual situations is how to characterize the multilingual repertoires of individuals and communities. García-Sánchez (2014) describes the dynamic language practices of Moroccan children in Spain as they utilize their multilingual repertoires to construct and play with imagined identities. The children contest the racialized discourse of their Spanish peers and learn how to be Moroccan through their language practices. As Jørgensen et. al., (2011) point out, "language is individual because no two people share the same features exactly" but at the same time language is social in that "every feature we know we share with someone else" (p. 35). The unique trajectories and life histories and experiences of the individual affect their language practices and choices (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2013). In the case of Granada, the multilingual repertoires of individuals may be illustrative of the unique trajectories and life experiences that affect their language practices and choices. The multilingual repertoires and features of these repertoires are affected by the formation and negotiation of identities and discourses (i.e. ideologies) surrounding these identities (García-Sánchez, 2014). Moroccans in Granada utilize features from Spanish, English, French, Standard and Classical as well as Moroccan Arabic in their daily lives. As multilingualism in Granada becomes more prominent in public spaces, the identities associated with such language use are often contested. Language use can be a strategy for how Moroccan immigrants position themselves in interaction and discourse, that is, how they construct, legitimize, define, and

redefine their ethnolinguistic identities. In contexts of multilingualism, linguistic identity is constantly reevaluated and renegotiated (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). As Gal (1987) notes, through analysis of linguistic practices and evaluations of speakers in cases where any language group faces a dominant culture that imposes external images on them, we may be able to glimpse into the implicit self-perceptions and unspoken assessments of the ethnic other.

In my previous research in Granada, I have found that many Moroccan immigrants do not identify as immigrants and in some cases, choose to identify as "Andalusí," and for some, this identity references the historical presence of Muslims during the time of the Muslim caliphate that extended across the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa as well as current regional and local descriptions (Ready, forthcoming). Findings from previous research leads me to hypothesize that this identity plays a role in their language practices and multilingual repertoires (García-Sánchez, 2014; Zentella, 1997). These same speakers did not see a division between their homes in Morocco and their homes in Granada and frequently visited their families in Northern Morocco for long stretches of time.

Second-generation children and teens are often sent to stay with family members in Morocco for the summer while the first-generation parents stay in Granada for work. García-Sánchez (2014) points out that immigrant communities are fluid diasporas and are influenced by the strong networks that they maintain and that span various conventional nation-states (p. 186). As such, mobility is a central theoretical concern in this context. Mobility refers to different scales (i.e. different polycentric contexts such as translocal or global contexts) that may induce shifts in function and meaning and these shifts may involve reordering the linguistic resources within different orders of indexicality (i.e. centres from which real or perceived norms emanate)

(Blommaert, 2010, p. 22). This movement between "localities" and "norms" reflects a "deterritorialization" (see Blommaert, 2010) of cultural spaces and language practices which may affect their multilingual repertoires and the process of language maintenance and/or shift that may occur. It is significant, as García-Sánchez (2014) notes, that "exploring these diverse ideoscapes among different Muslim diaspora communities, like the Moroccan community in Spain, may perhaps be even more critical given Muslim communities' heated debates about ethnoreligious authenticity and continuity in relation to tradition and modernity" (p. 186). In this case, it becomes evident that the study of language is the study of, "a complex of resources, of their value, distribution, rights of ownership and effects. It is not the study of an abstract language, but the study of concrete language resources in which people make different investments and to which they attribute different values and degrees of usefulness" and "in the context of globalization, where language forms are perhaps more mobile than before, such patterns of value and use become less predictable and presupposable" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 28). A community characterized by such mobility and multiple, changing identities and multilingual and truncated repertoires may provide new insights into the notions of social networks and speech communities which have been the locus of sociolinguistic research (Martin-Jones, et al. 2012; Zentella, 1997). This context that is characterized by identities and language practices that extend across social, geographic, and historical boundaries may also provide a deeper understanding of processes of language maintenance and/or shift in minority language communities.

The above findings and challenges associated with research on multilingualism warrant further study, particularly in the case of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, whose language,

identity, and culture are highly contested. It has been argued that research on multilingualism should be conducted using a critical approach that situates language practices in social and political contexts and "privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action" (Heller, 2007, p. 25) as "linguistic practices are always subject to, and shaped by, language ideologies, and language ideologies are constantly subject to, and shaped by, linguistic practices" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010 p. 56). Based on these premises, in-depth study of identities and ideologies of highly contested migrant populations like Moroccans in Spain, is a crucial step in understanding multilingual language use.

1.3 Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework and research literature on immigration in Spain as well as aspects of multilingualism providing an overview of language use and the role of identities and ideologies in language practices. Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology, linguistic ethnography, and describes the participants and settings. This chapter also describes the design of the study and the phases of data collection and analysis procedures. After the data have been collected and aggregated, Chapters 4 and 5 will provide the discussion of the data and conclusions and implications. Research materials are provided in the Appendices.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Outline of the Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information to situate the present study in its historical, social, linguistic, and theoretical concerns. For this reason, the following section will present a brief overview of Moroccan immigrant communities in Europe and the more recent migration of Moroccans in Spain. In addition, I will delve into the question of

whether or not Granada can be considered a "superdiverse" research context. Subsequent sections will discuss different aspects of research on multilingualism including how language use is characterized both in terms of where and how language is used as well as the role of identities and ideologies in language use. Lastly, theoretical considerations in researching multilingualism are presented in the final section of the chapter.

2.2 Moroccan Immigrant Communities in Europe

Migration in Europe is often framed as a problem of integration. Politicians, media, and public discourse claim that proper integration requires immigrants to acquire a place in their new society, not only physically, but socially and culturally, often at the expense of their native language and cultural practices. Language use, then, leads to a debate about immigration and multiculturalism. For Moroccan immigrant populations in Europe who are Muslim, this discourse falls into a particular racialized category of exclusion as they are often perceived as a threat. The growing debate regarding *la crisis de los modelos de integración* (i.e. failure of integration) in Europe is, in part, a response to the increasing number of North African and Muslim communities due to an increase in immigration and family unification policies (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 6). Several scholars attribute feelings of anxiety and mistrust of Muslim immigrant communities to the process of "Other-ing" to Islamic culture which stems from Orientalist interpretations of Islam and the Muslim world (e.g., Asad 2000; Bowen 2004a). Asad (2000) notes that since the early Middle Ages, Muslims have been positioned as the violent and uncivilized Other to Christians. Positioning Muslims as the "Other" has been a key ingredient in the construction of a unified notion of Western European civilization. Muslim and Moroccan identity are often conflated as Moroccans are perceived as Muslim for their language practices,

country of origin, and cultural customs. Recent events have revived hostilities towards Muslim immigrant communities or those who are perceived as Muslim in various communities throughout Europe.

Since 9/11 and various other attacks including the March 2004 train bombings in Madrid and, more recently the attack in Barcelona on August 17, 2017, there has been renewed and intense focus on immigrants from the Muslim world. In Spain, many of the perpetrators in the attacks were Moroccan nationals. These events were legitimized and rationalized as the inevitable consequence of "irreconcilable cultural differences between the Moroccan and Spanish populations" (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 25). Immigrants from the Muslim world have been perceived as a threat and have been subject to special scrutiny by the state and discriminatory treatment under the law (see Barrett 2007; and Turner 2007). As a result, Muslims and immigrants from North Africa and other predominantly Muslim countries have been perceived as a threat to not only European security, but European identity itself. The perception of Muslims as a threat to European identity has led to racist and discriminatory laws. These laws target the salient cultural differences such as religion, language, dress. Such is the case with the state policies targeting Muslims such as the headscarf law in France (Bowen 2004b) while Spain maintains a partial ban of burkas and niqabs in several parts of Catalonia. Spain lacks an anti-discrimination law and some measures that the government has adopted to fight "jihadist" terrorism may in practice to stigmatize Arab and Muslim communities through the use of racial, ethnic or religious profiling.

2.3 Recent History of Immigration in Spain

During the 1980s and 1990s, Spain experienced decreasing emigration and increased immigration from North African and Latin American countries (Izquierdo, 1992; Cornelius, 2004; Arango, 2000). These immigration patterns reflect the postcolonial links that are still present between the Spanish peninsula and its formerly dependent Latin American and North African territories. Since Spain became a part of the European Union (EU) the southern border of Spain has been considered the "port of entry" to the EU and the Schengen territory (Arango 2000; Zapata-Barrero 2001). Arrivals of immigrants peaked in early 2000s during the economic boom of the real estate bubble and decreased significantly in 2009. From 2009 to 2013, Spain lost a quarter of a million inhabitants which included Spaniards who went abroad in search of economic opportunities. In 2015, there was an increase in migrant populations in Spain, but the number of emigrating Spaniards was still relatively high. In 2016, this trend was reversed, net migration was positive and Spain experienced the most intense immigration since 2008. Of this new population of immigrants, 85% were foreign nationals and 15% were returning Spaniards. In that year, Venezuelan nationals were the largest number of incoming immigrants, with Moroccans making up the second largest incoming group with 21,386 net arrivals. While the largest foreign communities in Spain in 2017 were Romanians (678,098) Moroccans were the second largest group with 667,189 individuals which make up 16.4% of the total population of immigrants and 1.4% of the total population of Spain (National Statistics Institute (INE) 2017). In the most recent report, the Moroccan population has surpassed the Romanian population and are the largest foreign-born community in the country with 812,412 Moroccans which make up 1.7% of the total population (National Statistics Institute (INE) 2019).

Many Moroccan and other non-EU immigrants originally used Andalusia as an entry point in their journeys north to urban industrial centers like Madrid and Barcelona or to France, Belgium, or Switzerland. However, more recently, Andalusia has become a permanent destination for immigrants. Many non-EU immigrants are employed in agriculture, namely, cultivating vegetable plantations in Almería Province and in the olive and strawberry harvests throughout Andalusia or tourism-related industries and service sectors such as construction, hotels, restaurants, bars, and domestic service. As many of these employment opportunities are marked by seasonal variation, laborers may incorporate several strategies for employment which include plantation work in Almería, harvesting in Jaén or Huelva and informal street vending in Granada, and/or periodic construction work in Málaga on the Costa del Sol (King, 2000). The seasonal nature of employment opportunities means that many Moroccan immigrants in Andalusia must be flexible. This instability affects migrants' decisions to settle in one region or another and has implications for the social composition of the migrant population which is predominantly still characterized by mostly young, male, unmarried persons or married men whose wives remain in the country of origin¹. In these instances, family reunification is difficult and made even more difficult by their precarious economic situation.

2.4 Moroccans in Spain

In Spain, the Moroccan community is often under suspicion as the perceived cultural differences in way of life and religious views are conflated. Moroccan immigrants are perceived

¹ While many young male laborers first came to Spain from rural areas to work in agriculture and service industries, an increasing number of immigrants who settle in Southern Spain include females and more formally educated immigrants from urban origins (García Castaño, 2001).

to be "inasimilable" ("unassimilable") (Bravo López, 2004). The process of constructing Moroccan immigrant communities as the "Other" is shaped by the European reaction against immigration in conjunction with the process of Orientalism that has historically constructed Spain as a protector against Islamic invasion (Martín Rojo, 2000; van Dijk, 2005; Flesler, 2008). As such, the type of discrimination faced by Moroccan immigrants in Spain in particular is formulated through a historical understanding of the relationship between Spain and Muslim countries as well as current debates regarding immigration, assimilation, and security. Spanish immigration policies have played an important role in the construction of the "Other" identity as they promoted the idea that there were some groups that were more compatible with the Spanish way of life. For example, several policies distinguish between "marginal" and "elite" immigrants by portraying the "elite" as "extranjeros" (foreigners) and the "marginal" immigrants as "inmigrantes" (Barahimi, 2009, p. 11). These policies favored Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans as they were perceived to engage in linguistic and cultural practices that were more compatible with the Spanish lifestyle as opposed to Moroccans whose language, religion, and culture were regarded as distant or alien (Bravo López, 2004).

2.4.1 Discourses about Moroccan Immigration in Spain

Perceived cultural differences between the Moroccan immigrant population and the Spanish local population are discursively exacerbated leading to the belief that integration of Moroccan immigrants is impossible due to their Islamic culture, religion, language and identity which is irreconcilable with Spanish (and European) culture and identity (Bravo López, 2004; López García, 2006). As such, Moroccans, especially Moroccan males, are blamed for their unwillingness or lack of effort to assimilate. Instead, Moroccan males in particular, are perceived

as a threat and associated with religious fanaticism, violence, sexism, dirtiness, criminality, mistrust, inferiority, and difference (Rogozen-Soltar, 2012a). This type of racialized discourse is evident in Spanish media which links Muslims with violence (Ready, forthcoming). As Dietz (2005) and Rogozen-Soltar (2012b) argue, Muslim Moroccans are discursively constructed as a threat to the ideals of secular humanism and represent Islamic religious fanaticism. Exclusion of Moroccans is more appropriately an example of "morofobia," (see Terren 2004, p. 442) the Spanish socioculturally and historically motivated term reminiscent of "Islamophobia" (Werbner, 2005). "Morofobia" reflects fear of Islam and the return of *the Medieval Moor*.

In Flesler's (2008, p. 91) analysis of contemporary Spanish responses to Moroccan immigration, she links conceptions of Spanish history and the 1,300 years of cultural representations of past encounters with *the Moor* with current responses to Moroccan immigration. As previously mentioned, Spain was accepted as a member of the EU in 1986. At this time, Spain began to emphasize its "Europeanness" both domestically and abroad. From this perspective, the historical encounters of *the Moor* destabilize and reaffirm Spain's ambivalence to its national, regional, ethnic, and cultural identities especially in regard to the relationship between Spain and Africa. Flesler (2008) explains that the anxiety with regard to Moroccan immigration is linked to the fact that migration of Moroccans became more prominent at the time when Spain was attempting to assert their "Europeanness." Moroccan immigration both reaffirms and challenges Spain's European identity as its *immigration problem* becomes indexical of a "first-world" European country while at the same time confronts Spain with its own cultural and ethnic background. As Flesler (2008) argues, "Moroccans turn into a 'problem' not because they are different, as many argue, but because they are not different enough" (p. 9).

2.4.2 Moroccan Immigrants in Granada

The current population of Granada is around 232, 208 people with 14,959 "extranjeros" or foreigners according to the Junta de Andalucía (2019). Moroccan immigrants make up just over 27% of the total migrant population and are the largest migrant population in the city. However, the population of Moroccan immigrants is slightly different than those that can be found in other cities in southern Spain. While the majority of Moroccan immigrants are agricultural laborers in Almería and Jaén and harbor and tourism workers in Málaga, Granada hosts migrant workers in construction, street vending, agriculture, and tourism in addition to students attending university (Dietz & El-Shohoumi, 2005).

2.4.3 Moroccan Language Use in Morocco and Granada

In Morocco, Classical or Standard varieties of Arabic are not the native language of Moroccans as these varieties are learned at school and are used in other formal settings such as in the town oratories, government administration, media, literature and political and scientific discourse. Classical/Standard Arabic, the official language of Morocco and along with French, is the language of literacy and is therefore promoted and sanctioned by educational policies. It is important to note that Classical/Standard Arabic holds symbolic significance for the independent Moroccan nation as it was viewed ideologically as a way to access modernity while maintaining Moroccan national identity during their fight against European colonialism and their push towards Arabization (Ennaji 2005; Suleiman, 1994, 2003). In 2011, Tamazight and its varieties (i.e. Berber) became a constitutionally official language of Morocco and is predominately spoken in the Moroccan Middle Atlas region and the Rif regions.

In Spain, Classical and Standard Arabic are rarely spoken among communities of Moroccan immigrants. Instead, Moroccan Arabic and/or one of three varieties of Tamazight are

used in everyday interactions with families, neighbors, and friends. Knowledge of Classical/Standard Arabic varies depending on levels of formal education and exposure to the language through media, the Internet, and religious classes. First language maintenance programs like the Moroccan language and culture classes are almost exclusively taught in Classical Arabic despite their intent to help maintain Moroccan immigrant children's language. These programs are at odds with the children's sociolinguistic backgrounds and the linguistic competence that they already possess upon arriving to Spain. Nonetheless, Moroccan parents, educators and community members rely on these programs as a means for maintenance of linguistic, cultural and religious heritage (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 191). Participants who identified as Muslim emphasized the importance of Classical Arabic as "the language of the Qur'an." For many Moroccan immigrants, Classical/Standard plays a significant role in the multilingual repertoires of individuals for religious purposes and is used for news broadcasts and other programs on television.

2.5 Is Granada superdiverse?

New patterns of migration to Western European countries, like the movement of Moroccan immigrants to Spain, is often considered an example of "super-diversity" in research regarding migration, sociology, and multilingualism (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert, 2010). The goal of the construct "superdiversity" was to capture the complexity of the sociodemographic phenomena of these new migration patterns and the complexity and convergence of languages, gestures, histories, genders, and purposes which are used to make meaning. The term "super-diversity" is intended to portray the changing populations that have arisen from global migration flows within the past thirty years and take into account the "varied

national, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, but also the ways that shifts concerning these categories or attributes coincide with a worldwide diversification of movement flows through specific migration channels..." (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 542). Sociolinguistic studies have utilized the concept of super-diversity to theorize ways in which difference is resolved in polylingual or superdiverse contexts (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001, Canagarajah, 2013; Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011). Super-diversity presumes hybridity and communication across cultural differences as the means by which immigrants and their children perform identity (Stepick, Stepick, & Vanderkooy, 2011, p. 875). However, in this context, the term is not only a-historical (the numbers of immigrants outside of Western Europe has decreased), it falsely links migration with increased linguistic diversity (Pavlenko, 2017, p. 14). In fact, Pavlenko (2017) argues that the increase in number of languages spoken in Europe does not necessarily lead to high levels of linguistic diversity because of the low linguistic diversity as compared to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific (p. 15). It remains unclear at what point diversity becomes "super." Should the mobility, complexity, and multilingualism of the Berber and Arab settlement of al-Andalus between the 8th and 11th centuries in Spain not be considered "super-diverse"? Trilingual populations of Islamic Granada (e.g. Menocal, 2002) more accurately portray this type of "diversity" more so than today's metropolitan areas which still remain relatively monolingual (Pavlenko, 2017). Furthermore, the term portrays "a powerful sense of social romanticism, creating an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world, particularly in contexts characterized by a search for homogenization" (p. 193). For these reasons, the concept of "super-diversity" falls flat in terms of theoretical usefulness for the current study. Instead, I will provide an overview of traditional concepts of multilingualism and put them under

the microscope of the current context in order to refine these concepts and provide a greater understanding of language use in the context of migrant communities.

2.6 Multilingualism: Domains and Diglossia

Language use in multilingual settings is often broken down in terms of domains of language use (Fishman, 2000 [1965]). The domains include where the speaker utilizes a particular language (e.g. education, religion, family, etc.). In accounts of multilingualism involving Arabic, researchers have described strict separation of languages and association of languages with particular domains (Ferguson, 1959; Sayahi, 2014). Scholars have relied on the notion of diglossia to describe the use of Arabic in a variety of different linguistic situations (Maamouri, 1998; Raji Zughoul, 1980; Sayahi, 2014 among others).

Ferguson (1959, 1991) outlines his theory of diglossia to describe a relatively stable language situation where two or more varieties of the same language are used by speakers under different conditions. In communities characterized by diglossia, a superposed variety is not the 'native' variety for the speakers in question. The superposed variety is called the H ('high') variety and the regional dialects are called the L ('low') varieties. Diglossia is characterized by specialization of function where the “classical” variety (i.e. the H or high variety) is juxtaposed with the regional or Low (L) varieties with each maintaining their specific set of functions within certain contexts. In a diglossic situation, the speakers often perceive the H variety as more logical or better able to express important thoughts and ideas (as it is considered to be grammatically more complex) while the L variety was thought of as a “corrupt” form of the language that came about due to lack of formal education. Diglossia is considered a relatively

stable sociolinguistic situation which can persist for at least several centuries. Diglossia is defined as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959, p. 245).

By way of example, Ferguson (1959) discusses the case of Arabic as a defining case of diglossia explaining Arabic diglossia reaches "as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes, and the superposed 'Classical' language has remained relatively stable" (p. 233). Ferguson explains that a diglossic situation may come into being with three conditions are held: 1) there exists a sizeable body of literature in a language closely related (or identical with) the natural language of the community, 2) literacy is limited to small elite and 3) a suitable period of time passes from the establishment of the first condition to the second. As Ferguson (1991) later points out, the proportion of the community who uses and is competent in the H variety and their social position are tied to power differentials and use of either the H or L variety can mark these power relationships (p. 227-228). While diglossia is generally accepted by the society which it characterizes, it may not be regarded as a problem until trends for widespread literacy, broader communication among different regional and social segments of the community and desire for full-fledged standards appear. These trends are prompted by calls for unification of the language where speakers support the adoption of H or L varieties or a mixed variety (p. 247). Users of language in a diglossic situation typically deal with it as a two-term relation and use metalinguistic labels to refer to the two poles and "in-between" varieties (Ferguson, 1991, p.

226). In other words, speakers are aware that the H and L varieties are related; this attitude plays a role in H and L usage and transmission (Sayahi, 2014).

2.6.1 Diglossia Extended

Fishman (1967) extends the notion of diglossia to incorporate bilingualism by explaining that a diglossic speech community is not necessarily characterized by only two language varieties. He describes four different categories: diglossia and bilingualism, diglossia without bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia and neither bilingualism or diglossia. Diglossia and bilingualism describes the situation where there is pervasive bilingualism along with an H and L variety such as is the case in Morocco where speakers may use "classical" and "vernacular" Arabic along with French. Diglossia without bilingualism occurs when two or more speech communities are united economically, politically, or religiously into a single functioning unit but one is marked by relatively impermeable group boundaries. In this case, there may be intergroup communications via translators. As such, the existence of national diglossia does not imply widespread bilingualism. Bilingualism without diglossia refers to bilingualism at as an individual linguistic behavior whereas diglossia is linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level (p. 34). Bilingualism without diglossia characterizes situations of rapid social change, social unrest, and/or abandonment of previous social norms that occurs before a consolidation of new norms. As role compartmentalization and value complementarity decrease under the impact of massive change, the linguistic repertoire also becomes less compartmentalized and languages that were reserved for the work domain comes to be used at home, for example. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism occurs in only a small and isolated speech community. Fishman (1967) argues that these definitions can help us understand the relationships between individual bilingualism and

societal diglossia. In addition, he states that "since all bilingualism occurs in a social context, and since this context is likely to influence both the manifestations and the concomitants of bilingualism," it is crucial to understand and differentiate between the particular and general phenomena in this field of study (p. 37).

The concept of diglossia as introduced by Ferguson (1959) and extended by Fishman (1967) attempts to provide a framework for understanding the relations between the linguistic structure, language use and language attitudes within social organization and communicative functions in multilingual societies.

2.6.2 *Rethinking Diglossia*

Despite its impact on the field of linguistics (see Fishman 1991 for diglossia and language revitalization), several scholars have challenged the notions of domains and functional separation of language and its over-simplistic treatment of complex multilingual repertoires which fail to recognize the fluidity of language use (May, 2014). Many definitions of domains view context as existing prior to and independently of social action which leads to definitions that fail to capture how the participants determine the ongoing social interaction which can shape the setting and transform social relations (Martin-Jones, et. al., 2012, p. 11). As noted in Zentella's (1997) study of *el bloque*, there was no domain that was "impenetrable to either English or Spanish because monolingual speakers of both languages partook in it, or bilingual speakers switched languages" (p. 51). She explains that overlapping of Spanish and English took place quite frequently, therefore, a compartmentalized view of bilingualism does not accurately describe the linguistic situation of *el bloque*.

Sayahi (2014) points out that, even in North Africa, Arabic diglossia is not a stable situation and instead is a case of language contact (p. 13). Even Fishman's (1967) notion of diglossia cannot capture the linguistic situation of North Africa (Sayahi, 2014, p. 9). In regard to language use in differential functional domains, Sayahi (2014) provides evidence that in North Africa, although there is some degree of differential functional allocation of linguistic varieties, speakers use their repertoires in a much more fluid way (i.e. diglossic code-switching) as demonstrated in the use of colloquial Arabic instead of Standard or Classical Arabic in the mosque. For example, Sayahi (2014) describes the use of colloquial Arabic to elaborate on a passage that was read aloud in Classical Arabic during a religious sermon (p. 80). This evidence challenges a central construct of diglossia, namely, that diglossia is characterized by a relatively stable linguistic situation, one that is fixed in a particular geographical place.

The notion of stability also fails to take into account that in contemporary social structures, people often move around in real geographical space as well as social space, as such, societies are characterized by mobility. The Moroccan immigrant community is characterized by this mobility as individuals move to different locations in southern Spain for work and back and forth and to and from their country of origin. In these cases, the perceptions and attributions of values to language and language practices do not belong to one locality but instead are organized in translocal trajectories and wider spaces. As such, languages and literacy can be described as "deterritorialized" as language does not exclusively belong to one place or one moment in time (Blommaert, 2010, p. 45).

Diglossia, as a "neutral" tool for descriptive linguistics is criticized as being "an ideological naturalization of sociolinguistic arrangements" which may actually further perpetuate

linguistic and social inequalities and may be taken up in language policies to justify language suppression (Pedraza, Attinasi, & Hoffman, 1980; Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994, p. 69; Ready, 2018). Diglossia may obfuscate the historical inequalities of sociolinguistic arrangements in addition to perpetuating socioeconomic asymmetries based on education, further entrenching language hierarchies (Williams, 1992; May, 2014; Calvet, 1993). As such, the stability in a diglossic situation is a symptom of unequal balance of power between languages as exemplified in the case of Swahili where functional differentiation created hugely unequal patterns of distribution of linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2010, p. 193). Additionally, the prescriptivist nature of the concept which reflects the political psychology of nationalism (Harris, 1981; Pennycook, 1994). The stability in a diglossic situation is a symptom of unequal balance of power between languages and as such “is something to be overcome rather than to be attained” (Romaine, 2006, p. 452). In order to address the issues associated with diglossia, Williams (1992) proposes that sociolinguistics discard the term “diglossia” as the domain segregation is a manifestation of power differentials between the H and L variety or language. However, this solution may be a bit drastic as the concept of diglossia in a narrow sense may serve to describe certain configurations of language use and functional specialization between different varieties (Romaine, 2006, p. 452). As an alternative, García (2009) suggests that “transglossia” may better serve to describe these linguistic situations and account for the fluidity of language use. Nevertheless, the concept of diglossia and the idea of functional separation of languages remains a powerful ideological construct that may shape individual language use and attitudes toward language (Sayahi, 2014). In Granada, Moroccan immigrants perceive the relationship between

Classical/Standard and Moroccan Arabic as diglossic, calling Moroccan Arabic "dialect" and Classical/Standard Arabic as simply "Arabic."

2.7 Multilingualism: Characterizing Language Use

Beyond functional differentiation, sociolinguistic research of bi- and multilingualism has examined how bilingual and multilingual communities organize and utilize their multiple linguistic resources. A significant portion of this research has focused on the concept of code-switching (henceforth CS) from sociolinguistic/ethnographic descriptions of CS and pragmatic/conversation analytic approaches (Auer, 1999; Gumperz, 1976; Gonzales, 1999; Woolard, 2004; Wei, 1998; Zentella, 1997; García-Sánchez, 2014) to grammatical analyses of CS in search of the underlying rules, models and explanations to understand these patterns (Aabi, 1999; Berk-Seligson, 1986; Bentahila & Davies, 1995; Chan, 2009; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Heath, 1989; Lipski, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1996; Nortier, 1990; Poplack, 1980, 1998; Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Redouane, 2005; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Sayahi, 2014; Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2015, 2016; Toribio 2001a, 2001b, 2004). In this research, CS has generally been defined as the alternation of two or more grammatical systems or "codes" within conversation (Gumperz, 1976; Auer, 1999, p. 1).

2.7.1 *Social Factors of Code-Switching*

A range of factors may determine the use of CS in a language contact situation. In sociolinguistic research, researchers have noted three factors that contribute to the form of CS in language contact situations. These factors include those aspects associated with speakers as individuals and members of sub-groups (e.g. linguistic competence, self-perception and perception of others as well as identity), factors independent of the individual and their particular

circumstance which may affect all speakers in a particular community (e.g. prestige and covert prestige, power relations, social structure, and the associations of each variety with a particular way of life), and factors within conversation (i.e. where CS may be a tool to structure discourse). While presented here as distinct, it is important to note that these factors overlap and are interrelated and all three are needed to understand why CS may arise (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 42-43).

In Gumperz's (1976) analysis of conversational CS, he distinguishes between the 'we code' and the 'they code,' thereby linking CS practices with group membership. While the 'we code' is associated with in-group and informal activities and is typically the ethnically-specific minority language, the 'they code' is associated with more formal, less personal, out-group relations (p. 6). He maintains that the association between communicative style and group identity is symbolic and indirect. In CS, then, the 'we code' and the 'they code' are used in the same conversation. However, this distinction assumes a one-to-one relationship between code and identity, which is often far from what occurs in reality. In some cases, two sets of 'codes' may be considered the 'we code.' Additionally, there are instances where this distinction fails to account for the variation and CS which are observed. Use of CS may be in itself an 'act of identity' (Zentella, 1997) which is evident in the case of "crossing" (Rampton, 1995 in Auer, 1999, p. 291). In Rampton's (1995) description of adolescents in Britain who use features of Punjabi and Creole to create a 'trans-racial' "common ground" he notes that crossing: "focuses on code-alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you" (p. 280 in Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 58). Auer (2005) notes

that CS "symbolizes identities beyond the linguistic fact" and notes that while in some cases language alternation can be rich in identity-relevant meaning while in others it can be void of this meaning (p. 404). Indeed, Auer (2005) argues that the occurrence of identity-relevant meaning in language alternation and the way attitude, identity, and relationships are presented and understood, rejected or accepted in the interaction is the basis of the 'zero hypothesis' or the notion that alternating use of codes in discourse has no meaning as a contextualization cue (p. 405). Auer (2005) warns that "the emergence of such new speaking styles is not naturally determined in any sense by inherent characteristics of the groups to which they are attributed" (p. 407). Furthermore, simple and straightforward links to between language and identity and/or ethnicity are likely to fail. Despite this challenge, CS practices may still reveal or contest social structures and power relations in society.

Gal's (1987) analysis of the linguistic practices of bilingual ethnic groups reveal diverse forms of "consciousness" in how they respond to class relations within the state and how they understand how they are positioned in relation to the regional economic systems that are structured around dependency and unequal development. The different patterns of the distinct communities reflected in the concurrent use of two languages conveys different meanings that are linked to the ways in which the communities are incorporated in contrasting political systems (p. 638). Language choice (i.e. local conventions which are maintained by local networks) functions within the frame of systemic context that is much wider than the local community. As a result, the diverse forms of CS practices are different forms of resistance to symbolic domination within a particular historical and political economic context. She argues that through analysis of linguistic practices and evaluations of speakers in cases where any language group

faces a dominant culture that imposes external images on them, we may be able to glimpse the implicit self-perceptions and unspoken assessments of the ethnic 'other.' Additionally, she notes that the state language is not necessarily the language of authority and symbolic power for all minority groups. As such, patterns of language use are part of a groups actively constructed and often oppositional response to their political and economic position. For example, the Italian young people in West Germany created a syncretic form of their bilingual repertoire as a form of symbolic rejection of integration into German society and repatriation to Italy. The language form of these young Italians, then, is "not only symbolic of a newly forming social entity; it is instrumental in creating it" (p. 650). For the Hungarian speakers in Austria, CS of German into Hungarian was a form of resistance to institutional pressures to abandon Hungarian and simultaneous counterpressures for solidarity within the community. Germans in Romania attempt to maintain their minority language as separate and superior to Romanian in resistance to Romanian nationalism, and as such, Romanian is only incorporated in relatively devalued speech events (p. 649). Additionally, variation in CS behavior and patterns can occur within communities and between communities. This variation is influenced by factors such as social network, age, gender, language dominance, and proficiency.

An example of variation in CS within communities is Gonzales' (1999) study of three generations of women from Córdova, New Mexico. Gonzales' (1999) findings show that participants who have the highest rate of CS also have contact with three (i.e. English, Spanish, and CS) speech communities. She notes that the linguistic behavior can be considered as a strategy for "crossing borders" as second-generation women are "cultural brokers" whose role as mediator between their own community and white Anglo society includes utilizing CS (p. 20).

In her analysis of code-switching among Puerto Ricans in New York, Poplack (1980/2000) found that while some speakers preferred extrasentential switches others favored intra-sentential switches and that those who were Spanish dominant preferred tag switches in contrast to bilingual participants who tended to switch intra-sententially. Additionally, high school graduates switched intra-sententially more (60%) than those who had primary education or less (45%) or those who had some high school education (41%). Speakers who held positive attitudes towards Puerto Rican ethnic identity produced more intra-sentential switches (51%) more than those who had negative feelings towards Puerto Rican identity. Furthermore, those who returned to Puerto Rican more often, produced fewer intra-sentential switches and those who were in contact with English speakers at work switched less than those who remained on the block where English, Spanish, or CS was acceptable (p. 256). Demonstrating the variation in CS patterns between communities is Poplack's (1988) comparison between CS in the Puerto Rican community in New York and five neighborhoods in the Ottawa-Hull community in Canada.

In the Ottawa communities, where French was the minority language and CS was more frequent than in Hull. The stronger influence of English in the environment was reflected in the amount of CS (Poplack, 1988, p. 226). Although the same switch-types were noted in both communities, the distribution of the four main types was different. In both communities, the most frequent switches were *not juste* switches or switches for metalinguistic comments (i.e. "flagged" switches). Other switches occurred in the context of explaining/translating. These types of switching show the speaker's awareness of using English. In contrast, Puerto Ricans in New York utilized many unflagged switches which Poplack attributes to the fact that for Puerto Ricans, both languages are an intrinsic part of their identity and communicative practices.

Overall, these findings show that CS arises in different forms in a wide variety of sociolinguistic circumstances (Poplack, 1988; Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

Gumperz (1976) distinguishes between situational and conversational CS to provide a framework for understanding the specific factors associated with CS practices in communities that employ CS. He explains that situational CS occurs when distinct varieties are tied to the interlocutor, context, or topic. For example, Zentella (1997) notes that language choice in *el bloque* was dependent on the language dominance of the interlocutor. Situational CS is considered a consequence of diglossic distribution of the varieties involved. However, Zentella (1997) notes that while language choice and CS depended primarily on the interlocutor, there was no topic or domain that was specific to one language or another. Conversational CS occurs without external prompting as the varieties are part of the same minimal speech act. Gumperz (1976) notes that conversational CS is characterized by selection among linguistic alternants that is automatic and unconscious and that speakers "build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood" (p. 3). As such, conversational CS is understood to be *metaphorical* when the purpose of the variety is to evoke particular connotations (i.e. when the situation stays the same, but the speaker wishes to convey a specific communicative intent)². Gumperz (1976) focuses on the semantic aspects of CS in order to demonstrate how speakers and listeners rely on social and grammatical knowledge in interpreting bilingual conversations (p. 5). Analysis of CS use to evoke particular connotations may be one answer to a central

² However, Li Wei (1999) notes that to know what is deviant in a given situation, one must first understand the accepted variety for that situation (p. 156).

question of CS, namely, why do bilinguals switch? While sociolinguistic research has focused on the extralinguistic factors that affect CS such as topic, setting, relationships between participants, community norms and values, as well as societal and political and ideological developments, conversational analysts focus on how the act of CS itself can create or bring about a particular meaning (Auer, 1999; Li Wei, 1999).

2.7.2 Conversation Analysis of Code-Switching

According to Auer (1999, p. 2) code-switching is considered a conversational event stating that:

whatever cultural or social knowledge may be necessary to arrive at a full understanding of code-switching practices in a given community, its analysis first and foremost requires close attention to be paid to the details of its local production in the emerging conversational context which it both shapes and responds to (cf. Li Wei, 1999).

As such, the way CS is structured in interaction illuminates the social motivation behind CS. As Auer (1999) points out, the macro-sociolinguistic aspects of the speech situation do not fully determine language choice and the presence or absence of CS. The verbal interaction of bilingual speakers is open to local processes of negotiation and code selection. Similarly, Zentella (1997) argues that CS is a conversational activity in which speakers negotiate meaning with each other (p. 113). These local processes and negotiations are not taken into account in the analysis of the social meaning that only focuses on the occurrence or non-occurrence of CS (Auer, 1999, p. 3). Wei (1999) argues that Gumperz's (1976) situational versus metaphorical switching distinction explicitly ignores the idea of a local creation of meaning of linguistic choices and instead relies on the analyst's interpretation of the intention of the speakers (p. 157). For Wei (1999) rather than portraying a particular external value, the choice of language in conversation and the

alternation of them, signals to "co-participants how they wish their utterances to be interpreted on that particular occasion" (p. 161). The conversational analysis approach to CS emphasizes the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation and limits the interpretational leeway of the analyst by grounding the analyst's interpretations in the members' mutual understanding of their utterances. As such, switches may not be necessarily "indexing" a particular identity, attitude, or power relations; rather how these factors are presented, understood, accepted or rejected in the process of interaction may indicate or reflect a particular position³ (p. 163). Wei (1999) argues that turn-by-turn analysis of participants' conversational work is needed to demonstrate how issues of attitude, preference, and community norms are brought about in interaction.

2.7.3 Grammatical Aspects of Code-Switching

Grammatical analyses of CS can be broken down into three major trends: variationist approaches (Poplack, 1980/2000; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Poplack & Meechan, 1998), generativist approaches (Toribio, 2001a, 2001b, 2004) and production approaches which include Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (Myers-Scotton, Jake & Okasha, 1996). In the following section I present a discussion of the main frameworks and trends of the grammatical analysis of CS.

In Poplack's (1980/2000) influential research on CS among Puerto Ricans in New York, she finds that switches do not occur at random switch points and that there were no

³ Wei (1999) also warns that "we must be extremely careful about assigning meanings to individual instances of code-switching simply on the basis of our (analyst's) knowledge of the community's social history and of the individuals' language attitudes, especially when the analyst is an *outsider* to the community and individuals in question" (p. 170.)

ungrammatical combinations of the two languages in the 1835 switches (regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker) (p. 38). Poplack's (1980/2000) findings led her to posit that there must be a set of universal constraints that dictate where switching may occur (cf. Sankoff & Poplack, 1981). The first of these constraints is the free morpheme constraint.

The free morpheme constraint prohibits a switch from occurring between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been integrated into the language to which the morpheme pertains. An example of an unacceptable switch would be "run-eando" with an English root and the Spanish gerund ending. An example of a permissible switch in this case is "flipeando" since the root "flip" has been integrated into Spanish (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981, p. 5). However, in Berk-Seligson's (1986) study investigating Spanish-Hebrew CS, there were instances of violations of the free morpheme constraints. One instance in this study is the use of Hebrew stem *talfén* 'phone, call' which was phonetically Hebrew, attached to a Spanish verb ending (p. 333). The second constraint is the equivalence constraint which states that CS cannot occur at points where the surface structure of the languages differ (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981, p. 6). Lipski (1982) further explains that while the portion before the CS constituent may be divergent syntactically, the portions of the utterance following the switch must be identical syntactically. Switching should more readily occur among language pairs that are typologically related where CS is facilitated by the surface uniformity of the languages. However, as will be discussed in the following section, CS is quite frequent between languages that lack such congruence (Aabi, 1999; Berk-Seligson, 1986; Heath, 1989; Myers-Scotton, 1996; Redouane, 2005; Sayahi, 2014). A component that is mentioned in Poplack (1980/2000) is the size of the constituent.

Poplack (1980/2000) notes that the switches that required the most skill were intra-sentential switches (i.e. those switches that were previously thought to be the most 'deviant'), suggesting that the size of the constituent correlates with bilingual ability (Poplack, 1980/2000; Zentella, 1997). Lipski (1982) notes that bilinguals' use of intra-sentential switches has been used as evidence in favor of the hypothesis that bilingual speakers, while having two distinct grammars also have a mechanism that fully integrates the two (p. 198). In contrast, Berk-Seligson (1986) argues that intra-sentential CS ability cannot be used as a measure of bilingualism nor as a mark of a balanced bilingual stating that both L1-dominant bilinguals and L2-dominant bilinguals of Hebrew and Spanish code-switch in an indistinguishable manner (p. 334). However, Poplack and Meechan (1998) argue that such counter-examples mentioned above are not related to CS but in fact a part of a different process of 'borrowing.'

Poplack and Meechan (1998) argue that most single-item code-switches are "nonce-loans" or words that are uttered once by a single speaker. Therefore, single-word code-switches are rare (Poplack, 2013). Borrowed items are those that have widespread diffusion in the community. In a response to critiques of the model, Poplack (2013) notes that phonological adaptation is an unreliable indicator that a word is borrowed and that phonological and morphosyntactic integration are independent. She continues by explaining that "morphosyntactic integration is not contingent on frequency and diffusion (i.e. achievement of loanword status), but rather occurs abruptly at the nonce borrowing stage" (p. 12). Additionally, she notes that the counterexamples in previous studies that challenged the model were not all produced by bilingual speakers while other examples arise from the failure to distinguish between violations from variable L1 structure (p. 14).

As mentioned previously, CS is divided into inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS.

Within intra-sentential CS, grammatical constraints are used to explain the behavior of the two or more participating languages. The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) model was devised to understand intra-sentential CS. A thorough discussion of the model is beyond the scope of this chapter, as such, I will only present a brief overview here. The MLF model assumes that when intra-sentential CS occurs, the languages are asymmetrical in that there is a dominant language or Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). The ML is the language in which the morphemes are more frequently used and provides the abstract grammatical frame where ELs are inserted. In this framework, Myers-Scotton, Jake, and Okasha (1996) advocate for CP (projection of Complementizer) as the unit of analysis. A bilingual CP can consist of ML islands with ML morphemes, mixed constituents which include morphemes from ML and EL, and EL islands which consist of EL morphemes only. EL islands are under the constraint of the ML grammar. Myers-Scotton et. al. (1996) applies this model in their description of Arabic-English CS. In their description of Arabic CS, Myers-Scotton et. al. (1996) note that Arabic morphological requirements promote conditions which favor pronoun doubling which they suggest proves the dominance of the ML in framing the CP. The lack of congruence between the agreement systems of Arabic and English is one of the reasons pronoun doubling occurs when it is the ML of the CP. They argue that it is the requirements of the verb, not the pronouns which determines whether pronoun doubling occurs. Finally, they note that Arabic is often the ML in CS data sets involving Arabic and another language (p. 41). Studies of Moroccan Arabic CS with other languages can provide insights into CS phenomena as a whole.

2.7.4 Moroccan Arabic Code-Switching

Studies regarding Moroccan Arabic CS must take into account the linguistic situation of the speakers. For example, in Aabi's (1999) analysis of Moroccan Arabic and French CS, he notes that there are four major languages that may be used by Moroccans (also see Heath, 1989). These languages include Moroccan Arabic, Berber, Classical/Standard Arabic, French, and Spanish in northern regions (p. 85). As such, Moroccans may be considered bi- or multilingual. Although a detailed discussion of these languages in Moroccan society is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that the linguistic situation of Morocco and other parts of North Africa is characterized by a situation of diglossia and bi- or multilingualism (Sayahi, 2014, p. 9).

Sayahi (2014) notes that diglossic CS occurs between the 'High' (i.e. Standard Arabic) and 'Low' (i.e. colloquial Arabic) varieties, namely, Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic. Diglossic CS may occur in oral and written forms as well as formal and informal contexts. This finding suggests that separation of domains (a central feature of diglossia) is not as categorical as had been previously thought. Although Heath's (1989) analysis focuses on CS primarily as an avenue for complete integration, he notes that the mixture of Classical Arabic stems and short phrases is common in educated Moroccan Arabic particularly in informal contexts when speakers are discussing academic, political, commercial or religious topics (i.e. topics that are typically discussed elsewhere in Classical or Standard Arabic (p. 4). Sayahi (2014) explains that colloquial Arabic is increasingly less marked in contexts that are expected to be more formal or pertaining to the High domains. However, the reverse does not show this trend. Diglossic switching is limited to noun phrases and competes with French as speakers switch more often to

French than to Standard Arabic. The only exception occurs when the Standard Arabic term is more commonly used such as when it is the official term in administration or education (p. 95). CS appears and may be encouraged by diglossic situations such that switching often occurs between the Low and High varieties. Sayahi (2014) notes that such switching is a "result of a limitation in the use of the H variety in informal contexts and existing lexical gaps in the vernacular" (p. 118). Additionally, French as a language of education and its prestige allow it to be unmarked, a status which is reflected in the use of informal communication among educated speakers and in frequent CS. In the media, trilingual CS may occur as speakers utilize Standard Arabic, colloquial Arabic and French. Written trilingual CS is also common on the internet (p. 119). In regard to variation within communities, Bentahila and Davies (1995 in Sayahi, 2014, p. 95) suggest that CS patterns vary depending on speaker generation such that older generations of educated Moroccans switch more at the clause level whereas younger generations who are educated in the Arabized system switch at the noun phrase level. However, this difference may be impacted by the different education and language policies as opposed to age itself. Studies of grammatical aspects of Moroccan Arabic CS have tested grammatical constraints and models that were mentioned in the previous section.

In Redouane's (2005) analysis of the linguistic constraints of CS among Moroccan Arabic-French speakers in Canada, she found that CS practices among Moroccan Arabic speakers varies from the use of French or Arabic single words to larger sequences of words in single utterances. Switches occurred between noun phrases, between the determiner and the noun and between the noun and adjective as well as between the subject and the verb, verb and object, and verb and adverb. Additionally, there were switches at the clause boundary involving

subordinate clauses (i.e. adverbial, conditional, and relative). What is striking in Redouane's (2005) analysis, however, is that there were cases in which there was an Arabic prefix followed by a French verb as shown in the example below where the prefix /ka/, the present tense marker, and the third person masculine singular marker used in the present tense in Moroccan Arabic /y/ are added to the French verb "expliquer":

(1) Moroccan-Arabic French

kutta:b ktiri:n kayexplique lhijra mazyn:n

"he explains immigration"

Switches occurred across word internal morpheme boundaries which involved an inflectional morpheme from Arabic and a root morpheme in French as shown in example (1) above. This switch violates the free morpheme constraint, a constraint that was also found to be violated in Berk-Seligson's (1986) study and Nortier's (1990) study of Dutch-Moroccan Arabic CS.

Furthermore, nouns constituted a large number of switches in Redouane (2005) and Nortier's (1990) data, a finding which corroborates Berk-Seligson's (1986) study on Hebrew-Spanish but runs counter to Poplack's (1980/2000) findings. However, as Poplack (2013) notes, many of these could be nonce borrowings.

Redouane (2005) states that Arabic-French bilingual Moroccans produced a variety of switches in formal and informal situations and a considerable number of the tokens occurred despite the difference between the surface structures. While Moroccan Arabic declarative sentences occur mainly in VSO (verb-subject-object) order, French declarative sentences are in SVO (subject-verb-object) order. Several switches occurred between the subject and verb in an

Arabic surface structure VSO where French requires SVO. Furthermore, there were instances in which switches occurred between adjectives and nouns where the two languages differ syntactically. Once again, examples of pronoun doubling occur with the Arabic determiner and the French noun (Redouane, 2005; Nortier, 1990; Aabi, 1999, p. 123). This violates the equivalence constraint. Nortier (1990) points out that for his Dutch-Moroccan Arabic CS data, the equivalence constraint may be valid for major constituents (S-V-O), but within constituents it loses its strength as switches occurred within noun phrases, between nouns and adjectives and between demonstratives and noun phrases (which cannot occur because Moroccan Arabic requires the use of a second determiner, the definite article, where Dutch does not) (p. 174). Similarly, Aabi's (1999) data demonstrates switching between Moroccan Arabic determiners and French complements (p. 121). In some instances, a null determiner was used before a French complement (18% of the data). This occurrence may be due to the fact that Arabic uses null determiners to convey indefiniteness while French utilizes the determiners "un/e" and "des," therefore a null determiner would require less effort in production than overt determiners (p. 122). In both Nortier's (1990) and Aabi's (1999) data, switching of prepositions could occur where the prepositions were in either French, Dutch, or Moroccan Arabic. Prepositions that are switched tend to keep their language specific rules (Aabi, 1999, p. 138). Although some of the previous studies' results support the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint, (see Poplack 1980/2000 and Sankoff & Poplack 1981), they also show violations to these constraints which suggests that they may not be universal.

In regard to the notion of a base language or ML in the MLF model, Aabi (1999) notes that the base language can be identified in Moroccan Arabic-French CS for some cases, but that

it does not account for all examples (p. 121). Similarly, Nortier's (1990) Dutch-Moroccan Arabic CS data contains many intra-sentential switches where the base language or ML is not so easily identified. This leads him to posit that there is a macro-level (i.e. discourse) and micro-level (i.e. individual sentence) on which the base language can be identified. In this view, it is possible for parts of the conversation to have one base language while individual sentences may have another base language or the same base language as the conversation. He claims that it is not always accurate or appropriate to determine the ML on the basis of the first word in the sentence or the finite verb (p. 159):

(2) Moroccan-Arabic Dutch

ʃi waħed plantenverkoper die baʕ planten

one or another plant seller who sells plants

"some plant seller who sells plants"

Nortier (1990) explains that "die" appears to be a relative clause, however, Dutch "die" can be used as a subject which makes it possible to interpret it as two main clauses. In this case, both the Dutch SVO (main clause word order) and Moroccan Arabic (SVO or VSO, where the "die" functions as a relative pronoun) may be considered the base language (p. 159). In accordance with Poplack's (1980/2000) findings, Nortier's (1990) analysis shows a higher rate of intra-sentential switches among bilinguals with a higher degree of proficiency (p. 115).

Aabi (1999) also analyzes CS between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic noting that it is not much different from the type of switching that occurs between Moroccan Arabic and French. In both cases, CS is typically unidirectional with the determiner in Moroccan Arabic and

the complement in Arabic or French. Switching between all three languages occurs in some cases as shown in the example below where the inflectional phrase is Moroccan Arabic, the verb is Standard Arabic and the specifier is French (p. 158):

(3) Moroccan-Arabic, Standard Arabic and French

w mennu: ta-t-entabeq l-l-l- le development

and from-it emerg the-the-the- the development

"and development emerges from it"

As there is considerable overlap in certain structures (e.g. prepositions, lexical items among others) between Classical/Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, it is often quite difficult to identify which items belong to Moroccan Arabic or Standard Arabic (Heath, 1989; Aabi, 1999). This is particularly challenging in the case of lexical items as most Moroccan Arabic nouns as well as several other categories originate from Standard/Classical Arabic. Heath (1989) and Aabi (1999) note that they may be distinguished by "vowelisation" as Moroccan Arabic categories tend to be "vowelless" or at least appear with fewer vowels than Standard or Classical Arabic equivalents. For example, in Standard Arabic the noun *rajul-un* (man-nominative case ending) is *rajl* in Moroccan Arabic and appears without the vowel /u/ and the case marker /un/ elided (Aabi, 1999, p. 167). In the case of Moroccan and Standard Arabic, Aabi (1999) argues that a process of grammaticization has occurred where alternatives are ruled out as there is a grammatical structure apparent in the mixture as opposed to a contextually induced variety of (grammatically permitted) options. According to Aabi (1999), the increasingly intense contact between Moroccan and Standard Arabic has led to an emergence of a new code where switching has

become increasingly autonomous (p. 171). This is a curious claim and not one to be taken up in the current dissertation, however, the possible emergence of a new "code" testifies to the challenges associated with descriptions of Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic CS.

2.7.5 Rethinking Code-Switching

As demonstrated by the overview of previous studies, linguistic descriptions of CS have changed the dominant characterization of CS from a form of linguistic deviance to a practice involving systematicity, skill, and meaning. Nonetheless, there are debates over how best to represent this systematicity and meaningfulness. The concept of CS and the skills, strategy, linguistic boundaries, conversational and social meanings involved in this practice are now being questioned by scholars (Woolard, 2004). As Toribio (2001) notes, not all bilinguals engage in CS: "competence in two languages is a necessary precondition but insufficient prerequisite in determining successful CS performance: membership in a community in which CS is practiced may also be required" (p. 420). CS is not an automatic response to social structural factors, but the practice and features of CS are mediated by the speaker's understanding of their position within the social structure (Gal, 1987). It is not an objective positioning towards language, "but rather speakers' ideological interpretation of and response to that value, that are mobilized in code-switching" (p. 82). As such, research on CS that takes into account the social and political consciousness are crucial for understanding CS and other translingual phenomena. Additionally, it is unclear how ideologies at different levels (e.g. family, institutions, schools, etc.) affect language practices and CS. Zentella (1997) notes that disregarding or viewing Spanish-English CS as deviant or "bad Spanish" can have a negative impact on Spanish language maintenance.

More recent research has begun to question the notion of two distinct and clearly bounded varieties (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Research in multilingualism has acknowledged the fuzziness of language and the truncated nature of multilingual repertoires (Blommaert, 2010). One way of overcoming this challenge in CS is conceptualizing the language systems as simultaneously rather than sequentially activated in the linguistic, cognitive and/or social senses. In this way, linguistic forms or features are seen now not as pertaining to one code but as participating in a syncretic system (Woolard, 2004, p. 83). Some scholars view CS as a single code of mixed origins (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998 in Woolard, 2004, p. 83). In conversational analysis, Auer (1999) points out that, "the definition of the codes used in CS may be an interactional achievement which is not prior to the conversation (and to be stated once and for all by the linguist) but subject to negotiation between participants. If anything, it is not the existence of certain codes which takes priority, but the function of a certain transition in conversation" (p. 13). For many speakers, the contrast between language systems is ideologically meaningful and psychologically real and is a resource that they can mobilize in interaction (Woolard, 2004). Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) suggest utilizing "feature" as opposed to "code" or "language" as a unit of analysis. Within the previous research cited here (with the exception of Aabi 1999) analyses of CS has primarily focused on bilingual CS practices. The systematicity, meanings and significance of CS may be distinct in linguistic situations that are characterized by multilingualism or where speakers utilize truncated repertoires. Zentella (1997) references the bilingual/multilingual repertoires of Puerto Ricans in New York City stating that *el bloque* can be characterized by "a spectrum of linguistic codes that range from standard to non-standard dialects in Spanish and English, one of which an individual may speak the best and others of

which s/he may speak with specific interlocutors or for specific purposes" (p. 41). Zentella's (1997) analysis takes into account three Spanish varieties (Popular Puerto Rican Spanish, Standard Puerto Rican Spanish, and English-dominant Spanish) and four English varieties (Puerto Rican English, African American Vernacular English, Hispanicized English, and Standard NYC English) in her descriptions of CS. As in the case of Standard/Classical and Moroccan Arabic, there may be some features that overlap and which may pertain to several "codes." With several varieties and "codes" another question regarding CS is the role of proficiency and language dominance.

As previously mentioned, bilingual ability is a prerequisite but not a sufficient condition of CS (see Toribio, 2001). As such, CS requires linguistic and sociolinguistic competence. Zentella (1997) refers to this competence as key for CS in *el bloque* noting that "children in bilingual speech communities acquire two grammars and the rules for communicative competence which prescribe not only when and where each language may be used, but also whether and how the two languages may be woven together in a single utterance" (p. 80). Speakers of *el bloque* also employed CS depending on the dominant language of the addressee. However, it remains unclear how to characterize a multilingual speaker who may be more or less proficient in several languages while maintaining two languages as their native languages. As we know, Moroccan Arabic speakers in Granada utilize several "codes" which make up their multilingual repertoires. Speakers in Granada may speak Standard, Moroccan Arabic/Darija, French, Spanish, English, and some cases, Berber, on a daily basis with a variety of different interlocutors. Some of these speakers may be more or less proficient in French and Standard

Arabic. Analysis of CS in this context may provide some insight into how speakers utilize resources from their multilingual repertoires.

Lastly, it is unclear the role of identity in CS practices. Auer (1999) argues that particular language practices cannot be tied to one or another particular identity. While language practices and CS may not always be indicative of a particular identity, they may be important in highlighting a particular identity (Zentella, 1997) or contesting imposed and perceived identities, for example, Moroccan immigrant children in Spain utilize CS practices to negotiate belonging in the Spanish society where they are considered the "Other" (García-Sánchez, 2014). Examining CS in this context may illuminate the role of identity in these language practices not only as a means for possible expression of identity but also as identity work. I now turn to the construct of identity as a tool for understanding language use.

2.8 Multilingualism: Identities and Ideologies

For sociolinguists, bilingualism and multilingualism is a socially constructed phenomenon where the bi-/multilingual person is a social actor whose language choice is an act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Each utterance is connected with people, situations, and power configurations from our own unique histories and past experiences (Linell, 2009). Each interaction is influenced by attitudes of the people and languages concerned. Language choice may be used to maintain or change ethnic boundaries and relationships within the broader political and socio-historical context (Heller 1995; 2007). As such, the notion of identity and identification is a key component to understanding language and multilingualism.

2.8.1 Social Identities and Language Use

In Labov's (1972) work, identity was defined by the speaker's social economic class, gender, age, or place of origin. Identity was considered to be expressed rather than negotiated through language use. However, more recent conceptualizations of identity in sociolinguistics conceive of identity as negotiable and locally constructed (Rampton, 1995; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) explain that languages may be appropriated to legitimize, challenge, and negotiate particular identities and that new identity options may be constructed, validated, and performed through available discourses. Current understandings of social identity draw on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus and capital and Foucault's notion of discourse in developing identity theories.

For Bourdieu, social identity is associated with class and gender and embodied in the habitus which is the way an individual has learned to perceive and act in the world. Individuals interacting across linguistic boundaries come from different positions within a particular social structure. In these interactions, structures of society are expressed and reproduced. Another key concept in Bourdieu's work is the notion of capital which indexes the value of non-material possessions. Cultural capital refers to the "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications" while symbolic capital involves prestige, societally valued language varieties are seen as "linguistic capital" (1991, p. 14 as cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005, p. 256).

Current conceptualizations of identity foreground the central role of language in the relationship between the individual and the social by claiming that language defines institutional practices and serves to construct our sense of our selves or our "subjectivity" (i.e. the way an individual may be subjected to a set of relations and in a position of reduced power or subject of

a set of relationships and in a position of power) (see Weedon, 1987/1997). That is, subjectivity and language are mutually constitutive (Norton & Toohey, 2011). As such, contemporary identity theories provide a framework for understanding the individual in the larger social world. They highlight the diverse positions from which learners are able to participate in social life and how they may or may not be able to appropriate different identities with respect to the target language community (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 414).

A crucial aspect of current understandings of identity is that language use and learning is identity work (Heller, 1987; Burns & Roberts; 2010; The Douglas Fir Group 2016; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Norton, 2013; Hansen & Liu, 1997; Menard-Warwick, 2005, 2009; McKay and Wong, 1996). As De Fina (2011) notes, "identity construction is a dialogic and reciprocal process in which 'the other' is as important as the self; the kinds of identity that people present crucially depends on who they understand their interlocutors to be" (p. 30) (also see De Fina, 2003; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg, 2006). Social identities are part of a learner's personhood and these identities are defined in terms of ways in which they see their relationship to the world (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 31). As such, identity can be defined as "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 45). In this conceptualization, learners have multiple desires and identities along with complex social histories. The way that speakers position themselves and negotiate identities are often revealed through narratives in interviews. Through ongoing narrative analysis (Norton, 2013) demonstrates how identities are sites of struggle and change over time.

While the individual is subject to and subject of relations of power within a particular site, community or society, she maintains human agency. Accordingly, the subject positions are open to contestation. Although the individual may be positioned a certain way, the person may resist this subject position or set up a counter-discourse (McKay & Wong, 1996; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, & Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001). Consequently, interaction among individuals consists of a constant organization and reorganization of a sense of who they are and how they relate to their social world.

A key component of identity for Norton is the concept of investment. Norton (1995) introduces the term investment to "capture the complex relationship of language learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to speak it" (p. 9). According to Norton Peirce (1995), if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the idea that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic (i.e. language, education, friendship) and material resources (i.e. capital goods, real estate, money) which will increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. As learners' value of their cultural capital increases, "so the learners' sense of themselves and their desires for the future are reassessed" (Norton, 2013, p. 6). Therefore, investment and identity are integrally related. Investment in the target language is seen as an investment in the learner's own social identity, an identity that is not fixed but changing across time and space (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 18). For example, for the immigrant women in Menard-Warwick's (2009) study the investment and identities of their role in the family and gendered identities such as their role as a mother affected their investment in learning English (p. 109). Investment is understood within a sociological framework that makes a connection between the

learner's desire and commitment to learn a language and their complex and changing identity. It takes into account the affective factors (e.g., anxiety, motivation, and self-confidence) that play a fundamental role in language learning (Pittaway, 2004). The needs, desires, and negotiations of individuals plays an integral role in their investment in the target language (McKay and Wong 1996).

As an extension of Norton's (1995, 2013) concept of investment and identity is the notion of imagined communities. As seen in Norton's (2013) definition of identity, the future is central to the lives of language learners and is an integral part of their identity and investment. The notion of imagined communities links the idea of future, identity, and investment as it refers to the communities that language learners aspire to when they learn a language. They are groups of people who may not be immediately tangible or accessible with whom learners connect and whose existence can be directly felt. These imagined communities may include neighborhood communities, communities in our workplaces, institutions or religious groups. Ethnic identity, for example, is an imagined community which is constructed through social interaction (Heller, 1987). The basis for ethnic identity can be found in the "social networks within which individuals form relationships and carry out the activities of their daily lives" (p. 180).

Social networks coincide with other networks based on other sources of identities and social differentiation which may include but are not limited to class, sex, age, and nationality. Where there are gaps in the network there are social boundaries. Through language, a person gains access to or is denied access to powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. In the formation of ethnic identity among students in a French-language minority school in Toronto, Heller (1987) demonstrates how language use is involved in the formation of

ethnic identity in two ways: (1) it constrains access to participation in activities and to formation of social relationships as member form group boundaries, (2) it is a central means for making sense of the shared experience which result in patterns of language use that reflect the shared background knowledge and shared ways of establishing that background knowledge that underlie group membership and identity (p. 199). As such, language can be seen as a symbol and means of defining ethnic boundaries and identity.

Language use and practices can function as processes of distinction that produce social differences. For example, Spanish students' language practices serve as a means of "linguistically-mediated surveillance" to portray their Moroccan immigrant classmates as troublemakers, irresponsible, dirty, and uncouth and unworthy of membership in the social group of the Spanish classroom. The Spanish children establish the boundaries of their social group, ultimately denying Moroccan immigrant children the right or ability to become a part of that group (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 291). However, Moroccan immigrant children took up any interactional opportunity to actively negotiate their social positioning and identity (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 304). As such, the relations between ethnic identity and language are sites of struggle and negotiation. This is noted in Zentella's (1997) study of Puerto Ricans in New York City. Zentella (1997) found that Puerto Rican identity was linked to the use of Spanish for many individuals, however, Puerto Rican identity was being re-defined without a Spanish requirement to accommodate youngsters who were monolingual English speakers. This re-definition occurred so as not to relegate them to a separate US American category (p. 55). However, imagined communities are not necessarily communities with which individuals are affiliated but rather,

they are future relationships that exist only within the learner's imagination. These imagined communities may also consist of affiliations such as nationhood or transnational communities.

Imagined communities may have a strong impact on an individual's actions and investment (Norton, 2013). For example, language use in peer play among Moroccan children in Spain demonstrates the awareness of possible future selves and imagined communities as they use these imagined selves (i.e. a Spanish female) and imagined communities as a means to contest others' racialized, gendered and classed forms of misrecognition (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 295). In diaspora communities, imagination plays a crucial role in identity formation and negotiation, especially for second, third, and subsequent generations.

Moroccan immigrants bring a personal history and cultural histories which shape how they construct their multiple identities and how subsequent generations construct theirs. As Hall affirms "cultural identity is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth" (Hall, 1990). Semiotic resources then, such as food, memories, stories, traditions, habits, dress, discourses and politics from home and the society in which they currently live all influence current constructions and negotiations of identity development (Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012). For immigrants, one's identity and sense of self are challenged since sociohistorical, sociocultural, sociolinguistic, and linguistic factors that were familiar to speakers in their country of origin are now replaced by new ones. As such, speakers must find ways to reconstruct and redefine themselves if they are to adapt to their new circumstances. This process of reconstruction is affected by the type of access migrants have to local people, culture and language (Block, 2014, p. 6). In addition to the challenges associated with settling in a new country, immigrants often struggle between cultural maintenance and assimilating to their new

environment. While some immigrants eschew their cultural and linguistic practices and links to their previous home, others maintain them and as a result inhabit "transnational spaces" (Block, 2014, p. 50).

As evidenced by the previous research presented here, social identities are historically laden, context sensitive and locally reproduced and sites of struggle. Individuals' multilingual repertoires, then, are influenced by their social identities. Identities are not static or fixed (i.e. based on ethnicity, gender, nationality, or role) but shaped, performed, foregrounded and backgrounded in actual contexts of interaction. The way that learners' various identities are enacted are influenced by larger sociocultural norms tied to particular discourse communities within social institutions. In turn, these norms and expectations shape learners' investments in linguistic practices (e.g. seeking out interactions with others) (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; McKay & Wong, 1996; Block 2014; Hansen & Liu, 1997; Heller, 1987; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Pavlenko, et. al., 2001; Pittaway, 2004; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016; García-Sánchez, 2014; Zentella, 1997). In addition, a speaker's sense of agency is significant in the development of their multilingual repertoire. A learner's agency influences the kinds of activities and semiotic resources to which they have access. As such, identity work shapes language use and language use shapes identity work (Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 1995; 2013; Block, 2014; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). An individual's desired membership in their imagined future communities can affect identity and as a result change language practices and outcomes (Norton, 2013). It is important to note that our current understandings of identity arise from interviews which are social practices and sense-making events where different levels of context impact the interaction and where "the interaction between participants serves as a site for the

positioning of self and other with respect to identity and relational issues” (King & De Fina, 2010, p. 656). In this sense, negotiation of personal experience and social meanings is a basis for building personhood and identities (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Kryzanowski & Wodak, 2008). Additionally, ideologies can be understood through the semiotic processes of communication and identity formation. That is, close examination of social identities can provide insights into ideas about language and how they are constructed and circulated by social groups, nations, and individuals (Rosa & Burdick, 2017, p. 111).

2.8.2 Ideologies, Language Ideologies, and Language Use

Rosa and Burdick (2017) argue that "recognitions of identity are contingent on semiotic processes of differentiation through which particular social identities become recognizable" (p. 110). Irvine and Gal (1995, 2000) demonstrate these semiotic processes which include rhematization/iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. Rhematization/iconization involves the process in the “attribution of cause and immediate necessity to a connection (between linguistic and social groups) that may only be historical, contingent, or conventional” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37). In this process, the linguistic features are made to be iconic of the identities of the speakers. For example, iconic comparisons of indigenous languages as savage and inappropriate in public settings is linked to the sociopolitical power of indigenous peoples around the world (Smith, 2012). Secondly, through the process of fractal recursivity, the iconic differences of a group are reified in the creation of an “Other” through schismogenesis whereby speakers can be divided based on the same oppositions that distinguish themselves with other groups (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38). The final process, erasure, occurs when ideology renders persons or activities (i.e., sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Realities or facts that contradict

the ideological scheme are ignored, explained away, or transformed to fit a particular ideological scheme. Erasure often occurs through the process of de-legitimization of language practices that do not fit the dominant ideology. Irvine and Gal (2000) claim that these oppositions create and reproduce identity. This approach to understanding the role of ideology in social identity allows for a precise examination of how ideas regarding language and language use may be circulated by different social groups, institutions, and individuals. In conjunction, social identity and ideology through semiotic processes of differentiation allow for a greater understanding of the effects of language ideologies on situated language use.

For elite multilingual speakers of Europe (i.e. those who speak French, German, and English) ethnolinguistic identity may only be an occasional issue whereas for multilingual speakers of languages of lower status, language issues are prominent as speakers negotiate identities often from relatively powerless positions (Gal, 2006, 15). Negotiation of identity is also affected by the "one-nation-one-language" ideology which links a nation-state with one "unifying" common language (Hornberger, 2007, p. 179). Under this ideological frame, minority languages associated with immigrant groups are "rejected into indignity" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 46). However, it is important to note that "language ideologies are not merely those ideas that stem from the 'official culture' of the ruling class but rather are a more ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs, however implicit or explicitly they may be, used by speakers of all types as models for constructing linguistic performances, conducting evaluations and assessment, and otherwise engaging in communicative activity" (Kroskrity & Field, 2009, p. 11). Examining the ideologies and, more specifically the language ideologies which factor into the identities of Moroccan

immigrants in Spain may lead to a greater understanding of how these ideologies impact language use.

2.8.3 Approaching Identities and Ideologies through Narratives

Despite the recent developments in identity constructs, there are still challenges associated with research on identity and language use/learning. One such challenge is the issue of 'structure and agency' (i.e. the continuity versus change) in identity (Block, 2006; Block, 2014; Menard-Warwick, 2005; Norton & Toohey, 2011). To what extent are language learners able to question dominant meanings and resist essentialized identities? To what extent is agency a quality that pre-exists discourse? If identities are multiple, how do we account for the occasions when students and teachers may wish to assert their identities as homogenous and unitary by foregrounding a particular aspect of their experience as gender, race, class, sexual orientation or religious affiliation. Menard-Warwick (2005) notes that previous research struggles to account for the effects on identity of community socialization and social reproduction while at the same time holding onto a concept of identity that is fluid and constituted in discourse. In this sense, a key question for identity researchers is, to what extent do individuals maintain a sense of continuous identity across multiple social contexts and instances of discourse and how does this affect opportunities to learn new languages and literacies (Menard-Warwick, 2005, p. 270). In addressing this challenge, researchers must account for how structural conditions and social practices place individuals and how individuals struggle to situate themselves in the contexts in which they find themselves (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 427). García-Sánchez (2014) takes into account the social conditions that place Moroccan children as an "other" in Vallenuovo, Spain. She notes that the children "are making sense of the micropolitics of social life in relation to

gender, class, and ethnic aspects of difference and belonging" through language-use within play interactions and that this process is "how they understand and experience their own processes of identification as well" (286). Researchers must create methods that allow them to seek to better understand how political and economic issues interact with language learning and language use and how these issues can constrain or enable human action (Block, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Ethnography and narrative inquiry are useful tools in addressing these issues (Norton & Toohey, 2011).

Within the highly politicized context in which Moroccan identity is perceived as a threat to Spanish identity, narratives offer a window into the "concrete story worlds in which interactions are re-lived by new audiences" (De Fina & King, 2011, p. 166) thus allowing the researcher to understand how individuals negotiate identities in interaction and present and make sense of linguistic experiences. Through narratives, people make sense of and give meaning to events, express moral orientations (Ochs and Capps, 2001; Labov, 1972) and illustrate how "human agency interacts with people's social roles, relationships, and goals" (Goldstein, 1997, p. 177). The way language is used in narratives can provide insights into the ways narrators perceive the social location of themselves and others (Rymes, 1995, p. 498).

Narratives are not produced in isolation, instead, they are collaborative, situational, and contextualized interactional achievements in which the story itself and how the characters position themselves and others are shaped by the narrator(s) and audience members. Positioning, (Davies and Harré 1990 as cited in Norton, 2013, p. 4; Block, 2014) refers to how speakers are positioned by social structures and how speakers use their agency to negotiate their identities to position themselves. Menard-Warwick (2009) provides an example of positioning in Community

English Classes where the women in the class were positioned as homemakers and English learners. Fabiana, a student in the class told her teacher "I can do buy/sell chemical products" as a means to try to position herself as a (former) business woman, contesting the position in which she was placed in the class (p. 173). In storytelling, narrators may position themselves and others through quoted speech or the words that they attribute to their characters (Ochs and Capps 2001; Wortham, 2001). As identities are understood to be constructed and negotiated in social interaction, narratives provide a means for making sense of this construction and negotiation through how the narrator positions themselves and others. In interaction, people display local understandings of positions. Narrators are attributed positions and negotiate positions in emergent ways. Such positioning can illuminate the complex relations between local processes and more global processes (De Fina, 2013, p. 41-42). Recently, researchers have utilized the construct of positioning to understand identity construction within interviews, and more specifically, narratives in contexts (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008).

There are three levels of positioning in Bamberg's (1997) theory which were also explained and further developed in Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008). These positions include: level 1, which refers to "the way characters are positioned in relation to one another in the story world", level 2, which describes "the way narrators position themselves vis-à-vis their interlocutors in the story-telling world" (De Fina, 2013, p. 43) and lastly, level 3 which describes "how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385) and how the speaker "makes these relevant to the interaction here and now" (p. 391). The way the speaker positions a sense of self with regards to the dominant discourses demonstrates then, how the speaker constructs

herself/himself as a particular kind of person (De Fina, 2013, p. 57) and potentially, how the speaker constructs themselves in using language in a particular kind of way. De Fina (2013) explains that while the first two levels relate to how the narrator and other participants manage themselves in relation to the task at hand while the third level deals with how narrators and audiences negotiate more globally produced senses of who they are, that is, their social identities and moral identities. However, she warns that these levels are not always parallel or compatible with each other and that researchers must be aware of and find a balance between recognizing the agency of the narrator to position themselves in interaction and how their social roles and identities are positioned and reified within dominant discourses and ideologies (De Fina, 2013, p. 43). Narratives of immigrant experiences can be "particularly illuminating of ways in which immigrants represent the migration process and themselves in it" (De Fina, 2003, p. 5).

Immigrants may find themselves in conflicts of identity where they may be linked to the past, present and future, narratives can offer a means of resolving this tension (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 18). Narrative accounts of immigrants and subsequent generations may be able to offer insight into how these individuals build their personhood and identities. Narratives of immigrant experiences may position the speaker as resisting a particular ideology or identity and subverting dominant discourse. For example, Gallo (2016) shows how Mexican immigrant fathers and their children utilize humor in immigration narratives as acts of resistance. Similarly, De Fina and King (2011) demonstrate how narratives are used to contest marginalized social and linguistic positions. Through stories of language conflict, the Latin American immigrant women in De Fina and King's (2011) study contest their marginalized positions in the story world and in the real world and how everyday experiences are racialized. This was shown through pronoun

and word choice and reported speech. They argue the stories of these women in the discourse in which they are embedded show how their life is affected by the antagonistic ideology that speaking English or Spanish aligns one with one group or another. Thus, these stories represent how language can come to represent an obstacle for certain intergroup relations in the United States. In examining the construction of identity among displaced Mapuches, Merino, Becerra, and De Fina (2017) highlight the role of narratives in negotiating their identity as authentic Mapuche even if they had been displaced to the city. Additionally, the Mapuche narrators reaffirmed their territorial connection with the south as a marker of Mapuche identity by way of reproducing spaces in their neighborhoods to carry out sociocultural activities to preserve their culture. De Fina (2011) notes that immigrants may negotiate identity categories that can be related to their origin as well as mixed identities. Immigrants may accept or contest the notion that they are "foreigners." However, such negotiations may not surface if not for the presence of the researcher and the process of eliciting and constructing narratives. Therefore, it is beneficial to recognize the interaction between researchers, informants and contexts and the position of the researcher as the researcher and the informant as the "observed." De Fina (2011) suggests that positioning occurs within the interaction of eliciting and constructing narratives and, as a result, narratives should be understood as an interactional occasion for shaping the context and different constructions of identity (p. 35). Analyzing narratives as an interactional occasion and a means for construction and negotiation of identity is one component used to understand the role of identities and ideologies in shaping language practices among Moroccan immigrants in Granada.

2.9 Investigating Multilingualism: Theoretical Considerations

Linguistic ethnographic approaches maintain that language and the social world are mutually shaping and that analysis of situated language use can provide insights into the dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (Rampton, 2004; Pérez-Milans, 2015). In this sense, social reality is constructed, reproduced, naturalized, and revised discursively through social interaction "in the course of large-scale historical, political, and socio-economic configurations" (Pérez-Milans, 2015, p. 2). Within this framework, social reality is situated beyond the micro/macro dichotomy as humans engage reflexively and agentively in daily activities while also reproducing the conditions that make these activities possible (Giddens, 1982). Social processes are constituted "both in ways that [they] form part of the social practices that construct social reality, and in the ways [they] serve as a terrain for working out struggles that are fundamentally about other things" (Heller, 2011, p. 49). Close attention to daily activities and routines (i.e. an ethnographic perspective) is thus crucial to abstract meaning from the local perspective and to understand how an individual's action that are situated in a particular space and time are connected and constrained by other interactions across space and time (Pérez-Milans, 2015). Under this framework, Pérez-Milans (2015) explains that:

Linguistic and cultural practices are no longer examined against the background of abstract standard languages, uniform views of speakers and stable group identities. Rather, such practices are investigated with reference to the fragmented repertoires that people acquire, construct and mobilise by positioning themselves and others in ways that have consequences for their distinct degrees of control over access to different social spaces (e.g., formal versus informal), symbolic resources (e.g., institutionalised forms of recognition through certificates) and materialities (e.g., jobs) throughout the course of their life trajectories (p. 5)

The notion of language, then is not conceived of as a bounded entity but rather an emerging, interactionally constructed concept that is subject to negotiation and transformation. Indeed, the notion of languages as separate, discrete entities that are internally homogenous is a social and discursive construct that perpetuates societal inequalities (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 2; Gal, 2006; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2011).

In the European context, Gal notes that linguistic boundaries are created and maintained through forms of policing that is accomplished by institutions such as schools, academies, and dictionaries (2006). As noted by Harris (2006) and Rampton (2006) as cited in Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 30), one language does not necessarily index one's subject positions and speakers use their linguistic resources in complex ways to perform a range of subject positions. For example, Moroccan children in Spain use their multilingual repertoires to act out their idealized notions of Spanish femininity (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 301). Moving away from predefining the language user by geographical location, ethnicity or other sorts of ascribed identities can help us better understand local language practices. For Blackledge and Creese (2010) language use is contextually embedded and is a "style resource" used to engage in meaning-making and identity work. Given these understandings it becomes evident that the oversimplistic treatment of complex multilingual repertoires fails to recognize the fluidity of language (May, 2014) and the interaction of fixity and fluidity of cultural identities (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). Several scholars propose a shift away from the notion of a "multilingual" speaker with proficiency in two or more languages to a notion of "verbal repertoire" (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2013; García-Sánchez, 2014; Gal, 2006, O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013; May, 2014). "Repertoires" refer to "all means of speaking"

which include all the means "that people know how to use and why while they communicate" which "range from linguistic [means] (language varieties) to cultural ones (genres, styles) and social ones (norms for the production and understanding of language)" (Blommaert and Backus, 2013, p. 11). These repertoires may be "truncated" in that they consist of specialized, partially, and unevenly developed resources. In this sense, repertoires are a result of polycentric learning experiences involving a range of learning trajectories and are indexical biographies; analysis of these repertoires then necessarily involves analyzing the social and cultural itineraries followed by people and how these experiences were maneuvered and navigated. In essence, truncated repertoires are records of mobility and movement of people, language resources, social experiences and technologies of learning and learning environments; they are the "biographically assembled patchworks of functionally distributed communicative resources (Blommaert and Backus, 2013, p. 29; Blommaert, 2010). Zentella's (1997) description of the multiple competencies of Puerto Ricans on *el bloque* reflects the idea that repertoires are records of social experiences stating that:

the varied dialects of English and Spanish that constituted the repertoire reflected the lessons learned on *el bloque*: if you are up in a family-like atmosphere with people who loved New York and Puerto Rico, you came to feel like a New York Puerto Rican and you learned to speak Spanish and English in ways that proclaimed the overlapping racial and cultural aspects of that identity (p. 40).

Similarly, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) suggest that rather than relying on language as a unit of analysis, the researcher should focus on the speaker in research that enables us to understand the relationships between what people believe about their language (and other's languages) and the situated forms of talk in conjunction with the material effects (i.e. social, economic, environmental) of such views and use (p. 10). The concept of repertoire allows us to understand

real multilingual competence, in other words, understanding multilingualism in terms of the appropriation and incorporation of all and any linguistic resources for meaning-making (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p. 17). However, Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 10) note that "if languages are invented, and languages and identities are socially constructed, we nevertheless need to account for the fact that at least some language users, at least some of the time, hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of identity." Similarly, Bailey (2007, p. 271) notes "approaching monolingualism and bilingualism as socially constructed does not change their social force at the level of lived experience, but it does show that this social force is not a function of formal, or inherent linguistic differences among what counts as a language" (in Jørgensen et. al. 2011, p. 21). Heller (2007) argues that the terms multilingualism and bilingualism allow us a purchase on what count as relevant categories and enable us to focus on how boundaries are created, how people and their communicative resources are included and excluded and what happens to them as a result (p. 11). A linguistic ethnographic approach facilitates the shift from viewing multilingualism as the coexistence linguistic systems to a more critical approach that situates language practices in socio-political contexts and "privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action" (Heller, 2007, p. 25).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Purpose of Study and Research Questions

In the previous chapter, I discussed several conceptual frameworks that I utilize throughout my research in addition to related literature that supports this framework. To answer my research questions, it is necessary to employ several methods that helped me collect, analyze,

and interpret my data. In this chapter, I will outline the questions and purpose of my study, describing the context of inquiry, participants, methods and proposed method of data analysis. Additionally, I will explain my role as a researcher.

The purpose of this study is to provide an in-depth examination of language use connected to the identity constructions that may be affected by varying discourses and ideologies which the individuals are subject to and the subject of and which in turn may have an effect on their language practices. I observed both public and private language practices and attended cultural events. My primary goals were to understand how language practices reflect and in turn shape individuals' multiple identities, that is, who they perceive themselves to be, their ways of understanding their relation to the world and how this is discursively constructed and socially and historically embedded. To examine these factors on language use I employed qualitative research methods, namely a linguistic ethnographic methodology. I chose this methodology for several reasons. My theoretical framework is based on linguistic ethnographic approaches to language which view language as a means for understanding dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (Rampton, 2004; Pérez-Milans, 2015). Ethnographic observations and interviews provide in-depth information on the complex nature of language use in relation to how speakers position themselves and are positioned within their communities (Rampton, 2004; Pérez-Milans, 2015). This approach also attempts to bridge the micro/macro distinction of language and social activity by connecting situated language use with spatio-temporal and socio-historical indexes.

The research questions that guide my study are the following:

1. What are the language practices within and across generations in this setting?

- a) When and how are languages used?
- 2. How are identities enacted through language practices?
 - a) How do speakers position themselves in interviews?
 - b) How are language features leveraged through this positioning?
- 3. What attitudes and ideologies are linked to such language practices?

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 *Linguistic Ethnography*

This study is based on 12 months of fieldwork in Granada, Spain (June and July of 2017 and 10 consecutive months between September 2018 and July 2019). Throughout this time 30 first generation and 28 second generation Moroccans participated in this study. Three individuals from each group were selected to be a part of a focal group. I participated in the daily lives of these six individuals and completed eight sociolinguistic interviews with them over the course of 10 months. The data collection methods of this project consisted of various ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods including (1) participant observation and field notes of cultural events that featured members of the Moroccan immigrant community as well as the daily lives and routines of the six individuals; (2) structured and semi-structured interviews with the six individuals; (3) audio recording of naturally-occurring interactions among the individuals and their peers, parents, siblings, and other community members and (4) transcription of audio-recorded data (5) questionnaires from the 2018-2019 study (see Appendix F) (6) questionnaires from the preliminary study (see Appendix G). These methods yielded 80 hours of observation including 77 entries, 95 hours of interview recordings, 5 hours of audio recordings of naturally-occurring interactions and 55 questionnaires.

The methods are based on a linguistic ethnographic approach which serves to interpret the local and immediate actions of individuals from their own point of view and consider how

these actions are embedded in wider social constructs (Copland and Creese 2015, p. 13). As

Heller (2008, p. 250) further explains:

Ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover. They allow us to see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people's lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms, and to watch processes unfold over time. They allow us to see complexity and connections, to understand the history and geography of language. They allow us to tell a story; not someone else's story exactly, but our own story of some slice of experience, a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do.

In linguistic ethnography, language is understood as a communicative action in social contexts and allows for the examination of specific language use and what it reveals about wider social constraints, ideologies, and structures (Copland and Creese, p. 27). Heller (2008) describes ethnography as an ongoing conversation with different kinds of stakeholders to which the researcher contributes. In this sense, ethnography is an activity, a process of construction of social reality rather than a mere reflection of it as if there were some "true" reality somewhere to be obtained (p. 254). The processes of ethnography may involve making or shifting categories of language and language practices to understand particular threads of research (i.e. research questions). Key components of linguistic ethnography include longitudinal observations and interviews.

3.2.2 Sociolinguistic and Ethnographic Interviews

Longitudinal ethnographic interviews are necessary to illuminate the individuals' emergent, changing, and multiple perspectives and identities as well as the discourses and ideologies that affect these trajectories. Observation allows the researcher to discover the links between the actions that occur (e.g. language use) and institutional and social processes and structures or beliefs and ideologies that affect these language practices (Heller, 2008). Recorded

interviews in conjunction with participant observation and recordings of conversation permits the examination of beliefs about practices as well as how those beliefs are enacted in social action. Additionally, how participants position themselves through narratives of their lives and how they position themselves and are positioned by others as they go about their daily routines may highlight the various tensions that affect subsequent language use. As these tensions exist in both the private and public; local, global, transnational as well as historical and contemporary forces, it is crucial to examine the wider processes in which individuals' language practices are embedded in addition to the focus on daily language use and social interaction (Hall, 2004; García-Sánchez, 2014).⁴ When engaging in participant observation and interviews, researchers have been wary of the "Observer's Paradox," a concept which was first mentioned by Labov (1972). The "Observer's Paradox" refers to Labov's concern that obtaining unobserved natural speech is only possible through systematic observation (1972, p. 209). However, more recent research (Giles, Goupland, and Coupland, 1991; De Fina and Perrino, 2011, p. 5) calls for an observation and interviews to be understood as interactional events where the impact of the researcher is unavoidable. In this way, researchers can address the role of context, the researcher and participant's role as much as behavior in analysis of social practices. Therefore, it is more productive to perceive of interviews as social practice "in which the research interview is explicitly conceptualized and analyzed as social action" (Talmy, 2010, p. 129). In this way, the

⁴ Hall (2004) notes that to understand the processes of identification and incorporation of migrant youths beyond traditional models of assimilation, researchers should implement "a shift in ethnographic vantage point from exclusive focus on everyday worlds to the broader historical and cultural processes in which these worlds are embedded" (p. 118).

data that result from such interviews are considered "accounts" of truths, facts, attitudes, beliefs and interior mental states which are constructed between the interviewer and the interviewee.

3.3 Research Context and Participants

Granada is situated in southern Spain at the foot of the Sierra Nevada mountains and is well-known for being the home of the Alhambra, a Moorish citadel and palace displaying Andalusian Islamic historical legacy and culture. Moroccan immigrants have settled in the same region where moriscos (i.e. converted Christians of Muslim ancestry) lived before their expulsion of the 17th century. Although not all Moroccans identify as Muslim, Moroccans are often perceived as a threat to Spanish identity and as the “return of the Medieval Moor” (Flesler 2008, p. 56). As previously mentioned, the population of Granada is around 232,208 people with 14,959 "extranjeros" or foreigners according to the Junta de Andalucía (2019). Moroccan immigrants make up just over 27% of the total migrant population and are the largest migrant population in the city.

3.3.1 *Participants*

The six focal were chosen based on their willingness to participate in more long-term data collection. The focal participants included three individuals (two females and one male) from the first generation group and three individuals (two females and one male) from the second generation group. The non-focal participants included 27 first generation individuals and 25 second generation individuals. The second generation group includes those who were brought to Spain by their Moroccan immigrant parents before the age of 7 or those who were born in Spain to Moroccan immigrant parents. First generation speakers include those who came to Spain at 16 or older. Participants were identified and recruited with the help of a Moroccan

immigrant who is considered a leader in the community. Participants reported speaking multiple languages. Characteristics of each focal participant can be found in Table A. I employed a snowball sampling method to obtain participants apart from the six focal participants. I interviewed relatives and non-relatives in order to gain a broader understanding of the language practices in the community. The parents, family members, and friends of participants will be able to provide further information on language use in interaction.

Table A. Characteristics of the eight focal participants

Participant	Age	Sex	City/Country of Origin	Years in Spain	Generation	Languages spoken
Zaheera	29	Female	Nador, Morocco	13	1	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, Egyptian Arabic, English, French, German
Hadya	28	Female	Casablanca, Morocco	10	1	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, English, French
Sadiq	37	Male	Jabala Region, Morocco	12	1	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, English, French
Adil	25	Male	Granada, Spain	25	2	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, English

Jamila	19	Female	Oujda, Morocco	18	2	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, English
Feyrouz	21	Female	Jaén, Spain	21	2	Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, English, French

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

3.4.1 Multilingual Language Profile

Each participant completed a multilingual language profile which consisted of a 8-page background questionnaire (see Appendix F). This questionnaire was originally created by Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual (2012) but was adapted to fit the current research context in which participants utilize multiple languages. The first page of the language profile requests information on sex, age, education level, profession, place of birth, and current place of residence. The second page focuses on the participant's specific language background including the age of exposure to Spanish, Arabic, French, Berber, and/or another language. On the third page, participants provide information about how much they use each language in different social and personal contexts and their competence in each language (i.e. competence in speaking, aural comprehension, reading, and writing). The last page included questions regarding speakers' attitudes towards each language. In addition, I asked for the participants' oral consent following the description as outlined in the consent form in Appendix D.

3.4.2 Observations

I observed and took field notes of the six focal participants in different settings (see Appendix A for observation protocol). I visited all of the focal participants at least once or twice a month. Several focal participants are students at the university and have regular study sessions with classmates or meet for coffee/tea in the afternoons. I attended family lunch, dinners or afternoon tea. After a few months, my presence became more of a part of the normal routine and by the time I asked people to participate in the study they were more casual in their interactions. I completed a few audio recordings of these interactions/events but primarily relied on documentation of the observations immediately after the visits as participants preferred not to be recorded in those moments. I documented the individuals' language practices as they participated in conversations with family members and friends and as they went about doing chores, running errands or simply accompanied them on their daily strolls with family and friends. One challenge that I experienced with observations is that the participants wanted to include me in their interactions as it is considered rude not to include outsiders in the interaction. As such, I took on the role of participant observer and took into account my presence in the analysis. In addition to participant observation, I left some audio recorders with focal participants so that they may record family dinners or interactions with friends during such events. Only a few participants chose to engage in this activity after several months of interaction, therefore, the amount of audio-recordings was limited. Although the presence of the recorder may be perceived as a "researcher presence," I took steps to minimize this presence as much as possible by allowing the participants to record themselves. These methods were employed to observe participants interaction and language use in both public and private settings.

As I lived near the center of the city, I frequently walked around and spoke with shop owners and restaurant workers. In addition, I took Standard Arabic classes and served as a volunteer instructor at a local non-profit that serves migrant populations. I also observed cultural events that Moroccan immigrants attended in order to understand language practices of the community in public settings. Granada hosts several events throughout the year aimed at promoting "tolerancia" and "convivencia" among Granadinos. An example of this type of event is the breaking of the fast during Ramadan which is celebrated in the evening during the summer months. This event was put on by the city council and was attended by Moroccan and Spanish Muslims along with Spanish Christians and the wider population. This event, like many others, featured informative talks from leaders (several of them Moroccan) in the community and interaction among community members. Such events provide a unique opportunity to observe language use and interaction in the community that may otherwise be difficult to obtain.

After collecting and writing field notes in my notebook, I transcribed and transferred them to a Word document on my laptop. This way I was able to code and create field note cards which allowed me to sort and categorize topics, themes, and phenomena. For each entry, I wrote a self-reflection, that is, a more personal account of the event or activity as well as my ideas, feelings, problems, and questions that guided my subsequent interviews with the focal participants. Good observation requires reflexivity and self-analysis to understand how my way of thinking and ideas help me progress and make sense of what I see and hear (Heller, 2008; Creese and Copland, 2015). Overall, over 80 hours of observation were completed with 77 entries in the field notes each with its own reflection piece.

3.4.3 Interviews

I carried out informal and semi-structured interviews (see Appendices B and C for interview protocols). The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and an hour to an hour and a half. Before starting each interview, I let my interviewees know the purpose of the study and asked permission to use their responses in my research through oral consent. I also spoke with the participants in Fuṣḥā, Darija, and Spanish before the interview so that they know that I can speak and understand Arabic. This was done so that the participants would feel comfortable using whichever language they prefer. I conducted the interviews in Spanish and Fuṣḥā with a few questions initially in Fuṣḥā and then in Spanish. Semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B) were carried out with members of the community (i.e. friends and family or acquaintances of the focal participant) while more informal interviews (see Appendix C) were carried out after the initial interviews with the focal participants. The interviews with other members of the community and family members, acquaintances, and friends, were used to gather data on language practices of the community and were based partially on my observations on language use in public. I conducted informal interviews with the 6 individuals every month for eight months. With the focal participants, the initial interviews were used to build rapport and to build trust before the first observation. After the first interview, I asked questions based on the previous interviews. The informal interviews with the focal participants elicited narratives about past and current experiences including interactions and experiences with family, friends, and other members of the community based on observations and previous interviews with the participants. Interviews to elicit narratives are used to address the unique questions related to the field and individuals researched. Due to the spontaneous nature of storytelling events, eliciting and analyzing stories and narratives is an effective method for obtaining natural speech data (De

Fina and Tseng, 2017, p. 391). There was a total of 95 hours of interview recordings that were collected from the focal and non-focal participant groups.

3.4.4 Audio Recordings

I also collected natural speech samples from the focal participants as they went about their daily routines interacting with friends, family, and community members. Gave participants a recording device and requested that they turn it on and let it record for an hour during family dinners, afternoon tea, or other situations in which they are interacting with friends, family, or community members. This was done in order to elicit speech data that may capture code-switching or use of features associated with varieties of Spanish and Arabic. Five hours of audio were recorded.

3.4.5 Overview of Data Collection Procedures

Participant observation was used to answer the question of how identities are enacted in language practices, that is, how Moroccans utilize Spanish and Arabic. In addition, participant observation helped to determine other ways in which individuals present and/or negotiate their identities. Structured and semi-structured interviews helped identify the ways in which identities are enacted in language practices, that is how speakers utilize their multilingual repertoires and what features they use in speech as well as how individuals narrate their identities and, subsequently, how they position themselves and others in the story world and in relation to dominant discourses. Audio recordings of naturally-occurring interactions and transcriptions of these audio recordings provided information for all of the above listed research questions, but it was primarily used to elicit speech data that will be used to examine how the individuals utilize their multilingual repertoires.

3.5 Proposed Analysis

3.5.1 *Transcription and Analysis of Recorded Speech*

In transcribing the interviews and other recorded speech I utilized an adapted transcription system from De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) and Tannen, Kendall, and Gordon (2007). The transcription system used for the current project can be found in Appendix E. I transcribed the audio taking into account the heterogeneous language practices. In other words, rather than selecting one language as a matrix language (Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha 1996), I will identified elements that may pertain to several languages in a multilingual frame (Léglise and Sanchez Moreano, n.d.). In many cases, elements can be attributed to various languages, rather than creating an arbitrary separation of elements, this analysis shows various possible interpretations. Léglise (2017) notes that transcription and analysis that takes into account the various possible interpretations highlights the fuzziness of language boundaries.

3.5.2 *Analysis of Field Notes and Audio-recordings*

The field notes and audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and coded using the latest version of NVivo. The coding of each audio-recording was performed using the following steps:

Listening to audio recording: I listened to each recording to recall the atmosphere and character of the interview and note important contextual features.

Reading field notes: I read the field notes and focused on initial ideas and looked for additional details that informed following interviews with the focal participants.

1. Manual coding: I read a printout of the transcriptions and took notes in the margins and assigned descriptive codes.

2. Using NVivo: I imported the field notes, interviews, and other audio-recordings to NVivo and entered the codes as nodes.⁵
3. Organizing free nodes in NVivo: After all the coding was entered, I created *tree nodes* and organized the *free nodes* into child nodes within the *tree nodes*.
4. Verifying coding: I then went over the *child nodes* to verify that the *free nodes* had been classified correctly. I merged the *child nodes* as needed and created larger categories until a small number of larger themes emerge.

The approach to data analysis used will be inductive such that themes and categories will emerge from the data rather than being imposed onto the data prior to collection. In addition, an iterative approach allowed me to develop deeper understandings of the participants' experiences in interviews (Martín Guardado, 2008, p. 49). After the analysis was completed, I consulted with a community member to verify accuracy in coding in addition to referencing personal reflections and fieldnotes.

3.5.3 Narrative Analysis

I analyzed the narratives from the interviews with the focal participants using the framework of positionality. As the narrators "voice" different characters in their stories and provide evaluations of those characters based on their social role within the story, they also take up a certain position with respect to the characters and events (Wortham, Mortimer, Lee, Allard and White, 2011). I utilized the framework of positioning as presented by Bamberg (1997)

⁵ A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person, or other area relevant to the analysis.

Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and later developed by De Fina (2013, p. 43) which proposes three levels of positionality:

1. Level 1: the way characters are positioned in relation to one another within the story world
2. Level 2: the way narrators position themselves vis-à-vis their interlocutors in the story-telling world
3. Level 3: how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385) and how s/he 'makes these relevant to the interaction in the here and now' (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 391) thus constructing herself/himself as a particular kind of person, and, as I might add, who uses language in a particular kind of way.

After the initial analysis, comparison of data from the different participants and identification of patterns constituted an integral part of interpretation. Through this analysis I established relevant Discourses to local identity displays and extrapolated recurring patterns in the data set as a whole. This analysis complemented the ethnographic data and knowledge that obtained through observation and provided information about the nexus between linguistic usage and social semiotic processes. Throughout each portion of the analysis, it was crucial to employ reflexive techniques to better understand how participants' responses and speech is shaped by the interaction and my role and participation as a researcher (Talmy, 2010).

3.6 Positionality

By engaging in critical linguistic ethnography, I must consider my own presence within the research context. As Noblit, Flores, and Murillo (2004) explain, "critical ethnographers must explicitly consider how their own acts of studying and representing people and situations are acts of domination even as critical ethnographers reveal the same in what they study" (p. 3).

Recognizing positionality in this context is crucial as it allows me to recognize my own power of authority, subjectivity, biases, privilege while also critiquing systems in which my participants are situated (Madison, 2005, p. 7). However, self-positioning is only productive if its impact is taken into account in the interpretive process. As such, a reflexive process is crucial in the current work especially considering that I am an outsider to the community and individuals of the study. As Wei (1999) warns, "we must be extremely careful about assigning meanings to individual instances of code-switching simply on the basis of our (analyst's) knowledge of the community's social history and of the individuals' language attitudes, especially when the analyst is an *outsider* to the community and individuals in question" (p. 170.).

Being a white, cis-gender, straight, married, educated, middleclass American had consequences for the sorts of relationships and interactions that I have within the community and with the focal participants. This resulted in specific conversations and insights that may not have been available otherwise and some information that I am not able to obtain. In my research, I found that being an 'outsider' brought certain benefits in this research context as some participants discussed issues that they found difficult to speak about with members of their community. In addition, several participants expressed their skepticism of other researchers who were positioned as Spaniards and had attempted to conduct similar research. This was reiterated

by several of my Spanish colleagues in the field who expressed difficulties in recruiting similar participants and in similar contexts. Nonetheless, some participants felt suspicious of my motives as a researcher and would only agree to participate after thorough examination of the research materials and questions and reassurance from other participants. However, being a learner of Spanish and learner of Arabic proved to have some advantages in building rapport with my participants, many of whom were learning languages themselves. Some saw our conversations as a lesson on the Arabic language and Moroccan culture, which I always welcomed and encouraged. Before and throughout the data collection process, I continually reflected on my position within the community and within interactions with members of the community and took into account this position as I collected and interpreted my data.

3.7 Contributions to the Field

As previously mentioned, linguistic practices are shaped by social identities, language ideologies and dominant ideologies as well as social and political contexts. Examining linguistic practices in this way highlights the social aspect of multilingualism and may help to deconstruct and refine constructs that have a long history in sociolinguistics. In addition, my research has implications for applied linguistics in the areas of language education and language policy as policy makers may seek to incorporate first and second language literacy courses throughout the Spanish education system.

Chapter 4: Characterizing the multilingual language practices of Moroccan immigrants in Granada

4.1 Results

Fifty-eight individuals participated in this study and reported either in the interviews, surveys or both tasks which languages they use (as seen in Table 1). Only 55 individuals completed the surveys as three participants chose to complete an interview only. One individual completed the survey but declined the interview. As a result, the quantitative data below, aside from Table 1 come from the surveys with 55 individuals while the qualitative data come from interviews with fifty-seven individuals. A total of 30 first generation and 28 second generation Moroccans participated in this study. First generation participants have lived in Spain between 1-20 years. There were only two individuals from the first generation group who had lived in Spain less than 10 years (they had lived in Spain for a year and four years at the time this project was conducted). As the results of these two individuals indicated similar tendencies as the rest of the first generation group who had all spent at least 10 years in Spain, they were included in this group. The results below combine the answers from the first and second surveys where appropriate, and where the questions were not combined, the results are reported separately. Several T-tests were carried out in RStudio on the quantitative data to determine if there were statistically significant differences between first and second-generation speaker groups. In addition, descriptive statistics were completed to obtain a more holistic picture of the numerical data.

Sections 4.2-4.6 present the results from Survey 1 (2017) with 19 individuals and Survey 2 (2018-2019) with 36 individuals followed by an overview of the quantitative results in section

4.7. The observational and interview data regarding language practices are presented in section 4.8. The interview data come from all 58 participants. After transcription of the data was completed, the interview data were coded manually and later uploaded to NVivo for further coding. Section 4.8 provides further details of the coding and analysis of the interview and observational data. In section 4.9 the results and implications of the qualitative data are discussed.

The languages discussed in the following chapter include Spanish, French, English, Tamazight (an indigenous language of North Africa also referred to as "Berber" in some cases), Darija (Moroccan Arabic) and Fuṣḥā (Modern Standard or Classical Arabic). It is important to note that while linguists make this distinction, speakers oftentimes refer to "Arabic" to indicate Fuṣḥā or a continuum of Fuṣḥā and Darija. For example, the term "Arabic" may encompass the written form of the language (i.e. Fuṣḥā) and an oral form (i.e. Darija). In other cases, the names depend on the register; more formal language use may be considered "Fuṣḥā" while more informal language use of any kind may be considered "Darija." The term "Arabic" may also be used by speakers to refer to Standard and Classical Arabic while the terms "dialect" or "Moroccan" refer to Darija. These terminological differences may affect how speakers report their use of the languages as will be discussed in the section regarding language competency scores in particular. In the surveys, the languages were labeled as "Arabic" or "Fuṣḥā Arabic" and "Moroccan Arabic" as per the suggestion of several insiders in the community. As previously noted, some forms in both Darija and Fuṣḥā may overlap, making it difficult in some cases to determine if a feature is strictly from one or the other. In addition, while Darija is currently undergoing circumstantial standardization (see Ech-Charfi, 2016), it is still considered

an oral language and does not have official status in Morocco like Fuṣḥā, French, or Tamazight. Furthermore, while Tamazight has undergone standardization in 2001 and is an official language of Morocco, many speakers do not have access to education or written resources in the language (Anass, 2018). In what follows, I will use the terms Darija to refer to Moroccan Arabic and Fuṣḥā for Standard or Classical Arabic.

4.2 Reported Language Use

Moroccan immigrants in Granada report using a variety of different languages in their daily lives. Table 1 provides a complete list of languages used as well as the number and percentage of the total participants that report using these languages.

Table 1. Reported languages of first and second generation Moroccan immigrants in Granada

Reported Languages	Generation 1	Generation 2
Darija, Spanish	3 (10%)	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Spanish, Tamazight	0	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish	2 (7%)	2 (7.1%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, English	0	9 (32%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French, English	7 (23.3%)	6 (21.4%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French	8 (26.6%)	2 (7.1%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Tamazight, Spanish, French, English	1 (3.3%)	0
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French, Tamazight	5 (16.6%)	0
Darija, Spanish, English, French	0	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French, English, Swiss	1 (3.3%)	0
Darija, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French, English, Russian	1 (3.3%)	0
Darija, Egyptian Arabic, Fuṣḥā, Spanish, French, English, German	1 (3.3%)	0

Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, French, English, Italian	0	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, English, French, Catalan, Italian	0	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, English, Catalan	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, Catalan	0	1 (3.6%)
Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, Tamazight	0	1 (3.6%)
Spanish, Tamazight	0	1 (3.6%)
Total	30	28

Eight first generation Moroccan immigrants reported using Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, and French in their daily lives (26.6%) while seven indicated use of English as well (23.3%). As previously mentioned, French, along with Standard Arabic (Fuṣhā) is the language of literacy. Moroccan immigrants who attended school in Morocco before arriving to Spain would have taken classes in French and Standard Arabic. More recently, English has been added to the curriculum in several Moroccan schools. Second generation Moroccans also utilize Darija, Fuṣhā, Spanish, and French (7.1%), however, they report using English in place of French more (32%). Unlike in Morocco, French is not necessarily a required component of the Spanish curriculum with English taking the place of French in the early stages of education. Six individuals from the first generation and three from the second generation reported using Tamazight in addition to the other languages previously mentioned with only one of those speakers reporting only using Spanish and Tamazight. Only three speakers from the first generation and four from the second generation reported no use of Fuṣhā. All speakers except one individual from the second generation reported use of Darija in their daily lives.

4.3 Reported Language Competence

The results reported in Tables 2 and 3 provide the means, medians, and standard deviations for overall language competency by generation. Participants reported their perceived level of competence in writing, reading, speaking and listening skills. The scores below are percentages of the combined totals from the first and second phases of research.

First generation Moroccan immigrants reported high levels of language competence in Spanish (90.5%), Fuṣḥā (89.9%), and Darija (90.8%). Speakers of this group considered themselves to be relatively competent in French (64.5%) but less so in English (23.2%) and Tamazight (20.7%). It is important to note that six speakers reported high levels of competence in Tamazight for speaking and listening but not for reading and writing. Tamazight was recently recognized as an official language of Morocco in 2011 and has been taught only in some regions with larger numbers of Tamazight speakers since 2003 after the creation of its own academy and standardization in 2001 (see Anass, 2018) therefore, many may not have had access to resources to develop reading and writing skills in Tamazight.

Table 2. Reported Language Competence: First Generation

Generation 1	Language	Mean (percentage of 100)	Median (percentage of 100)	Standard Deviation
n=26	Spanish	90.5	97.9	13
	Fuṣḥā	89.9	100	20.3
	Darija	90.8	100	15
	Tamazight	20.7	6.5	26
	English	23.2	0	34.7
	French	64.5	61.25	32

Second generation Moroccan immigrants reported high levels of Spanish language competence (98.8%) and considered themselves to be less competent overall in Fuṣḥā (53.0%)

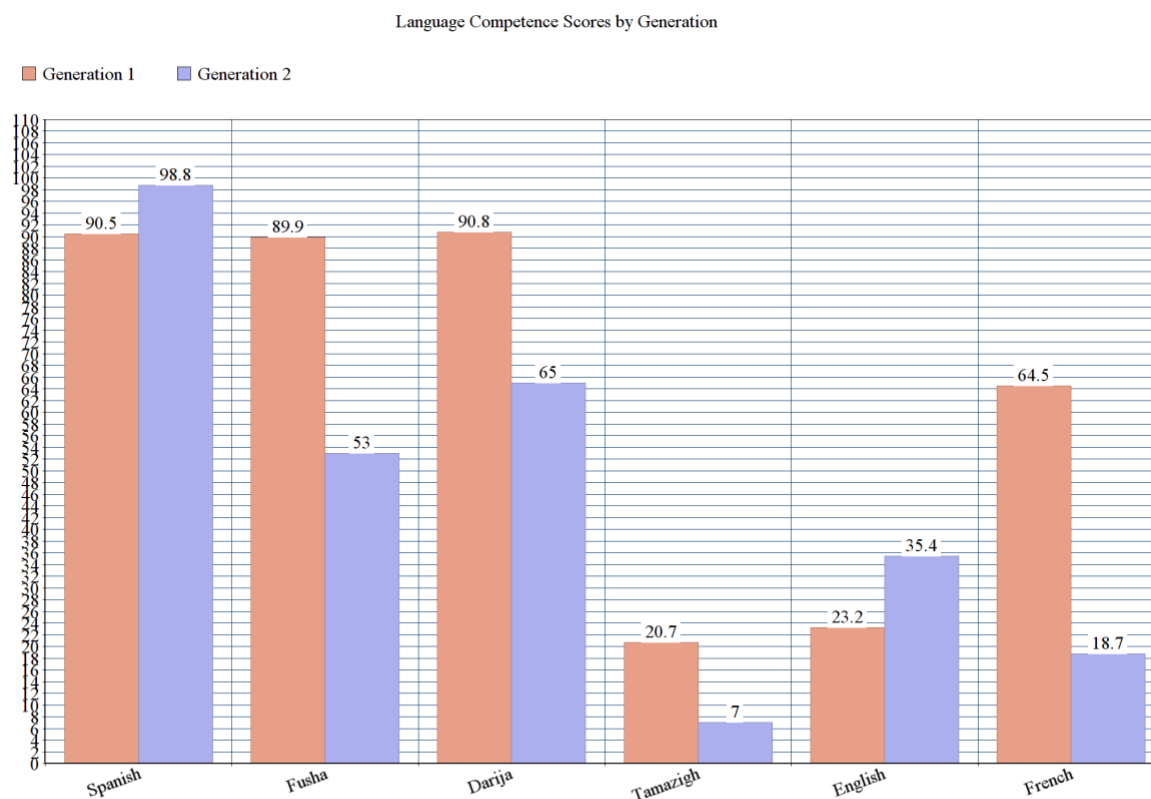
and Darija (65.0%). Given that there are fewer resources to develop competency in Fuṣḥā and Darija in Spain, the percentages are as expected for this group. The scores may also indicate a level of linguistic insecurity. Speakers of this group were somewhat competent in English (35.4%) and less so in French (18.7%) or Tamazight (7.0%). Three speakers reported high levels of competence in speaking and listening Tamazight similar to those speakers from the Generation 1 group. Seventeen second generation speakers reported high scores in speaking and listening competence in Darija but low scores in reading and writing in contrast to the first generation group who reported higher scores in all aspects of both Darija and Fuṣḥā. This may be due, in part, to the fact that Darija is considered an oral language and, as a result, second generation speakers do not consider competency scores to be relevant for reading or listening. As is the case for Tamazight, second generation speakers who have lived most or all of their lives in Spain may not have access to resources to gain reading and writing skills in Darija in Spain.

Table 3. Reported Language Competence: Second Generation

Generation 2	Language	Mean (percentage of 100)	Median (percentage of 100)	Standard Deviation
n=28	Spanish	98.8	100	3.25
	Fuṣḥā	53.0	54.0	31.6
	Darija	65.0	70	29.3
	Tamazight	7.0	0	14.2
	English	35.4	41.6	37
	French	18.7	0	29.5

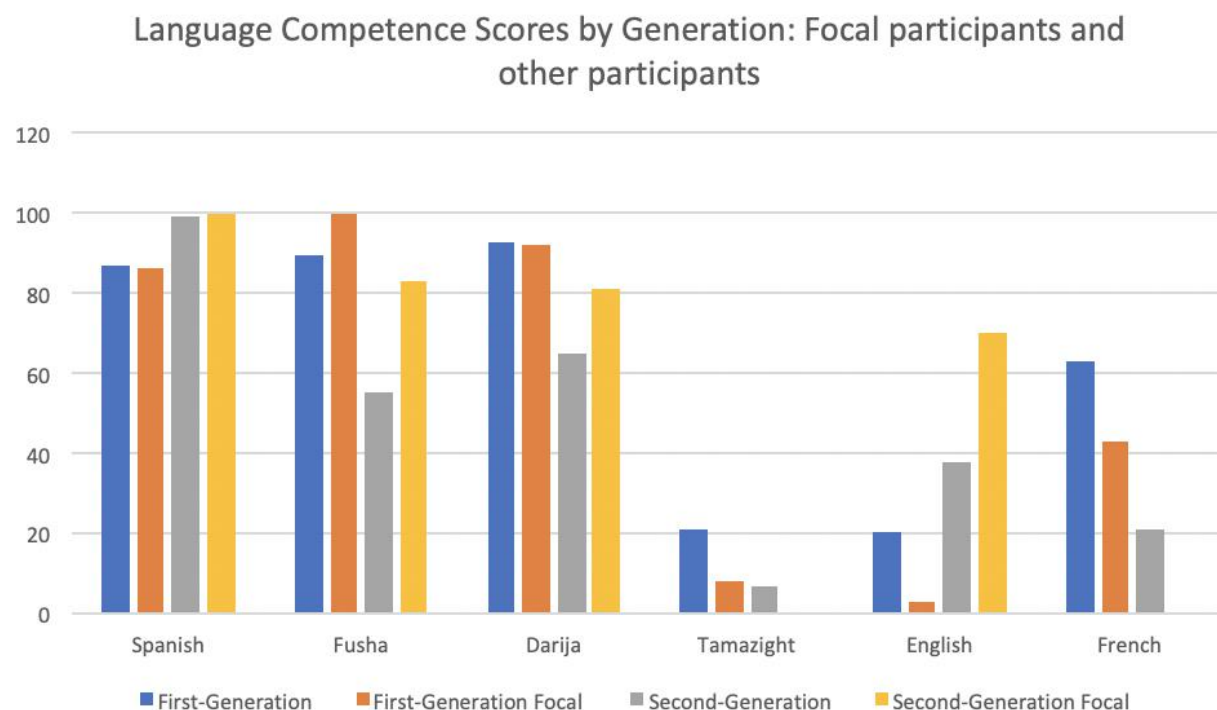
T-tests indicated statistically significant differences between the two groups for overall competency scores in Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, and French (.01). Differences in English ratings were not found to be statistically significant. Graph 1 provides an overview of reported language competence for each language according to generation.

Graph 1. Language Competence Scores by Generation



Overall, speakers of the second generation report higher scores for Spanish and English than first generation speakers. First generation Moroccans report higher levels in Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, and French. However, both groups reported higher scores for Spanish, Darija, and Fuṣḥā over Tamazight, French, and English. Similar trends can be observed between first and second-generation Moroccan immigrants in both the focal group and the fifty other participants in the study as shown in Graph 2 below.

Graph 2. Language Competence Scores by Generation: Focal participants and other participants



Graph 2 shows the language competence scores by generation, separating focal and non-focal participants. While speakers of the first generation in both the focal and non-focal group show similar levels of competence in Spanish, Fuṣḥā, and Darija, they differ in terms of their competence scores in Tamazight, English, and French. For those of the second generation, speakers of the focal group show higher levels of Fuṣḥā, Darija, and English while those in the general group of this generation report higher levels of French and Tamazight. Differences between the first and second-generation groups in terms of their scores in Darija may be due to the varying levels reported by skill. As some speakers of the second (and first) generation perceive Darija as a language that is spoken-only, and others do not, this may affect their self-reporting of competence in the language.

Separating competency scores by skill provides a better understanding of how speakers of the first and second generation differ in their reported language competencies. The following section provides the descriptive analysis and results of multiple linear regressions to examine the relationship between generation and language competency scores by skill.

4.3.1 Reported Language Competence by Skill and by Generation

4.3.1.1 Spanish Language Competency by Skill

Tables 4 and 5 provide the language competency by skill as reported by first and second generation speakers. While first generation speakers report high levels of language competency in listening and reading in Spanish, second generation speakers report high levels of Spanish language competency overall. As first generation speakers learn Spanish much later in life and primarily through adult education courses or interaction in the community, they may feel more confident in their listening and reading skills than their written or oral skills in Spanish.

Table 4. Spanish Language Competency by Skill: First Generation

Generation 1	Spanish	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	87.04	100	15.94
	Listening	93.33	100	12.8
	Reading	92.43	100	13.09
	Writing	88.71	100	19.57

Table 5. Spanish Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation

Generation 2	Spanish	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	99.29	100	3.78
	Listening	99.4	100	3.16
	Reading	98.69	100	4.83
	Writing	98.09	100	7.24

4.3.1.2 *Fuṣhā Language Competency*

First generation Moroccan speakers report high levels of competency in listening and reading *Fuṣhā* and relatively high competence in speaking and writing. Speakers of the second generation reported higher levels in listening and reading than speaking and writing. Overall, second generation speakers report lower levels of competency of *Fuṣhā* by skill.

Table 6. *Fuṣhā Language Competency by Skill: First Generation*

Generation 1	Fuṣhā	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	87.56	100	23.43
	Listening	93.97	100	20.13
	Reading	93.97	100	20.13
	Writing	87.3	100	23.02

Table 7. *Fuṣhā Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation*

Generation 2	Fuṣhā	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	46.05	50	29.04
	Listening	68.79	81.65	32.32
	Reading	51.29	45	38.76
	Writing	49.26	45	37.65

4.3.1.3 *Darija Language Competency*

First generation and second-generation speakers report higher levels in speaking and listening *Darija*. First generation speakers may have had access to resources to develop their literacy skills in *Fuṣhā* in Morocco, which is what is used in developing or relying on those skills in *Darija*. *Darija* is considered an oral variety of the language, although it has been experiencing some level of standardization (see Moustauoui Srhir, 2016). Speakers rely on their knowledge of the *Fuṣhā* writing system to write in *Darija*. With the combination of speaking and listening *Darija* and writing and reading *Fuṣhā*, first generation speakers may consider themselves to be entirely competent in *Darija* while second generation speakers who were born and raised in

Spain and have not gone through the education system in Morocco, and therefore have not learned to read and write Fuṣḥā, may not consider themselves to be competent in writing or reading Darija. Competence in Darija includes competence in reading and writing Fuṣḥā and speaking and listening Darija as speakers note that Darija is only spoken and has not been officially standardized. This was brought up by participants several times while completing this portion of the survey. Several participants indicated that Darija is not a written language and therefore do not consider reading and writing Darija to be a necessary part of overall language competency.

Table 8. Darija Language Competency by Skill: First Generation

Generation 1	Darija	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	98.07	100	7.21
	Listening	99.36	100	3.28
	Reading	83.97	100	33.16
	Writing	82.69	100	33.82

Table 9. Darija Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation

Generation 2	Darija	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	79.63	91.65	26.97
	Listening	86.54	100	23.12
	Reading	48.44	45	39.02
	Writing	48.5	45	38.11

4.3.1.4 Tamazight Language Competency

Both first and second-generation speakers reported low levels of competence in all four skills. However, they reported higher scores for speaking and listening. Similar to the case of Darija, speakers of both generations may not have access to resources to develop reading and writing skills in Tamazight. Although Tamazight has recently been named a co-official language in Morocco, resources for developing literacy skills may be scarce in certain regions of Morocco

where it is spoken. Furthermore, despite its co-official status, it is considered a minority language and its speakers often face discrimination. Even fewer resources are accessible in Granada or other regions in Spain where there are no official courses or resources offered in Tamazight, with the exception of Melilla, an autonomous city in North Africa where Tamazight may be spoken by residents of the city.

Table 10. Tamazight Language Competency by Skill: First Generation

Generation 1	Tamazight	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	27.56	8.3	33.82
	Listening	30.38	8.3	36.04
	Reading	13.2	0	24.34
	Writing	8.46	0	17.13

Table 11. Tamazight Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation

Generation 2	Tamazight	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	10.71	0	24.03
	Listening	12.86	0	29.42
	Reading	2.86	0	7.13
	Writing	3.57	0	9.51

4.3.1.5 English Language Competency

Second generation speakers reported higher levels of competency than first generation speakers for all four skills in English. As previously mentioned, English is a core requirement in the Spanish curriculum for students as young as seven or eight years of age. While English is not necessarily a requirement in many Moroccan schools, some schools offer English language courses in addition to the courses taught in French and Fuṣḥā Arabic.

Table 12. English Language Competency by Skill: First Generation

Generation 1	English	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	22.43	0	34.25
	Listening	25	0	34.99

	Reading	28.33	0	38.23
	Writing	27.69	0	38.29

Table 13. English Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation

Generation 2	English	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	30.94	16.6	34.13
	Listening	37.61	50	37.45
	Reading	38.68	45	39.79
	Writing	32.73	16.65	36.11

4.3.1.6 French Language Competency

First generation speakers maintain higher levels of competency in French than those of the second generation. Again, these results may reflect the linguistic situation and norms to which speakers of each generation were exposed. While in many regions of Morocco French is considered a necessary component of everyday life, French does not maintain the same level of status and importance for life in Granada. Individuals pertaining to the second generation who have grown up and participated in the Spanish education system may take French courses as an elective while English language courses are obligatory.

Table 14. French Language Competency by Skill: First Generation

Generation 1	French	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=26	Speaking	63.32	63.3	32.62
	Listening	65.37	66.6	32.36
	Reading	66.65	66.6	33.72
	Writing	62.81	60	32.49

Table 15. French Language Competency by Skill: Second Generation

Generation 2	French	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
n=28	Speaking	16.66	0	28.66
	Listening	19.04	0	31.95
	Reading	20.83	0	33.81
	Writing	16.07	0	28.11

4.4 Language Competency and Level of Education

The results for language competency and level of education indicate that speakers with higher levels of education tend to report higher levels of competency in Spanish and French but not necessarily English. However, in regard to education, the fact that speakers have gone through schooling in Morocco may be more significant than the level of education obtained. For example, speakers who completed postgraduate programs were predominantly from Generation 1 and had been exposed to French through the education system in Morocco before coming to Spain to complete a bachelor's, master's or doctoral degree. Those who are completing or have completed undergraduate study were predominantly from Generation 2. As speakers of the second generation grow up in the education system in Spain, they may have more access to English as English is prioritized over French. The fact that French can be a language of instruction or the preferred language of study over English in the Moroccan education system could have an impact on the development and use of French for first-generation Moroccans. In addition, French enjoys considerable prestige among speakers in Morocco. For second-generation speakers, or speakers who completed their education predominantly in Spain, English is considered a higher priority than French. Speakers who have completed degrees in higher education may feel more comfortable with their Spanish language skills compared to those who have not completed these degrees. The two participants who indicated "other" under education completed secondary school in Morocco where they had access to Fuṣḥā and Darija and professional training programs in Granada where they have had the opportunity to develop their Spanish.

Table 16. Language Competency Scores by Level of Education

Education	Spanish	Fuṣhā	Darija	Tamazight	English	French	Number of participants
Other	92.5	90	75	20	0	87.5	2
Less than secondary school	77.05	58.25	70.8	0	0	0	3
Secondary school	90.75	53.48	65.76	14.25	24.9	23.41	10
some university	97.88	75.85	77.35	11.38	48.58	38.15	13
University	96.45	77	88.12	20	35.82	31.93	12
Some graduate school	100	50	75	36.25	80	77.9	2
Master's degree	94.25	72.38	75.47	3.12	10.93	61.96	8
Doctoral degree	97.9	87.45	89.55	12.5	0	60.25	4

4.4.1 Language Competency by Generation and Education

Generation 1 speakers who completed some form of higher education reported higher scores for Spanish while those who completed some graduate school reported higher levels of English. Those who completed doctoral degrees or some other form of education (i.e. trade school) reported higher levels of French.

Table 17. Language Competency Scores by Level of Education: Generation 1

Education	Spanish	Fuṣhā	Darija	Tamazight	English	French	Number of participants
Other	92.5*	90	75	20	0	87.5*	2
Less than secondary school	62.5	87.5	100	0	0	0	1
Secondary school	74.17	95.83	97.2	27.5	0	48.03	3

some university	94.5*	95	89.8	14.6	23.3	60.6	5
University	93.16*	87.4	95.8	39	56	60	5
Some graduate school	100*	50	75	36.25	80*	77.9	2
Master's degree	90.8*	95	95	5	9.16	71.66	5
Doctoral degree	97.2*	98.6	88.87	16.67	0	80.33*	3

Table 18. Language Competency by Level of Education: Generation 2

Education	Spanish	Fuṣḥā	Darija	Tamazight	English	French	Number of participants
Other							
Less than secondary school	91.6	29	41.6	0	0	0	2
Secondary school	97.86	35.19	52.29	8.57	35.57	12.86	7
some university	100*	63.88	69.58	9.38	64.38	24.12	8
University	98.8*	69.56	82.63	7.14	21.4	11.89	7
Some graduate school	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Master's degree	100*	34.67	42.93	0	13.87	45.8	3
Doctoral degree	100*	54	91.6	0	0	0	1

Speakers pertaining to the second generation who had completed at least some form of education

reported higher levels of Spanish. Unlike speakers of the first generation, second generation

individuals did not complete their studies in Morocco, and therefore did not develop their

competency in Fuṣḥā. It is important to note that a number of participants of the second

generation are enrolled and taking courses at the University of Granada in Semitic Studies or

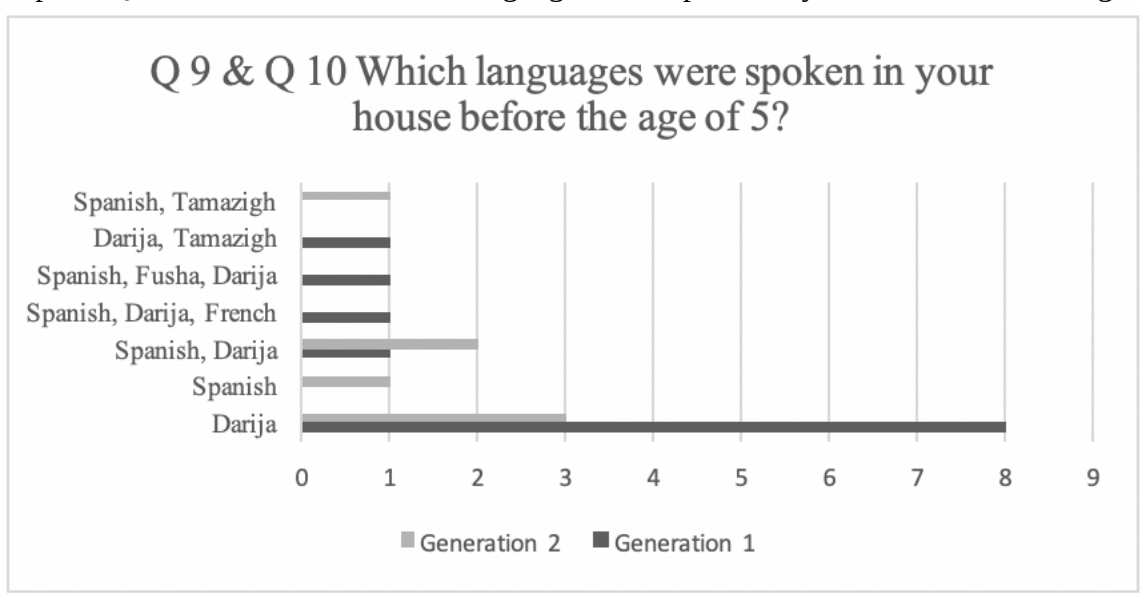
Translation and Interpretation. The course requirements for these studies may include the study of French, Darija, Spanish, English, and Fuṣḥā. As a result, levels of competency in these languages may fluctuate as speakers take courses in these languages and complete study abroad in countries where the language of study is spoken. Overall, the difference in competency levels that occur among first and second generation may not necessarily be related to the type of education that was completed rather whether the speaker completed their education in Spain or Morocco.

4.5 Survey 1: Summer 2017

As previously mentioned in the methodology section, preliminary studies were conducted in the summer of 2017 to determine which languages the Moroccan community reported using in their daily lives and identify more specific questions for the second phase of the study. Twenty individuals participated in this phase of the project including thirteen first generation and seven second generation individuals. Nineteen speakers completed the initial survey (12 from Generation 1 and 7 from Generation 2). (Survey 1 from Summer 2017 can be found in Appendix G). The following section will discuss the results of this survey.

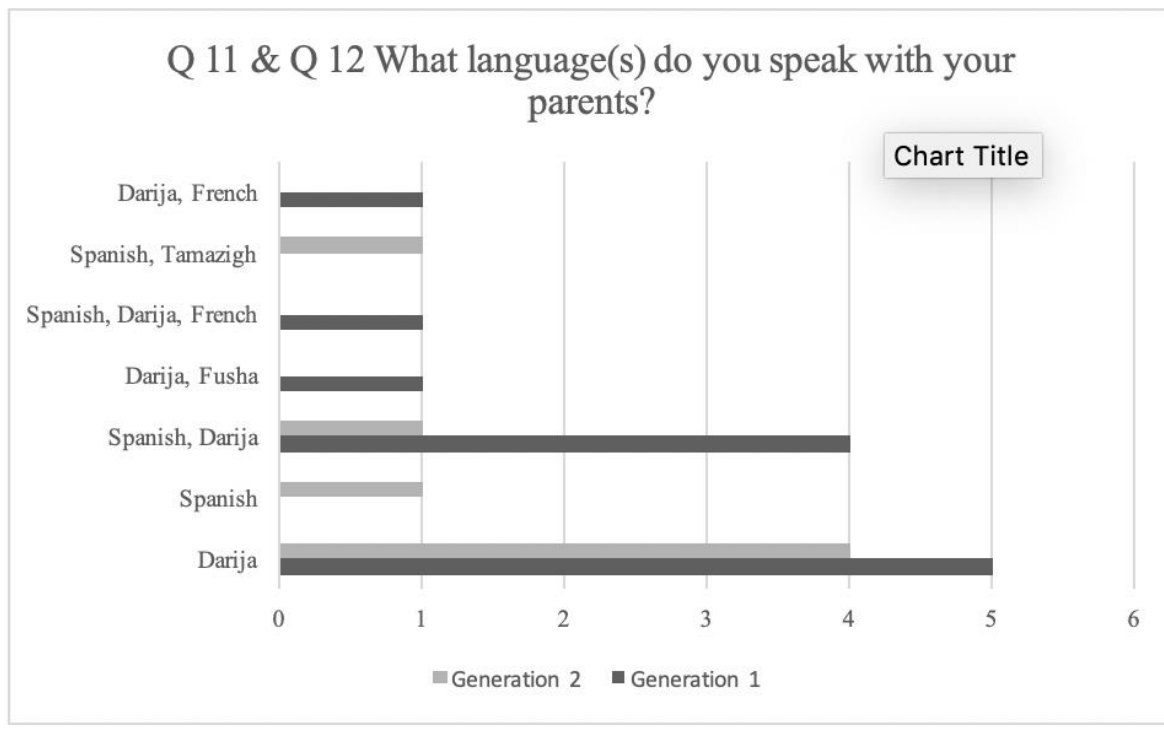
The results of question nine and ten of the summer 2017 survey were identical and therefore combined as is shown below in Graph 1. Eight of twelve first generation speakers noted Darija as the only language spoken in their home before the age of five while only three of seven second generation speakers did. Other languages that were spoken in the home before the age of five for first generation speakers included Tamazight, Spanish, and French. For second generation speakers, Tamazight and Spanish were used in their home before they were five years old.

Graph 3. Questions 9 and 10: Which languages were spoken in your home before the age of 5?



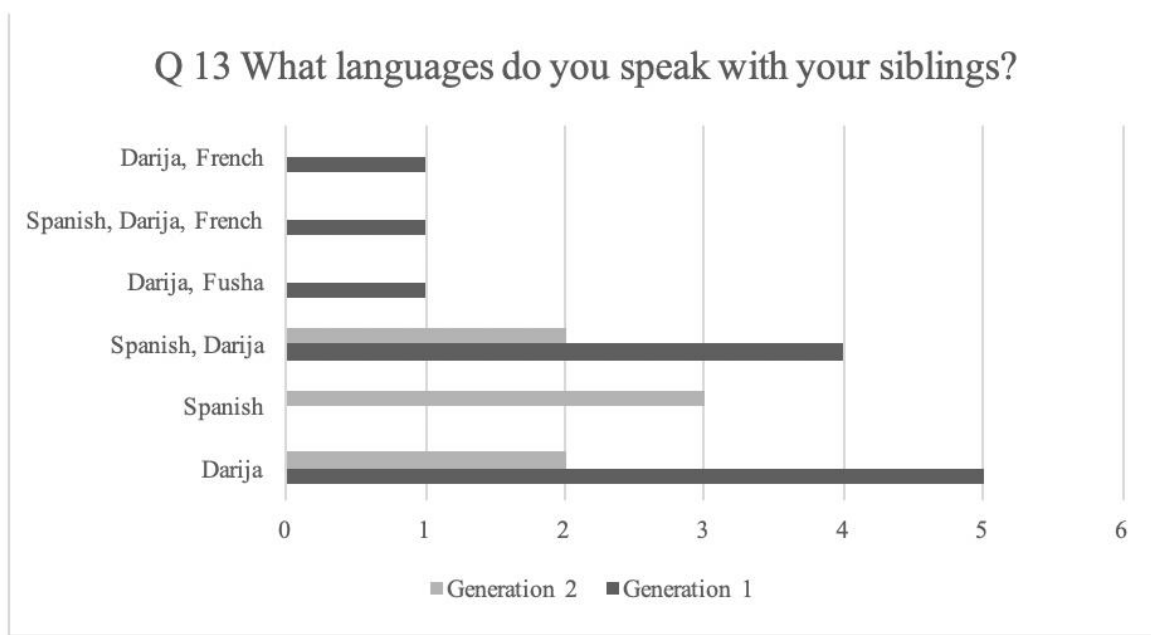
Speakers of both generations predominantly use Darija with their parents and grandparents and Spanish and Darija with their siblings, although Spanish was identified as the primary language between siblings of the second generation. See graphs 2, 3, and 4 below.

Graph 4. Question 11 & 12 What language(s) do you speak with your parents?



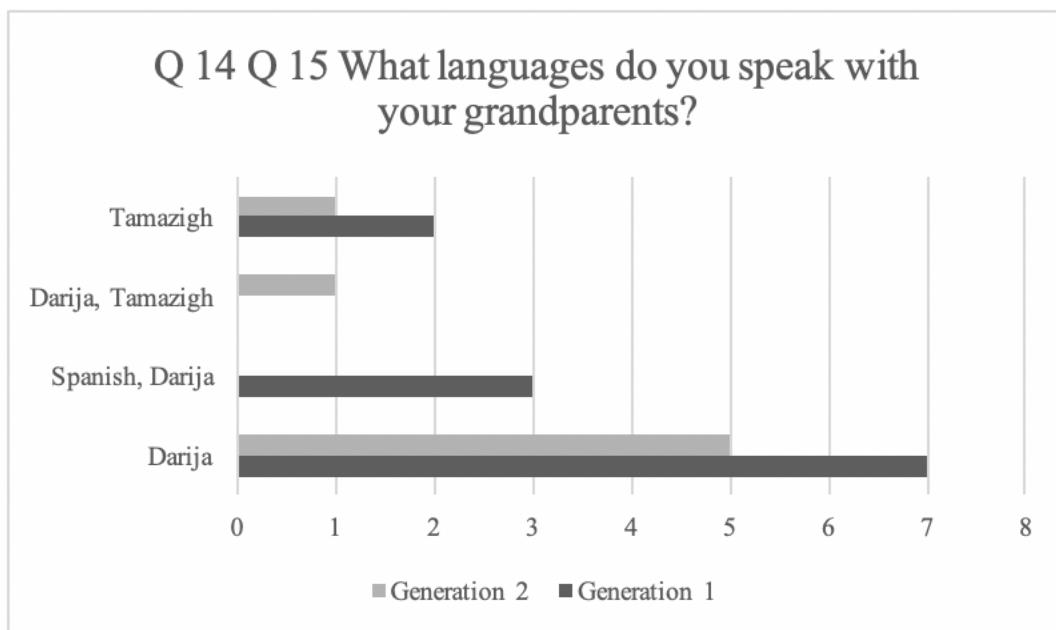
While both groups reported using Darija mostly with their parents, the use of Spanish and Darija is notable among those of the second generation. Several speakers reported using other languages with their parents include Tamazight, Fuṣḥā, and French.

Graph 5. Question 13 What language(s) do you speak with your siblings?



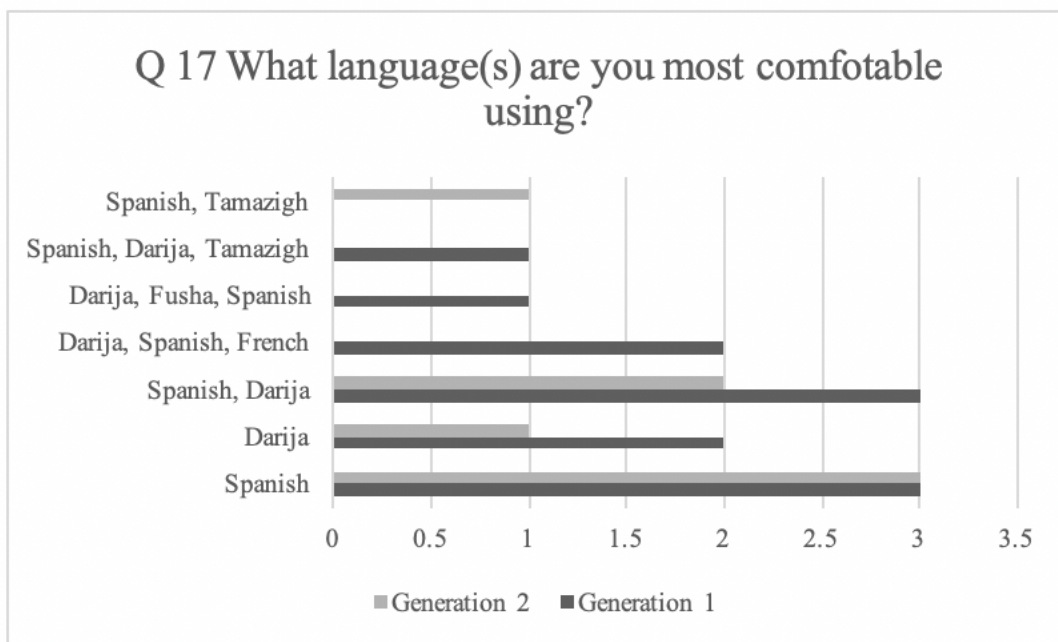
First generation speakers report using Darija with their siblings while second-generation speakers use Darija, Spanish, or Darija and Spanish. First generation speakers may also use French and Fuṣḥā with their siblings while speakers of the second generation do not.

Graph 6. Question 14 and 15 What language(s) do you speak with your grandparents?



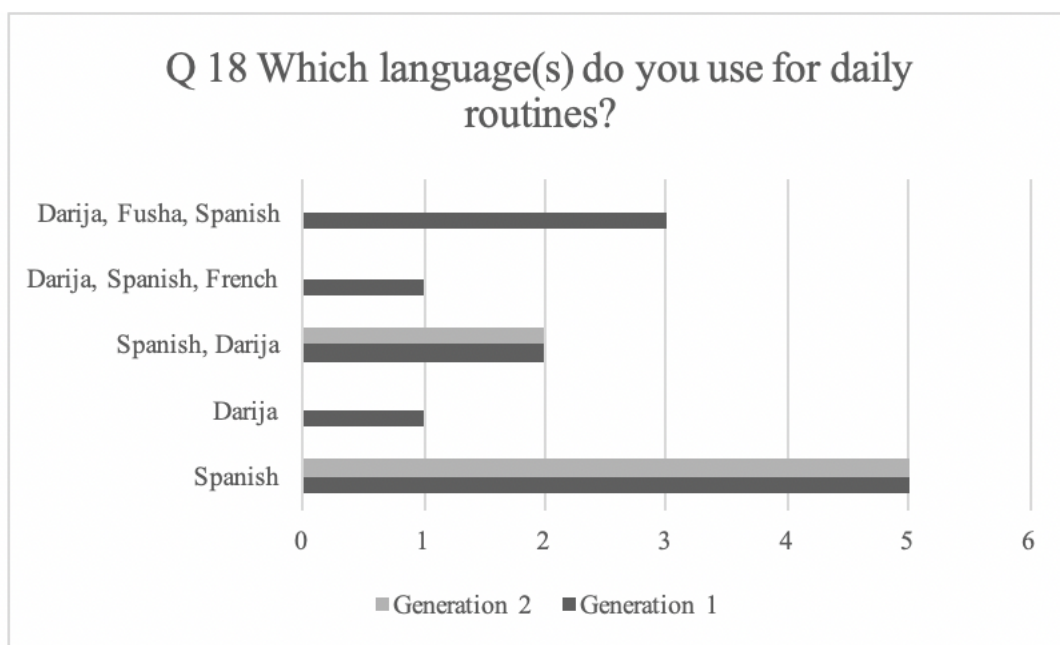
In contrast to the languages used with parents or siblings, first and second-generation speakers report a smaller range of languages used with their grandparents. Both first and second-generation speakers report using Darija with their grandparents while also using some Spanish or some Tamazight.

Graph 7. Question 17: What language(s) are you most comfortable using?



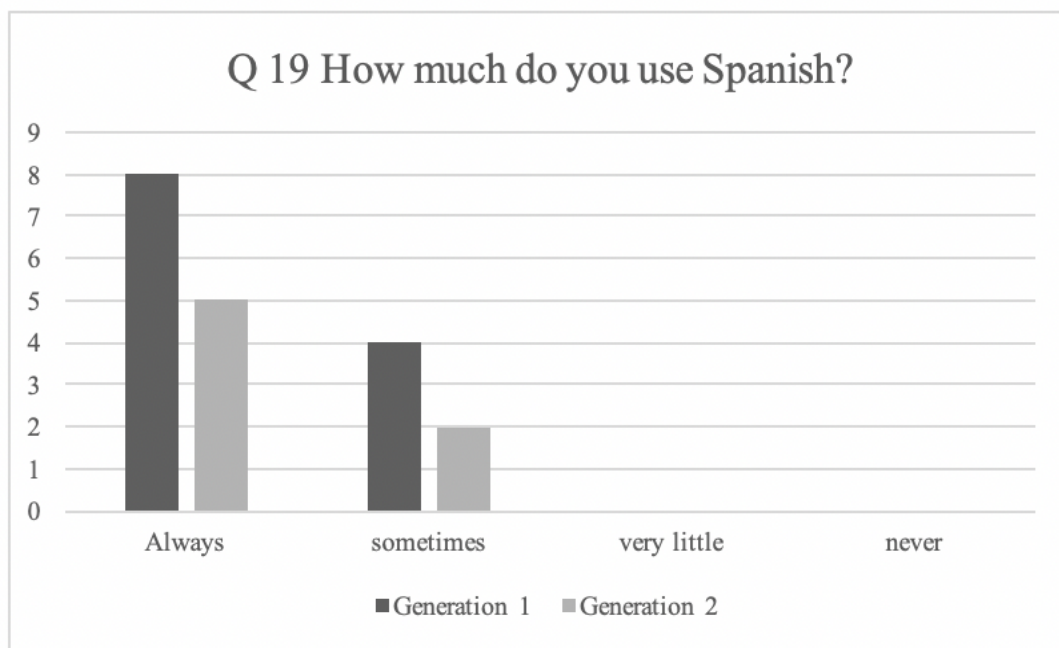
When asked what language speakers were most comfortable using, both groups reported a preference for Spanish. For those of the first generation, their preference was evenly split between Spanish and Darija combined and Spanish. More speakers of the first generation preferred using solely Darija than speakers of the second generation.

Graph 8. Question 18: What language do you use for daily routines?



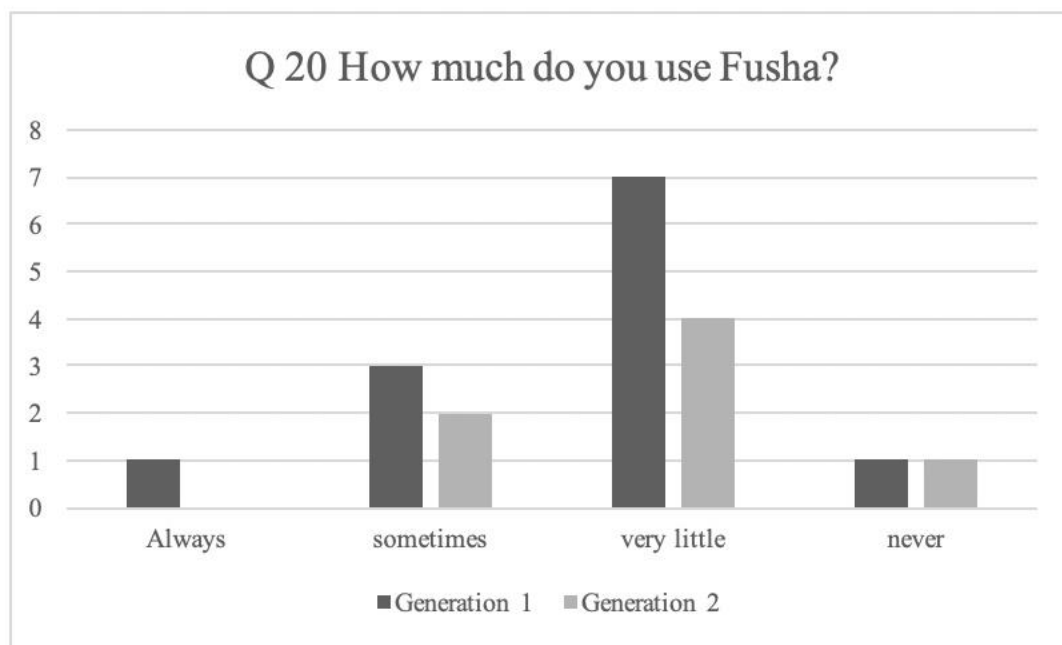
For daily routines, both groups report using solely Spanish or Spanish and Darija for daily routines. Both groups reported a higher use of Spanish for daily routines. However, several speakers of the first generation reported using solely Darija, or Darija with Spanish and French or Darija with Fuṣḥā and Spanish.

Graph 9. Question 19: Frequency of Use of Spanish



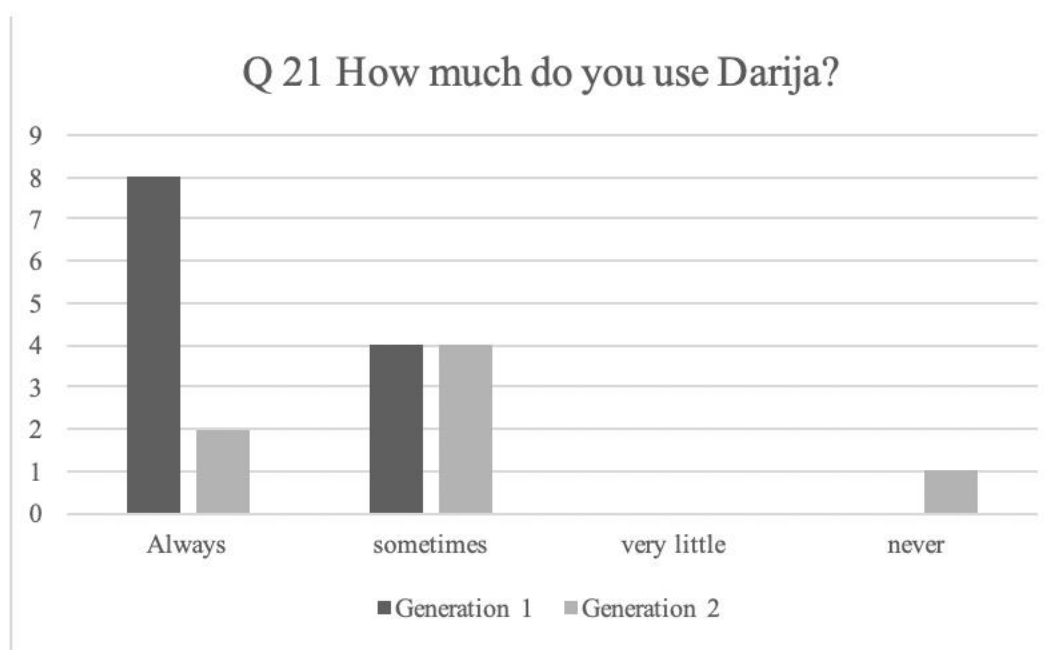
In line with the language use reported above, speakers of both generations report using Spanish almost always while some in both groups reported using Spanish some of the time. In contrast, use of Fuṣḥā was used sometimes, very little, or never among speakers of the first and second generation as noted in Graph 10 below. Four of the seven second-generation and seven of the twelve first-generation speakers reported using Fuṣḥā very little. Only three first-generation and two second-generation speakers reporting using Fuṣḥā some of the time.

Graph 10. Question 20: Frequency of Use of Fuṣḥā



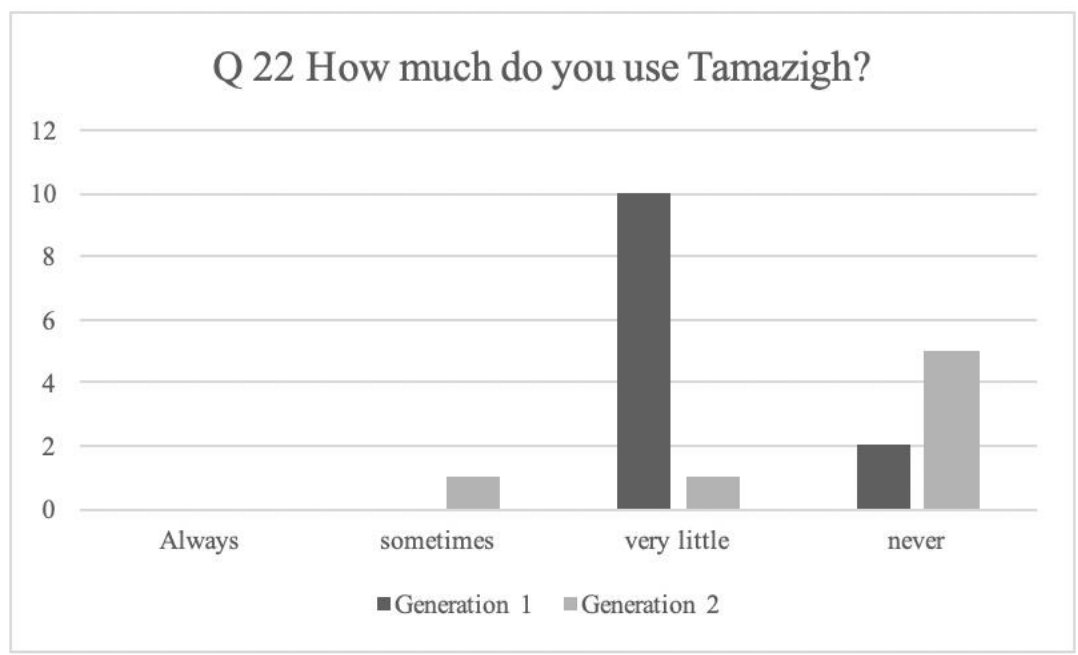
Graph 11 shows the reported frequency of use of Darija. While eight of twelve first generation speakers use Darija all of the time, only two of the seven second-generation speakers report the same. Four individuals from both groups report using Darija some of the time and only one person from the second generation reported never using Darija.

Graph 11. Question 21: Frequency of Use of Darija



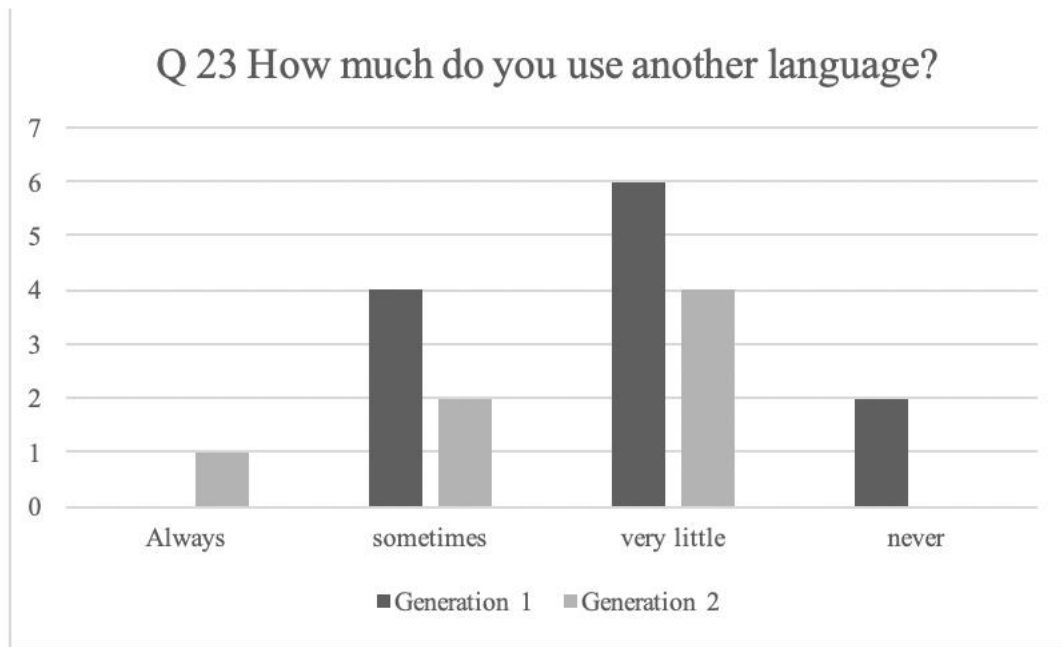
For the frequency of use of Tamazight, speakers indicate that they rarely, if ever, use Tamazight with only one speaker of the second generation saying that they use it some of the time.

Graph 12. Question 22: Frequency of Use of Tamazight



Graph 13 shows the frequency of use of another language (i.e. French or English). Second-generation speakers reported using their other language some of the time or very little with only one speaker reporting using their other language all of the time. Six of the twelve first generation speakers use their other language very little while four of the twelve report using their other language some of the time.

Graph 13. Question 23: Frequency of Use of Other Languages



While the results above indicate differences in the patterns of language use among first and second generation Moroccan immigrants from a smaller sample (19 participants). The second survey, which was distributed as part of the second round of data collection from September 2018 to July 2019 lend support to these findings.

4.6 Survey two: Results 2018-2019

In the second round of data collection, the survey was changed based on participant feedback which indicated that the previous survey was too time-consuming. As a result, all of the questions were adapted from the Bilingual Language Profile which can be found in Appendix F. One individual that participated in the first phase of the project also participated in the second phase, and, as a result completed the second survey as well as the first. In this phase of the project, fifteen first generation and twenty-one second generation individuals completed the

survey for a total of thirty-six participants. The following section will discuss the results of this survey that could not be combined with the first survey.

4.6.1 Age of onset for reported languages

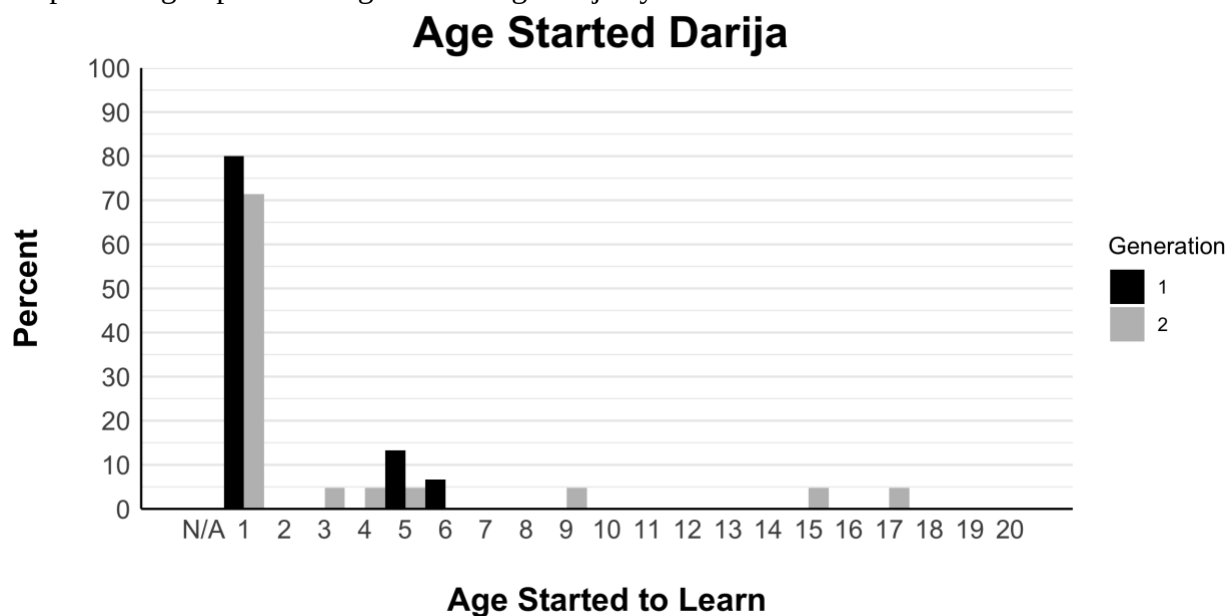
When asked at what age did they start learning Spanish, first generation speakers started learning Spanish in their teens and twenties while the majority of second generation speakers started learning since birth or at a very young age (see Graph 14 below). As might be expected, the difference between when first and second generations speakers first started learning Spanish was statistically significant ($p = .01$).

Graph 14. Age Speakers Began Learning Spanish by Generation



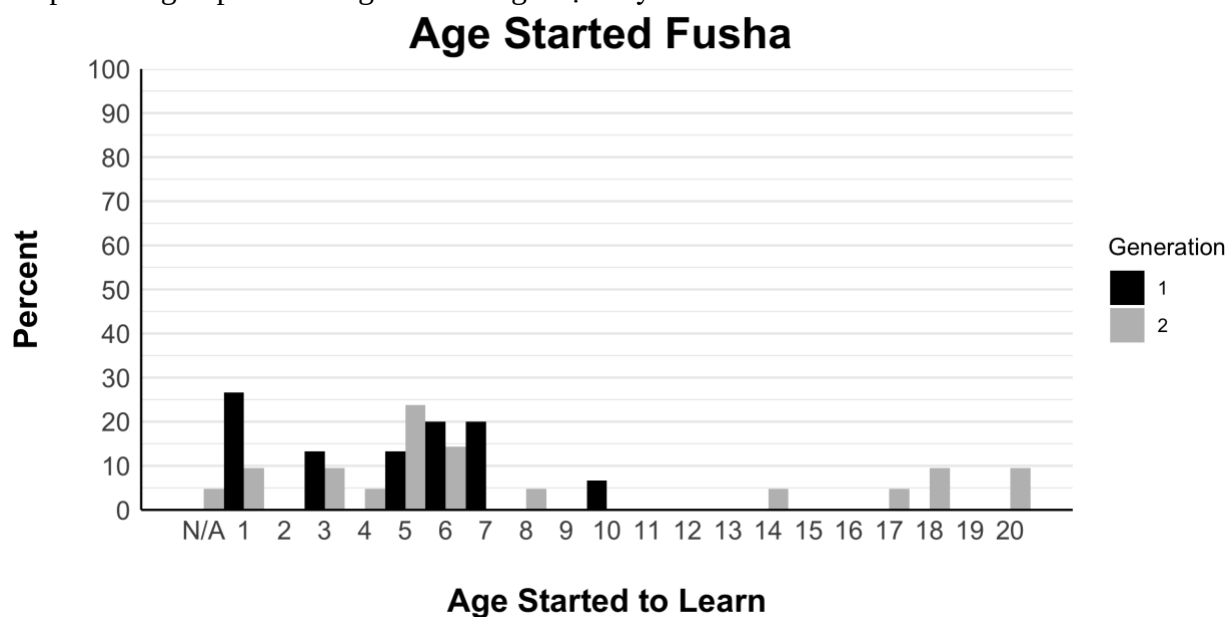
Speakers of both groups stated that they were exposed to Darija since birth and then Fuṣḥā between the ages of 5-7 as can be seen in Graph 15 and 16 below.

Graph 15. Age Speakers Began Learning Darija by Generation



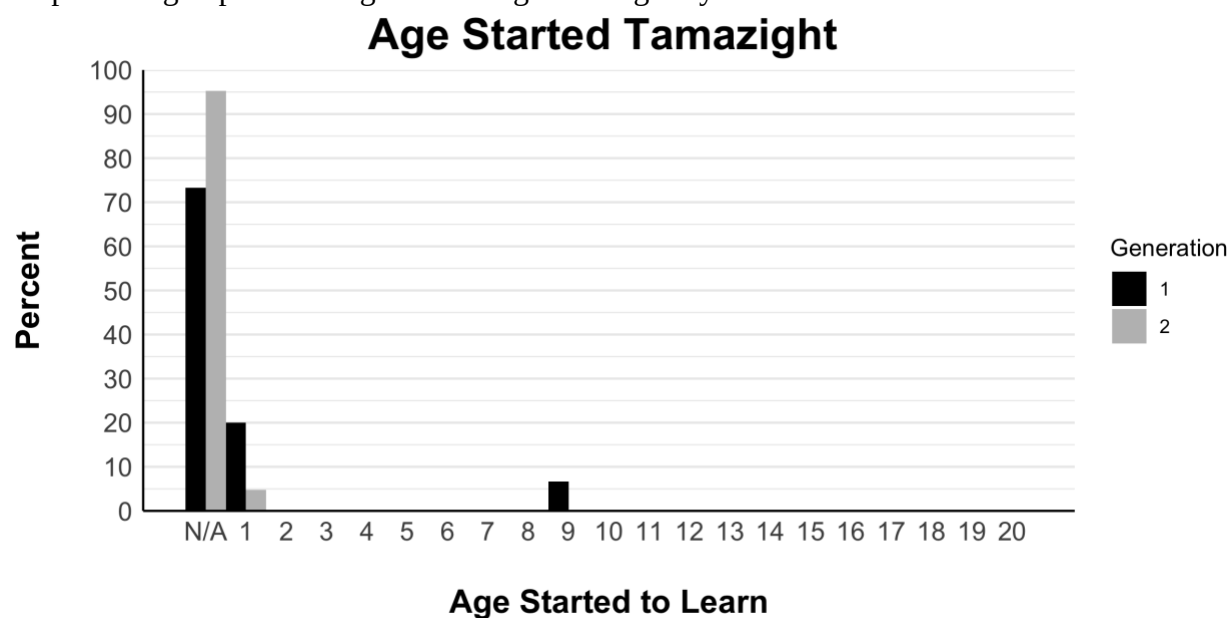
For speakers of the first generation, exposure to Fuṣḥā around 5-7 years aligns with when individuals begin their schooling in Morocco as Fuṣḥā is the language of instruction in Moroccans schools.

Graph 16. Age Speakers Began Learning Fuṣḥā by Generation



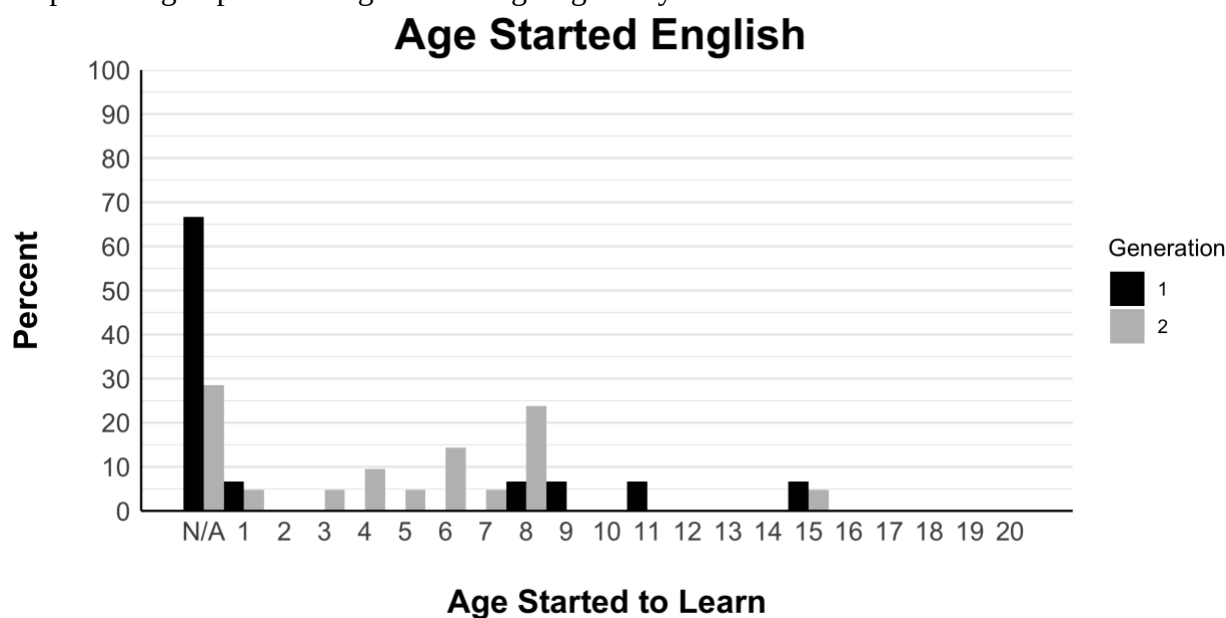
Of the few speakers who spoke Tamazight, three stated that they had begun learning the language at birth while only one speaker of the second generation did. The majority of speakers in both generations never learned Tamazight (see Graph 17 below).

Graph 17. Age Speakers Began Learning Tamazight by Generation

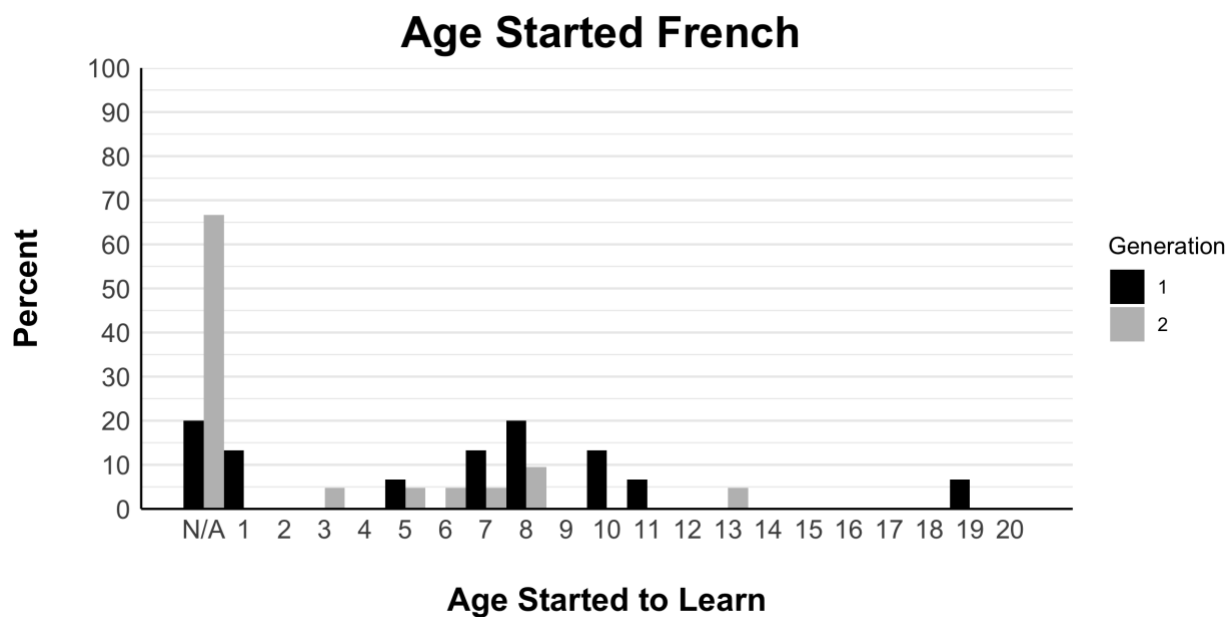


For English, second generation speakers state that they began learning English before or at the age of 8 while the same is reported for first generation speakers in regard to French. Most speakers in the first generation group have never learned English while the opposite trend can be seen for French among second generation speakers (see Graphs 17 and 18 below).

Graph 17. Age Speakers Began Learning English by Generation



Graph 18. Age Speakers Began Learning French by Generation

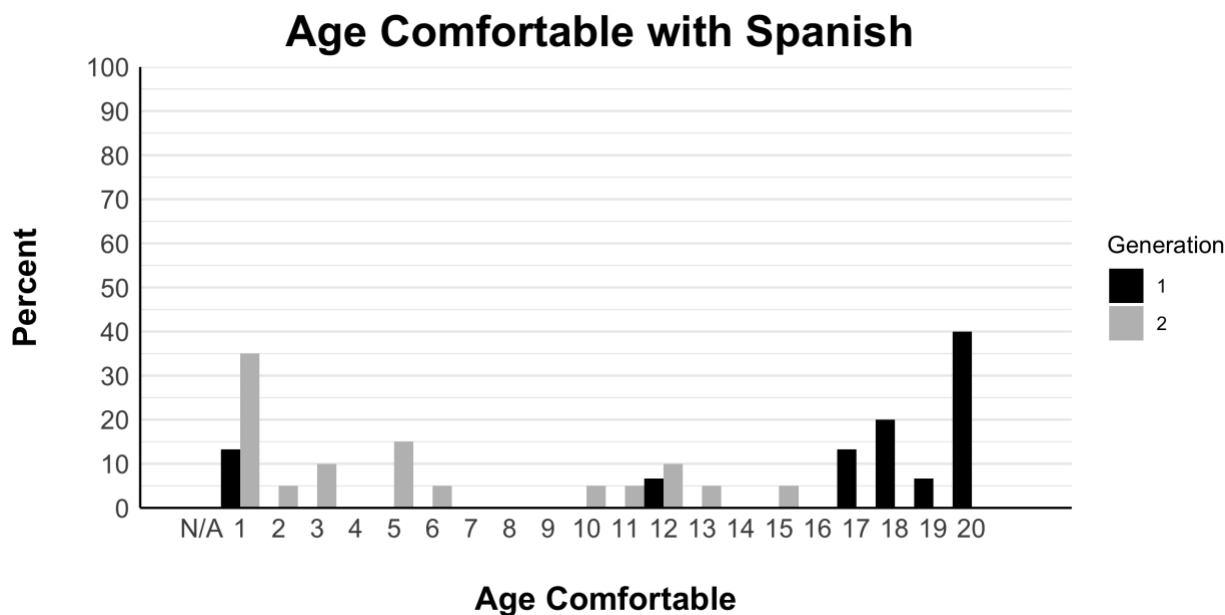


The fact that most first-generation speakers reported never learning English while second generation speakers report the same for French may be due to the fact that first and second generation speakers complete their education within different educational systems in different

countries. While French is a language of instruction along with Fuṣḥā in the Moroccan school system, English is emphasized in the Spanish system. The differences between the two groups in regard to when they began to learn Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, English, and French were not statistically significant. The data regarding when speakers start to feel comfortable using these languages, however, is quite different.

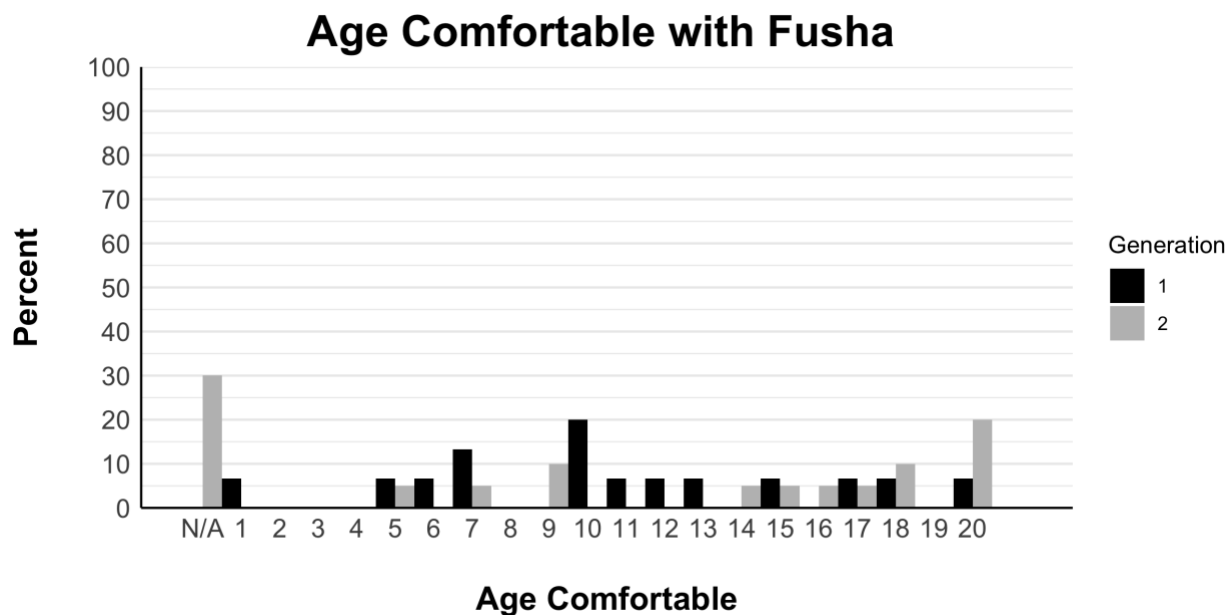
While first generation speakers report feeling comfortable using Spanish in their late teens to early twenties, second-generation speakers are comfortable with Spanish right away. This difference was statistically significant ($p = .01$).

Graph 19. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using Spanish by Generation



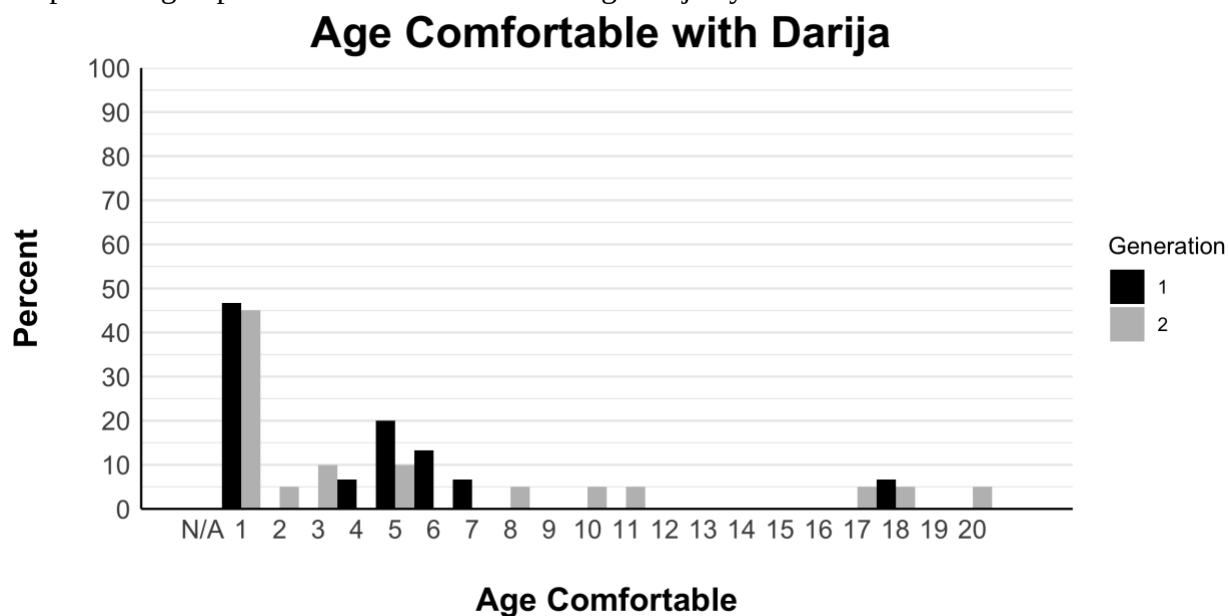
First generation speakers state that they feel comfortable using Fuṣḥā between 7-10 years old and second-generation speakers do not feel comfortable speaking Fuṣḥā or they felt comfortable much later.

Graph 20. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using Fuṣḥā by Generation



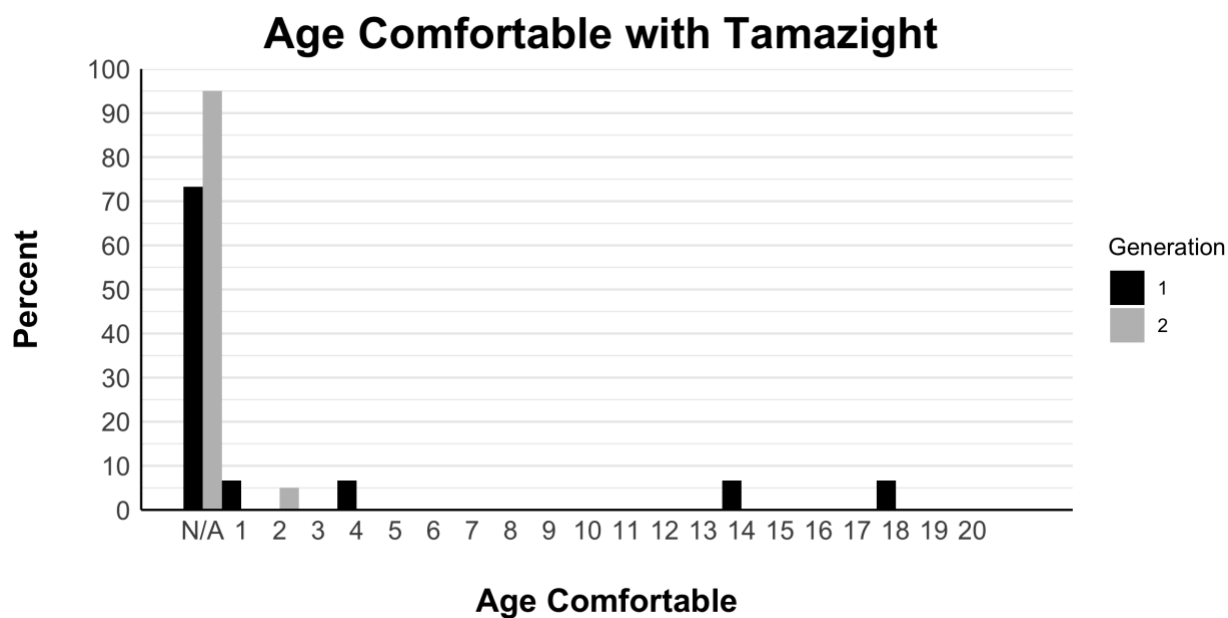
Both groups reported feeling comfortable using Darija since before the age of 7 with the majority of speakers in both groups report feeling comfortable using Darija from a very young age.

Graph 21. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using Darija by Generation

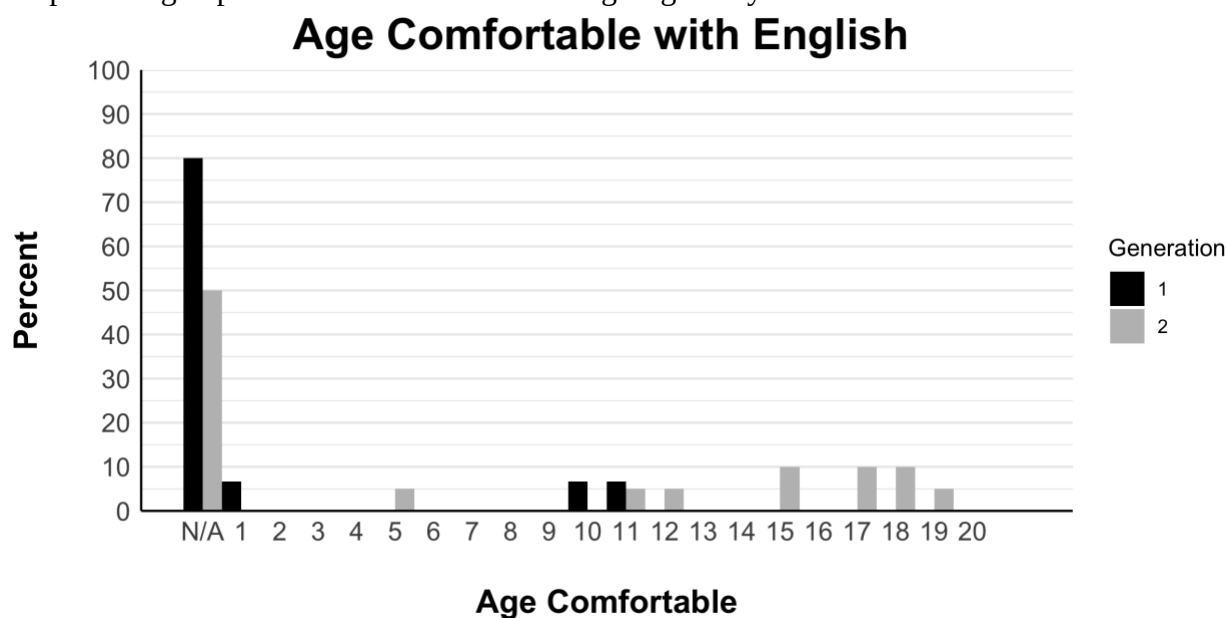


Almost all of the speakers in both groups report never feeling comfortable using Tamazight or English with the exception of eight individuals of the second generation in English (see Graphs 22 and 23 below). The differences when speakers began to feel comfortable using Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, or English were not statistically significant.

Graph 22. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using Tamazight by Generation



Graph 23. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using English by Generation



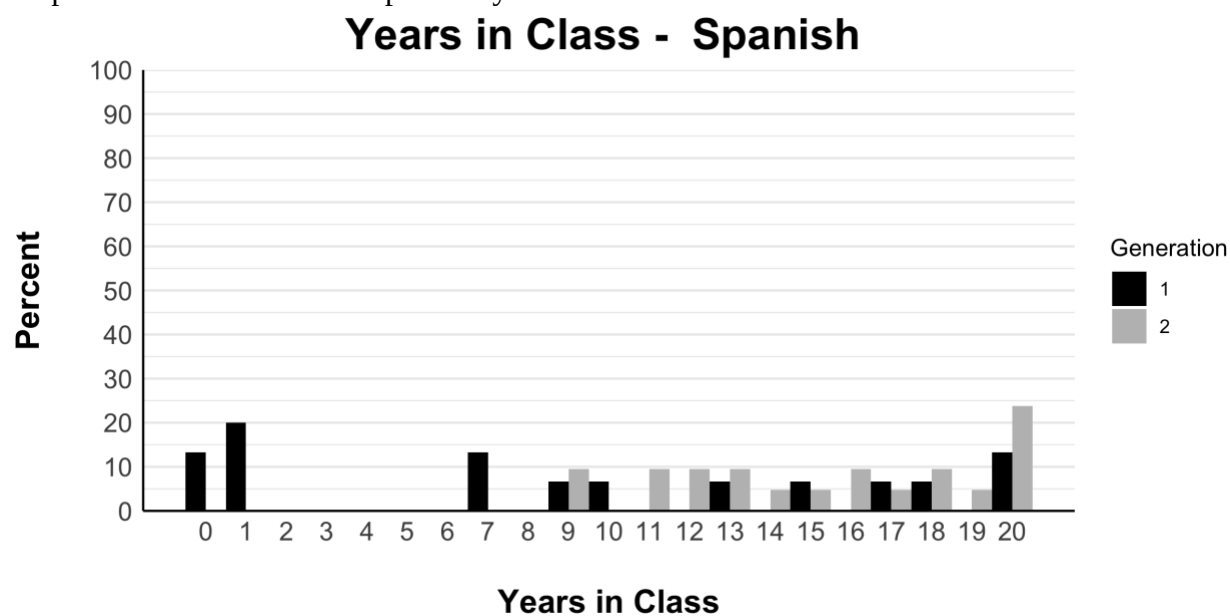
First generation speakers begin to feel comfortable using French between the ages of 13 and 19 while second generation speakers report not feeling comfortable using French. The difference between when speakers felt comfortable using French was statistically significant ($p = .05$).

Graph 24. Age Speakers feel Comfortable using French by Generation

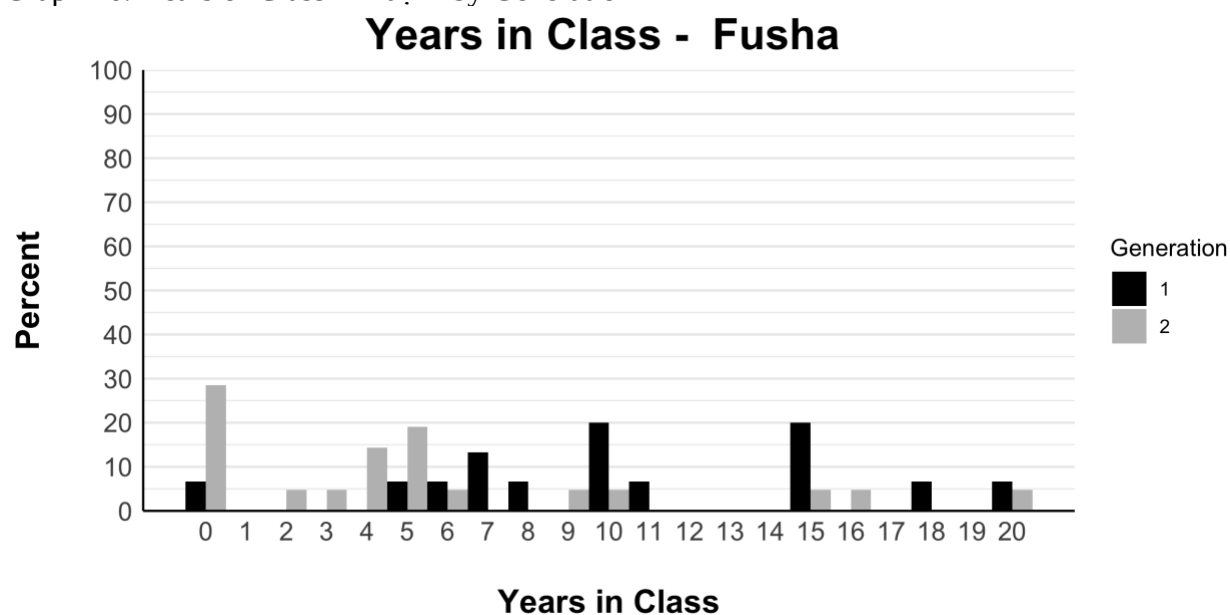


In regard to the number of years each generation has taken classes in each of the top six reported languages, the majority of first generation speakers report completing at least seven years of classes in Spanish and Fuṣḥā while the majority of second generation speakers report between 9-20 years of classes in Spanish and 6 years or fewer of Fuṣḥā classes as can be seen in graphs 25 and 26 below.

Graph 25. Years of Class in Spanish by Generation

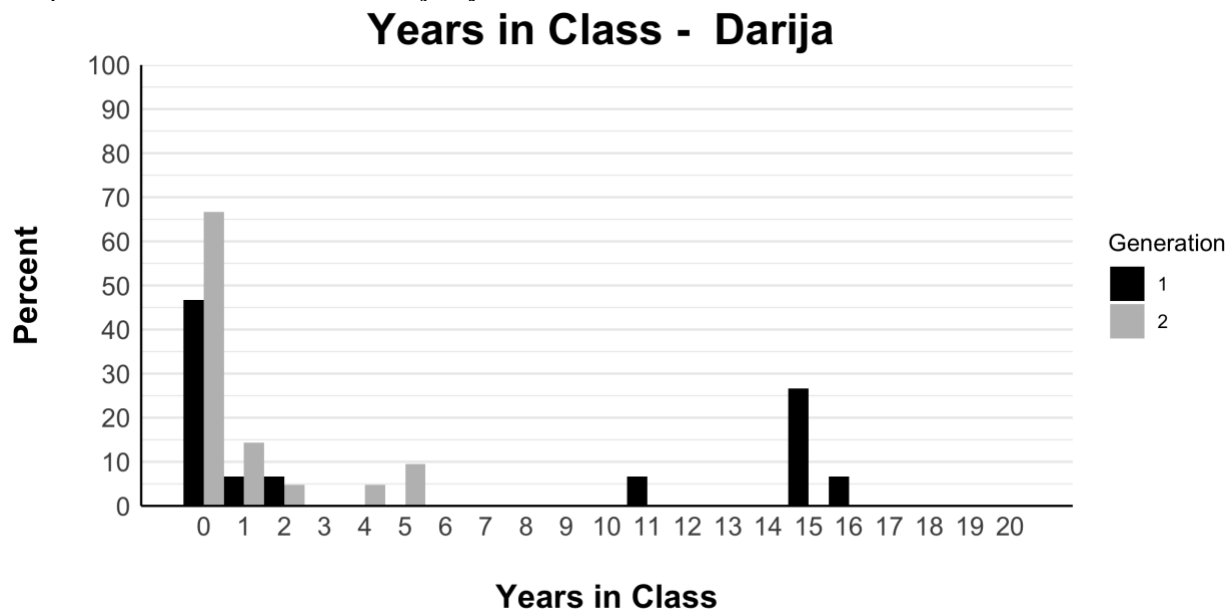


Graph 26. Years of Class in Fuṣhā by Generation



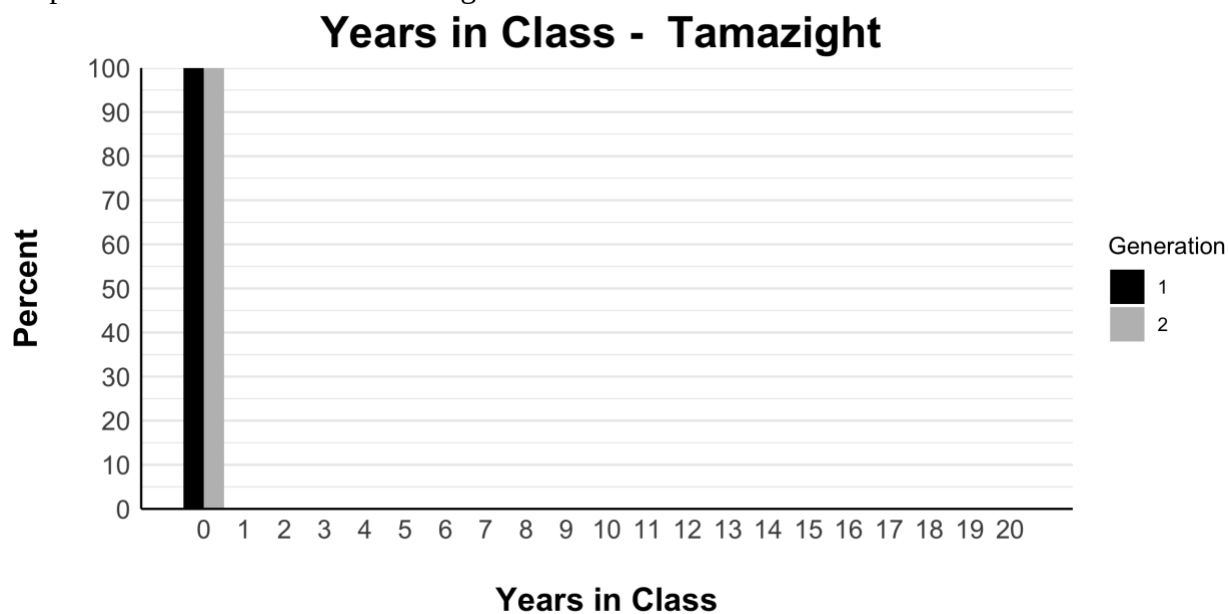
The majority of first and second generation speakers report no experience taking classes in Darija. However, some first and second generation speakers report some experience taking classes in Darija.

Graph 27. Years of Class in Darija by Generation



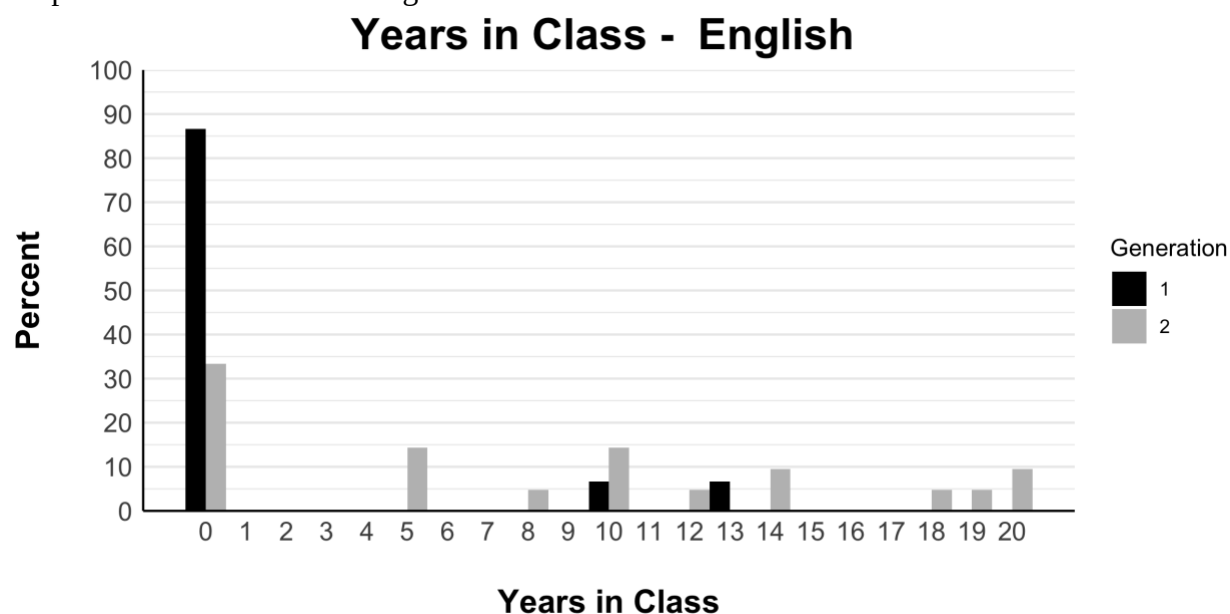
While it is likely that second generation speakers and some first generation speakers have had access to courses in Darija in Spain, particularly as part of their coursework in Semitic studies or translation and interpretation, most first generation speakers may be referencing their coursework in Fuṣḥā within the Moroccan education system. This finding highlights once again that for many speakers, knowledge of Fuṣḥā implies and supports knowledge in Darija. Fuṣḥā and French are the languages of instruction in Morocco and while Darija may be used at some points within the classroom to provide brief explanations (see Sayahi, 2014), instructors primarily use Fuṣḥā and French in the classroom. None of the participants completed courses in Tamazight as demonstrated in Graph 28 below. Given the status of Tamazight in Morocco and limited access to resources our courses in the language, this finding may not be surprising.

Graph 28. Years of Class in Tamazight



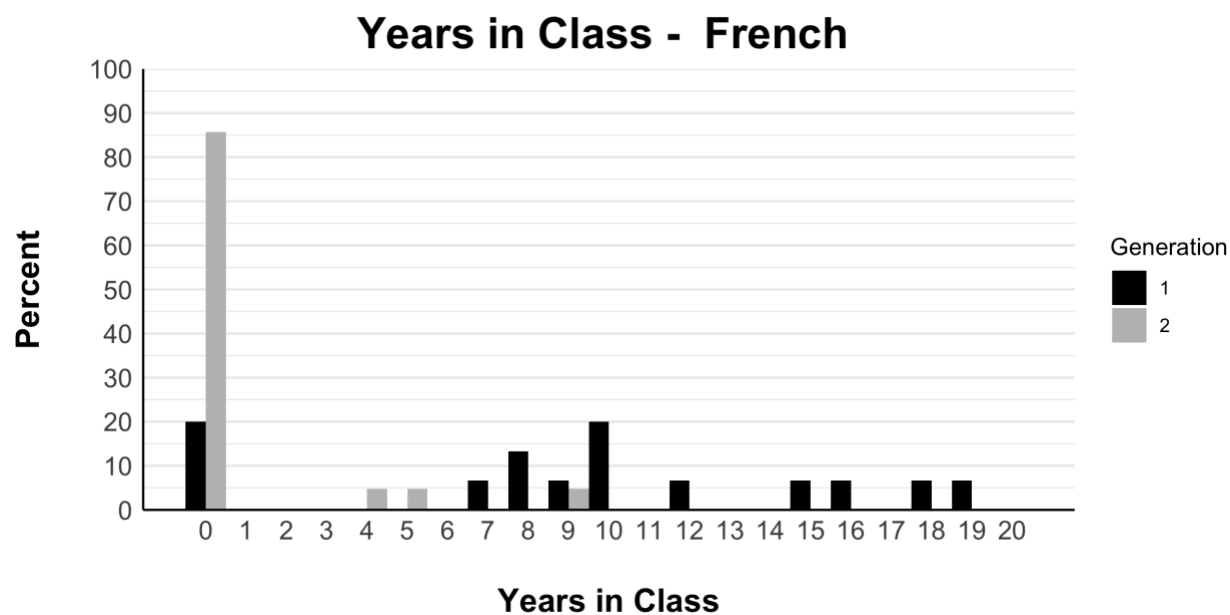
Few first-generation speakers took courses in English while six second-generation speakers completed at least several years of classes in English. However, as shown in Graph 29, just over thirty percent of the speakers in the second generation had no experience taking courses in English.

Graph 29. Years of Class in English



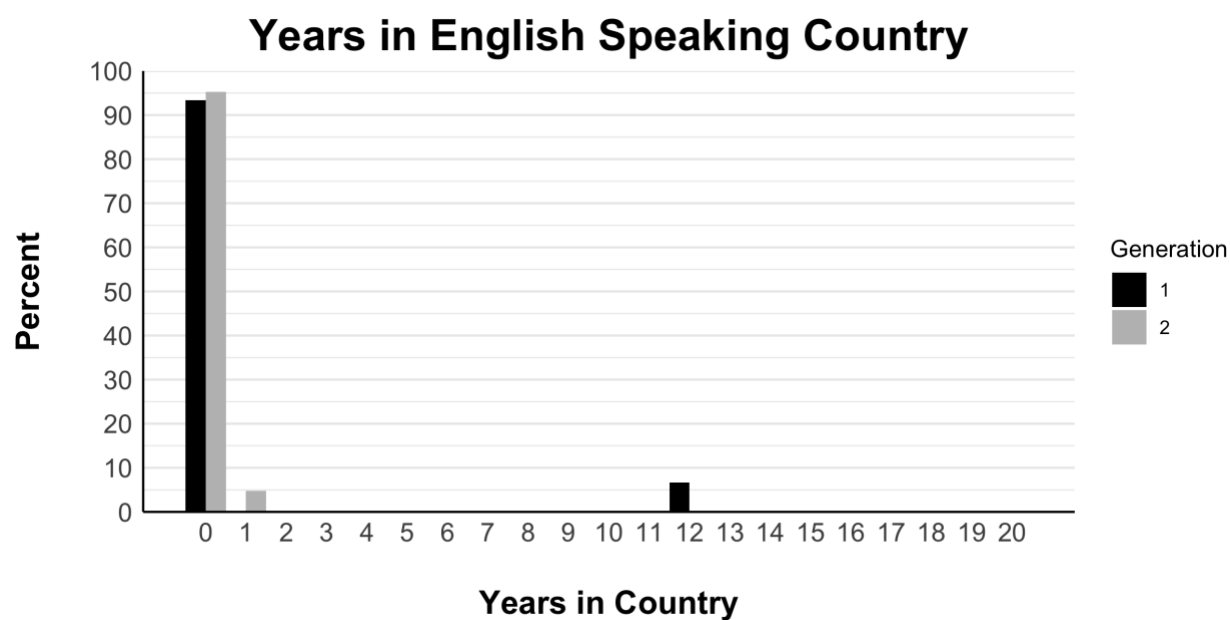
The opposite trend is reported for first-generation speakers who report completing at least seven years of French while the majority of second-generation speakers have never taken French classes (see Graph 30 below). The differences in years of classes for French and English proved to be statistically significant whereas the differences between the other languages was not statistically significant.

Graph 30. Years of Class in French



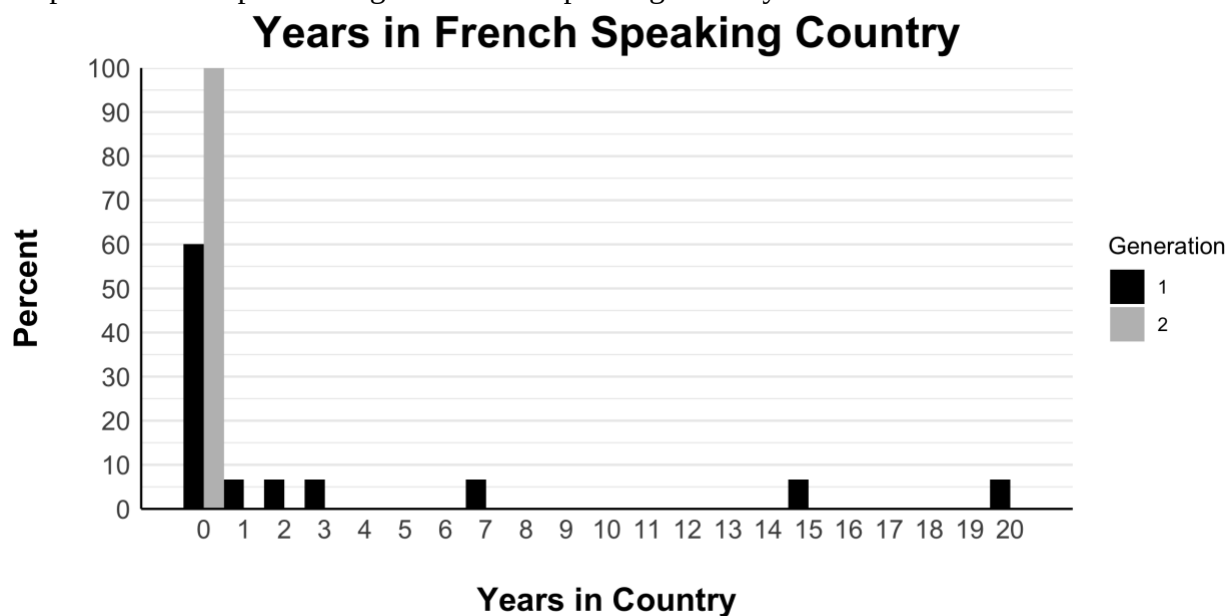
In reporting the amount of time spent in a country where one of the six languages were spoken, the majority of first and second-generation speakers reported never having lived in an English, French, or Tamazight-speaking region or country (see Graphs 31, 32, and 33).

Graph 31. Years Spent in an English Speaking Country



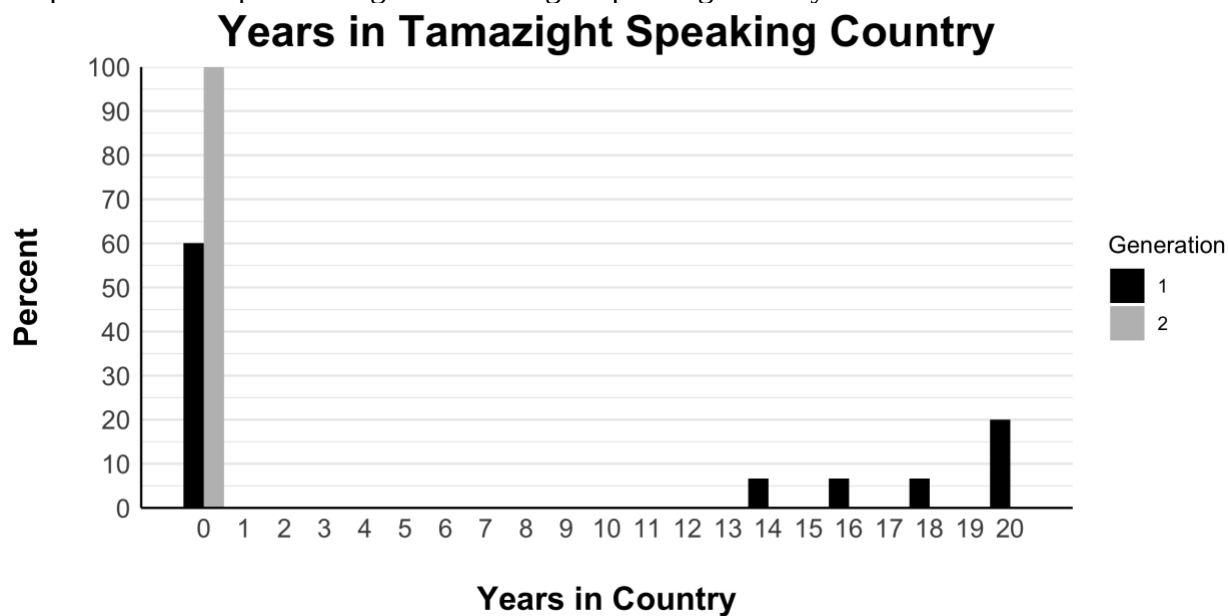
It is important to note that just under ten percent of first-generation speakers reported living in a an English-speaking country for 12 years while five percent of second generations speakers have lived in an English-speaking country for a year.

Graph 32. Years Spent Living in a French Speaking Country



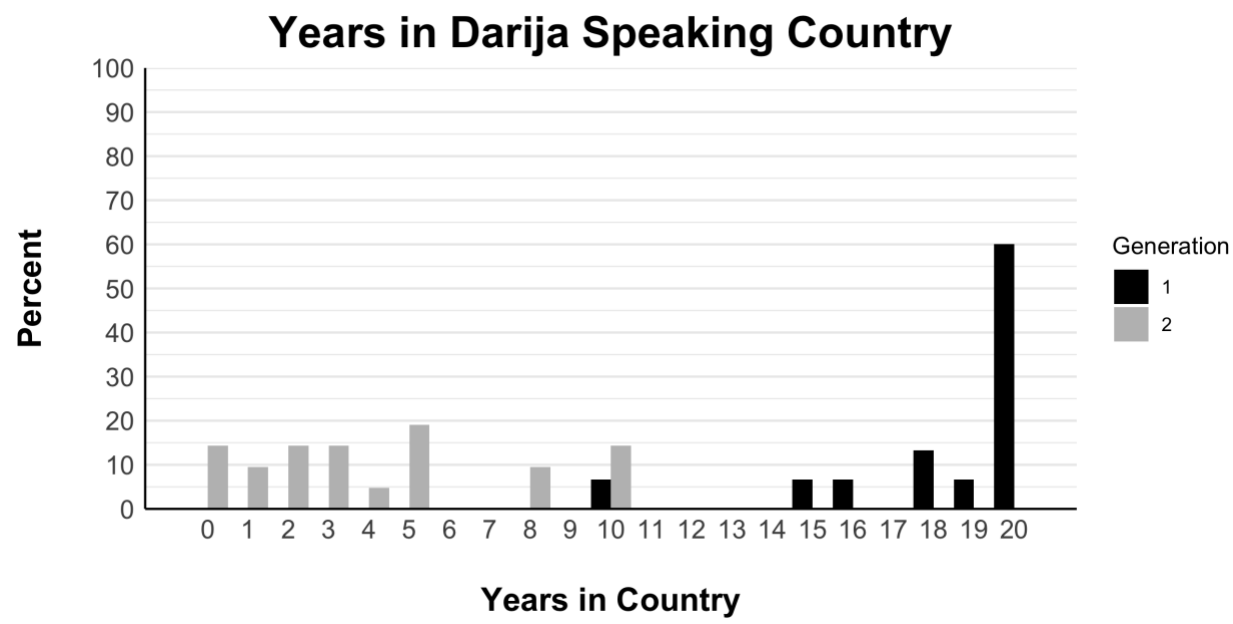
While second generation speakers have never lived in a French speaking country, some first generations speakers have lived in a French speaking country for at least several years.

Graph 33. Years Spent Living in a Tamazight Speaking Country

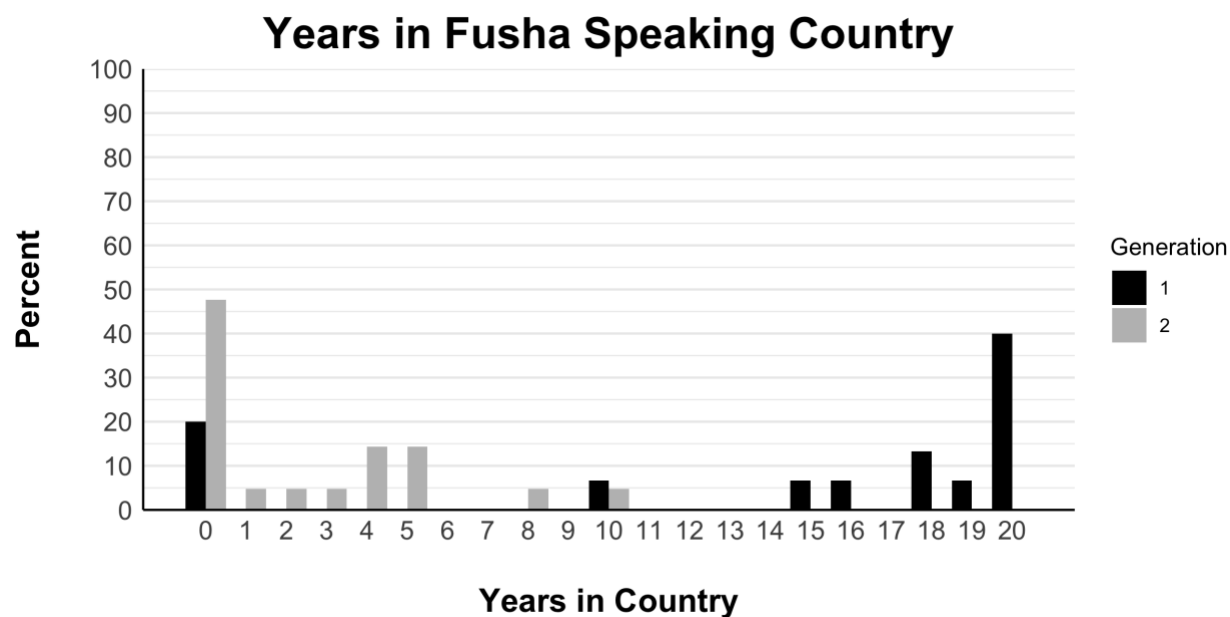


Twenty percent of first generation speakers have lived in a Tamazight speaking country for at least 20 years. Others who reported no experience living in a Tamazight speaking country may have lived in regions of Morocco where Tamazight was less common. In regard to Darija and Fuṣḥā, the graphs 34 and 35 respectively show that both groups have lived in a country or region where Darija and Fuṣḥā is spoken although second-generation speakers report 10 years or less in a Darija or Fuṣḥā-speaking country or region. This finding was statistically significant ($p = .001$).

Graph 34. Years Spent Living in a Darija Speaking Country by Generation

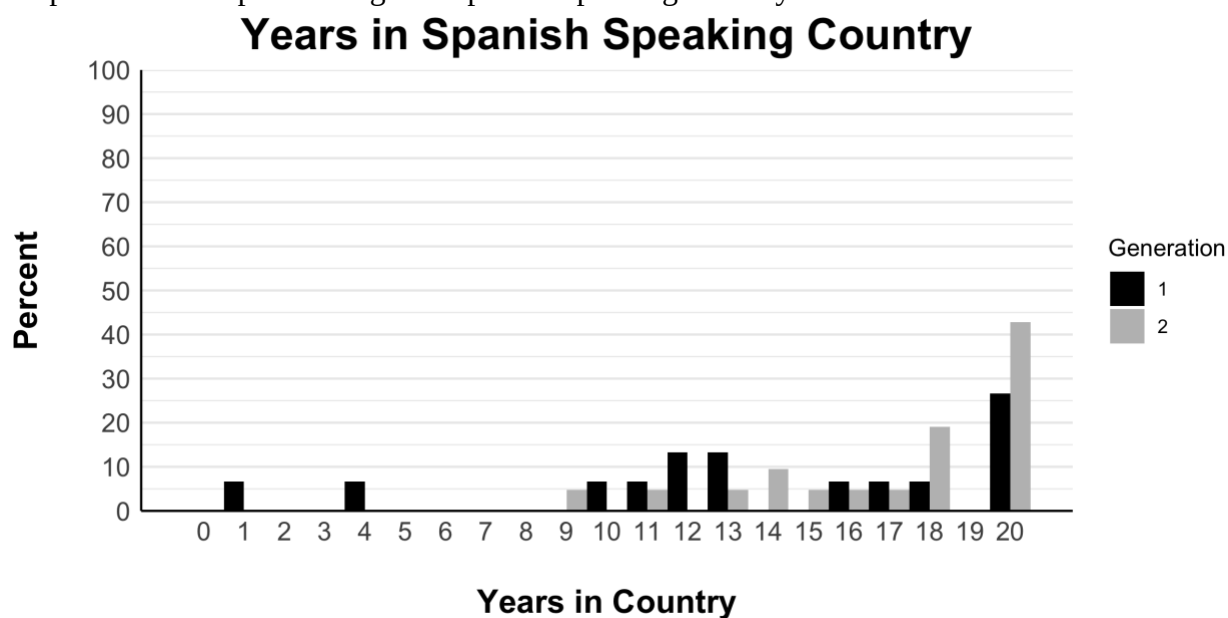


Graph 35. Years Spent Living in a Fuṣhā Speaking Country by Generation



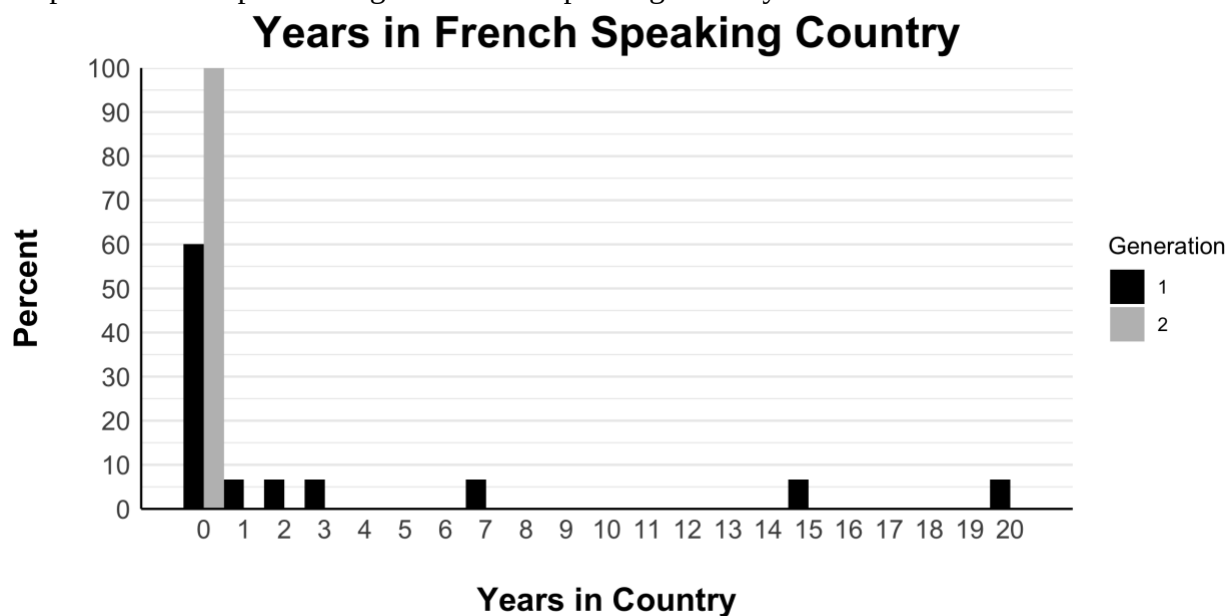
Both groups report having lived twelve or more years in a Spanish speaking country although there were a few speakers from the first generation reported having lived in a Spanish speaking country for only 1-4 years.

Graph 36. Years Spent Living in a Spanish Speaking Country



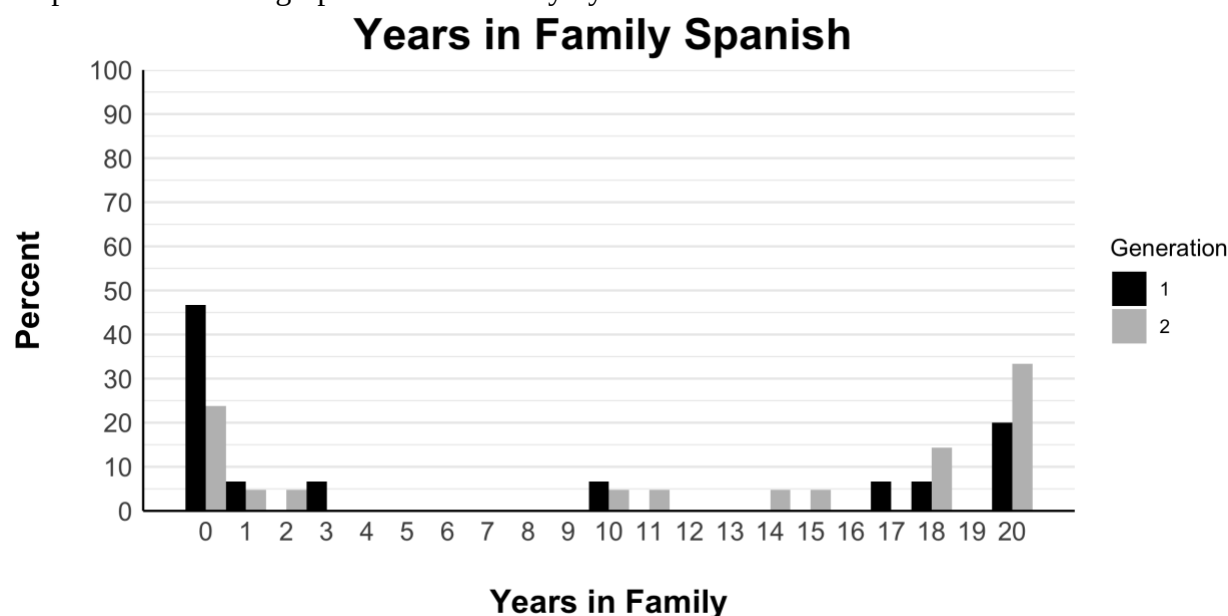
First generation speakers reported living in a French speaking country more than second generation speakers ($p = .05$). As French is spoken in Morocco, speakers may count Morocco as a French speaking country although it is possible that speakers of the first generation have lived in France or Belgium where French is spoken.

Graph 37. Years Spent Living in a French Speaking Country



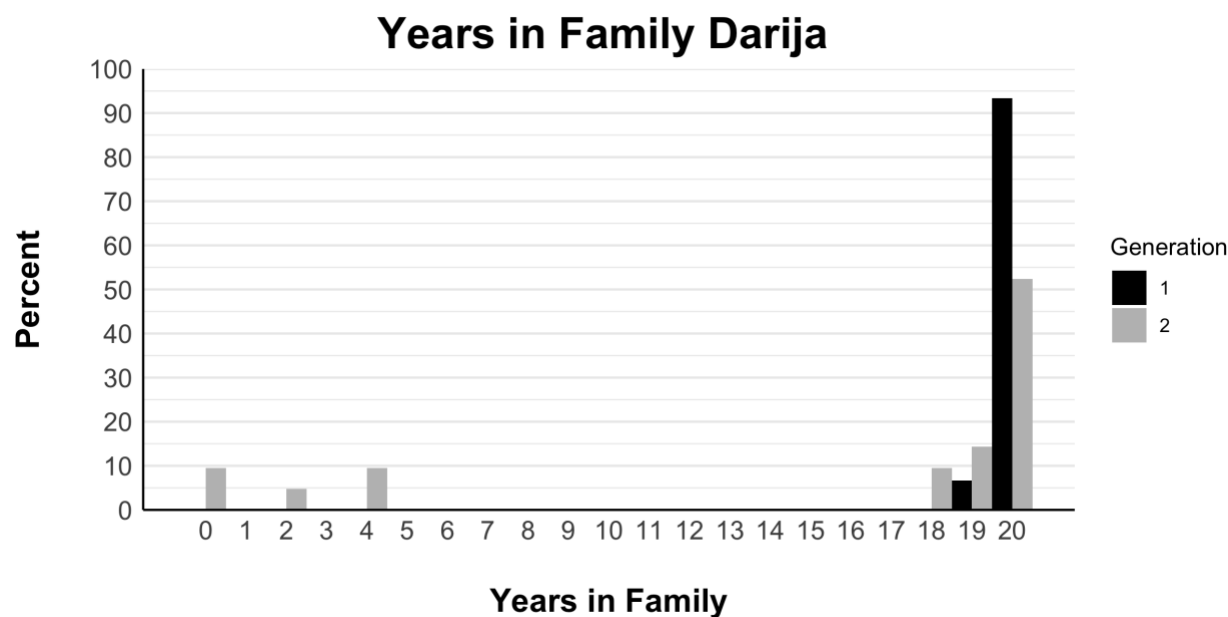
Turning to years spent using the different languages with family, graph 38 shows that just under half of the participants belonging to the first-generation group state that they never use Spanish with family while the same number of second-generation speakers report using Spanish with the family for eighteen or more years.

Graph 38. Years using Spanish with Family by Generation

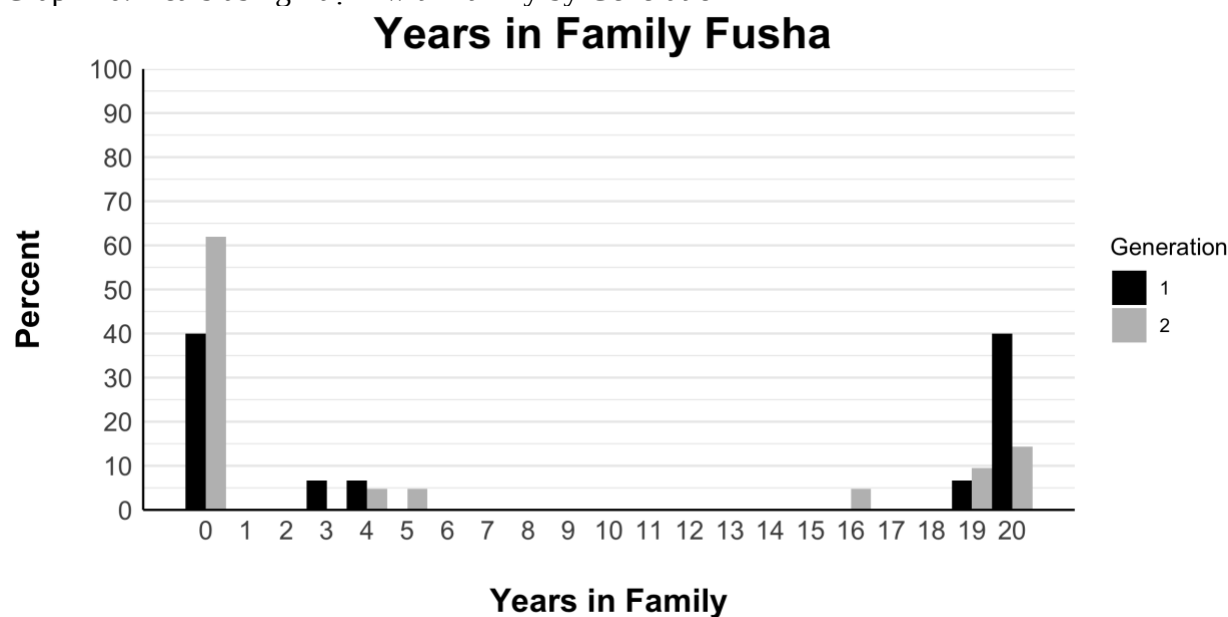


Both groups report using Darija with family for twenty or more years while only those of the first-generation report using Fuṣḥā with family members for twenty or more years ($p = .01$). Given that the second generation is younger than the first generation, this difference might be expected (see graphs 39 and 40 below). It is also important to note that how speakers perceive the relationship between Darija and Fuṣḥā may impact how they report their language use.

Graph 39. Years using Darija with Family by Generation



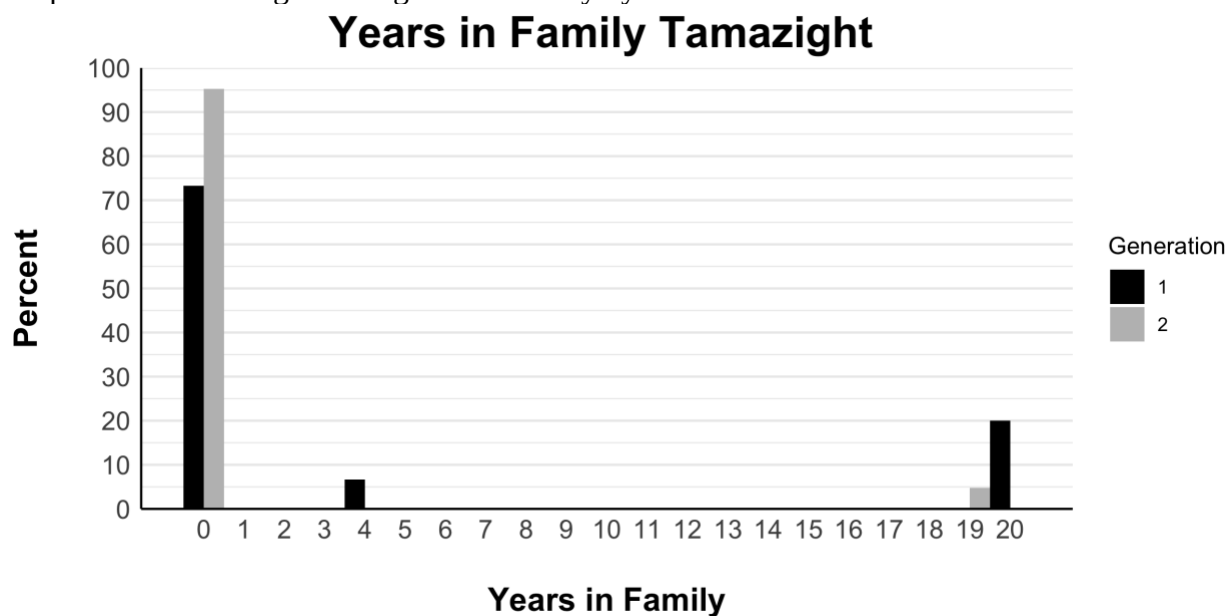
Graph 40. Years using Fuṣḥā with Family by Generation



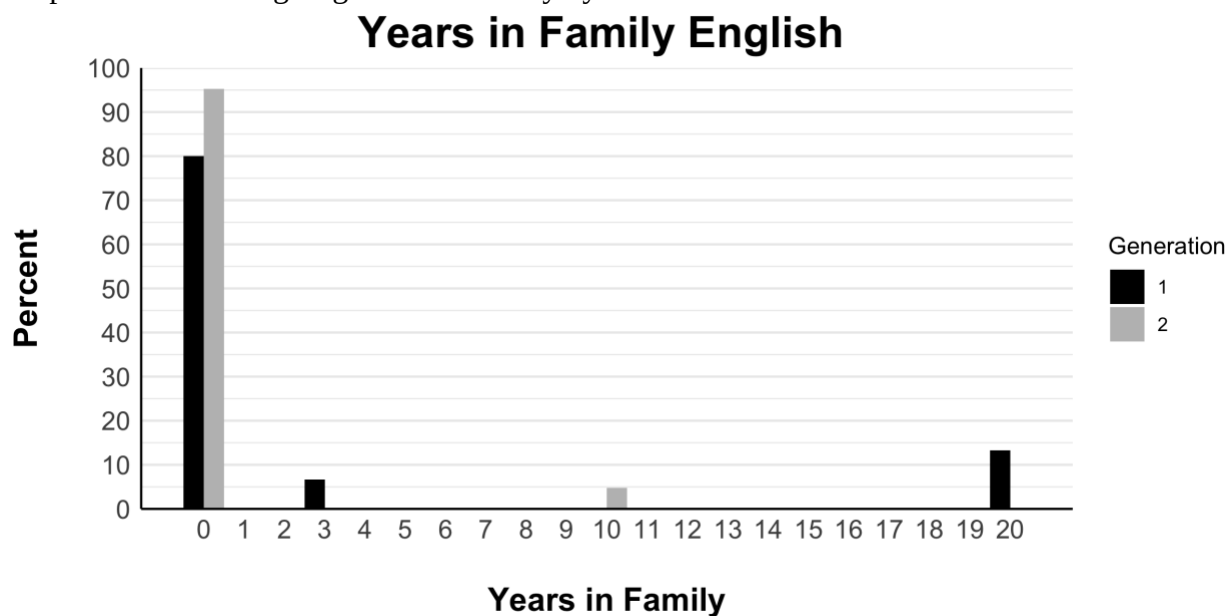
Speakers almost never spoke in Tamazight, English, or French with family members yet there was a difference between first and second generation in regard to the use of French with family members ($p = .05$). These results can be found in graphs 41, 42, and 43 below. Once again, this

difference might be expected given that French is an official language of Morocco and may be used with family more frequently in Morocco than with family members in Spain.

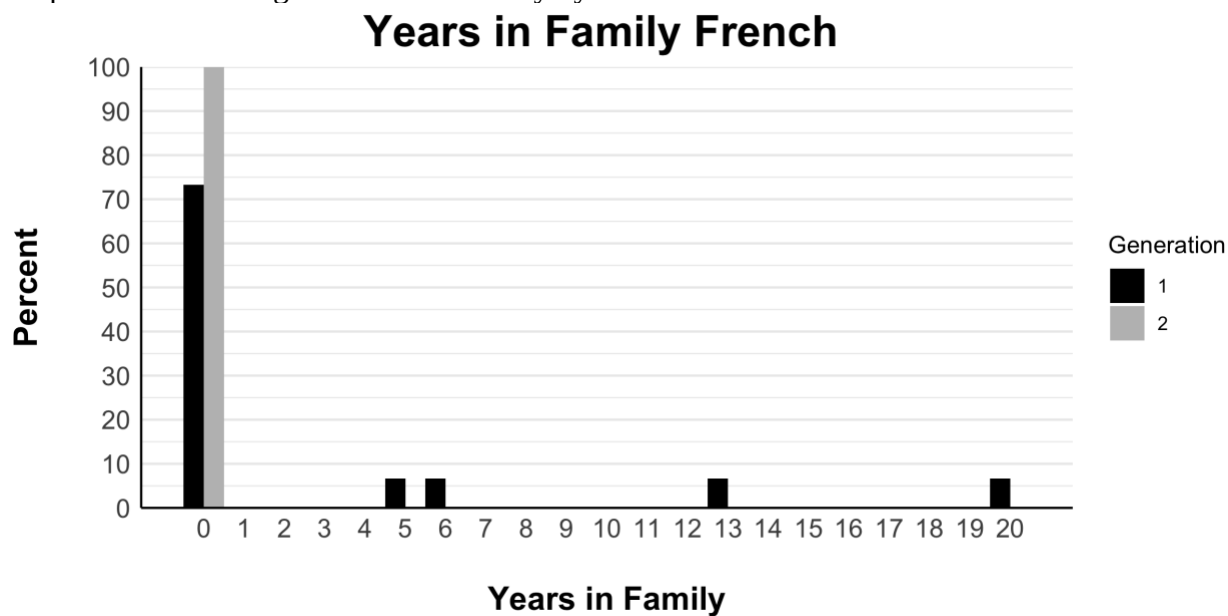
Graph 41. Years using Tamazight with Family by Generation



Graph 42. Years using English with Family by Generation



Graph 43. Years using French with Family by Generation



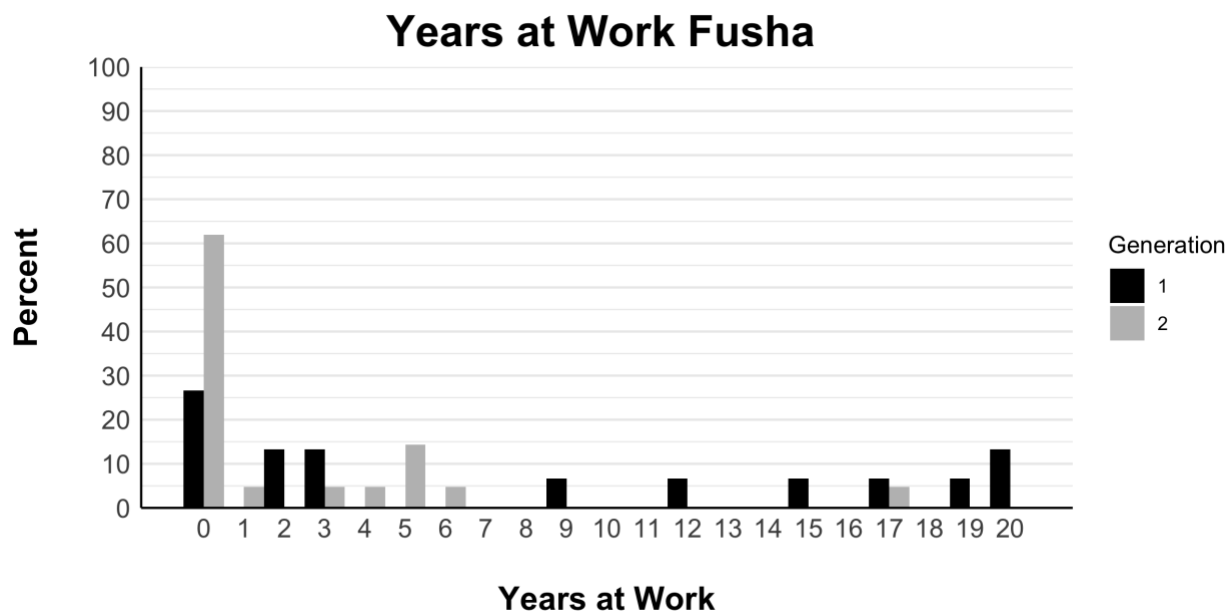
In the work environment, first and second-generation individuals reported between nine and twenty years working in a Spanish-speaking environment.

Graph 44. Years using Spanish at Work by Generation

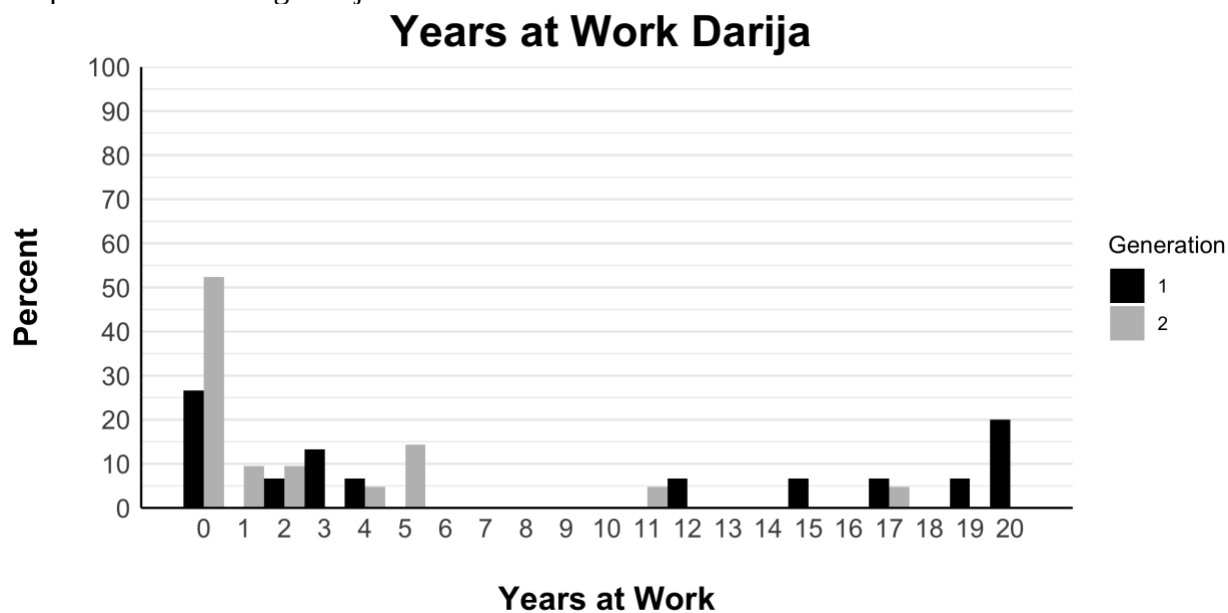


Both groups also reported working in an environment with Fuṣḥā and Darija (graphs 45 and 46 respectively) and very few to no years in a working environment where Tamazight, English, and French were spoken (graphs 47, 48, and 49).

Graph 45. Years using Fuṣhā at Work

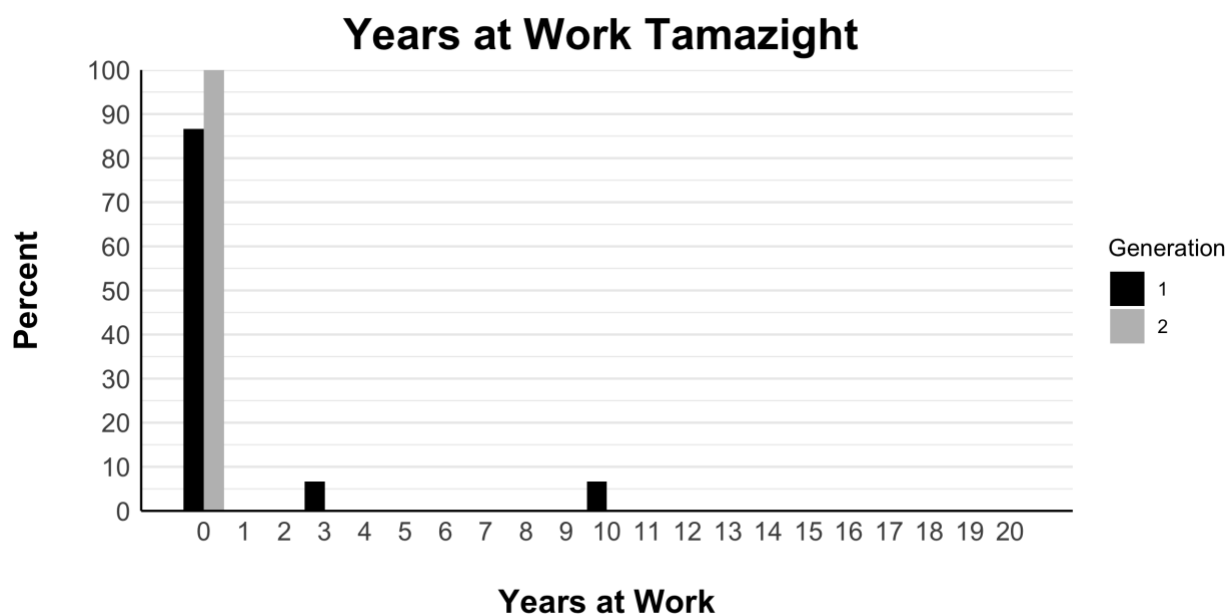


Graph 46. Years using Darija at Work



Few speakers reported using Tamazight, English or French at work although speakers of both generations use English and French at work more than Tamazight.

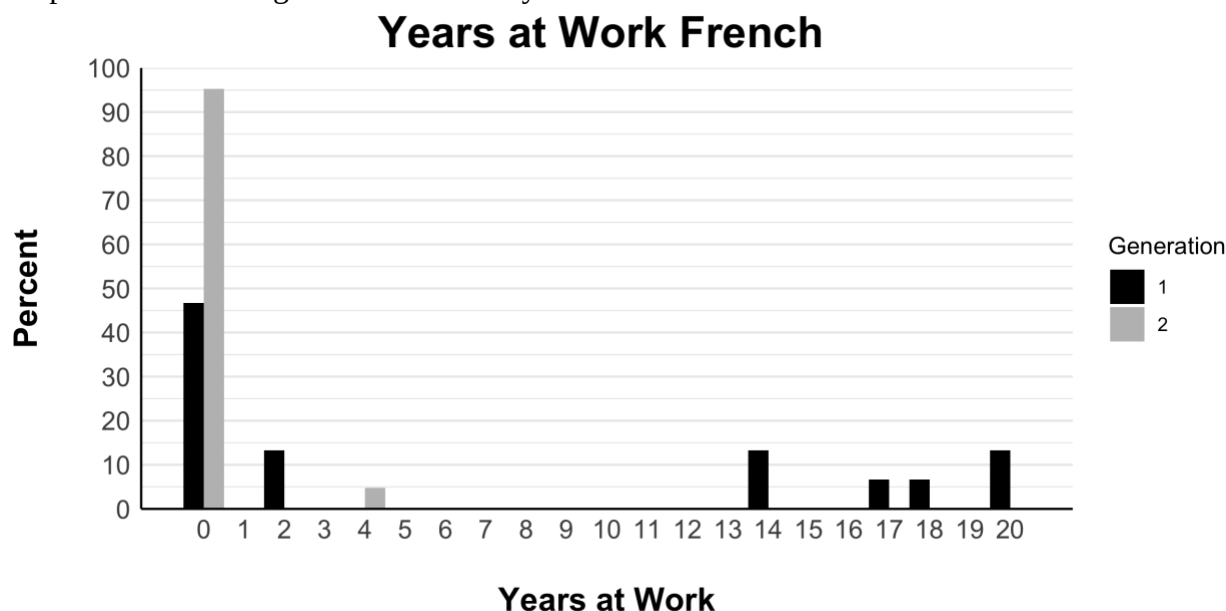
Graph 47. Years using Tamazight at Work



Graph 48. Years using English at Work by Generation



Graph 49. Years using French at Work by Generation



The difference in years worked in a Darija and French speaking environment were statistically significant ($p = .001$) with first generation speakers reporting more experience in these environments than second generation speakers. Given that first generation speakers are older than second generation speakers, the differences in years using languages might be expected. To understand how speakers use language on a daily basis, I now turn to the reported language use among first and second generation speakers among family, friends, themselves, and in doing calculations to better understand the frequency of use of each languages within each of these aspects.

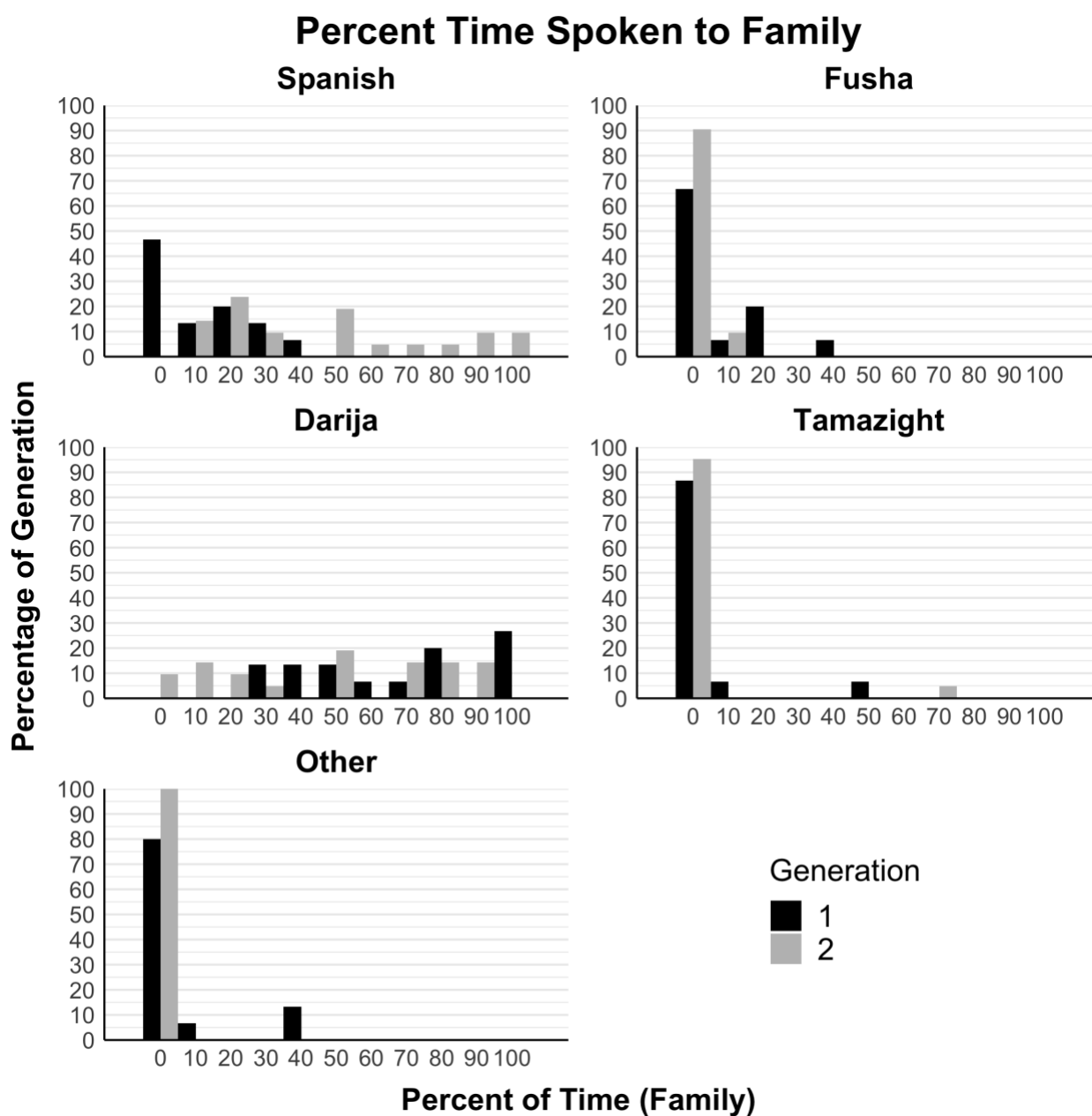
4.6.2 Reported Language Use

4.6.2.1 Family

First and second-generation speakers noted using Darija with family much more than Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Tamazight or another language. First generation speakers used Darija on average 68% of the time with family whereas second-generation speakers use Darija 49% of the time

with family. However, this difference was not found to be statistically significant. Second generation speakers use Spanish significantly more ($p = .01$) with family (on average 47% of the time) than first generation speakers (13%). First generation speakers use Fuṣḥā on average 8% of the time with family while second generation speakers only used Fuṣḥā 1% of the time. This difference was also significant ($p = .05$). First generation speakers also used a language other than Spanish, Fuṣḥā, or Tamazight with their family (7% of the time) while only one second generation speaker reported using another language with family 5% of the time on average. This difference was also significant ($p = .05$). Despite these differences, there is some variation for use of Spanish within the first generation as seen in graph 50 below.

Graph 50. Percent Time Spoken to Family by Generation

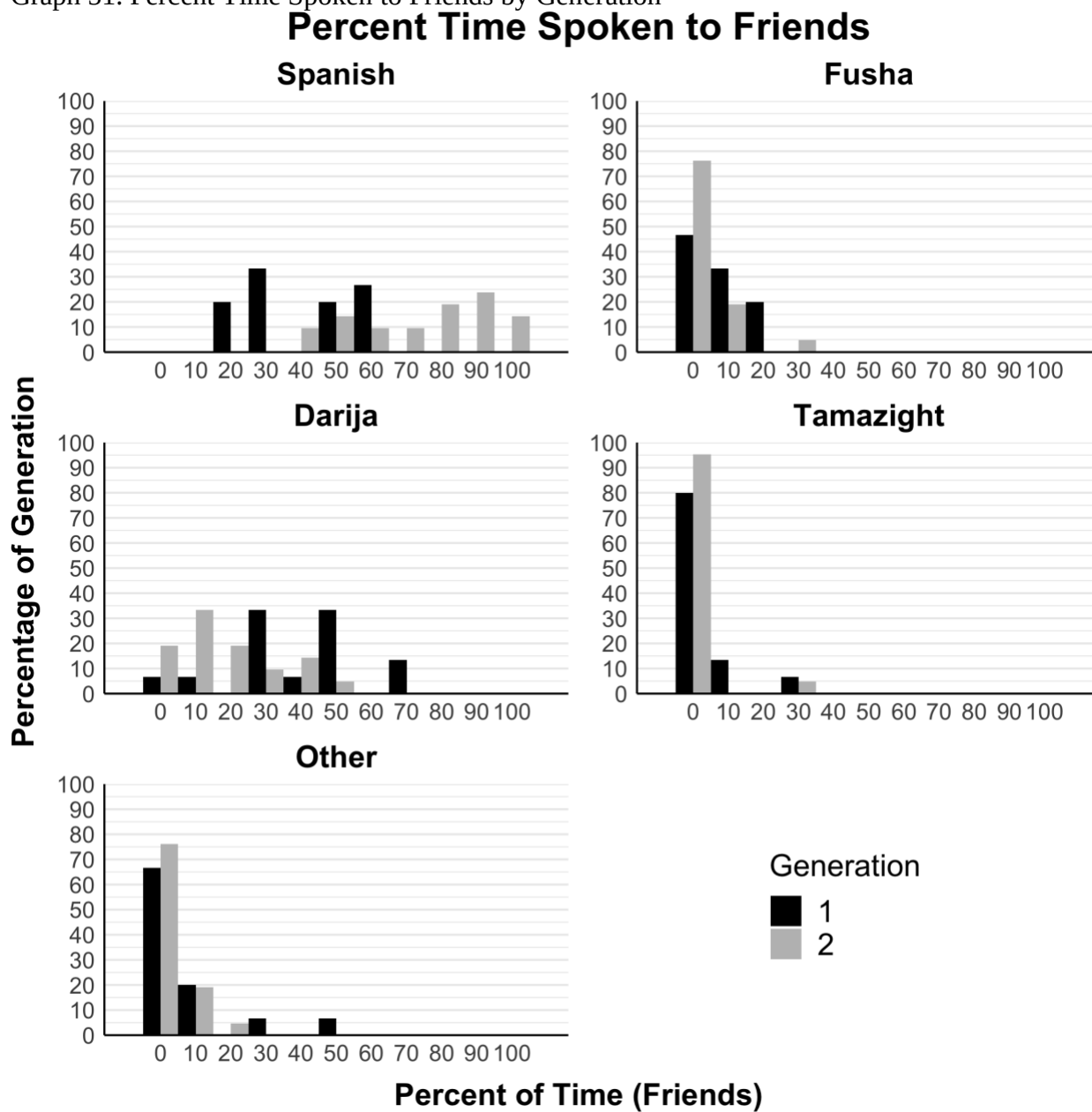


Overall, first generation speakers tend to use Darija more with their family while second generation speakers use Spanish. It is critical to note, however, that speakers from both generations use both Darija and Spanish with family to some extent.

4.6.2.2 Friends

Second generation Moroccans use Spanish more frequently with friends (74% of the time on average) than first generation Moroccans (40% of the time). First generation Moroccans report using Darija more frequently with friends (40% of the time on average). Second generation speakers used Darija 18% of the time with friends. T-tests revealed significant differences in the use of Spanish among friends ($p = .01$) indicating that second generation speakers use Spanish more with their friends than their first generation counterparts. There were no statistically significant differences in the use of Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, or another language with friends. As shown in the graph below, Spanish was used more frequently with friends among second generation speakers while Darija was the preferred language among friends in the first generation group.

Graph 51. Percent Time Spoken to Friends by Generation

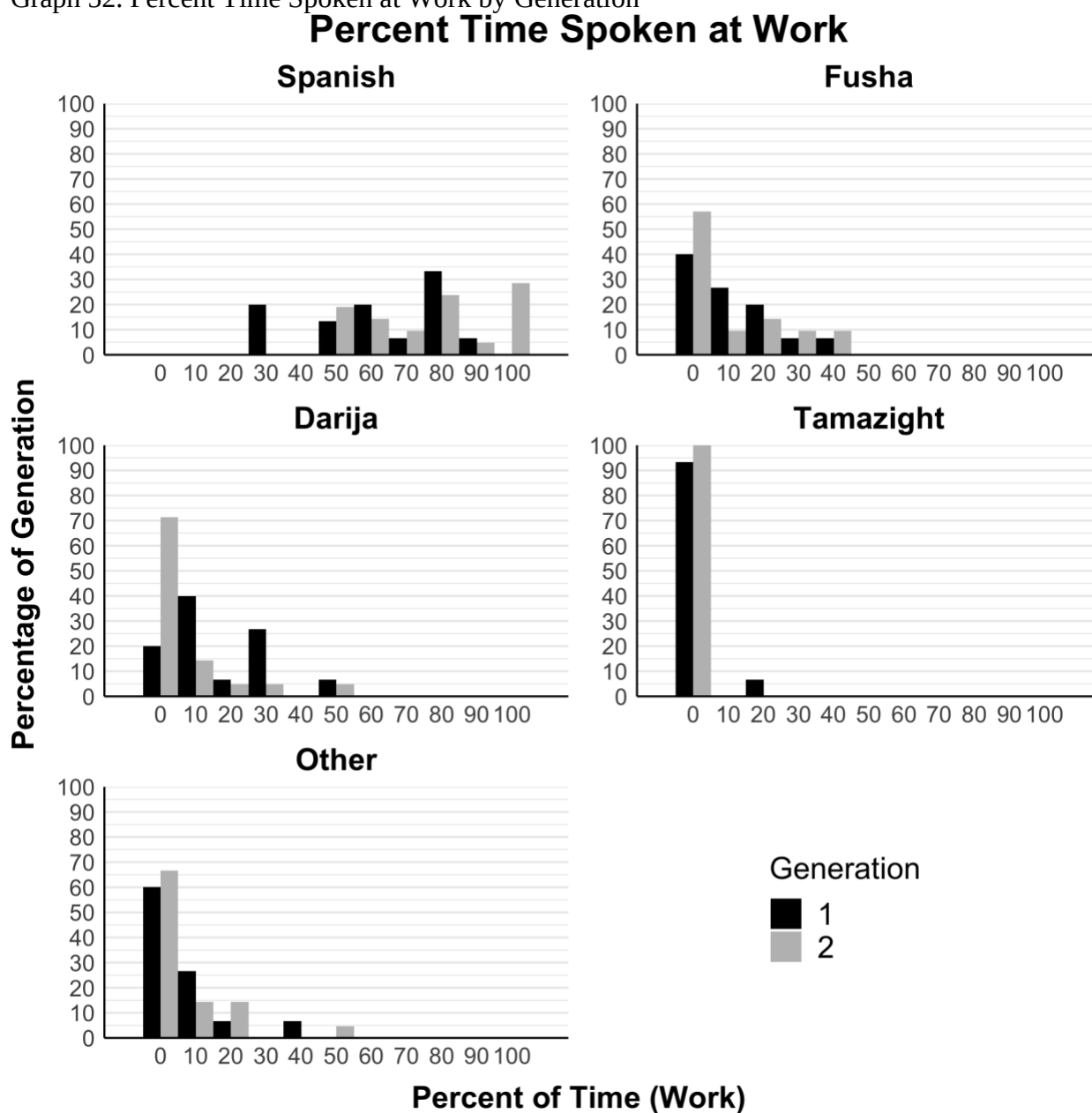


While not statistically significant, speakers reported using Fuṣḥā (8% on average for Generation 1 and 3% for Generation 2) and other languages (8% and 2%) with friends while Tamazight was used very little (less than 4% for both groups).

4.6.2.3 Work/School

First and second generation Moroccan immigrants report using mostly Spanish at school and work (an average of 62% of the time for first generation speakers and an average of 77% of the time for second generation speakers). First generation speakers used more Darija (17%) than those belonging to the second generation (6%) ($p = .05$). The percentage of time using Darija at work was relatively less overall than Spanish use for both groups. Speakers reported using Fuṣḥā (less than 15% of the time) or other languages (less than 8% of the time) while at work or school. There was a significant difference in use of Darija at work between first and second generation speakers indicating that the former use Darija more frequently in the workplace or at school ($p = .05$). None of the other differences in the use of languages at work or school proved to be statistically significant (see Graph 52 below).

Graph 52. Percent Time Spoken at Work by Generation

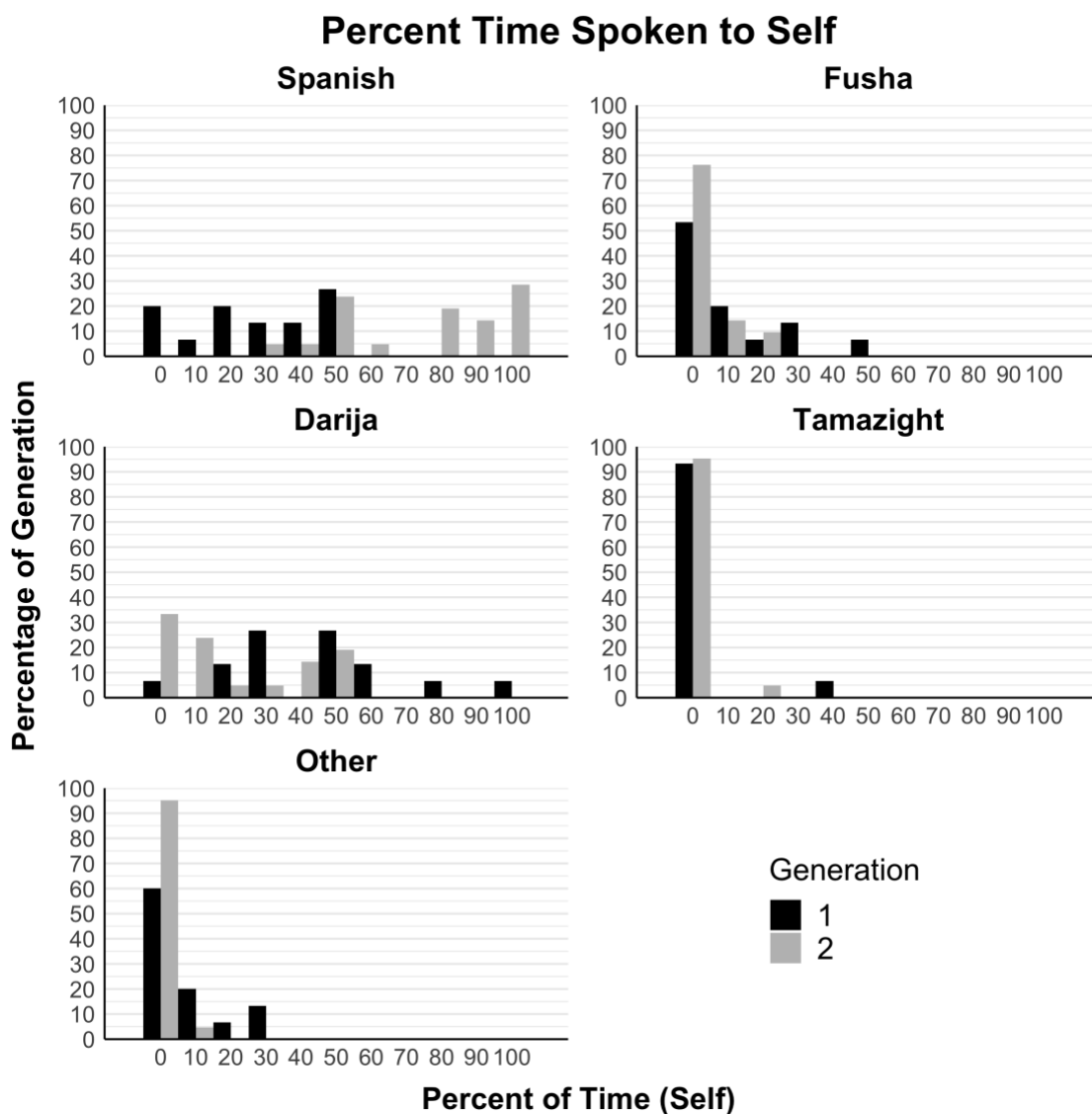


4.6.2.4 Self

Second-generation speakers used Spanish more frequently (75% on average) when talking to themselves (i.e. internal dialogue) than first generation speakers (30%). This difference

proved to be significant statistically ($p = .001$). While speakers also used Fuṣḥā (11% for Generation 1 and 3% for Generation 2), these results were not statistically significant. Darija was used significantly more among those of the first generation (46%) than the second generation (20%) ($p = .01$). In addition, first generation speakers used other languages (French) in speaking with themselves more than second generation speakers (7% and 1% respectively). This difference proved to be statistically significant ($p = .05$). Overall, first generation speakers used Darija where Spanish was preferred among the first generation speaker group (see Graph 53 below).

Graph 53. Percent Time Spoken to Self by Generation

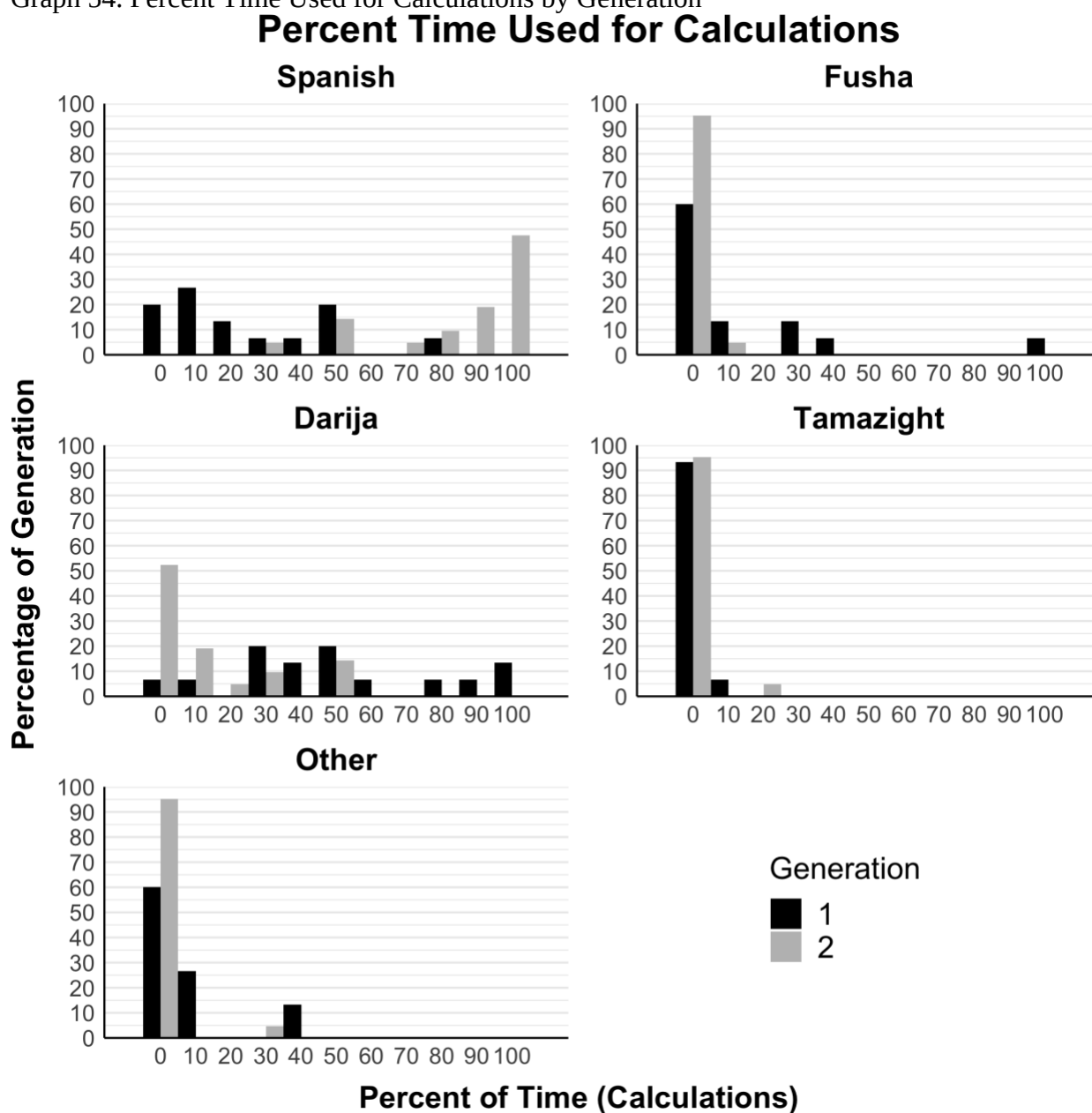


4.6.2.5 Calculations

First generation Moroccan immigrants reported using mostly Darija when counting or doing calculations (51% of the time on average) while second-generation speakers used Spanish (84% of the time). First generation speakers used Spanish 25% of the time when doing calculations while second-generation speakers used Darija 13% of the time for the same activity. The difference between first and second generation speakers' use of Darija and Spanish for

calculations was statistically significant ($p = .01$). First generation speakers also used Fuṣḥā (15%) while second generation speakers used Fuṣḥā on average 1% of the time. This difference also proved to be statistically significant ($p = .01$). Both groups reported less than 2% of the time using Tamazight to do calculations and less than 10% of the time in another language (see Graph 54 below).

Graph 54. Percent Time Used for Calculations by Generation



4.7 Overview and discussion of survey results

While speakers of both generations report using a variety of different languages in their daily lives, the results from the survey indicate several important distinctions between the

language use of the first and second-generation speaker groups. The results show statistically significant differences in the self-reported language competency scores between the first and second generation for Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight and French (.01). While second generation speakers reported higher scores in Spanish, first generation speakers reported higher scores in Fuṣḥā, French, Darija and Tamazight. It is important to note, however, that second generation speakers reported low levels of writing and reading Darija given that Darija is spoken and not written while first generation speakers may be counting their ability to write and read Fuṣḥā in their knowledge of Darija for those skills. This reflects a common occurrence within the interviews where speakers refer to "Arabic" as both Darija and Fuṣḥā with the written communication being Fuṣḥā and oral communication referring to Darija. In other instances, "Arabic" may be used to refer to Fuṣḥā solely while "Moroccan" or "dialect" may be used to refer to Darija. While Darija is mainly oral, it is becoming more common to see Darija written and it is undergoing a process of circumstantial or unplanned standardization (see Ech-Charfi, 2016). Unlike Fuṣḥā or even Tamazight, Darija does not enjoy co-official status in Morocco and is often subjugated to lower levels of prestige and is often relegated to a lower status as it is considered in some ways, a "bad" version of Arabic while Fuṣḥā is the "correct" form of speaking. For some speakers then, knowledge of Darija, including all four skills, requires speaking and listening knowledge in Darija and reading and writing knowledge in Fuṣḥā. The fact that second generation speakers report low levels of reading and writing indicates that they develop their knowledge of Darija orally. While first generation speakers develop their skills in Darija orally as well, they develop reading and writing skills in Fuṣḥā through the education system in Morocco which supplements their competency in Darija. The survey results reflect

these differing attitudes towards their language practices. The topic of language attitudes and ideologies will be taken up in Chapter 6.

Tamazight was rated low overall, but there were differences between the first generation and second generation with the first-generation group reporting higher levels, particularly in speaking, than the second-generation group. As previously mentioned, Tamazight is a minority language in Morocco despite its co-official status. It has only been taught as a written language in Morocco since 2003 and even then, in certain regions with large populations of Tamazight speakers (Anass, 2018). As a result, first generation speakers may not have had the opportunity to develop their skills in reading and writing. Second generation speakers have even fewer opportunities in Spain to develop such skills in Tamazight. The first-generation group and the first-generation focal group show similar tendencies in terms of level of competence in each language while the second-generation group and the focal group of the second generation showed some differences with the focal group reporting higher scores in Fuṣḥā, Darija, and English.

In regard to language use, speakers of the second-generation report using Darija with their parents and Spanish and Darija with their siblings with greater use of Darija with family in general for those of the first generation. For daily routines, first generation speakers report using Spanish or Darija always while second-generation speakers report using Spanish always and Darija sometimes. Among friends and with themselves speakers of the first-generation report using Darija while those of the second-generation report using Spanish in both of these instances. For work and/or school, second-generation speakers use Spanish more than first-generation speakers who may use Darija more frequently in this setting. When doing calculations, first-

generation speakers prefer Darija while second-generation speakers prefer Spanish. However, speakers of both groups report being most comfortable using both Spanish and Darija. Fuṣṣhā, Tamazight, and another language (either English or French) are used very little or never.

The quantitative data presented here provide only a partial understanding of the multilingual language practices of Moroccan immigrants in Granada. Speakers of both generations frequently commented that it was quite challenging to complete the surveys, suggesting that while the survey purports a clear-cut distinction between languages and language practices, this reporting does not necessarily reflect the varied language practices of these speakers. It is important to note that the survey and responses by speakers represents one way of understanding what language is, that is, that the language practices can be categorized as discrete, countable entities. While this type of focus may reflect how speakers understand their own language practices and "allow us a purchase on what count as relevant categories and enable us to focus on how boundaries are created, how people and their communicative resources are included and excluded" (Heller, 2007, p. 11), it often provides a simplistic understanding of varied and diverse language practices. The image of the language practices of Moroccan immigrants in Granada cannot be clearly captured by such a survey because it does not take into account the entire repertoire (which may include bits of linguistic content from various languages) (see Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). Furthermore, in understanding the linguistic behavior of these speakers, further distinctions may be made within each category. For example, among family, speakers may use different features with grandparents, parents, and siblings, as is noted by second-generation speakers who may use Spanish with siblings and Darija with their parents. At work, speakers may work with some clients who use Spanish while with others they

use Darija. In terms of language maintenance/shift, the survey results reported above indicate that there may be a tendency to shift from Darija to Spanish as second-generation speakers prefer Spanish and Darija and use Spanish more frequently in their daily lives, with themselves, and doing calculations. However, as has been noted in previous studies (see King, 2000) it is difficult to predict language shift or language maintenance. By looking at a combination of quantitative data of reported language use and qualitative data in the form of observations and interviews, we gain a broader understanding of diverse language practices. In fact, as Suleiman (2013) argues "we should not be afraid to conduct qualitative research, [...], because of the ability of this kind of research to tap domains of inquiry which the quantitative method may not be able to delve into" (p. 265). The following section takes on this task and provides the results of language use as reported in the sociolinguistic interviews and observations conducted across various spaces and times within the Moroccan immigrant community in Granada.

4.8 Language use as noted in observations and interviews

The observations and interviews were analyzed manually and then imported to NVivo for further analysis. To examine the language use, I coded the data for instances which languages were used or, in the case of the interviews, where language use was discussed. For example, in the manual coding, I identified which languages were mentioned and then in NVivo, I created a tree node of "language use" and child nodes for each of the languages reported in the observations. The languages included in the analysis as based on the observations were English, Spanish, French, Darija, Fuṣḥā, and Tamazight. Within each language category I then coded each entry by generation (noting if the speaker of the language that was coded pertains to the first or second-generation group) to compare language use within and across the two groups. After the

initial analysis, the child nodes were verified for accuracy in coding. What is presented here is a quantification of instances when each language was used in addition to representative examples from the field notes that demonstrate language use in a variety of different settings, in addition to interview excerpts to illustrate these findings. What follows represents observed language practices of Moroccan immigrants in Granada throughout the 12 months of fieldwork.

Of the 77 entries in observational field-notes, 68 discussed the language use of the Moroccan immigrant community in Granada. Twenty-one of these entries noted use of Darija with 14 instances with speakers of the first generation and 7 instances from second generation speakers. Twenty-nine entries reported language mixing with Spanish, Darija, and Fuṣḥā, and in some cases, English and French as well. Of those 29 instances, there were 15 entries of mixing among first generation speakers and 11 among second generation speakers. Three entries were not coded by generation as the generation of the speakers was unable to be determined. Eight entries reported the use of Spanish only and were split evenly between first and second-generation speakers. One entry reported French use and was used by a speaker of the second generation and two for English (1 instance for a first-generation speaker and 1 instance for a second-generation speaker) or Tamazight (both of the first generation) and five entries reported the use of Fuṣḥā (2 for first generation and 3 for second generation) as the sole language.

As mentioned previously, speakers utilize a variety of different languages which may not be so easily linked to specific domains. Thus, describing language use by domain is, at worst, inaccurate and at best, quite challenging. Instead, I will provide observation entries for each language. However, as noted in the frequency of entries for each language, code-switching using

Fuṣḥā, Darija, and Spanish was quite frequent. Code-switching with Fuṣḥā, Darija, Spanish, English and French did occur, but not as frequently.

4.8.1 Code-switching

Code-switching was most frequent in certain neighborhoods where Arabic-speaking immigrants lived and worked and occurred between and among immigrants of both the first and second generation. Aalia (second-generation) explains how code-switching became a primary language practice for her and her family:

Excerpt 1

- 1 A: Es más fácil para mi hablar en español que hablar en marroquí y si tengo que
- 2 mezclar, ya te digo @@@ porque es muy, por ejemplo si tu sabes tal en árabe
- 3 marroquí, hay español y marroquí es muy fácil hablar contigo porque la palabra
- 4 que no me sale en marroquí te la voy a decir en español. La palabra que te.. y es
- 5 súper fácil, no puedes quedar no puedes quedarte sin palabras, ¿sabes?
- 6 C: Prefieres hablar con una persona que sepa...
- 7 A: Las dos cosas. @@@
- 8 C: @@@
- 9 A: Esa es la hostia.
- 10 C: Sí, sí. Muy bien.
- 11 A: Claro, por ejemplo, si habla español, puede alguna vez que no sé decir alguna
- 12 palabra pues mírala, oof no sé decir una palabra, pero marroquí, muchas veces
- 13 encuentro problemas con gente que solo habla marroquí. A mi padre por ejemplo
- 14 si encuentro, si no sé una palabra en en marroquí, le digo a mi hermana la palabra
- 15 en español y se lo dice o se lo explica, pero si yo no te conozco y eres marroquí
- 16 pues, palabras... @@@
- 17 C: Como tienes que explicarlo con otras palabras
- 18 A: Pero es verdad que que en marroquí hay palabras que digo en español o sea yo
- 19 hablo marroquí y hay palabras que solo sé, o sea, que no las digo en marroquí
- 20 nunca, ¿sabes?
- 21 C: Sí.
- 22 A: Por ejemplo, con mis padres mismo hay palabras pues que ya las conocen como
- 23 español que ya las decimos como con ese nombre.

- 1 A: *It's easier for me to speak in Spanish than to speak in Moroccan and if I have to mix,*
- 2 *I'm telling you @@@ it's because it is very, for example, if you know such in*
- 3 *Moroccan Arabic, there is Spanish and Moroccan it is very easy to speak to you*
- 4 *because the word that doesn't come out in Moroccan I will tell you in Spanish.*
- 5 *The word that you... and it's super easy, you can't be you can't be without words,*
- 6 *you know?*

7 C: *You prefer to speak with someone who knows...*

7 A: *Both things @@@*

8 C: *@@@*

9 A: *That's the best.*

10 C: *Yes, yes. Very good.*

11 A: *Of course, for example, if I speak Spanish, it could be that sometimes I don't know*

12 *how to say a word well look at it, oof I don't know a word, but Moroccan, a lot of*

13 *the time I find problems with people who only speak Moroccan. My father, for*

14 *example, if I find, if I don't know a word in in Moroccan, I say the word to my*

15 *sister in Spanish and she tells him it and she explains it to him, but if I know youu*

16 *and you are Moroccan, well, words.... @@@*

17 C: *Like you have to explain with other words.*

18 A: *But it is true that that in Moroccan there are words that I say in Spanish, or*

19 *rather, I speak Moroccan and there are words that I only know, like, that I don't*

20 *say in Moroccan, ever, you know?*

21 C: *Yes.*

22 A: *For example, with my parents there are words that they now know as Spanish and*

23 *now we say them with that name.*

(InterviewAF207.17)

Walking through the neighborhoods of Cartuja and Nueva Granada and, the more centrally located neighborhoods of the Albaicín Bajo, Elvira street, and the Alcaicería market for example, Fuṣḥā, Darija Arabic and Spanish are used in addition to French and English among speakers of both the first and second generation.

From September 2018 to July 2019 I lived on the Gran Vía de Colón, a main street in downtown Granada and, as my office was located at the entrance of the Sacromonte neighborhood, I passed through Elvira street and the Albaicín Bajo every day to and from work. Elvira street runs parallel to the Gran Vía de Colón and is lined with shops and restaurants predominantly owned and operated by Moroccans, Syrians, Palestinians as well as others from Arabic-speaking countries in addition to Granadans. Walking through this neighborhood every day provided me with the opportunity to observe a variety of different language practices among the shop-workers, servers, neighbors and tourists. It is difficult to tell whether the speakers in this

entry pertain to the first generation or second generation as there are a mix of both that live and work in this neighborhood.

Entry 1

Walking home from work today, I heard shop-workers speaking to one another in Darija with some lexical switches in Spanish such as "bien" or "qué." At one point, one worker was explaining something to his friend in Darija and said "*Yaṣni* proteger." "*Yaṣni*" from Fuṣḥā and Darija meaning "that is" or "it means." "Proteger" is the Spanish word for "to protect" so he said, "that is, to protect." I believe this switch can be characterized as remaining in Darija or [switching] to Fuṣḥā to Spanish. Walking down the street I hear quite a few switches which could pertain to Fuṣḥā and Darija which appears to be common among Arabic speakers who know both. Switches in these instances included words like "Inchallah" or "Mashallah."
(Observation Entry 02.13.19)

As is noted in this entry, while the speaker was using Darija, his switch can be characterized as into Fuṣḥā or remaining in Darija with "*yaṣni* " followed by the lexical switch "proteger" in Spanish. "*Yaṣni*" is more frequently employed when speaking Darija, although it is used in Fuṣḥā as well. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, there is considerable overlap in certain structures between Fuṣḥā (Classical/Standard Arabic) and Moroccan Arabic (Darija) which make it difficult to identify items as belonging to either Fuṣḥā or Darija (see Heath, 1989; Aabi 1999). Switching between Spanish, Fuṣḥā, and Darija was quite common among Arabic speaking clientele at coffee shops and restaurants in this area as well. I stopped by my favorite *tetería* on Calderería Nueva street at least once a week at various times of the day. In each instance, there were groups of Moroccans and other Arabic-speaking clientele who mixed Darija, Spanish, and Fuṣḥā.

Entry 2

It's 10:30 p.m., just before the shops close around 11 or 11:30 p.m. at a *tetería* where my friend works. I'm finishing up my tea when three young Moroccan men walk in. I recognize them as acquaintances of my friend and the owner of the restaurant. They spoke in Darija with the owner. They sat to eat and were speaking mostly in Darija with a few words and phrases in Spanish. They order their food in Darija. They switched from

Darija to Spanish several times with lexical items like "trabajar" and "cómodo" and then sentences like "no estoy hablando del trabajo," "me cuesta poner" "no me cuesta para nada", "no lo entiendo." There is one man who seems to do this more than others, although he seemed to be talking more than the others. He said "¿A qué si?" in the middle of a statement he made in Darija which elicited a confirmation nod from the other two. (Observation Entry 03.19.2019)

Speakers also code-switched with other first and second-generation immigrants in the home.

Entry 3

While putting the final touches on dinner, my hosts, Farida and Raul, (husband and wife first-generation immigrants) were speaking to each other in Darija and made a few lexical switches to Spanish. These switches were mostly conjunctions like "pero" or prepositions like "hasta." One-word questions in Spanish were also frequent (e.g. "qué" "cuándo" "cómo"). (Observation Entry 06.05.17).

These switches also occurred between parents and children. "Farida tries to get her daughter's attention speaking in Darija, when that doesn't work, she switches to Spanish. The daughter replies in Spanish with some words in Darija" (Observation Entry 6.6.17). There were three instances in which I observed three different first-generation parents using Spanish when addressing their second-generation children if the children do not respond or listen when addressed in Darija. These first-generation parents noted that it can be a challenge to encourage their children to speak in Darija as Leila (second-generation) and her aunt (first-generation) attest to in a discussion about when and where children might learn Fuṣḥā or Darija.

Excerpt 2

- 1 T: Fuṣḥā y todo darija conmigo. Yo los enseño todos los días, hablo con ellos para que:
- 2 L: Darija se entienden bien pero es que te contestan en español. @@@
- 3 T: Y conmigo no, con sus primos que no saben...
- 4 L: Cuando estamos en Marruecos sí hablan, pero conmigo con mi hermano como
- 5 entendemos el español pues no no quieren.
- 6 T: No quieren hablar.

- 1 T: *Fuṣḥā and all and Darija with me. I teach them every day, I speak with them so that:*
- 2 L: *Darija, they understand well, but they respond in Spanish. @@@*
- 3 T: *And with me no, with their cousins that don't know...*

4 L: *When we are in Morocco, they do speak, but with me and my brother, since we*
 5 *understand Spanish, they don't want to.*

6 T: *They don't want to speak.*

(Interview LIF207.17)

In line 1, Leila's aunt explains that while children may learn Fuṣḥā outside of the home, she is responsible for teaching the children Darija by speaking with them every day in the language.

Her niece explains that the younger children understand Darija well, but respond in Spanish with their cousins as Leila's aunt points out in line 3. When they are in Morocco, the children do speak Darija, but with their cousins who speak Spanish, they prefer to speak Spanish (line 4).

While some children appear to prefer Spanish over Darija, others use both Spanish and Darija in the home with each other.

Entry 4

Before dinner I was playing with Farida's daughter (second generation), she spoke Spanish with me and code-switched to Darija "hada" and told her brother to go away in Darija. Her brother also switched between Darija and Spanish speaking to her and talking/singing to himself and I couldn't determine what was the base language.
 (Observation Entry 06.15.17)

In this instance, the four-year-old daughter (second generation) of my host mother spoke to me in Spanish and inserted lexical items in Darija. When speaking directly with her brother, she used Darija. Her brother, who was two years old at the time, spoke in Darija and Spanish with his sister and while playing by himself. A year later when I visited the family again, the children continued to switch between Darija and Spanish. While most of the switches for first and second generation Moroccan immigrants occurred with lexical items or entire clauses, there were a few switches that involved Spanish verbs with inflectional morphemes in Darija. This type of switching occurred among Jamila and her friends (of the second-generation) one day during an outing in the Albaicín.

Entry 5

Walking around the Albaicín with Jamila and some of her Moroccan friends, I heard several instances of Spanish verbs conjugated with Fuṣḥā or Darija endings. One that was said repeatedly was "grabar-at" using the past tense singular feminine morpheme '-at' from Fuṣḥā or Darija along with the infinitive form of "grabar" or "to record."

(Observation Entry 04.02.19).

Speakers are aware that they and others code-switch frequently or as Aalia (second-generation) calls it, doing "remix":

Excerpt 3

1 A: Pues te vas a dar cuenta que la gente hace mucho remix, la gente mezcla un montón
2 los idiomas, en plan, es que no te hace idea de lo fácil que es, hablar con una
3 persona que sabe los mismos dos idiomas que tú y tener que hablar libremente. En
4 plan, como, lo primero que te salga, lo dices.

1 A: *Well, you are going to realize that people do a lot of remix, the people mix a bunch
2 of languages, like, you don't even know how easy it is, to speak with a person that
3 knows the same languages as you and speak freely. Like, it's the first thing that
4 comes out, you say it.*

(Interview AF207.17).

While both first and second-generation speakers code-switched frequently throughout my observations, it should be noted that this type of language use occurred among speakers who appeared comfortable and competent in the languages they switched⁶.

Speakers who did not appear to feel comfortable using Spanish predominantly spoke Darija with other Moroccan immigrants.

4.8.2 Darija

Speakers noted that they frequently watched television and listened to music in Darija as well as Fuṣḥā. However, Darija was used predominantly among older speakers of the first generation or in interactions between a person from the first generation and second generation, or among those who were dominant in Darija.

Entry 6

⁶ As has been argued in previous studies, bilingual ability is a prerequisite but not a sufficient condition of CS and requires both linguistic and sociolinguistic competence (see Toribio, 2001).

At the coffee shop today there was a father and his two daughters (first and second generation Moroccan immigrants) speaking in Darija. When the father spoke with his daughters they spoke in Darija and the two daughters spoke to each other in Spanish. (Observation Entry 02.15.19).

Second-generation speakers noted that they speak mostly Spanish with some Darija with their siblings and mostly Darija with some Spanish with their parents, grandparents and other older relatives:

Excerpt 4

- 1 Carol: ¿Qué idiomas habla tu familia?
- 2 M: Con mis hermanos, hablo el español y el árabe, el [árabe] marroquí y con mis
- 3 padres pues mayoritariamente el árabe marroquí y a veces el español.

1 Carol: What languages does your family speak?
2 M: With my siblings, I speak Spanish and Arabic, Moroccan [Arabic], and with my
3 parents, well, mostly Moroccan Arabic and sometimes Spanish
 (Interview MF107.17)

Second-generation speakers, use Spanish with their siblings and Darija with their parents, grandparents or other older relatives:

Excerpt 5

- 1 Carol: Pero ¿con los hermanos los hermanitos?
- 2 A: Español.
- 3 Carol: Español. ¿Ellos prefieren el español?
- 4 A: Sí, es que hemos crecido aquí y yo qué sé, con todos los amigos siempre
- 5 ha sido español.
- 6 Carol: Pero tus padres les hablas en español o:
- 7 A: No, con mis padres en marroquí @@@
- 8 Carol: Ahh muy bien.
- 9 A: @@@ suele pasar en muchas muchas familias, que los hermanos hablan español
- 10 luego con los padres pues, en marroquí.

1 Carol: But, with your siblings, the younger siblings?
2 A: Spanish.
3 Carol: Spanish. They prefer Spanish?
4 A: Yes, because we grew up here and, I don't know, with all of my friends it's always
5 been Spanish.
6 Carol: But to your parents you speak Spanish or?
7 A: No, with my parents in Moroccan @@@
8 Carol: Ahh okay.

9 A: @@@ It's common in many many families, that the siblings speak Spanish and later
 10 with their parents, well, in Moroccan.
 (Interview AF207.17)

Use of Darija was prominent within neighborhoods in Granada where Moroccans reside. The following observation entry describes the languages used in on such neighborhood.

Entry 7

Today I walked around a neighborhood with Moha (second-generation Moroccan) who introduced me to a few of his neighbors. We walked around the neighborhood talking (in Spanish) about what it was like to live there. Signs in Fuṣḥā could be found throughout the neighborhood and I heard groups of people speaking Darija on the phone and with each other. My friend said that he uses Darija in this neighborhood since a lot of people that live there are from Morocco. We went to the halal butcher shop and he introduced me to the butcher, we talked a bit in Fuṣḥā and he responded in Darija. I decided to try and practice my Darija and I went between Darija and Fuṣḥā as my knowledge of the lexicon in Darija is limited. Next, we went to an internet café. While I was in there, several people came in, including a young man who spoke Darija to the person behind the desk who I was speaking Darija/Fuṣḥā with. Thankfully my friend was there to help fill in the gaps of conversation as he spoke Darija with his neighbors. Then, what appeared to be a grandfather and granddaughter came in and he bought her a lollipop and spoke to him in Darija. The granddaughter took the lollipop and said thank you in Darija/Fuṣḥā. After this stop, we went to a coffee shop which felt like a typical coffee shop in Morocco with signs in Fuṣḥā and the men sipping Moroccan green tea with mint, speaking and playing games in Darija. My friend introduced me to his neighbor and we talked for a bit in Darija. Moha said he likes the neighborhood because it reminds him of being in Morocco. He interacts with everyone in his neighborhood in Darija.

(Observation Entry 02.19.19).

Moha's neighborhood is distinct from that of Elvira street and the lower Albaicín which is lined with gift-shops and restaurants. While Elvira street and the lower Albaicín serves a transient population of students, tourists, and those who can afford to live in the city center, Moha's neighborhood was farther from downtown and served a majority Moroccan and Roma migrant community. As such, the languages that were used in the neighborhood reflected the different communicative needs of this community. Community members who possessed knowledge of

Darija spoke Darija with each other and rarely used or switched to Spanish. In the lower Albaicín, Moroccans used Darija when meeting new people of Moroccan origin.

Entry 8

Last night Jamila and I went to a *tetería* in the lower Albaicín. The owner who is from Morocco spoke to Jamila and me in Spanish and then switched to Darija when he suspected that she also spoke Darija and was from Morocco as well. She confirmed that she was from Morocco and they spoke in Darija talking about which part of Morocco they are from. She told him that I understand Darija and he was surprised, but only used Spanish when speaking with me. He said in Spanish that we are welcome to come in at any time and recommended a few of his favorite teas to Jamila in Darija. Jamila mentioned that she thought it was funny how he spoke to her directly in Darija (implying that he must have assumed she was from Morocco based on her appearance). She was happy that he did so and she said she likes making connections like that with other people from Morocco or with Moroccan heritage and appreciates being able to speak Darija to make these connections.
(Observation Entry 02.16.19)

In this instance, the owner of the *tetería* switched from Spanish to Darija because of a perceived (and later confirmed) common heritage with my friend Jamila who is also Moroccan. He switched back to Spanish with me even after Jamila said that I could understand Darija as well. Darija was frequently used as a second step in confirming cultural or familial ties to Morocco as I noticed when I walked around the Albaicín with Jamila who identifies as second-generation Moroccan. Owners and workers would address me in Spanish and then greet Jamila in Darija. Jamila would respond in Darija and they would then carry out a conversation in Darija about which part of Morocco they were from as well as possible shared connections in Granada and their regions of origin in Morocco. Whenever Jamila and her friends (who are also Moroccan) walked through the lower Albaicín they experienced cat-calling in Darija.

Entry 9

Walking around the lower Albaicín today with Jamila and her friends, I noticed that they received quite a few cat-calls in Darija from younger shop workers that sat outside their shops that lined the streets. I walk through the streets every day by myself and sometimes with my friend who is also from the United States, and while I have been cat-called a few

times, it was always in Spanish. Jamila said that she gets cat-called in Darija almost every time she walks through this part of the Albaicín. Jamila's friends agreed and said that it happens quite frequently to them as well.

(Observation Entry 04.02.19)

4.8.3 *Spanish*

Speakers used Spanish when speaking with Spanish monolinguals or speakers who are Spanish dominant:

Entry 10

Tonight my Italian colleagues and I broke the fast during Ramadan with Abdu and his wife. Abdu and his wife who are both Muslim said a quick blessing before the meal in Fuṣḥā before we broke the fast. We enjoyed the meal and spoke to each other in Spanish. (Observation Entry 05.17.19).

Although my colleagues and I possess knowledge in Fuṣḥā, Abdu, a second-generation Moroccan, and his wife, who is Spanish, preferred to speak with us in Spanish.

All speakers reported at least some knowledge of both Spanish and Darija, however, some preferred to use Spanish. Second-generation speakers were more likely to use Spanish or Spanish and Darija than first generation speakers. However, some first-generation speakers used Spanish as well. During another visit to break the fast during Ramadan, the hosts (a first-generation mother and her second-generation son and daughter) spoke in Spanish with me and with each other and mentioned that they prefer to speak Spanish with each other.

Despite the stated preference and use of Spanish, speakers reported much higher usage of Spanish in the surveys than what was noted in the observations. This may be due to the fact that when speaking with each other Moroccans may code-switch frequently and while at work, school, or other encounters with monolingual Spanish or dominant Spanish speakers, they may use Spanish only. Speakers who code-switch may even be unaware that they do so. The following excerpts with a first-generation Moroccan illustrate this point:

Excerpt 6

- 1 C: Y umm ¿Cuándo hablas el español aquí?
 2 M: Eh que cuando lo habla... Pues, mira, lo hablo umm yo creo que todo el tiempo
 3 menos en casa que es cuando utilizo el árabe marroquí o a lo mejor cuando estoy
 4 con mis amigas que digo una expresión en árabe o: en algún momento estamos
 5 hablando en árabe marroquí pero el resto del tiempo estoy todo el tiempo
 6 hablando en español.

- 1 C: *And umm When do you speak Spanish here?*
 2 M: *Eh like when it is spoken... Well, look, I speak umm I think all the time except at*
 3 *home which is when I use Moroccan Arabic or maybe when I am with my friends*
 4 *and I say an expression in Arabic or: at some point, we are talking in Moroccan*
 5 *Arabic but the rest of the time I am I am all the time*
 6 *speaking in Spanish.*
 Interview MF107.17

4.8.4 *Fuṣḥā*

Moroccan immigrants of both generations (given that they possess some knowledge of *Fuṣḥā*) used *Fuṣḥā* as a lingua franca with Arabic-speaking tourists and Arabic speakers from other Arabic-speaking countries.

Entry 10

Today I stopped to talk to a man doing calligraphy on my way home from work. I asked him if he could write my name and I talked with him in *Fuṣḥā* and told him that I was learning *Fuṣḥā*. He taught me a few phrases in Darija as well, told his friend in Darija that he was speaking to someone in *Fuṣḥā* and then turned to me and spoke *Fuṣḥā* again with me. An Arabic-speaking couple stopped by his table as well to request their name be written in calligraphy and he started speaking to them in Darija and then switched to *Fuṣḥā* when he realized that they were from Lebanon. He made a joke about how he must speak *Fuṣḥā* with other "Arabs" because it is hard for them to understand Darija. They laughed and agreed that it was hard for them to understand and continued to speak in *Fuṣḥā* with each other. The couple and I said goodbye to him and his friend in *Fuṣḥā*. (Observation Entry 09.21.18)

In this instance, several different types of Arabic language use are observed. Students at the local university may learn *Fuṣḥā* and, as a result, they may practice their developing *Fuṣḥā* skills in service encounters in the lower Albaicín. While I participated in this practice, I observed other students studying in Granada doing so as well. Additionally, community members and tourists from other parts of the Arabic-speaking world utilized *Fuṣḥā* as a lingua franca based on the

perceived differences between Moroccan Arabic (i.e. Darija) and others in the Arabic-speaking world. Those who possess even limited knowledge of Fuṣḥā may utilize these skills to facilitate communication between Arabic speakers whose dialects may be perceived to be mutually unintelligible. In this encounter, like others where a deliberate choice is made to use Fuṣḥā, speakers are aware of possible complications in each using their variety of Arabic. Being aware of this language choice, Abbad (a second-generation Moroccan) discusses how he uses Fuṣḥā:

Excerpt 7

1 C: ¿Y cuando usas el árabe Fuṣḥā?

2 A: En el mesjid, y también en el trabajo cuando: viene gente: también tengo a lo mejor
3 amistades eh: de zonas donde a lo mejor hablan el árabe. El árabe Fuṣḥā, lo tengo
4 que: poner en práctica.

1 C: *And when do you use Fuṣḥā?*

2 A: *At the mosque, and also at work when: people come: also, I have maybe friends eh:
3 from places where perhaps they speak Arabic. Fuṣḥā Arabic, I have to
4 put it in practice.*

(Interview ABSM207.17)

As mentioned previously, a number of the participants of the second generation are enrolled in courses for translation and interpretation or Semitic Studies at the University of Granada and are actively engaged in the study of Fuṣḥā, Spanish, Darija, French and English in some cases. Additionally, some individuals of the second-generation take courses or have previously taken courses in Fuṣḥā through religious organizations. As a result, their levels of competence in these languages may fluctuate and speakers of the second-generation may be able to utilize their skills in Fuṣḥā in situations with foreigners who are learning Fuṣḥā or other Arabic-speakers as a lingua franca. While Abbad claims lower levels of competence in Fuṣḥā (35 out of 100) than in Darija (60 out of 100), he is able to utilize Fuṣḥā in the workplace and sees this as an opportunity to practice and improve his Fuṣḥā.

4.8.5 *English, Tamazight, and French*

Moroccan immigrants who possessed knowledge of English used English to communicate with native English-speaking tourists who did not speak Spanish (Observation Entry 02.20.19). Some also listened to music and watched movies and shows in English (06.04.19). Similarly, French was used to communicate with native French speaking tourists (Observation Entry 06.21.17) or migrants from other African countries that speak French (Observation Entry 03.19.19). I observed use of Tamazight only twice throughout the twelve months of fieldwork. In one instance, an older man was speaking on the phone in Tamazight and in the second instance, a conversation among a mother and daughter in Tamazight (Observation Entries 07.20.17 and 10.10.18). I did not observe any use of Tamazight among the participants who reported knowledge of Tamazight.

4.9 Discussion of Qualitative Results

As the results above show, first and second-generation immigrants utilize their multilingual repertoires in a variety of different contexts and settings that may be tied to their current practical purposes for communication. In other words, the language practices described above are fluid and dynamic. While the language practices can be described as somewhat domain specific with a preference or reported use of Spanish and *Fuṣḥā* in public spaces and *Darija* in private, the observations and interviews point to a linguistic situation that is much more fluid and complex. Given the results of the survey, one might expect first-generation speakers to use *Darija* more frequently than Spanish or *Darija* and Spanish. First-generation speakers did, in fact, use *Darija* more frequently during observations than speakers of the second generation but also used *Darija* and Spanish or "mixing" more frequently than second generation speakers. While first-generation speakers may use features from *Darija*, Spanish, *Fuṣḥā* and French,

second generation speakers used features from Darija, Spanish, Fuṣḥā and English. While both generational groups utilize various resources of their multilingual repertoires, the type of resources that are used may differ depending on the generation of the speaker, that is, the linguistic trajectory of the individual. For example, as noted in the survey results, while speakers of the first generation previously had access to Fuṣḥā and French education in Morocco, second-generation speakers have access to English through the educational system in Spain. Exposure and access to different resources ultimately impacts the language use of Moroccans in Spain. In regard to Spanish, speakers of the first generation were observed to use Spanish just as frequently as speakers of the second generation. There is an important difference in this use of Spanish, however, among family members. Similar to the results of the survey, second-generation speakers report using Spanish or using Spanish and Darija with their siblings while using Darija with their parents. It is hard to say whether this language practice indicates a shift towards Spanish since speakers may claim use of Spanish with siblings and may actually utilize both Darija and Spanish when speaking with siblings (see Entry 4).

Fuṣḥā was also used among speakers of the first and second generations. Speakers of both generations noted use of Fuṣḥā in religious practices or when speaking with Arabic-speakers of different regions. As previously noted, second-generation speakers may also use Fuṣḥā despite not claiming high levels of competency in the language as compared to Darija or Spanish.

The language practices of both the first and second-generation groups points to a complex linguistic situation which cannot be captured by surveys alone. While the observations and interviews help to broaden the scope of the language practices among Moroccans in

Granada, the results from these data also point to the challenges associated with describing language use in a broader social sense. While the language practices in the surveys point to a possible diglossic situation, as previous studies regarding Arabic linguistic situations point out, the linguistic practices of speakers may be better described as a diglossic continuum as opposed to complete functional or domain differentiation (Sayahi, 2014; Haeri, 2003). However, it is not clear whether the language practices of second-generation speakers, while they differ from those of first-generation speakers (at least in the surveys), indicate a shift and loss of Darija as Fishman (1964) might argue. In fact, as Dorian (1981) points out, a setting may require one language while the interlocutor requires another (p. 78). The conceptualizations noted here do not seem to capture the complexity of the situation. Speakers of both generations show partially and unevenly developed resources which are leveraged in different circumstances for different purposes. That is, language competency cannot necessarily be tied to language use. Instead, the language practices described above reflect language choices based on interpersonal and interlinguistic terms such that speakers "speak the same language in comparable situations, especially with each particular person" and understand that they are to "keep the two languages distinct and do not mix them" depending on the situation (Pujolar, 2019, p. 170). Speakers most frequently use more fluid practices when encountering other multilinguals as noted by Aalia in Excerpt 1 when she explains that speaking with someone who knows both Darija and Spanish "es la hostia" (*is the best*). Pujolar (2019, p. 170) calls this phenomenon linguistic "tagging," which is the practice by which speakers are aware of and remember who "behaves monolingually or bilingually" or in this case, who prefers Spanish or Darija or Fuṣḥā. More specifically, multilingual Moroccans may assign a particular "tag" to each personal relationship.

The language tag then defines the language that they use with that person regardless of whether that person also speaks the other languages that they know. In this case, speakers may assign the tag of code-switching and therefore code-switch in certain personal relationships more than others. This is illustrated by a conversation I had one day with Abdul (second-generation) regarding his code-switching with his friend Sidqi who is first-generation Moroccan:

Entry 11

Abdul explained to me that he does not typically code-switch with other Moroccans and prefers to speak Darija with them or Spanish depending on the person. He has always code-switched with Sidqi and he prefers to speak this way with him. The way he puts it, this is how they began to speak to each other and this is how they have established their dynamic.

(Observation Entry 05.21.19)

As opposed to a-temporal or structural approaches to characterizing language practices such as diglossia, the data point to the need to understand the language practices of Moroccans in Granada as relational or social, in a sense that language choice reflects a particular established relationship with an individual. Additionally, language choice does not happen in a vacuum rather it occurs with several layers of context (i.e. spatial, temporal, relational and social). An individual's understanding and stance towards social norms and expectations (i.e. larger discourses and ideologies surrounding language use) in conjunction with social identities of themselves and their interlocutors (including ethnolinguistic identification) and attitudes can impact their linguistic practices at an interpersonal level (see Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Gal, 2006; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2011). The following excerpt from Mohammed, a s second-generation Moroccan, provides an example of the ways in which social norms and ideologies may impact language choice and language use at an interpersonal level.

Excerpt 8

1 Carol: Y ¿con esos amigos los hispano-árabes o hispano-marroquíes hablas español o el
2 árabe?

3 Moha: No, en castellano @@@ en castellano y: hay un fenómeno bastante bastante
4 curioso, porque cuando cuando crecemos acá digamos eh decir un chiste o un
5 insulto una idea digamos o para llamar la atención, pues hablamos en marroquí o
6 decimos una expresión en marroquí no con todos, pero con la mayoría, por
7 ejemplo, a ver emm, los hispano-marroquíes que conozco en en por ejemplo en
8 mi pueblo porque crecí con ella, hablamos en en en marroquí.

9 Carol: Mmhmm

10 Moha: Claramente hablamos el marroquí em podem- nos podemos comunicar, por
11 ejemplo, en el Whatsapp en en castellano, eso sí, pero hablando hablamos la
12 mayoría de las veces em en marroquí porque... es por mm digamos por...por la
13 comunidad árabe digamos, perdón, por la comunidad marroquí o la comunidad
14 árabo- em parlante porque ellos... ven como una falta de respeto o como como
15 algo malo hablar eh español entre árabes porque ellos nos consideran árabes no
16 consideran marroquíes entonces cuando ven a dos eh: hijos digamos de de
17 marroquíes hablando en español lo miran con una cara bastante emm pff um
18 a ver, bastante digamos como ((chasquido)) eh bastante triste ellos te miran con
19 una mirada triste como ehh como una persona digamos mmm que si quieres salir
20 de su piel como dicen ellos @@@

21 Carol: Sí.

22 Moha: Porque te estás emm ((chasquido)) saliendo de su comunidad está perdien-
23 perdiendo tu legado, ¿por qué? Por qué estás hablando en español con una
24 persona que ya sabe árabe que ya sabe marroquí mientras que si te ven por
25 ejemplo con un español tú tienes la excusa de que es un español
26 @@@ ¿sabes? [Que no sabe hablar árabe @@@]

27 Carol: [Sí, sí.]

28 Moha: Entonces pues, lo miran bastante mal y incluso entre sus hijos un padre cuando
29 va por la calle emm, prefiere que su hijo no hable castellano

30 Carol: Mmm

31 Moha: Ni con los ehh los niños que son también marroquíes ni con los mayores mm
32 porque si en si habla en en árabe pues ((chasquido)) muestra que el padre pues le
33 ha educado bastante bien @@@

34 Carol: Aha interesante.

35 Moha: Entonces, pues allí lo que hacemos emm en mi pueblo digamos, hablo con
36 ellos en en en marroquí ¿sabes? y así nos han acostumbrado a
37 hablar en marroquí mientras que cuando vine aquí y conocí a gente que son
38 digamos eh españoles, pero también em marroquíes em hablamos en castellano y
39 en la facultad, por ejemplo, se habla solo en español porque pff entre comillas
40 no tenemos emm no tenemos ese prejuicio esa visión digamos de: de los
41 marroquíes solamente ¿sabes?

42 Carol: Sí, te entiendo. Interesante...

43 Moha: @@@

Interview AZM212.19

- 1 Carol: And with those friends who are Spanish-Arabs or Spanish-Moroccan do you
2 speak Spanish or Arabic?
- 3 Moha: No, in Spanish @@@ in Spanish and: there is a phenomenon that is pretty
4 pretty curious, because when when we grow up here let's say eh telling a joke or
5 an insult an idea let's say or to get attention, well we speak in Moroccan or
6 we say an expression in Moroccan not with everyone, but with the majority, for
7 example, let's see emm, the Spanish-Moroccans that I know in in for example in
8 my town because I grew up with her, we speak in in Moroccan.
- 9 Carol: Mmhmm
- 10 Moha: Clearly we sepak Moroccan em we can- we can communicate, for example, in
11 Whatsapp in in Spanish, that, yes, but speaking we speak the majority of times em
12 in Moroccan because... it's because mm let's say because.. because of the Arab
13 community let's say, excuse me, for the Moroccan community or the
14 Arabic- em speaking community because they... see like a lack of respect or like
15 like something bad to speak eh Spanish among Arabs because they consider
16 Arabs they don't consider Moroccans so when they see two eh: children let's say
17 of of Moroccans speaking in Spanish they look down on that with a face that's
18 pretty emm pff um let's see, pretty let's say like ((clicks)) eh pretty sad they look
19 with a face like ehh like a person let's say mmm that like you want to get out of
20 your skin like they say @@@
- 21 Carol: Yes.
- 22 Moha: Because you are emm ((clicks)) leaving your community you are lose- losing
23 your legacy, Why? because you are speaking in Spanish with
24 someone who already knows Arabic and already knows Moroccan while if they
25 see you, for example, with a Spaniard you have the excuse that he is Spanish
26 @@@ you know? [That he doesn't know how to speak Arabic @@@]
- 27 Carol: [Yes, yes.]
- 28 Moha: So well, they look down on it and even among their children a father when he
29 is in public emm, he prefers that his child not speak Spanish.
- 30 Carol: Mmm
- 31 Moha: Not even the ehh the kids that are also Moroccan or with the elderly mm
32 because if in if he speaks in Arabic well ((clicks)) it shows that the father well,
33 that he educated them pretty well @@@
- 34 Carol: Aha interesting.
- 35 Moha: So, well there what we do emm in my town let's say, I speak with
36 them in in Moroccan, you know? And that way we they are accustomed to
37 speaking in Moroccan while when I came here and I met people that are let's say
38 eh Spaniards, but also em Moroccans em we speak Spanish and
39 at school, for example, you speak only Spanish because pff quote unquote we
40 don't have emm we don't have the prejudice this vision, let's say of: of the
41 Moroccans only, you know?
- 42 Carol: Yes, I understand. Interesting..
- 43 Moha: @@@

Moha, a second-generation speaker explains his language use with friends and why he cannot say that he simply speaks one language or another with friends. Moha discusses a curious phenomenon where he speaks Darija with other Hispanic-Moroccans in his hometown in Spain, but in Granada, he speaks Spanish with Hispanic-Moroccans and even his friend (a second-generation speaker who is from the same town but lives in Granada). This phenomenon, he explains, is due to the fact that Moroccans, and possibly Arabic speakers more generally, perceive the use of Spanish as sad and due to a lack of proper education from their parents. He explains that if an Arabic speaker sees you speaking Spanish with another Arabic speaker, they perceive that practice as demonstrating a desire to leave the community and their legacy behind. While speakers like Moha have access to a variety of different linguistic resources, social norms play a role in linguistic choices and practices at a personal and interpersonal level (see Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011). In excerpt 8, Moha's stance towards social norms mediates his linguistic practices. By choosing to speak Darija with his friend when he is in his hometown in Spain, he avoids scrutiny from other Arabic speakers. Moha demonstrates his recognition of the social norms and expectations and the differences between these in his hometown and Granada. Through examination of the results from the interviews and observations, it becomes evident that how Moroccan immigrants position themselves in discourse (and therefore construct their social identities) is a key component to understanding the language practices of Moroccan immigrants in Granada.

Chapter 5: Contested Identities: Positionality in discourse

In this chapter I address the questions of how identities are enacted through language practices. Specifically, I will examine how speakers position themselves in interviews and how

they use different language features through this positioning. In what follows, I will describe two main themes that emerged: the crisis of identity and multilingualism as a resource.

The sociolinguistic interviews where these themes became prominent are social practices and sense-making events where different levels of context impact the interaction and where "the interaction between participants serves as a site for positioning of self and other with respect to identity and relational issues" (King and De Fina, 2010, p. 656). Therefore, a key component to understanding these themes includes an analysis of positioning. In the following interview excerpts, the broader themes are analyzed through the ways that speakers position themselves. First, I will examine how characters or individuals are positioned to one another in the story world (level 1). Then, I discuss how narrators or speakers position themselves vis-à-vis me the researcher in the storytelling world or in the world of the sociolinguistic interview (level 2). Lastly, I examine how speakers position a sense of identity or self with regards to dominant discourses, that is, how speakers construct themselves as a particular kind of person who might use language in a particular kind of way (see Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385; De Fina 2013, p. 43). The third level of positioning refers to the way speakers negotiate their positions within their social, political, and cultural contexts. Such positioning is not always made explicit in discourse as De Fina (2013) notes that:

Such links cannot be read off talk, but imply ethnographic work by the analyst in order to become acquainted with the categories that people use to understand social reality, an analysis of presuppositions and common themes that appear in narratives by different narrators, and a sense of the kinds of dominant Discourses and ideologies that underlie the social issues that narrators and interviewers raise (p. 58).

The themes that are laid out in this chapter represent some of the dominant Discourses and ideologies that underlie the social issues that first and second generation Moroccans raise in the interviews. The first of these themes/discourses is the crisis of identity. The crisis of identity

construct refers to the idea that emerged from just under half of the interviews that were conducted with first and second generation participants. This Discourse was also prominent within fieldnotes as can be seen in the following entry:

Entry 12

I attended a workshop on Feminism and Islam today at the Fundación Euroárabe. The discussion turned towards the idea of a crisis of identity "la crisis de identidad" and "problema de identidad." There were a few first generation mothers who say that their children and other second generation speakers' prefer to identify as European. This is cause for great concern as one mother stated, "estamos produciendo personas rotas, rotas de la segunda generación (we are producing broken people, broken [those] of the second generation." One reason behind such a crisis: discrimination in the new host society. (Observation Entry 06.26.2019)

The Discourse of the crisis of identity within the narratives of first and second generation Moroccans is the following: Moroccans who fail to recognize their origins and fail to adopt new ways of constructing identity in their new society face experience identity confusion and frustration. As noted in the observation entry 12 and in the examples to follow, this crisis of identity is triggered by racialized rejection and discrimination. The crisis of identity is perceived as a danger to themselves, their families, and the rest of society. I will discuss this construct in section 5.1 below. The second major theme that will be discussed includes the Discourse that multiculturalism and multilingualism is a resource and possible solution to this crisis of identity. That is, despite constant scrutiny and surveillance, Moroccan immigrants are able to leverage features from multiple languages in discourse and by doing so, align themselves with multiple positions. These positions then facilitate access to spaces where they are typically denied. In this way, the racialized forms of categorization that are used to discriminate are instead reshaped to become a valuable form of cultural capital. The Discourse of multiculturalism and multilingualism as a resource was mentioned in almost every interview and was evident in the

observations presented in Chapter 4. In section 5.2, I present examples from both first and second generation speakers to illustrate this point.

5.1. The Crisis of identity

Saam, a first-generation Moroccan who arrived to Spain in his early 20's and has lived in Spain for 20 years, explains to me what he considers to be a "crisis of identity" on the part of second generation Moroccans. He negotiated his identity as a Moroccan in relation to second generation speakers who he believes struggle with their own identities. For Saam, Moroccans and their children who do not know Arabic display a lack of understanding of their true selves. This crisis, he says, is prompted by the rejection Moroccan children face and is exacerbated when they are unable to maintain their ties to their origins through language. Saam recounts an experience where he encountered this crisis of identity on the part of the children of Moroccan immigrant parents during an event at a local elementary school where he was asked to write the children's names in Arabic calligraphy.

Excerpt 9

1 Carol: ¿Para ser marroquí tiene que hablar marroquí?

2 Saam: No, yo digo esto porque va a facilitar más cuando viajan a Marruecos...

3 Yo tuve una experiencia, te vas a reír, yo fui una vez a un colegio en las Chanas
4 para hacer los nombres en la fiesta, era el 26 de junio para terminar el curso
5 y yo fui a una fiesta allí para hacerle el nombre y se acercaron muchos padres,
6 era un euro, es muy poco como como simbólico y se acercaron españoles
7 pequeñitos y tal cual y había como siete u ocho, había chinos, había africanos,
8 había muchos niños, hay mucha inmigración ahora en España y: se me acercaron
9 cuatro o cinco que yo pensaba que son marroquíes, hijos de padres marroquíes,
10 seguro, o de un matrimonio mixto, y sale la chica me dice, le digo, oh "¿Cómo te
11 llamas?" y "me llamo" por ejemplo, "Zayna," por ejemplo, digo
12 "¿Tú eres marroquí?" "No, yo soy española." @@@

13 Carol: Ahhh

14 Saam: Nacen y viven con ese complejo, no quieren decir que

15 somos de fuera porque a lo mejor insultan **bullying bullying**

16 o cómo se llama a lo mejor en la facultad en el colegio hay acosos.

Interview SCM1 04/03/19

1Carol: *To be Moroccan, do you have to speak Moroccan?*

2Saam: *No, I tell you that because it will help more when they travel to Morocco...*

3 *I had an experience, you are going to laugh, I went one time to a school in the*

4 *Chanas to do the names for the party, it was the 26th of June to end the*

5 *schoolyear and I went to a party there to do the names and a lot of parents came,*

6 *it was one euro, it's very little, like like symbolic and little Spaniards came near*

7 *and such and there were seven or eight, there were Chinese, Africans,*

8 *there were a lot of kids, there is a lot of immigration right now in Spain and: four*

9 *or five came near that I thought were Moroccan, children of Moroccan parents,*

10 *surely, or from a mixed marriage, and this girl she says to me, I say, oh "What is*

11 *your name?" and "My name is" for example, "Zayna," for example, I say*

12 *"You are Moroccan?" "No, I am Spanish." @@@*

13: Carol: *Ahh*

14Saam: *They are born and live with this complex, they don't want to say that*

15 *we are not from here because maybe they will be insulted, **bullying bullying***

16 *or how you call it, maybe in the school in the school there's bullying.*

5.1.1 Level 1: Positioning of Saam and Zayna in the story world

This level addresses the characters and how they are relationally positioned (Bamberg and

Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385). With regard to how he positions the characters in the story,

Saam describes the children as little Spaniards (but only seven or eight), Chinese, and Africans,

children from diverse backgrounds in lines 6 and 7. In lines 8 and 9, he describes four or five

children who he believes are Moroccan, or at least children of mixed parentage. When he

attempts to align himself with the girl in line 12 after hearing her name, he is surprised when she

rejects this identification and marks herself as a Spaniard. In line 14, Saam first distances himself

from second-generation Moroccans using the third person plural verbs "they are born" and "they

live" with a complex. He aligns himself with Zayna and the other Moroccan children (i.e. second

generation Moroccans) returning to this idea of a shared identity using the third person plural

"we are from outside [Spain]." In lines 15 and 16 he explains that this complex is brought on by

the rejection and "bullying" that Moroccan children face.

While Saam mentions several characters, the main characters include Saam and Zayna. Saam positions himself as secure in his Moroccan identity and Zayna as insecure with this identification. In the story, the actions attributed to Zayna include denying and rejecting while Saam is observing, questioning, and helping. The motives for Saam's actions include wanting to find common ground with others who he perceives to be Moroccan. The motives for Zayna's actions include protection or self-defense from possible abuse or rejection. Saam portrays himself as open, understanding and secure while Zayna is portrayed negatively as fearful and defensive and in denial about her identity.

5.1.2 Level 2: Interactional world, Saam and the interviewer

In this excerpt, the Saam begins in line one by aligning himself with the interviewer by stating that the interviewer will find his story amusing and, like him, will understand the ridiculousness of the situation. In this instance, the interviewer is encouraged to already perceive this story as a true and accurate retelling of an event and support his evaluation of the situation. The interviewer does not intervene in this part of the exchange so as to encourage the speaker to continue uninterrupted with the narrative. Where Saam indicated his expectation for laughter in line 3, in line 12 we see the use of laughter in telling the small story of his interaction with Zayna, a story which is being told within the context of the interaction with me, an outsider to the community but someone that he perceives as having a shared knowledge and understanding to some extent.

Laughter in interaction is often used systematically and can be used to recount a troubling experience (Glenn and Holt, 2015). Saam recounts the story immediately preceding the laughter. With the laughter occurring in line 12, Saam signals a point of tension or perceived irony for the speaker in recounting his attempt to negotiate a perceived shared identity with Zayna. The

laughter marks a delicate and ambiguous situation in which he perceives Zayna to be markedly Moroccan through her physical features and name but where Zayna rejects this identity in favor of an identity that he considers to be a mismatch for who she is in reality. Saam uses laughter to mark this for the interviewer. The interviewer does not laugh, however, and instead utters an interjection which demonstrates some level of recognition of the significance of the story. The interjection also indicates a level of ambiguity in terms of whether the interviewer truly understood the implications of the story which prompts the speaker to explain more explicitly the implications in the subsequent lines. Saam negotiates an image as someone who is secure in their own understanding of their place within Spanish society. Saam positions himself as knowledgeable and as an authority on what it means to be Moroccan.

5.1.3 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Saam's narrative

The discourses and ideologies may not be explicitly invoked in this excerpt, however, the similarities between the stories told by Saam and other participants (of both the first and second generation groups) highlights the wider implications of the stories and how the discourses and ideologies of what it means to be Moroccan in Spain. Saam's is one of several accounts where a crisis of identity was discussed. While some accounts make explicit mention of a "crisis" of some sort, others reference identity confusion or frustration. Both first and second generation speakers invoked the idea of a crisis of identity in these accounts. Some second generation speakers referenced the crisis as a challenge for others, while others discussed their own identity crises and frustrations.

In the interview, I implicitly frame language as a symbol of group membership and lack of competence in the language of the in-group as a possible source of conflict. Saam rejects this idea and provides an alternative reasoning for conflict within the Moroccan community in Spain.

Saam provides a story that illustrates the Discourse invoked by similar accounts which indicate that monocultural identity or complete assimilation is a cause for crisis. The social act of claiming heritage or even multiple identifications is required to avoid such crisis. Inherent in this assumption is that one's Moroccanness (i.e. name, physical attributes, family) cannot and must not be erased. Zayna's response to Saam's question highlights the idea that it is the immigrant's responsibility to completely adopt dominant ways of conceptualizing the self in their new society. That is, to be a part of their society, migrants and subsequent generations must eschew previous ethnic, cultural, or linguistic ties in favor of new identities that reflect their new surroundings.

Excerpt 10 from an interview with Sadiq provides another example of the construct of a crisis of identity. Sadiq, a focal participant pertaining to the first-generation group, provides his perspective on the idea of a crisis of identity. Just before this excerpt, Sadiq explained that it is difficult to make friends in Spain with Spaniards who are not Muslim or interested in the Arab world or Moroccan culture. I was curious to find out whether the tangible Arab and Muslim history of Granada served as a point of similarity to which he developed a connection to people in Granada or established himself in this place as had been the case for others who I interviewed. Sadiq argued that rather than being an identity marker for those who live in Granada or for himself as a Moroccan in Spain, the history of Al-Andalus should be part of a shared understanding of human heritage and patrimony. He argues that any Moroccan who perceives themselves to be Andalusian must pertain to the second generation and therefore be experiencing a crisis of identity (lines 7-9). Sadiq explains how he considers himself Andalusian in addition to his other identifications since the north of Morocco is characterized by aspects of Andalusian

culture from the way of life, to food and clothing. In this way he argues that this identity is one of many and should be considered one facet of a person's holistic identity. Beyond that, Andalusian identity is a shared identity beyond certain regions. While he claims Spanish identity in addition to his Moroccan and Andalusian identity, he recognizes the marginalized status of Moroccans in Spanish society. Sadiq rejects the denial he may experience as a Moroccan from Spaniards and claims Spanish identity through official documentation (i.e. "the red passport") in line 18. In lines 16-18, Sadiq openly discusses his resistance to subject positions which may be placed upon him by Spaniards and sets up a counter-discourse. For Sadiq, once he achieves citizenship, he will undergo a reorganization of a sense of self and place his Spanish identity along with the other identities. The idea that identity is a product is reinforced in line 20 when Sadiq describes identities as "earnings." In lines 20-24 he turns back to the case of my friend and explains why she is experiencing this crisis. Returning to the case of my friend, Sadiq explains that my friend must be someone who has experienced a clash with her parents (line 22 and 23) and discrimination (line 24) which causes an internal conflict. In this justification, he positions himself as distinct from my friend and in relation to dominant discourses which define proper ways of integrating into Spanish society. Through such positioning, Sadiq frames his identity as necessarily and rationally, multifaceted and changing. My friends' lack of identification as a Spaniard then, reflects her inability to integrate into Spanish society and her lack of identification as a Moroccan, a rejection of her family and origins.

Excerpt 10

- 1 Carol: Pues, entonces una pregunta de eso porque estamos en un en una ciudad bastante
- 2 única digamos que que tiene ese vínculo con con la cultura árabe, entonces,
- 3 te sientes como una, bueno, una conexión con eso con lo, por ejemplo, una amiga
- 4 mía, me dice "no soy marroquí tampoco española, pero yo soy andaluz."
- 5 Sadiq: Ahh

6 Carol: Entonces ¿eso puede ocupar un lugar para, para puedes o como no, no es...?
 7 Sadiq: No no, yo quiero, esta esta amiga tuya es de segunda generación, ¿española?
 8 De qué, de segunda generación, ¿no? Pues, yo creo que: bueno es un crisis de
 9 identidad de la segunda generación,
 10 no se considera marroquí porque...
 11 Carol: No puede ocupar...
 12 Sadiq: No, es como herencia cultural como patrimonio. Sí, yo me considero andaluz
 13 porque la región donde: donde vivo donde vivía en Marruecos, mi mi región todo
 14 *al jabala* las la región *jabala* región Tetuán, Tánger, Larache, Asila, la cultura
 15 dominante es la cultura andalusí y todos los aspectos de vida, comida,
 16 ropa, todo.
 17 Abdul: Pero...
 17 Sadiq: Pero claro, pero, no sé, yo cuando tenga nacionalidad española, aunque no no
 18 me aceptan los españoles como español yo me considero español porque
 20 tengo el pasaporte rojo.
 21 Abdul: Pero...
 22 Sadiq: Yo yo es una, para mi, las identidades, es un beneficio, es una ganancia, no sé,
 23 bueno, cada uno puede considerarse cómo es, pero eso por motivos personales
 24 porque esta chica tiene enfrentamiento con sus padres, por ejemplo, porque les, la
 25 la imponen, por ejemplo algunas normas de origen marroquí entonces
 26 se aleja de cultura marroquí porque siente discriminada y tal
 27 no, "no soy española". Yo creo que es una mala forma para integrarse.
 Interview SM1ABM2 09/15/18

1 Carol: Well, [I have] a question about that because we are in a city that is pretty
 2 unique, let's say that that it has this connection with with the arab culture, so,
 3 do you feel like a, well, a connection with that with the, for example, a friend
 4 of mine says to me "I'm not Moroccan or Spanish, I am Andalusian."
 5 Sadiq: Ahh
 6 Carol: So, Can that take up some space for, can you, or like it's not...?
 7 Sadiq: No no, I want, this friend of yours is second generation, Spanish?
 8 From what, from second generation, no? Well, I think that: well it's a crisis of
 9 identity of the second generation,
 10 they don't consider [themselves to be] Moroccan because...
 11 Carol: It' can't take up...
 12 Sadiq: No, it's like cultural legacy like heritage. Yes, I consider myself Andalusian
 13 because the region where: where I live, where I lived in Morocco, my my region
 14 all of Jabala, the region Jabala, the region of Tetouan, Tanger, Larache, Asilah,
 15 the dominant culture is the Andalusí culture and all of the aspects of life, food,
 16 clothes, everything.
 17 Abdul: But...
 18 Sadiq: But, of course, but I don't know, when I have Spanish citizenship, even though
 19 Spaniards won't accept me as Spanish I consider myself Spanish because
 20 I have the red passport.

21 *Abdul: But...*

22 *Sadiq: I, I, it's a, for me, identities, it's an advantage, it's a gain, I don't know,*
 23 *well, everyone can identify how they want, but that for personal motives, because*
 24 *that girl has a conflict with her parents, for example, because they, it is*
 25 *imposed, for example some norms from Moroccan origin, so it makes them*
 26 *distance themselves from the Moroccan culture because they feel discriminated*
 27 *against and not, "I am not Spanish." I think that's a bad way to integrate.*

5.1.4 Level 1: Positioning of Sadiq in the story world

In line 7, Sadiq frames my friend as a member of the second generation and in line 10 personifies the collective group of Moroccans of the second generation and argues that "they do not consider [themselves to be] Moroccan." He illustrates this argument using my friend as an example. In Sadiq's account, the main characters are Sadiq, my friend, and Spaniards. Like Zayna in Excerpt 9, the actions of my friend include denying, rejecting as well as experiencing and even creating conflict. Sadiq is questioning, analyzing, rejecting, creating, and identifying while the Spaniards are rejecting. The motive behind the friends' actions include a personal conflict with her parents as well as discrimination while Sadiq's motives are portrayed as wanting to adopt several identifications and his need for all of them to be acknowledged, motives which are portrayed as the norm. The motive for Spaniard's rejection of Sadiq's newly formed Spanish identity is prejudice against Moroccans. My friend is positioned as in denial, confused, resistant, and in conflict both internally and with her parents and externally with society. Sadiq positions himself as distinct from my friend, who identifies as Andalusian over Moroccan or Spanish, and instead negotiates his image as a multicultural individual who has agency to choose how he identifies and adapt to his surroundings while also maintaining strong ties to his origins. Spaniards are positioned as the gatekeepers for Sadiq's new Spanish identity through which access is only granted through official documentation.

5.1.5 Level 2: Interactional world, Sadiq and the interviewer

In line 1-4 I invoke the context of Granada noting that the setting in which the interaction takes place is marked with the history of Arab culture in Spain. In this way, I attempt to provide an opening for Sadiq to explain his own understanding of his place within the context. I give an example of my friend because I was curious to find out if this was a common experience among other Moroccans in Granada and to create a supportive interactional environment in which I was curious to learn. When Sadiq does not provide a clear uptake, I ask him in line 6 if Andalusian identity is a part of the way he understands himself or if he disagrees. In line 7 he responds and places second generation Moroccans as marked "others" whose dominant characteristic is this crisis of identity. In line 11, I challenge this perspective since I know that my friend is, in fact, a member of the first generation. Sadiq rejects this idea in line 12 and provides justification for his perspective. Not present throughout the majority of this interactional event in this excerpt is Sadiq's friend, Abdul, who pertains to the second generation group. Throughout the discussion of a crisis of identity that occupies the first 16 lines, there is no interruption or disagreement from Abdul. It is only in line 17 and 21 where Abdul objects to the characterization that Sadiq is presenting. Once Abdul interjects, I no longer provide commentary in hopes of hearing what Abdul's objections might be to his friends explanation. Sadiq negotiates his image as an authority figure on what it means to be Moroccan in Spain, someone who has cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

5.1.6 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Sadiq's narrative

When I ask the question regarding at the beginning of the interaction, I reference a Discourse that connects historical past to present experience of Moroccans in Granada. This question implicitly frames the history of the place as a symbol of group membership. Sadiq

references the idea of a crisis of identity and links this with pertaining to the second generation (lines 8-10). For second-generation Moroccans, group membership is inevitable and rejecting this inevitability is cause for conflict. Spanish identity, on the other hand, can be adopted through legal frameworks for first generation Moroccans with the implication that second generation Moroccans are Spanish through birth. Second generation speakers (who are born in Spain) are Spanish legally but Moroccan biologically and rejecting one or the other, according to Sadiq, is cause for a crisis of identity or lack of integration into Spanish society (lines 7-10 and 22-27).

Speakers of the second generation also commented on the idea of a crisis of identity, but not necessarily in referencing their own experiences. Nahla, a second generation self-identified Hispanic Moroccan, talks about the crisis of identity explaining that it does not accurately describe what all second generation Moroccans feel, rather only those Moroccans who came to Spain alone as minors. In excerpt 11, after a discussion about what it means to be Hispanic Moroccan and her likes and dislikes about living in Spain and going to Morocco, I ask Nahla to speak about her experience when she visits family in Morocco. For some participants, particularly those of the second generation, going back and forth from Morocco to Spain heightens questions of identity. Nahla positions herself as distinct and separate from those who experience such questions or "crisis of identity."

Excerpt 11

- 1 Carol: Sí. Entonces como cuando vas a: Marruecos como que, ¿la gente de Marruecos
- 2 te ve como una española o te ve como una: como una marroquí?
- 3 Nahla: Depende de... algunos, por ejemplo, no es mi caso, pero algunos sí que no
- 4 se sienten identificados, mm, identificados ni con esto, ni con lo otro.
- 5 Eso sí que es un problema. Hay algunos que si.. no lo encuentran, sobre todo los
- 6 chicos que viven aquí que migran que no están con sus familias. Por ejemplo, que
- 7 están en los centros de: de tienen de menores eso sí gente que no encuentra su
- 8 identidad, o sea, si va a volver a Marruecos, le dirán,

- 9 "oh tú, el de fuera, el de fuera," ¿Vale?
 10 Y si vienes aquí "ah tú eres el inmigrante, ve a tu país"
 11 entonces cuando él va allí, no encuentra su identidad y
 12 cuando viene aquí tampoco entonces dice, "¿qué hago yo?" y mucho,
 13 y este es el problema porque muchos de los que son.. se convierten en terroristas.
 14 Es por este tema porque no se sienten identificadas y
 15 con la discriminación y tal tal tal pues, van allí para encontrarse.
 16 Sí.

Interview MLKF2 10/30/18

- 1 Carol: Yes. So like when you go to: Morocco, like, the people of Morocco see you as a
 2 Spaniard or like, like a Moroccan?
 3 Nahla: It depends on... some, for example, not in my case, but some indeed do not
 4 identify, mm, identify with that, or with the other.
 5 That is a problem. There are some that yes... they don't find it, most of all those
 6 kids who live here that migrate and aren't with their families. For example, those
 7 that are in centers for for they have for minors, that's it, people who don't find
 8 their identity, or rather, if they return to Moroccan, they say to them,
 9 "Oh you, the one that's not from here, the one that's not from here, Okay?
 10 And if you come here "ah you are the immigrant, go back to your country"
 11 so when he goes there, he does not find his identity and
 12 when he comes here he doesn't find it either so he says, "What do I do? and a lot,
 13 and that's the problem because many of them are... they become terrorists.
 14 It's for that reason because they don't feel identified and
 15 with the discrimination and this and that well, they go there to find themselves.
 16 Yes.

5.1.7 Level 1: Positioning in the story world

With regard to the first level of positioning, that is, how characters are positioned with relation to each other, Nahla positions herself as distinct from "some people" who do not feel identified when they are in Morocco (line 3). She emphasizes this difference by stating in line 3 "not in my case, but some people." Immediately following this distancing, Nahla provides an example through metanarrative. The main characters in her account include the "Minors (children) who live here that migrate and who aren't with their families" (line 6) as well as Moroccans in Morocco (line 8) and Spaniards in Spain (line 10). The children in the story experience rejection from Moroccans and Spaniards and are attributed the sentiment of feeling lost such that they

convert into terrorists to find themselves. The motives behind the actions of Spaniards is prejudice while the motives behind the actions of Moroccans is the Discourse that moving between Spain and Morocco automatically marks one as the Other. The motives behind the minor's actions are discrimination and rejection. While minors in this story are portrayed as victims who experience discrimination and rejection (lines 9 and 10) and therefore are unable to identify with a particular group (e.g. "they do not feel identified" in line 14) they are also characterized as agentive perpetrators beginning in line 12 when the minor asks themselves "what do I do" and then chooses to become involved in extremist behavior (line 13). Through rejection by members of their community of origin and their host community, minors are positioned as an Other. Such positioning is the catalyst for questioning their subject position to which the answer is found in extremist behavior. An implication of this positioning is that Spaniards and Moroccans are first victims and then perpetrators. While Nahla is not included in the story, she uses the story to negotiate her own subject position.

5.1.8 Level 2: Interactional world: Nahla and the interviewer

At the beginning of the interaction I ask her what "the people from Morocco" say referencing her previously negotiated subject position as Hispanic Moroccan. Nahla distances herself from the idea that there is an inherent conflict in her own identity position when going back to Morocco and provides a brief scenario/story lines 6-13 to illustrate this. She describes how one comes to experience a crisis of identity and the danger of such crisis. Through this metanarrative, Nahla is able to position her own subject position. In lines 1 and 2, my question to Nahla asks her to confront how she perceives herself when she goes to Morocco. By answering the question with a metanarrative illustrating someone else's crisis of identity, she positions herself securely as a member of both the Spanish and Moroccan communities not only in terms

of how she perceives herself but how she feels how others perceive her. In the interaction that is the sociolinguistic interview, Nahla positions herself as a member of both communities through the act of telling the story of individuals who may not experience this type of belonging.

5.1.9 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Nahla's narrative

The question in lines 1 and 2 implies an inherent conflict in living in Spain and going back to Moroccan as a second generation Moroccan. Nahla explains that those who experience a crisis of identity are those that migrate to Spain at a young age alone, implying that to be secure in your Moroccanness one must not only recognize their heritage but also receive support in its development from family members. As Nahla retells the story of the crisis of identity, she upholds the following generalization: by failing to recognize one's own diverse origins, failing to adopt new ways of constructing identity, and experiencing discrimination, Moroccans can become a danger to themselves and the rest of society. While not mentioned explicitly, the idea that the minor is responsible, in part, for his own identification references the Discourse of migrants being responsible for their integration in society. Nahla recognizes the challenges associated with this idea by emphasizing that discrimination plays a role in this lack of integration and identification (line 15). In this way, Nahla makes explicit the discrimination that Moroccan immigrants face within Spanish society and the rejection they may experience in Morocco.

Feyrouz, a second generation Moroccan speaks of her experience facing this type of rejection and how it affects her perception of herself. Feyrouz describes her experiencing going back to Morocco. She explains that she feels like an immigrant in Spain but is marked as a Spanish outsider in Morocco.

Excerpt 12

1 Carol: Y ¿cómo es la experiencia de bajar? ¿Cómo te sientes?

2 ¿Cómo cómo cómo es la experiencia?

3 Feyrouz: Pues, espérate que te digo porque, aquí, o sea, me siento inmigrante marroquí
4 allí me siento, marroquí española, como que te dicen, "española" ehh incluso a
5 veces "no puedes hablar español porque tú eres marroquí", pero porque habla
6 español en plan como que se creen que yo hablo español porque me creo superior,
7 sabes lo que te quiero decir me dicen, "pues que tú eres una creída o qué no sé que
8 habla tu idioma", no sé cuánto pero, o sea, como extraña allí y aquí,
9 no hay un sitio donde yo tengo mi identidad completa.

10 Carol: Pero ¿qué dirías tú? Como que los demás dicen que tú eres como española y
11 marroquí aquí, pero ¿qué dirías tú? En tu corazón, cuando estás en casa,
12 cuando estás sola, ¿qué dirías?

13 Feyrouz: Marroquí española. Yo soy las dos cosas porque tengo de un sitio y tengo de
14 otro y: yo me adapto totalmente a las dos culturas y: además soy musulmana, o
15 sea que se puede ser musulmana y español y de cualquier nacionalidad.

Interview FF2 10/26/18

1 Carol: And what is the experience going down (to Morocco)? How do you feel?

2 How how how is the experience?

*3 Feyrouz: Well, wait till I tell you because, here, like, I feel like a Moroccan immigrant
4 here I feel, Moroccan Spanish, like they tell you, "Spanish" ehh even sometimes
5 "you can't speak Spanish because you are Moroccan", but because [they] speak
6 Spanish like like they believe that I speak Spanish because I think I am better
7 [than them], you know what I'm saying, they say, "well you are spoiled or that, I
8 don't know, speak your language", I don't how many but, like, weird there and
9 here, there is no place where I have my complete identity.*

*10 Carol: But, what would you say? Like others say that you are like Spanish and
11 Moroccan here, but what would you say? In your heart, when you are at home,
12 when you are alone, what would you say?*

*13 Feyrouz: Moroccan Spanish. I am both things because I have from one place and I
14 I have from the other and: I adapt totally to both cultures and: in addition I am
15 Muslim, like that I can be Muslim and Spanish and whichever nationality.*

5.1.10 Positioning of Feyrouz in the story world

Feyrouz mentions several characters in her generalized account of her experiences in Morocco. The main characters in lines 3-8 include Feyrouz, Spaniards and Moroccans. Both Spaniards and Moroccans reject Feyrouz as a member of their communities. Feyrouz is silenced and is positioned as the victim of prejudice and the actions attributed to her are in response to this rejection. The actions of Feyrouz include experiencing, feeling, and reacting. In line 3,

Feyrouz is positioned as an immigrant in Spain while in line 4 she is marked as Moroccan Spanish and, by Moroccans, as Spanish. The emphasis on rejection from Moroccans implies that rejection from Spaniards may be expected for Moroccans in Spain and that the rejection from Moroccans in Morocco is much more significant. The rejection Feyrouz faces from Moroccans is, in part, due to the fact that she speaks Spanish which is marked as "superior" by Moroccans in Morocco who tell her that she should "speak your language." The language they implicitly reference here is Moroccan Arabic (Darija). With this positioning, Feyrouz is the victim of an imposed identity discord which is referenced in line 8. It is worth noting that Feyrouz moves between different pronominal forms in her description of her experience first using the first person singular "I feel" in lines 3 and 4 and second person singular in lines 4 and 5 stating "they tell you" to the third person singular in line 5 "because he/she speaks Spanish" and back to the first person form in line 6 "I speak Spanish." By using the first person form, Feyrouz takes on the role as an active agent to emphasize how this experience affects her. In using the second person singular form, she is not referencing me, the interviewer, rather placing me as a character within the narrative to create an alignment between Feyrouz and the interviewer (position level 2). By using the third person impersonal "se" form in Spanish (line 6 line 15) Feyrouz manifests an impersonal but active agent other than herself which serves to generalize her own identity negotiation such that she is not the only one who experiences rejection and identifies in these ways. The presence of other cases of such identification does the work of justifying her own negotiation of identities.

In lines 13-15, Feyrouz rejects the notion of a conflict of identity by claiming both Moroccan and Spanish identification. A characteristic of this belonging is her ability to "totally

adapt to the two cultures" (line 14). She negotiates multiple identities and expands on this identification to include her Muslim identity. In this excerpt, Moroccans, and to a lesser extent Spaniards, are characterized negatively and as perpetrators, while Feyrouz is positioned as the victim and later as capable of resisting the identity positions and subsequent expectations that Moroccans and Spaniards attempt to impose.

5.1.11 Interactional world: Feyrouz and the interviewer

In Excerpt 12, I attempt to align myself with the speaker by using verbs that came out in previous interviews to describe the experience of going back to Morocco. For example, when individuals speak of going to Morocco, they use the verb "bajar" (to go down) to indicate they were going to Morocco and "subir" (to go up) to indicate going to Spain. Feyrouz begins to talk about her experience saying "Wait till I tell you.." in line 3 which she uses to indicate the type of value judgement that the listener is to place on the following account. In this instance, the speaker implies that I might be shocked or surprised to hear what she has to say about her experience in Morocco. Recognizing that explaining her experience made her uncomfortable, and attempting to align with the speaker, I move from Feyrouz as a passive recipient to rejection and a victim of an identity crisis to Feyrouz to an active agent in the creation of her identity despite this rejection. Furthermore, I asked the question in this way because I knew based on a previous unrecorded discussion that Feyrouz felt that she was perceived in one particular way and understood her own identity in a different way. This question leads to a response from Feyrouz which positions herself as an authority and as necessarily multicultural, including her identity as a Muslim, in addition to her Spanish and Moroccan identities.

5.1.12 *Discourses and ideologies in Feyrouz's narrative*

As is noted in previous excerpts, the discourses and ideologies in Excerpt 12 may not be explicitly invoked, however, this excerpt, like the others presented above, focus on the implications of what it means to be Moroccan in Spain and, the implications of going to Morocco, having been or being born in Spain. Language is explicitly framed as a symbol of group membership. In this case, the use of Spanish indexes a higher social status (e.g. in line 6 Feyrouz is called "spoiled/thinks she is better than others" for speaking Spanish), and therefore, as a marker of the outgroup in Morocco (i.e. a Spaniard in Morocco). To be Moroccan, Feyrouz must claim Moroccan identity as well as speak Moroccan Arabic (Darija) as seen in line 8 when Moroccans tell Feyrouz "speak your language." In line 14, Feyrouz argues that she can claim both identifications because she can "adapt completely to both cultures." As a result, not only is it the immigrant's responsibility to adapt and perform a monolingual and monocultural identity in their host society, they are also required to maintain and be able to perform the identity of their country of origin.

5.2 Multilingualism and multiculturalism as a resource

In this section I will argue that Moroccan immigrants are able to leverage features from multiple languages in discourse and by doing so, align themselves with multiple positions (see Excerpts 13 and 14). These positions then facilitate access to spaces where they are typically denied (Excerpts 15 and 16).

In Excerpt 13, Zaheera describes a situation when she used Fuṣḥā (Standard Arabic) with her mother to relieve tension between them. To understand the significance of the story, it is important to note that it is quite uncommon for Moroccans to use Fuṣḥā in the home as Darija (Moroccan Arabic) is preferred. Zaheera tells the story of her mother spilling the couscous she

had prepared while she was trying to help Zaheera fix the dryer. Couscous has a very fine texture and Moroccan couscous is typically prepared on Friday's as a meal to be shared with family and friends after the midday prayer (if the family is Muslim). A good couscous typically takes quite a few hours to prepare as it requires roasted vegetables and meats. Spilling a couscous can be quite devastating then because of the time it takes to prepare and the cultural significance for Moroccans. In my experience, it is similar to my Sunday dinner with family following the morning church service. Zaheera describes her mother's reaction to spilling the couscous and how she uses Fuṣḥā (Standard Arabic) to help relieve the tension in the house that came about as a result of this incident.

Excerpt 13

- 1 Zaheera: Cambio de versión, empiezo a hablar en fuṣḥā, entonces ellos ehh empiezan a
 - 2 reír porque: no es normal hablar Fuṣḥā en casa.
 - 3 Carol: Sí. ¿Tienes una historia de eso? Tienes mucha experiencia parece.
 - 4 Zaheera: Sí, tengo una @@@
 - 5 Carol: @@@@ vale vale... @@@
 - 6 Zaheera: Una muy buena porque mi madre había preparado un cuscús un viernes y
 - 7 luego lo ha puesto ehh por encima de la lavadora, en el jardín y:
 - 8 yo tenía que encender el calentador, pero no funcionaba y llamé a mi madre y
 - 9 vino y cuando lo había encendido sin querer ehh, ha caído el plato del cuscús
 - 10 entonces ella, en plan todo, después que ha hecho, se ha ido y, o sea, no quería
 - 11 gritar ni nada, pero yo sentí que se enfadó y le dije
 - 12 "lo siento, lo siento, es que no no esperaba que eso va a pasar" y ella no me
 - 13 contesta porque ella se enfadó y luego ehh, o sea, tanto pedir perdón, nada,
 - 14 no me contesta entonces cuando mi hermana vino, yo empiezo a contar lo que ha
 - 15 pasado, pero en fuṣḥā, digo,
 - 16 "*aqad asqaṭat omi alṭabaq lakinuha atamahatni ana walakini ana lastu mudniba;*
 - 17 *ana bariṣa*" @@@ entonces mi madre, no ha podido,
 - 18 empezó a reír.
 - 19 Carol: @@@
 - 20 Zaheera: @@@ Entonces, *ana kultu*, cuando pasa algo, una tensión en casa,
 - 21 hablo en Fuṣḥā entonces empiezan a reír. @@@
- Interview 2 FF1 09/12/18

- 1 Zaheera: *I change, I start talking in Fuṣḥā, so they ehh they start to*
- 2 *laugh because: it is not normal to speak Fuṣḥā at home.*

- 3 Carol: Yes. Do you have a story about this? It seems you have a lot of experience.
 4 Zaheera: Yes, I have one @@@
 5 Carol: @@@ okay okay... @@@
 6 Zaheera: A really good one because my mother had prepared a couscous one Friday
 7 and she had put it ehh on top of the washing machine, in the garden and:
 8 I had to turn on the dryer, but it wasn't working and I called my mother and
 9 she came and when she had turned it on, by accident, ehh the plate of couscous
 10 had fallen so she, like everything, after [everything] that she had done, it was
 11 gone and, like, I didn't want to yell or anything, but I felt that she got mad and I
 12 told her "I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I didn't know that that was going to happen" and
 13 she did not respond because she got mad and later ehh, like, so much asking for
 14 forgiveness, nothing, she does not respond, when my sister came, I start to tell her
 15 what happened, but in *Fuṣḥā*, I say,
 16 "My mom dropped the plate and accused me, but I am not guilty;
 17 I am innocent" @@@ so my mom, she couldn't,
 18 she started to laugh.
 19 Carol: @@@
 20 Zaheera: @@@ So, I said, when something happens, a tension in the house,
 21 I speak *Fuṣḥā* so they start to laugh @@@

5.2.1 Level 1: Positioning of Zaheera in the story world

The main characters in Zaheera's story are Zaheera, her mother, and her older sister.

Zaheera is a first generation Moroccan who moved to Spain around the age of sixteen with her family. She also belongs to the focal participant group. In this story, Zaheera asks her mother for help, asking her mother for forgiveness, and telling her sister the story of why their mother is upset. Zaheera is also seen in the story speaking *Fuṣḥā* to her sister. Her mother prepared the couscous, helps Zaheera, gets upset, and later laughs after hearing Zaheera describe the situation in *Fuṣḥā*. The sister takes on a passive role as she was not present to witness the event and listens to the story Zaheera tells. The motives behind using *Fuṣḥā* are to relieve tension in the house. Zaheera makes clear this intention before the interaction as she describes how and when she uses *Fuṣḥā*. The mother, motivated by her frustration, does not speak to Zaheera until she hears *Fuṣḥā*. Zaheera displaces the blame for the couscous falling in lines 9 and 10 by stating that "by accident" the plate "had fallen." By speaking *Fuṣḥā*, Zaheera negotiates her position as distant

from her mother but not in a way that is meant to disalign with her mother rather the event that has occurred and the associating feelings of guilt and sadness that accompany the incident and her mother's reaction. She uses Fuṣḥā satirically which causes the others to laugh. Their laughter indicates a shared understanding of what it means to speak Fuṣḥā in the home. As a result, the other characters demonstrate ingroup membership and align with Zaheera. In this way, the characters subtly claim their membership as Moroccans through their shared understanding of the significance of Fuṣḥā within the home. Zaheera positions herself in relation to her family members as a capable speaker of Fuṣḥā and therefore, as a multilingual and multicultural individual.

5.2.2 Level 2: Interactional world: Zaheera and the interviewer

In this interaction, Zaheera and I were discussing when she uses Fuṣḥā. Zaheera begins in line 1 by marking herself as a user of Fuṣḥā. Not only is she able to use Fuṣḥā, she can use Fuṣḥā strategically as a tool for humor. She positions herself as a speaker of Fuṣḥā which indexes certain characteristics including an indicator that Zaheera has had access to education in Morocco and has gone through the educational system in the country. Using Fuṣḥā strategically positions her as smart and clever. In line 3, I recognize her position of authority on the subject by stating that it seems that she has experience in using Fuṣḥā in humorous ways and I ask her to provide a story as an example. In line 4, Zaheera states that she does have a story to illustrate this point and she laughs to indicate the tenor of the story she is about to tell. I laugh in line 5 to align with the speaker and say "okay" to encourage the beginning of the narrative. In line 6, Zaheera begins the narrative turn which extends until line 18. In line 20, Zaheera switches to Fuṣḥā for a brief moment saying "I said" but switches back to Spanish to explain the point of the story. While I do indicate that I speak Fuṣḥā to participants before the interviews, the switch here

indicates my outsider status in regard to this particular use of Fuṣḥā. By marking herself as not only a user but a strategic user of Fuṣḥā, Zaheera reinforces her subject position as a multilingual and multicultural individual whose repertoire not only includes Darija, but also Spanish and Fuṣḥā.

5.2.3 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Zaheera's narrative

Upon hearing Zaheera Fuṣḥā in the house in describing the incident, the mother starts to laugh (line 18). This laughter indicates the mother's recognition of the humor of using Fuṣḥā in this way. In fact, Zaheera mentions this explicitly before telling the story in line 1 and reiterates this point in lines 20-21. Within the context of Morocco, Fuṣḥā is considered an elevated language typically relegated to formal proceedings and religious events (although there is considerable use of Fuṣḥā in less than formal situations; see Sayahi 2014). The laughter in this case and Zaheera's comments reference this Discourse. The idea that Fuṣḥā is true and good Arabic while Darija is bad or distorted Arabic is a common theme in discussions of language use in Morocco. The laughter in this scenario indicate that in this context, the status of Fuṣḥā remains unchanged. Fuṣḥā, according to these speakers, is the more formal language while Darija holds a lower status.

In Excerpt 14, Amal uses a variety of different features from Fuṣḥā, Darija, Spanish, and French to negotiate multiple identity positions. Just before this exchange, I asked Amal what people mean when they refer to Arabic speakers in Spain as "Arab." Amal explains Spaniards often use the word "Arab" to refer to people from Arabic-speaking countries who they perceive as rich while the word "Moro" is used to refer to those from Arabic-speaking countries who pertain to a middle or lower social class. It is important to note that in the context of Spain, the word "Moro" can be considered insulting by some Moroccans while others are unbothered by the

term. When I ask Amal if she is Arab she says that she is "Arab, African, Berber, and a little bit of everything, a mix" (lines 24, 25 and 27). Amal's use of features from various languages supports her multicultural subject position.

Excerpt 14

- 1 Amal: Huh, *Āna ka-ndun bi-lli n-nas hnāya* ehh españoles *k-yqūlu uh la-ṣrab*
 2 *ka-y3ītu k-yqūlu* eh árabe, *ḡēr le le* árabes del sa- *Arabia Saudi*, lli *ṣand-*
 3 *um flūs*
 4 Carol: Mmhmm
 5 Amal: *Mais quand c'est en eh arabe min al jaza?ir lli ṣādi normal*
 6 *k-ixdam, k-ixdam, mātlan* un *wāḥ* cafeteria *wla k-ixdam fi*, yo que sé en
 7 Maripaz @@@ en la tienda de zapatos @@@ *hādāk māši* árabe, *hādāk*
 8 *moro*.
 9 Carol: Mmmm
 10 Amal: *ḡwāš fhamti?*
 11 Carol: *Naṣm?*
 12 Amal: ¡Sí! Sí sí sí. uh uh
 13 Carol: Wow.
 14 Amal: @@@
 15 Carol: *Walakin li al...*
 16 Amal: *Lli ṣand-u l-flūs*, árabe, *lli ma ṣand-u ši l-flūs*, moro.
 17 Carol: Mmm
 18 Amal: *Bizzāf d əl-mārṛāt* la gente se confunde y dice eso... pero *la-ṣrab*
 19 *kāmlin bi-na ṣarab* *donc* uh mm *la-ṣrab* uh, *je crois que c'est une race*,
 20 Carol: Mmhmm
 21 Amal: ...*c'est une ethnie*, *c'est jolie*, *āna ... j'ai aucun problème avec* uh
 22 *ṣanima lli yqūlu-li āna bi-lli ṣarbiyya*, *wāxxa*, *māši muškīl*.
 23 Carol: *Anti Anti ṣarabia*.
 24 Amal: *ṣarbiyya*, *īfrīqiyya*, uh: ((chasquido)) *barbāriyya @@@*,
 25 *məl l-bārābēra*, *šwīya mən kull ši*,
 26 Carol: Mmhmm
 27 Amal: Una mezcla @@@
 Interview SADF1 12/02/18

- 1 Amal: Huh, I think that the people here ehh Spaniards that say uhh the Arabs
 2 that say uh Arab, [are] only the the Arabs from Saudi Arabia, and
 3 have money.
 4 Carol: Mmhmm
 5 Amal: But when it's in eh Arab from Algeria it's a normal person normal
 6 working, working, for example, in a cafeteria or have- in, I don't know in
 7 Maripaz @@@ in the shoestore @@@ that's not (an) Arab, that's a

- 8 Moro.
 9 Carol: Mmmm
 10 Amal: You understand?
 11 Carol: Yes?
 12 Amal: Yes! Yes, yes, yes. uh uh
 13 Carol: Wow.
 14 Amal: @@@
 15 Carol: But for the...
 16 Amal: If they have money, Arab, if they don't have money, Moro.
 17 Carol: Mmm
 18 Amal: A lot of the time people get confused and you say...but Arabs
 19 how many of us [are] Arab so uh mm Arab uh, I think it is a race,
 20 Carol: Mmhmm
 21 Amal: ...it is an ethnicity, it's pretty, I don't have a problem with uh
 22 when they say that I am Arab, okay, there's no problem.
 23 Carol: You, you are Arab?
 24 Amal: Arab, African, uh: ((clicks)) Berber, @@@
 25 Berber, a little bit of everything,
 26 Carol: Mmhmm
 27 Amal: A mix @@@

5.2.4 Level 1: Positioning of Amal in the story world

The main characters in Amal's account include Spaniards, Arabs, Moros, and Amal. In this excerpt, Spaniards make generalizations about Arabs and are portrayed as hypocritical as they assign positive traits with the term "Arab" to those who have money (lines 2, 3 and 16 and "Moro" to those who may not have money (lines 5-8 and 16). While Arabs are linked with places like Saudi Arabia, "Moros" are linked with places like Algeria. It is noteworthy that Algeria neighbors Morocco to the east while Saudi Arabia is farther east. Amal distances herself from Spaniards in line 1 using the deictic *hnāya* in Darija meaning "here." In her account, Amal uses features from Darija (i.e. *hnāya* in line 1, *māši* line 7, *bizzāf* in line 16), Fuṣṣhā (i.e. *arabe min al jazaʔir* in line 5), Spanish (i.e. *en Maripaz en la tienda de zapatos* in lines 6 and 7) and French (i.e. 19 *je crois que c'est une race*). The use of these features allows Amal to position herself as a multicultural and multilingual individual. This positioning does not necessarily align with just

one ethnolinguistic identity, but multiple identities. While Spaniards are portrayed as ignorant, Amal is portrayed as knowledgeable in culturally and linguistically diverse ways. This is reinforced by her use of multilingual features. In Morocco, French and Fuṣḥā are oftentimes associated with access to education and higher social status. Therefore, the use of these features may index those particular identities.

5.2.5 Level 2: Interactional world: Amal and the interviewer

Throughout the beginning of the interaction, I make little commentary apart from providing affirming that I am engaged in the conversation. At line 9, I provide this affirmation but do not act surprised which prompts Amal to check for my comprehension in line 10 in Fuṣḥā with "you understand"? I respond in Fuṣḥā with a rising intonation (in line 11) to indicate my surprise and shock at the description in lines 5-8. Amal responds in line 12 in Spanish. In lines 10 and 12, Amal makes more explicit my outsider status. In attempts to realign with the speaker, I use Fuṣḥā in lines 15 and 23. At the end of the interaction in lines 24-25 and 27, Amal clearly marks herself in relation to me as a member of a variety of different communities which reaffirms her identification as a multilingual and multicultural individual.

5.2.6 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Amal's narrative

In regard to the dominant discourses and ideologies, Amal explicitly marks Arab identity as a race and ethnicity. In other interviews, participants claim that the Arab identity encompasses Arabic speakers including Moroccans. As a result, Amal portraying an Arab identity implies a connection to Moroccan identity. Curiously, Amal identifies as Berber in addition to Arab. It is quite common for Berbers (Amazigh peoples) to distance themselves from Arab identity.

In Excerpt 15, Abdul recounts an experience he had in Morocco. Earlier in the interview, Abdul was explaining to me that he often chooses to identify as either Moroccan or Spanish

depending on the context. Abdul is able to perform both identities together or separately and uses features from Darija, Fuṣḥā, and Spanish to negotiate these identity positions. In Excerpt 15, Abdul describes a time when he tried to align himself with a Moroccan in Morocco, but is recognized as something else.

Excerpt 15

1 Abdul: Mira, yo te cuento una anécdota con respeto a esto. Yo una vez estuve en
 2 Tánger, yo voy mucho, mi familia es de Tánger y estaba en el zoco de Tánger
 3 esperando para coger un taxi y vino un solo, decimos en español, gorrilla, gente
 4 que te pide dinero, "te cojo un taxi hermano, te cojo un taxi."
 5 Entonces, yo le dije en el dariya, le dije,
 6 "no muchas gracias *barakallahu fik* no necesito."
 7 Me miró así [hace una cara extraña] y me dijo
 8 "tú hablas como la gente de aquí, pero te mueves como la gente de allí"
 9 señalando a España, lo miro y digo "lo has clavado, tío",
 10 y eso es lo que te digo, mi parte española, la manera de gesticular en,
 11 los procesos mentales, yo creo que está por encima que de mi parte marroquí,
 12 que la tengo, pero está por encima.
 Interview ABM2 09/15/18

1 Abdul: Look, I will tell you a story in relation to this. One time I was in
 2 Tangier, I go a lot, my family is from Tangier and I was in the plaza of Tangier
 3 waiting to get a taxi and here came this, as we say in Spanish, gorrilla, people
 4 that ask you for money, "I will get you a taxi brother, I will get you taxi."
 5 So, I told him in Darija, I said,
 6 "No, thank you, may God bless you, I don't need it."
 7 He looked at me like this [makes strange face] and he said
 8 "You speak like the people from here, but you move like the people from there"
 9 signaling to Spain, I look at him and say "you've nailed it, man",
 10 and that's what I'm telling you, my Spanish part, the way I gesture in,
 11 the mental processes, I think that it is on top of my Moroccan part,
 12 I have it, but it's on top.

5.2.7 Level 1: Positioning of Abdul in the story world

The main characters in this story include Abdul and the *gorrilla* who he explains is a person who asks for money. In the story, Abdul is waiting, speaking Spanish and Darija while the gorilla is helping and classifying Abdul. In line 4, the gorilla aligns himself with Abdul by

using Spanish but Abdul attempts to align himself with the gorilla, who is Moroccan, by using darija (line 5). The motive behind this alignment is to mark Abdul's insider status and change the nature of the interaction with the gorilla. In line 7, we begin to see the gorilla begin to reject this alignment by making a strange face and then in line 8, he makes this clear by saying "you speak like people here, but you move like people from there" and points to Spain. The spatial deictic "aquí" and "allí" indicate a geographical, cultural, and linguistic difference that is significant enough to be called out by the gorilla. In the narrative, both speakers understand that the gorilla is pointing to Spain in line 8, indicating a shared understanding of the significance of this geographic region. Spain is located just north of Morocco across the Strait of Gibraltar. Coming from Spain automatically marks Abdul as distinct from Moroccans despite his Moroccan heritage and linguistic capabilities. Abdul accepts this assessment in surprise in line 9. The gorilla is portrayed as a Moroccan and as a perceptive individual while Abdul attempts to place himself as a member of the ingroup. In this case, Abdul is unable to move between identities in a way that best serves him as his true identity as a Spanish Moroccan is revealed by the gorilla. Instead, Abdul is positioned as both an ingroup and outgroup member of the Moroccan community and the Spanish community because of his linguistic and physical behavior. While Abdul recognizes the limitations of his success in performing belonging in particular instances he nevertheless utilizes his language capabilities to negotiate belonging in various social spaces.

5.2.8 Level 2: Interactional world: Abdul and the interviewer

Abdul marks himself as a member of the Moroccan community in line 2 where explains first that his family is from Tangier and second, that he uses Darija in the interaction with the gorilla. In discourse, Darija is frequently taken up as a marker of Moroccan identity. In line 3, he uses the first person plural to in describing the term *gorilla* stating "we say in Spanish." In these

instances, Abdul marks himself as a member of the Moroccan and Spanish community in relation to me, an outsider in both respects.

5.2.9 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Abdul's narrative

Both the gorilla and Abdul implicitly frame language as an indicator of group membership by using Spanish and Darija in an attempt to align with one another in lines 4 and 5. This idea is reinforced in line 7 when the gorilla says that Abdul "speaks like people here [in Morocco]." However, knowledge in the language is not sufficient for claiming a particular identity as in the same line Abdul is perceived as "moving like the people there [in Spain]." In this instance, while language is a necessary condition, it is not a sufficient condition for claiming membership. This is reinforced by Abdul in lines 10 and 11 where he explains that his "Spanish part" is on top of his "Moroccan part." The fact that his Spanish part is on top highlights the hegemonic effect of taking on Spanish monolingualism and monoculturalism that has come to be an expected obligation for immigrants in the region. Furthermore, having been born in Spain, or even coming from Spain, forever marks an individual as a member of the outgroup in their community of origin.

In Excerpt 16, Lulu uses the construct of multilingualism and multiculturalism to perform belonging in spaces where access is typically denied to immigrants. I asked Lulu to tell me how she came to study Translation and Interpretation and Semitic Studies as a major at the University of Granada. Lulu explains that it is a long story which involves a crisis of identity and a rejection of her family. Upon becoming interested in the police force, Lulu realizes that her Moroccan identity, and the knowledge that it entails, in addition to her Spanish identity, can be useful in reaching her goals of becoming a police officer. However, Lulu argues that she must first develop her skills in Arabic (both Fuṣḥā and Darija) for her to be able to reach those goals.

Excerpt 16

1 Lulu: Sí, es una historia un poco larga, pero: yo: en bachillerato siempre quería hacer
 2 ingeniería y hice un bachillerato de ciencias, estudié ciencias, todo ciencia, nada
 3 que ver con las letras y una chica de matemáticas pura y dura, pero cuando
 4 terminé el bachillerato tuve una crisis identidad @@@ me fui de mi casa. Bueno,
 5 tuve cierto de: no sabía qué hacer con mi vida casi casi que por lo mismo porque
 6 estaba como entre dos mundos, mi familia me pedía hacer una cosa
 7 y yo quería hacer otra. Mi familia siempre como que
 8 me ha presionado al mundo árabe, al mundo marroquí al mundo a a mis orígenes
 9 y yo era como, "Vale, vengo de aquí, pero yo quiero llegar aquí y no tiene nada
 10 que ver una cosa con la otra" entonces, bueno, decidí meterme en la policía, pero
 11 no a escala base sino escala ejecutiva y para eso te hace falta una carrera entonces
 12 en ese momento dije "qué carrera me puede beneficiar para eso?", o sea, qué
 13 puedo, una vez que esté dentro del cuerpo qué conocimientos me ayudarían a ser
 14 mm mejor, o sea, a destacar y es el tema de que soy marroquí entonces,
 15 vale, soy marroquí, sé hablarlo, pero sin leerlo ni escribirlo es como
 16 medio marroquí. @@ ¿Entiendes? No sabía ni escribir mi nombre y dije,
 17 "pues me meto en la traducción," me meto en una carrera que permita conocer mi
 18 origen, pero conocer los fondos a saber leer saber escribir
 19 ser como una marroquí completa
 20 era como que no era marroquí del todo porque ni siquiera sabía escribir
 21 mi nombre la gente me decía, "escribe mi nombre," pero es que no sabía escribir.
 22 Entonces qué marroquí eres tú que no sabes ni escribir.
 23 El idioma es, es como lo que te he dicho antes, es importante.

Interview SAF2 11/15/18

1 Lulu: Yes, it's kind of a long story, but: I: in high school I always wanted to do
 2 engineering and I did my high school degree in science, I studied science, all
 3 science, nothing to do with liberal arts and a mathmatic chick hardcore, but when
 4 I finished high school I had an identity crisis @@@ I left my house. Well, I had
 5 something like: I didn't know what to do with my life almost almost the same
 6 because I was like between two worlds, my family asked me to do one thing and I
 7 wanted to do something else. My family always like,
 8 pressured me to the Arab world, to the Moroccan world, the world of my origins
 9 and I was like, "Okay, I come from here and one thing doesn't have anything to do
 10 with the other" so, fine, I decided to join the police force, but not at the entry
 11 level, at the executive level and for that you need a Bachelor's degree so in that
 12 moment I said "What major can help with that?" or, what can,
 13 once I am in the police corps what knowledge would help me be mm better, like,
 14 to stand out and it's the thing that I am Moroccan so,
 15 okay, I'm Moroccan, I can speak it, but without reading it or writing it, it's like
 16 half Moroccan. @@ You understand? I didn't know how to write my name and I

17 *said, "well I will get into translation," I will get into a major that allows me to*
 18 *get to know my origin, but knowing the background, to, reading writing*
 19 *be like a full Moroccan*
 20 *it was like I wasn't a complete Moroccan because I didn't even know how to write*
 21 *my name and people would say, "write my name," but I didn't know how to write.*
 22 *So, what Moroccan are you that you don't know how to write. The language is,*
 23 *is like I said before, it's important.*

5.2.10 Level 1: Positioning of Lulu in the story world

The main characters of Lulu's narrative include herself and her family. While her family "pressures her towards her to the Arab world, the Moroccan world, the world of her origins" (line 8), she rejects this identification because of a crisis of identity (line 4). The actions that are attributed to her family include pressuring and asking Lulu to connect with a certain way of seeing herself. Lulu is rejecting, experiencing a crisis, and making decisions about her future. Later, she is accepting, strategizing, and learning. Lulu's family encourages her to align with identity positions to which they align themselves (lines 7 and 8) and Lulu's first reaction is to reject these positions in favor of a different future. Upon rejecting this identity Lulu experiences a crisis of identity and leaves her home (line 4) which is related to her uncertainty about her future (line 5). She uses spatial deixis to represent this distancing in line 9. In line 14 she aligns herself with her Moroccan identity when she realizes that it can help her "stand out" and be "better" (line 14). However, in lines 15-22, she portrays herself as falling short of Moroccaness due to her lack of skills in writing and reading Arabic. She argues that these skills are necessary to be considered a "full Moroccan" (line 19). In this excerpt, Lulus' family is positioned as Arab and Moroccan and representative of a past as part of her "origins" (line 8). Lulu's subject position is in flux in the beginning and later becomes solidified once she realizes she wants to become a police officer. In this way, Lulu is portrayed as a positive figure in search of her true self. While

at first Lulu is the victim of a crisis, she later takes on a more active role in the pursuit of her career.

5.2.11 Level 2: Interactional world: Lulu and the interviewer

Lulu presents herself as someone who is partially responsible for her crisis but a victim of finding herself between two worlds, trying to meet the expectations of her family while also trying to find her passion. In this case, she is constrained by circumstances. Once she has this clear, she makes evident to me, the interviewer, that it is her Moroccan identity which is the key to her success (line 14). Lulu comes to have more agency and is ready to break social barriers once she accepts her social circumstances. The story helps her to make this point by portraying her multiple identities within the context of Spanish society as initially creating tensions and divisions, and it is only when Lulu accepts this inevitable tension as a benefit that she is able to overcome this challenge. She also portrays herself as an authority on what it means to be Moroccan when she explains to me the importance of being able to write and read Arabic (lines 15-21) and then reinforces this position in line 22.

5.2.12 Level 3: Discourses and ideologies in Lulu's narrative

Lulu's narrative of how she came to study translation and interpretation at the University of Granada reveals several Discourses:

- 1) Language skill is a prerequisite for Moroccan identity.
- 2) Darija and Fuṣḥā are versions of the same language.
- 3) To be Moroccan, one must demonstrate skills in both Fuṣḥā (writing and reading) and Darija (speaking and listening).

Lulu explained earlier in the conversation that, in Morocco, Darija is considered an oral language while Fuṣḥā is written. Therefore, the direct object pronoun "lo" references both Fuṣḥā and

Darija (line 15). In Morocco, Darija is often considered a bad or distorted form of Fuṣḥā, that is, not a language in its own right. By using "lo," Lulu indicates that she perceives Fuṣḥā and Darija as different versions of the same language and that the knowledge of reading, writing, speaking, and listening the language are all required to be fully Moroccan (see Sayahi 2014 for a discussion on how North Africans perceive Standard and Dialectal Arabic). The fourth Discourse present in Lulu's narrative is as follows:

4) Rejection of multicultural and multilingual identity is a cause for crisis.

Similar to the findings from section 5.1, the crisis of identity is provoked by rejecting family origins and cultural ties. The only way for this crisis to be resolved is by accepting and assuming a multicultural and multilingual identity. This idea is illustrated in Lulu's narrative regarding her crisis of identity. By positioning herself as multicultural and multilingual, Lulu takes up the racialized forms of categorization that she initially rejects and reformulates them to be a valuable form of cultural capital. In accepting her multicultural and multilingual identity as a key component to her career success, the last Discourse in Lulu's narrative is as follows:

5) Multilingualism and multiculturalism are a resource.

In line 14, Lulu links her position as Moroccan as crucial knowledge that can help her stand out in the police force. In line 22, Lulu highlights the importance of linguistic capabilities in her career goals. However, it is not solely Lulu's linguistic knowledge in Arabic or her identity as Moroccan, rather, her success lies in her taking up these positions in addition to her Spanish identity and knowledge of Spanish. In these ways, it becomes evident that both multilingual language competence as well as multicultural and multi-ethnic identities are considered imperative for Lulu's success. As Lulu comes to understand the value of her cultural capital, her

sense of self and her goals for the future are reassessed. This finding reiterates Norton Peirce's (1995, p. 18) notion that investment and identity are integrally related. Therefore, multilingualism and multiculturalism are considered a resource.

5.3 Review of Findings

In section 5.2 I discussed the concept of the crisis of identity. The notion of an identity crisis of a diasporic community is rooted in the idea of identity as fixed. First generation speakers perceive this identity crisis as a challenge for second generation Moroccans. Some second generation Moroccans position themselves as securely Spanish and Moroccan, while others argue that it is not their own positioning, but how others perceive their identities that causes the crisis of identity. Language is linked to identity in this Discourse. Lack of knowledge of Darija is considered one of the causes of such crisis, and multilingual capabilities are presented as the solution. In addition, the findings show that fluid language practices were frequently leveraged in interviews to negotiate speakers' positions as members of various communities. The speakers' positions within these contexts facilitated social identities which challenged previously taken for granted ethno-nationalist or ethnolinguistic identities.

Furthermore, the identity positions which support multilingual practices, allowed speakers to perform belonging in various social spaces to which access may be typically denied. These findings show that while Moroccans in Spain and Moroccan identity continue to be highly contested within Spanish and even Moroccan society, Moroccan immigrants in Granada can utilize their multilingual repertoires to align with specific identities and positions. In turn, these positions support their multilingual practices and allow speakers to perform belonging in social spaces. However, as noted in Excerpts 15 and 16, the limits that some speakers face when

negotiating their identities in various social spaces occur when confronting dominant Discourses and ideologies about what it means to be Moroccan. Despite this, first and second generation Moroccans are able to navigate highly monolingual and monocultural expectations using not only the features of various languages and cultures but the concepts of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Chapter 6: Conflicting language attitudes and ideologies

6.1 Language Attitudes and Language Ideologies

To better understand what attitudes and ideologies are linked with the language practices of first and second generation Moroccans, I present the results of part five of the Bilingual Language Profile which examines the attitudes of speakers towards language and language practices and identity. In addition, I will discuss the dominant ideologies in the interviews with all fifty-eight individuals, including thirty first generation and twenty-eight second generation speakers. While the analysis of attitudes examines how speakers understand their languages, language ideologies focus on societal discourses and how they are constructed and circulated. Attitudes can, but may not always reflect dominant ideologies (Fuller, 2018). In examining the role of ideologies in language use, we may better understand how speakers make sense of their multilingual language practices. Analysis of language attitudes as well as language ideologies provides a greater understanding of possible effects of these attitudes and ideologies on situated language use.

In section 6.2, I examine the language attitudes held by fifteen first generation speakers and twenty-one second generation speakers. The questionnaire used to elicit language attitudes can be found in Appendix F. Speakers were asked to rate to what extent they agreed with several

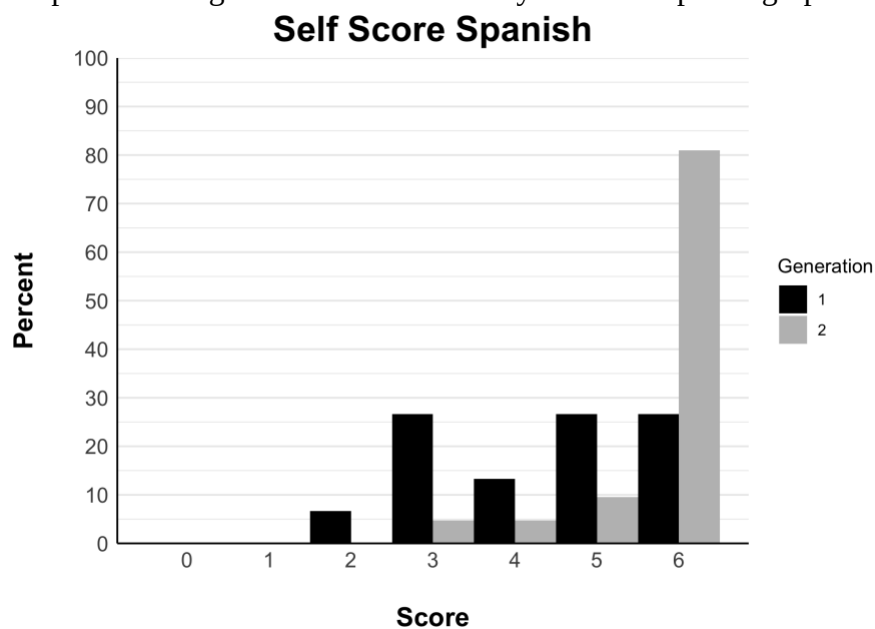
statements on a scale from "0" to "6" with "0" indicating that they did not agree and "6" indicating that they completely agreed. Speakers of both generations rated statements regarding language and their sense of self, "I feel like myself when I speak X language", language and culture, "I identify with an X speaking culture," the importance of languages, "It is important for me to speak X language like a native speaker" and lastly, the perception of others regarding their language use "I want others to think that I am a native speaker of X language." In section 6.3, the dominant language ideologies in the discourses of Moroccans of both the first and second generation will be discussed. These ideologies include the diglossic ideology which marks Darija and Fuṣḥā as an iconic case of diglossia, the pluralist ideology which values multilingualism, and the monoglossic ideology which reflects normative and hegemonic monolingual expectations of nation-state constructions.

6.2 Language Attitudes

6.2.1 *Language and Self*

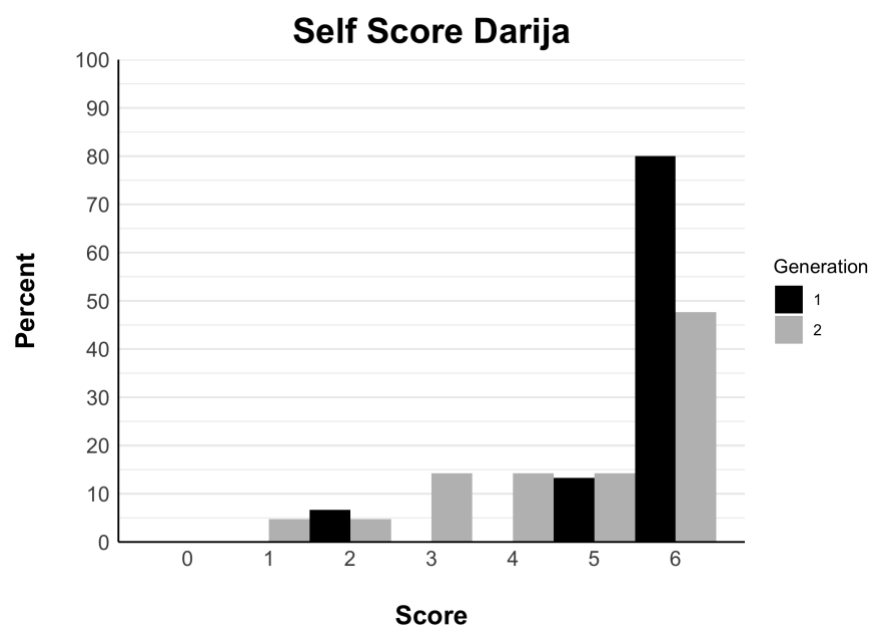
Speakers were asked to rate to what degree they most felt like themselves when speaking a specific language on a scale of "0" to "6" with "0" indicating they completely disagreed with the statement and "6" indicating that they completely agreed with the statement. As shown in Graph 55 below, just over 80 percent of second generation speakers reported that they feel most like themselves when speaking Spanish while the same percentage of first generation speakers stated that they feel like themselves when speaking Darija (see Graph 56 below). A combined 20 percent of second generation speakers agree less with the statement that they feel most like themselves when speaking Spanish. First generation speakers are provide a neutral to positive rating of the statement indicating that it they feel less like themselves when speaking Spanish than their second generation counterparts.

Graph 55. Rating for "I feel most like myself when speaking Spanish."



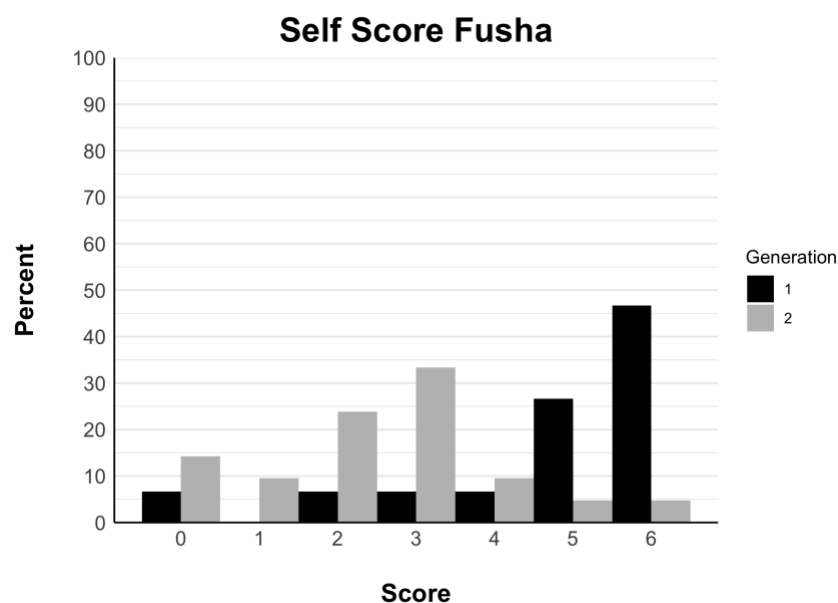
Although more second generation speakers report feeling most like themselves when speaking Spanish, a substantial number of second generation speakers also feel most like themselves when speaking Darija (just under 50% completely agree and another 15% agree with the statement). Few first and second generation speakers did not agree with the statement. First generation speakers overwhelmingly feel most like themselves when speaking Darija (80% of all first generation speakers).

Graph 56. Rating for "I feel most like myself when speaking Darija."



Just under fifty percent of speakers of the first generation group reported feeling like themselves when speaking Fuṣḥā. Second generation speakers do not necessarily feel like themselves with speaking Fuṣḥā as can be seen in Graph 57. Both groups' ratings were spread out between agreeing and disagreeing with the statement that they feel like themselves when speaking Fuṣḥā.

Graph 57. Rating for "I feel most like myself when speaking Fuṣḥā."



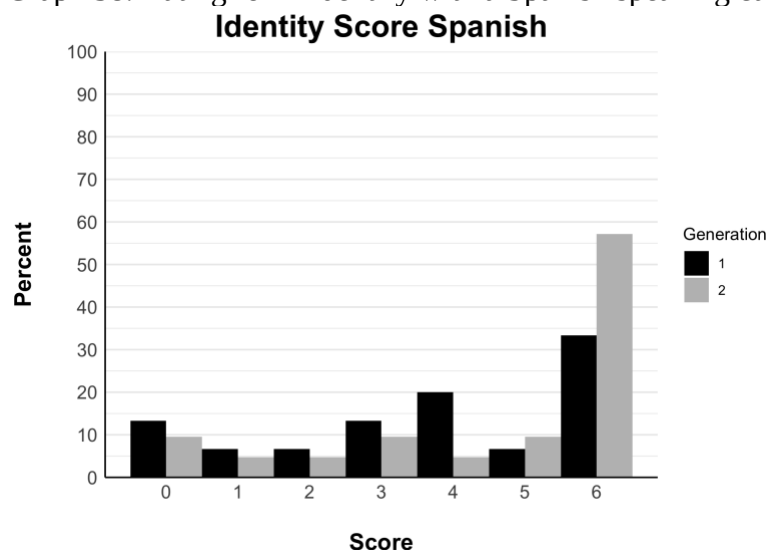
The findings in graphs 55, 56, and 57 indicate that more first generation speakers feel like themselves when speaking Darija (80% of all first generation speakers) while second generation speakers indicate feeling like themselves while using Spanish (just over 80% of second generation speakers). This finding aligns with previous findings which show second generation speakers' preference for Spanish and the greater frequency of use of the language.

6.2.2 Identification and Culture

In regard to language and cultural identification, speakers were asked to rate the following statement, "I identify with an X speaking culture" from "0" (completely disagree) to "6" (completely agree). Second generation individuals identified with a Darija and Spanish-speaking culture. However, more second generation speakers identified with a Spanish-speaking culture than a Darija-speaking culture (50% and 55% of all second generation speakers respectively). Fewer second generation speakers identify with a Fuṣḥā-speaking culture (just over 45% of speakers) whereas more first generation speakers identified with Darija and Fuṣḥā-

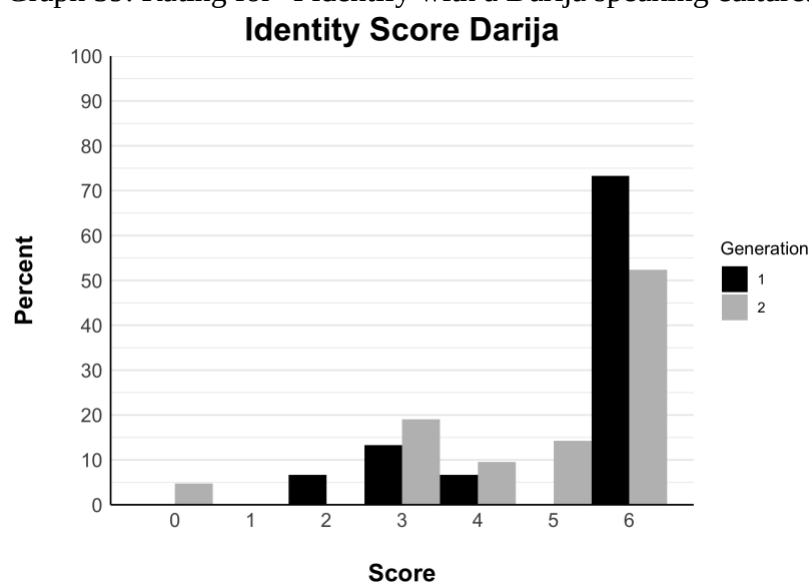
speaking cultures (just under 75% and 60% respectively) more than a Spanish-speaking culture (see graphs 58, 59, and 60 below).

Graph 58. Rating for "I identify with a Spanish speaking culture."



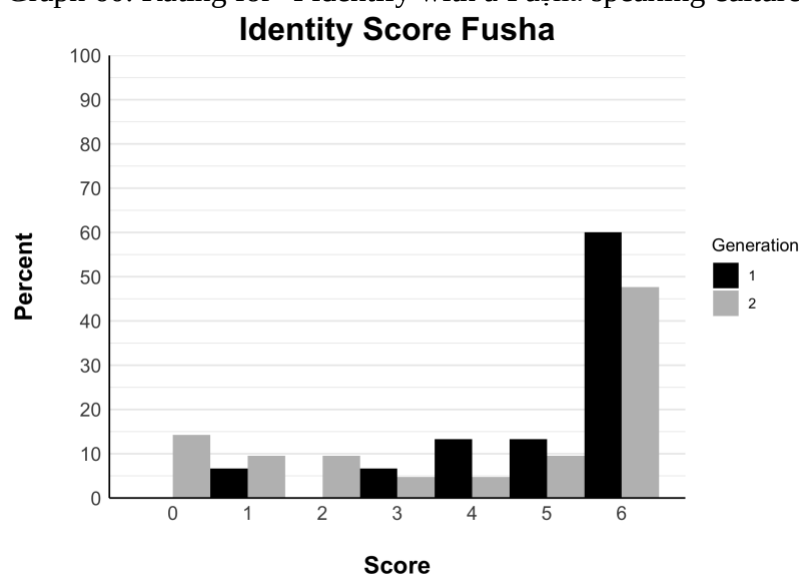
Both groups held mixed perspectives on whether they identified with a Spanish speaking culture as shown in Graph 58 above. As many as 15% of first generation and 10% of second generation speakers completely disagreed with the statement that they identify with a Spanish speaking culture. In rating whether they identified with a Darija speaking culture, ratings from both groups showed a clearer trend as just over 50% of second generation and almost 75% of first generation speakers completely agreed with the statement. However, it is important to note that 5% of second generation speakers completely disagreed with this statement while no first generation speakers did.

Graph 59. Rating for "I identify with a Darija speaking culture."



Fewer first generation speakers completely agreed that they identified with a Fuṣḥā speaking culture while under 50% of speakers of the second generation group agreed with the statement. Around 15% of second generation speakers completely disagreed with this statement while few (5%) of first generation speakers disagreed that they identify with a Fuṣḥā speaking culture.

Graph 60. Rating for "I identify with a Fuṣḥā speaking culture."

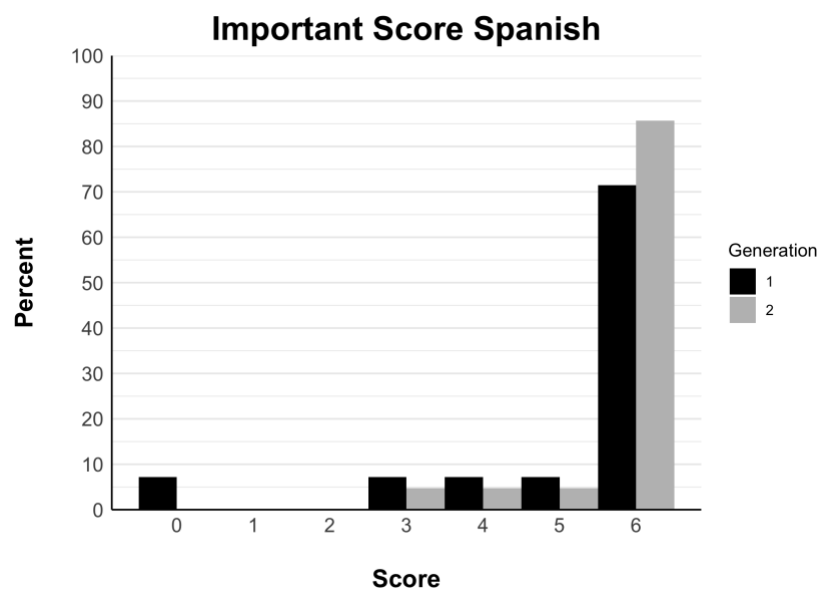


The fact that second generation speakers align more with a Spanish-speaking culture and first generation speakers identify with a Darija-speaking culture may also be reflected in their preference for the respective languages and greater use of each language as noted in the survey results of Chapter 4. These attitudes may also be related to the expectations that second generation Moroccans may feel to conform to the dominant society's cultural norms and the rejection they may face when visiting family in Morocco as discussed in Chapter 5. As can be observed in the graphs above, the distribution of the ratings suggest that a substantial number of speakers in both groups do not identify with a Spanish speaking culture. Fewer speakers in both groups reported the same ratings for identifying with a Darija and Fuṣḥā speaking culture which suggests that there still may be strong ties to these cultures. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether these attitudes truly have an impact on speakers' actual language practices. As previously discussed, both first and second generation speakers use a variety of different linguistic resource in their daily lives.

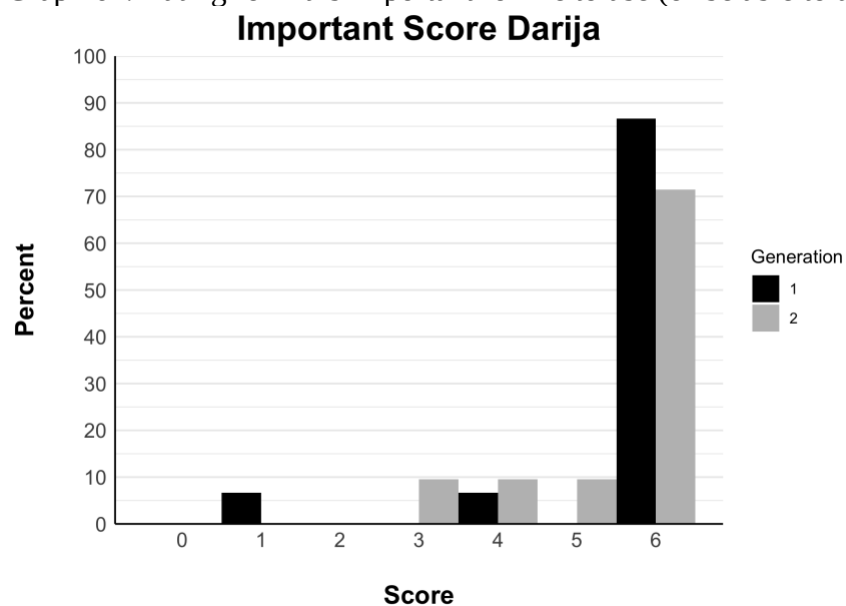
6.2.3 *Importance of Languages*

With regard to the importance of using Spanish, Darija, and Fuṣḥā like a native speaker, both first and second generation speakers reported that they completely agree with each statement. However, there were some slight differences with regard to use of Spanish. More second generation speakers agreed completely that it is important for them to use Spanish as a native speaker (over 85%) than Darija (over 70%) or Fuṣḥā (over 75%). First generation speakers reported that using Darija as a native speaker was important (over 85% of all first generation speakers) while fewer agreed with the same statement for Fuṣḥā and Spanish (around 70% of speakers). Slightly over 5% of first generation speakers completely disagreed that it is important to use Spanish and Fuṣḥā like a native speaker while the same percentage of first generation speakers disagreed that it is important to use Darija like a native speaker. All of the second generation speakers were neutral or at least somewhat agreed that it is important for them to use Spanish and Darija like a native speaker whereas 5% of them completely disagreed that it is important to use Fuṣḥā like a native speaker.

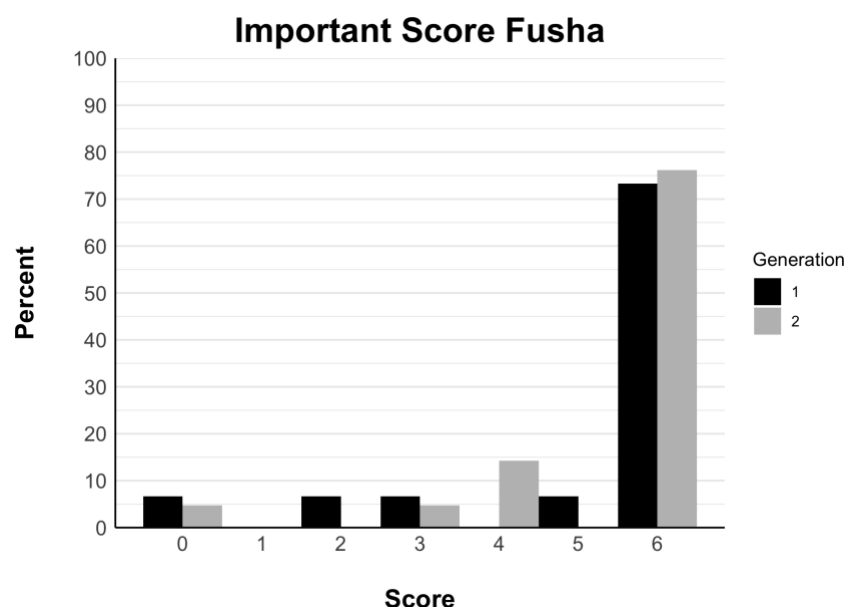
Graph 61. Rating for "It is important for me to use (or be able to use) Spanish as a native speaker."



Graph 62. Rating for "It is important for me to use (or be able to use) Darija as a native speaker."



Graph 63. Rating for "It is important for me to use (or be able to use) Fuṣḥā as a native speaker."



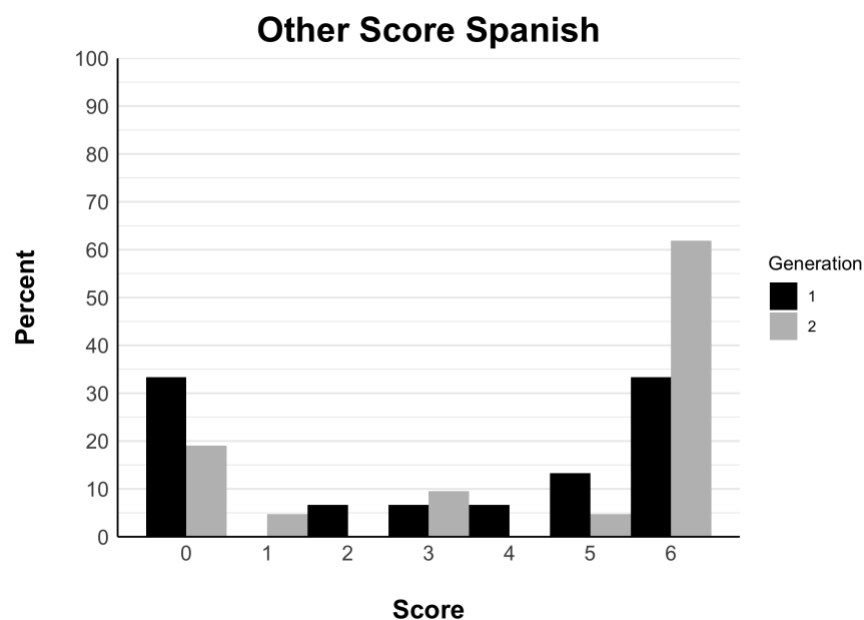
Once again, the findings in terms of using Spanish, Fuṣḥā, and Darija as a native speaker by generation align with their preferences for the languages and use of each language. First and second generation speakers rated that it was important to use Spanish, Fuṣḥā, and Darija as a native speaker. The higher ratings for Spanish among second generation speakers may indicate that the dominance of Spanish and expectations for its use as a native speaker cannot be avoided. Second generation speakers were predominantly students attending university where they are expected to use Spanish like monolingual Spanish speakers. First generation speakers may also experience these pressures, although perhaps to a lesser extent as the sample included speakers who worked in shops where knowledge of Darija and Fuṣḥā is also essential.

6.2.4 Others Perception of Self and Language

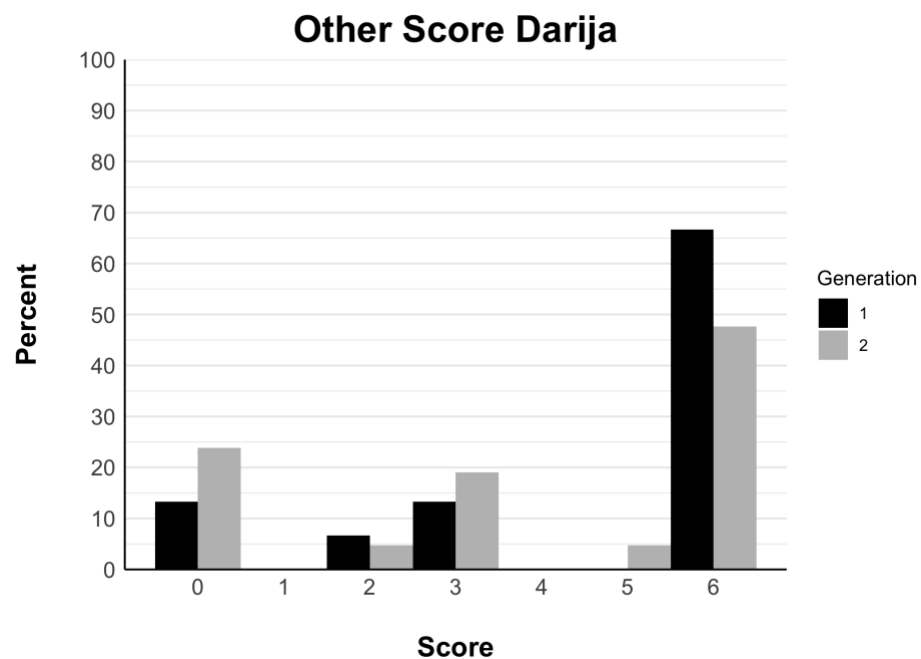
Participants were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I want others to think that I am a native speaker of X language." Just over 60 percent of second generation individuals indicated that they completely agree with the statement "I want others to think I am a

native speaker of Spanish" while just under 35 percent of first generation speakers completely disagreed with this statement. Instead, first generation speakers completely agreed with the statement with Darija (over 65%) and Fuṣḥā (just under 55%). Only 45 percent of second generation speakers completely agreed that they would like others to think they are native speakers of Darija and completely disagreed with the same statement for Fuṣḥā (see graphs 64, 65, and 66 below).

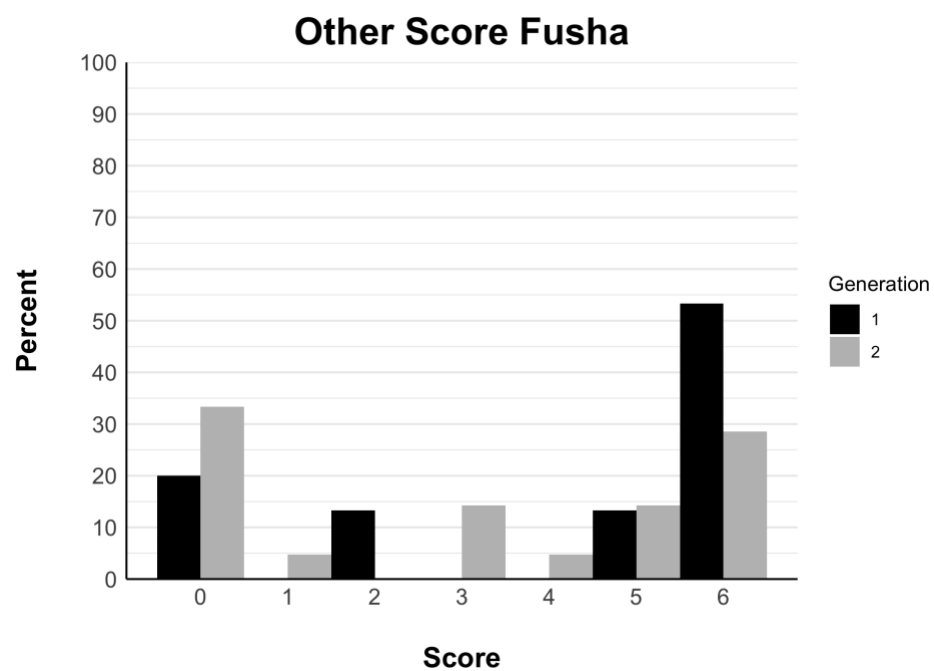
Graph 64. Rating for "I want others to think that I am a native speaker of Spanish."



Graph 65. Rating for "I want others to think that I am a native speaker of Darija."



Graph 66. Rating for "I want others to think that I am a native speaker of Fuṣḥā."



Speakers of both generations completely agreed with statements about using Darija, Fuṣḥā, or Spanish as a native speaker, but it was less important for them overall to be perceived as native speakers of these languages. The graphs above show that substantial numbers of first and second generation speakers completely disagreed or somewhat disagreed with the statements regarding others' perceptions of themselves as native speakers. The results show that for first and second generation speakers, it is more important to use the language than to be perceived as a language user. This finding aligns with the dominant ideology found among the discourse of Moroccans in Granada, namely, the pluralist ideology which values multilingual capabilities. I now turn to a discussion of this ideology along with the diglossic and monoglossic ideologies that were present within the discourse of first and second generation speakers.

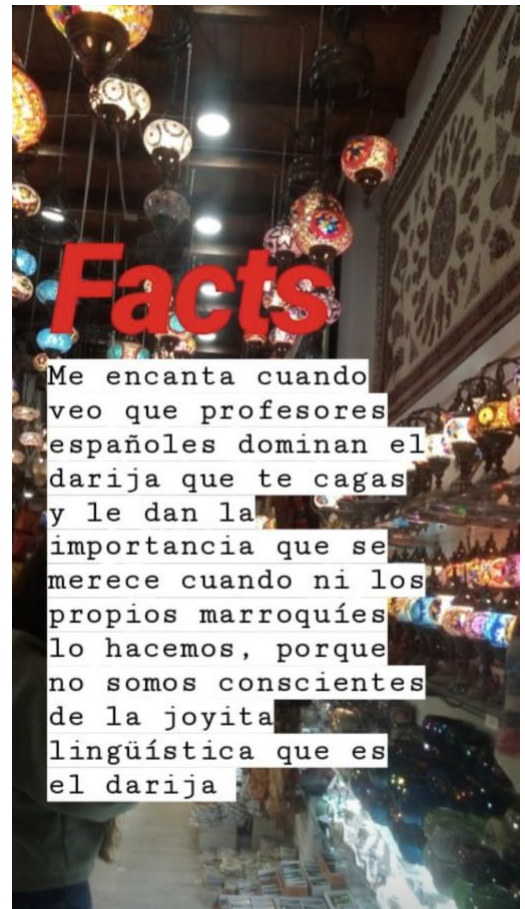
6.3 Language Ideologies

6.3.1 *Diglossic ideologies*

Speakers from both generations oftentimes perceived the relationship between Fuṣḥā and Darija as diglossic, describing Fuṣḥā as a more correct form of Arabic and Darija as more simplistic or even an incorrect form of Arabic. In this sense Darija and Fuṣḥā are linked as one. As Harjus and Harjus (2020) and Bassiouney (2020) demonstrate, speakers often name all varieties as simply "Arabic." I first encountered this diglossic ideology among Moroccans in Granada while learning Fuṣḥā. During the first week of my stay in Granada in 2017, I entered a giftshop and started a conversation with the shop owner. He mentioned that he was from Morocco and I told him that I was learning Arabic. Not soon after I had spoken a few words with my developing Fuṣḥā skills did he declare my Arabic to be far superior to his Arabic which he described as the bad form of Arabic. He then described the situation of Arabic in Morocco where the real and correct form of Arabic was something that one had to learn in school (i.e. Fuṣḥā) and

that his Arabic was merely a deformed version of this language that he spoke at home with his family and friends (i.e. Darija). A perceived diglossic relationship between Fuṣḥā and Darija is not uncommon among speakers in North Africa (see Sayahi, 2014). Similarly, the notion that there is a "good" or "correct" and "bad" or "incorrect" version of Arabic came out in the interviews with both first and second generation speakers. However, some of the speakers of both groups lamented the lower status of Darija. In the image below, a second generation speaker presents her perspective on the status of Darija. The image reads, "Facts: I love it when I see professors speaking Darija that is fucking great and they give it the importance it deserves when not even Moroccans do this, because we are not conscious of the linguistic gem that is Darija."

Image 1. Darja: The Linguistic Gem



In an attempt to encourage speakers to feel comfortable expressing their views on the relationship between Darija and Fuṣḥā I used their terminology to refer to each language. For example, when I asked which languages they spoke, if they mentioned Moroccan Arabic and Fuṣḥā Arabic, I used those terms in the questions. However, as noted in the excerpts below, speakers often used various terms to refer to Darija and Fuṣḥā, in some cases referring to Darija as "dialect" and Fuṣḥā as "Arabic." In addition to conflicting terminology, some speakers held conflicting perspectives on whether Darija is considered a language or a dialect. Nonetheless, speakers of both generations referenced their use of Darija for more informal purposes and Fuṣḥā for more formal occasions. As show in chapter 4, this perception does not necessarily reflect the fluid language use that occurred in many settings, as is the case in other studies regarding Arabic language use which discuss diglossic code-switching or a diglossic continuum (see Sayahi, 2014; Haeri, 2003). Nevertheless, diglossic ideologies play an important role in how speakers perceive their language use within this context. Among first generation speakers, Darija was described as a dialect of Arabic and the oral form of the language while Fuṣḥā was described as the written form of the language. Excerpts 17 and 18 provide examples of this type of diglossic description that were made evident in the interviews with first generation speakers.

In Excerpt 17, after asking Alya, a first generation Moroccan if she would teach Spanish to her children, she responds no because others will be teaching her child Spanish. She then explains that she will teach them Fuṣḥā because Darija is more simple and easier to learn. Alya notes that Darija does not have a normative body that regulates the language (see line 16 "regalice"). Throughout Alya's explanation, the notion of diglossia is evoked. As Ferguson (1959) argued, speakers in a diglossic situation perceive a high (H) variety (i.e. Fuṣḥā) as more

grammatically complex while the low (L) variety (i.e. Darija) is considered to come about as a result of lack of formal education. In line 10, Alya describes Darija as easy in comparison to Fuṣḥā which is difficult and in line 12, 13, and 14 Alya explains that Darija is not taught and is an oral language, unlike Fuṣḥā which is written. In this way, Arabic becomes an iconic example of diglossia.

Excerpt 17

- 1 Carol: ¿Enseñarás a tu hijo el español?
 - 2 Alya: No.
 - 3 Carol: ¿No?
 - 4 Alya: No porque ya se encarga a otra gente de hacerlo.
 - 5 Carol: Muy bien.
 - 6 Alya: Yo voy a enseñar árabe a mi hijo.
 - 7 Carol: ¿árabe fuṣḥā?
 - 8 Alya: Fuṣḥā
 - 9 Carol: ¿y el dialecto?
 - 10 Alya: El dialecto es fácil pero el fuṣḥā es difícil porque aquí no hay donde aprenderlo.
 - 11 Carol: Mmmm ¿si hay clases de fuṣḥā? ¿o de dialecto?
 - 12 Alya: Hay clases pero no alcanzan. Hay clases pero no alcanzan. El dialecto no
 - 13 se enseña el dialecto es como un idioma para solo para comunicarse.
 - 14 No es por escrito.
 - 15 Carol: Ahh vale.
 - 16 Alya: No hay una normativa que lo regali- que lo regalice.
- Interview AHF107.17

- 1 Carol: *Would you teach Spanish to your child?*
- 2 Alya: *No.*
- 3 Carol: *No?*
- 4 Alya: *No, because other people are already responsible for doing that.*
- 5 Carol: *Good.*
- 6 Alya: *I will teach Arabic to my son.*
- 7 Carol: *Fuṣḥā Arabic?*
- 8 Alya: *Fuṣḥā.*
- 9 Carol: *And the dialect?*
- 10 Alya: *Dialect is easy but Fuṣḥā is difficult because here there is no place to learn it.*
- 11 Carol: *Mmmm There are Fuṣḥā classes? Or dialect?*
- 12 Alya: *There are classes but they aren't enough. There are classes but they aren't*
- 13 *enough. You don't teach dialect it's like a language only for communicating.*
- 14 *It's not written.*
- 15: *Ahh okay.*

16 Alya: There is no regulation that regula- that regulates it.

In excerpt 18, Mariam describes her perception of Darija and Fuṣḥā which evokes the notion of diglossia. As a construct, diglossia describes a situation where the H variety is considered more correct and is predominantly used in its written form. The H variety is not used by speakers in their daily lives who predominantly use the L variety. Mariam references this aspect of diglossia in lines 2 and 3. Although Mariam does not use Fuṣḥā and prefers to use Darija to communicate, she believes Fuṣḥā is more correct (lines 4 and 5). In lines 6-9 she describes Fuṣḥā as "beautiful" and a "magnificent language." Arabic comes to be a natural example of diglossia with a variety that speakers use (i.e. the L variety- Darija) and a variety that holds higher prestige (i.e. the H variety- Fuṣḥā). In lines 14 and 15, Mariam explains that the difference between Darija and Fuṣḥā is like the difference between Spanish and Castilian and as a result, establishes diglossia as a natural state for languages within nation-states. In lines 16-22, Mariam distinguishes between different varieties of Darija across Morocco. Darija and the different varieties of Darija are considered to be a part of a whole, namely, Fuṣḥā. In this way, Darija and Fuṣḥā become one in the same, yet Darija is an iconic marker for Moroccan identity.

Excerpt 18

- 1 Carol: ¿Cuál prefieres el árabe fuṣḥā o el marroquí?
- 2 Mariam: Pues yo: para hablar prefiero el árabe: marroquí porque es el que más hablo el
- 3 árabe fuṣḥā lo hablo muy muy pocas veces pero: a mí para mi gusto- me gusta
- 4 más el árabe: fuṣḥā aunque no hable mucho pero no sé, me resulta más ehh emm
- 5 correcto que el marroquí y: también parece árabe, de de hecho me parece
- 6 fantástico porque tiene un amplio abanico o sea un lenguaje magnífico que yo
- 7 cuando lo veo pues me deja con la boca abierta porque son- o sea hay muchas
- 8 palabras para tantas cosas y cuando por ejemplo lo escucho o veo la tele en este
- 9 en la tele y en series y tal pues me parece muy bonito y tal.
- 10 Carol: Mmhmm mmhmm
- 11 Mariam: Entonces, está muy guay.
- 12 Carol: Sí, y: el árabe fuṣḥā porque todavía no lo entiendo muy bien
- 13 la diferencia entre el árabe fuṣḥā y:

14 Mariam: Pues, el árabe fuṣḥā es el vaya es el es el idioma es como el español y el
 15 castellano y el árabe marroquí es un dialecto que: es parte del árabe fuṣḥā pero
 16 que tiene varias variaciones ehh incluso por ejemplo dentro de Marruecos pues en
 17 cada zona pues se hablan un árabe marroquí es decir que partimos del árabe y es
 18 el árabe o sea el árabe marroquí y luego del árabe marroquí pues dependiendo de
 19 la zona el árabe marroquí del norte del sur y tal y ya pues por ejemplo yo si
 20 hablaría con una persona del sur me entendería con ella pero a lo mejor hay unas
 21 palabras o expresiones que diga que yo no entendería porque no no son muy no
 22 son corrientes de mí, en el norte.

23 Carol: Mmhmm
 (Interview MF107.17)

1 Carol: *What do you prefer Fuṣḥā or Moroccan?*

2 Mariam: *Well I: to speak I prefer Moroccan: Arabic because it is the one I speak the*
 3 *most, Fuṣḥā Arabic, I don't speak very much but: for my tastes- I like*
 4 *Fuṣḥā: Arabic more even though I don't speak it a lot but I don't know, it is more*
 5 *ehh emm correct than Moroccan and: also like Arabic, in in fact it seems*
 6 *fantastic because it has a wide range like a magnificent language that I*
 7 *when I see it it surprises me because they are- like there are*
 8 *words for so many things and when for example I hear or see the television in this*
 9 *in the television and shows and such well it seems very beautiful and such.*

10 Carol: Mmhmm mmhmm

11 Mariam: So, it's very cool.

12 Carol: Yes, and: *Fuṣḥā Arabic because I still don't understand very well the*
 13 *difference between Fuṣḥā Arabic and:*

14 Mariam: *Well, Fuṣḥā Arabic is well, it is the it is the language it's like Spanish and*
 15 *Castilian and Moroccan Arabic is a dialect that: it's part of Fuṣḥā Arabic but it*
 16 *has a variety of variations ehh even, for example, in Morocco well in*
 17 *each zone well they speak Moroccan Arabic that is that we come from Arabic*
 18 *and it is Arabic like Moroccan Arabic and then after the Moroccan Arabic*
 19 *depending on the area, Northern Moroccan Arabic, Southern and such and now*
 20 *well, for example, if I speak with a person from the south they would understand*
 21 *me but maybe there are some words or expressions that she would say that*
 22 *I would not understand because they aren't*
 23 *they aren't very common for me, in the north.*

24 Carol: Mmhmm

In excerpts 17 and 18, Alya and Mariam evoke diglossic descriptions of Darija and Fuṣḥā. In this way, Darija and Fuṣḥā are solidified as the L and H varieties respectively. While Alya describes Darija as a language, it is a language whose sole purpose is oral communication. Mariam

describes Darija as a variety of Fuṣḥā which may then be broken down into smaller parts (i.e. varieties) across Morocco.

Similarly, Ilsa and Saji who are members of the second generation group, describe the relationship between Darija and Fuṣḥā as diglossic identifying Fuṣḥā as a written language and Darija as an oral language (lines 3, 7, and 8). Darija is then taken up as an index for Moroccan identity. Ilsa and Saji make note of other languages in Morocco, namely, Tamazight in line 15.

Excerpt 19

- 1 Ilsa: Yo en realidad no, antes yo no sabía leer fuṣḥā,
- 2 Carol: Sí.
- 3 Ilsa: No sabía leer árabe.
- 4 Carol: Mhm
- 5 Ilsa: Entonces hasta que no vine hace 2 años hace 3 años porque tuve que entrar a, a
- 6 estudios árabes e islámicos, porque no quedaba plazos para otra opción, entonces
- 7 ahí es como que empecé desde cero y aprender a escribir bien y a leer bien, pero
- 8 yo antes podía enten- podía entender todo perfectamente y hablarte,
- 9 pero escribir...
- 10 Carol: Mmhmm
- 11 Ilsa: Y: y eso, la mayoría de la gente se supone que tú ya sabes.
- 12 Saji: Y también, o sea, en cuanto a las lenguas ehh o sea,
- 13 cada país tiene su su lengua.
- 14 Ilsa: Su dialecto
- 15 Saji: Su dialecto y también hay lenguas. Por ejemplo, amazigh,
- 16 Carol: Sí.
- 17 Saji: Es una lengua más es como árabe clásico [y la gente la gente piensa]
- 18 Ilsa: [La mayoría no sabe eso]
- 19 Saji:... que habláis [árabe único,]
- 20 Ilsa: [árabe]
- 21 Saji: Sí. El árabe clásico es como el clásico nunca lo hablamos.
- 22 Ilsa: Nunca
- 23 Saji: Si estás ((chasquido) si estás en el trabajo ni siquiera hablas el árabe clásico.
- 24 Ilsa: Claro.
- 25 Saji: Hablas tu dialecto mezclado un poco con el clásico clásico.
- 26 Ilsa: Sí.
- 27 Saji: El clásico es para no sé es más formal y para..
- 28 Ilsa: A mí me hacen esta pregunta de, "pero estás estudiando tu tu idioma, tú ya sabes
- 29 árabe seguro que te es fácil" y yo en plan "no"
- 30 Saji: Sí.
- 31 Ilsa: Perdona.

32 Saji: O sea mucha gente no sabe...
 33 Ilsa: Yo tengo el dialecto, no árabe.
 34 Saji: ... que cada que cada país tiene su dialecto y igual incluso ni se entiende.
 35 Ilsa: Claro.
 36 Carol: Sí, exacto.
 37 Ilsa: Por ejemplo, [nombre] no nos entiende cuando hablamos en marroquí.
 38 Saji: Al principio, al principio.
 39 Carol: Sí, yo me acuerdo de:
 40 Saji: Al principio no entendía nada.
 41 Ilsa: No entendía nada. Ahora como que se está acostumbrando.
 42 Carol: Sí.
 43 Ilsa: Pero nosotras entendemos el dialecto podemos hablar.
 44 Saji: Y que también puedes tener la habilidad de hablar los diferentes [dialectos]
 45 Ilsa: [dialectos]
 46 Saji: De saber de dónde....
 47 Ilsa: En realidad es como un idioma más.
 Interview CHAF2ILF204.19

1 Ilsa: *In reality no, before I didn't know how to read Fuṣḥā,*
 2 Carol: *Yes.*
 3 Ilsa: *I didn't know how to read Arabic.*
 4 Carol: *Mhm*
 5 Ilsa: *So since I did not come since two years ago since 3 years ago because I had to*
 6 *enter in, in, Arabic and Islamic Studies because there were no spots for another*
 7 *option, so that's how I started from zero and learned to write well, read well, but*
 8 *before I could under- I could understand everything perfectly and speak to you,*
 9 *but to write...*
 10 Carol: *Mmhmm*
 11 Ilsa: *And: and so, the majority of people assume that you already know.*
 12 Saji: *And also, like, in regard to the languages ehh like,*
 13 *each country has it's it's language.*
 14 Ilsa: *It's dialect.*
 15 Saji: *It's dialect and there are also languages. For example, Tamazight.*
 16 Carol: *Yes.*
 17 Saji: *It's a language more it's like Classical Arabic [and people think]*
 18 Ilsa: [The majority don't know that.]
 19 Saji: *... that you only speak [Arabic,]*
 20 Ilsa: [Arabic]
 21 Saji: *Yes. Classical Arabic is like Classical, we never speak it.*
 22 Ilsa: *Never*
 23 Saji: *If yo uare ((clicks)) if you are at work you don't even speak Classical Arabic.*
 24 Ilsa: *Of course.*
 25 Saji: *You speak your dialect mixed with a bit of Classical, Classical.*
 26 Isla: *Yes.*

- 27 Saji: *Classical is for, I don't know, it's more formal and for...*
 28 Ilsa: *They ask me this question, "but you are studying your language, you*
 29 *already know Arabic, surely it is easy for you" and I'm like "no"*
 30 Saji: *Yes.*
 31 Ilsa: *Excuse me.*
 32 Saji: *Like, a lot of people don't know...*
 33 Ilsa: *I have dialect, not Arabic.*
 34 Saji: *...that every that every country has it's dialect and even they don't understand it.*
 35 Ilsa: *Of course.*
 36 Carol: *Yes, of course.*
 37 Ilsa: *For example, [name] does not understand us when we speak Moroccan.*
 38 Saji: *At the beginning, at the beginning.*
 39 Carol: *Yes, I remember:*
 40 Saji: *At the beginning she didn't understand anything.*
 41 Ilsa: *She didn't understand anything. Now she's like, getting used to it.*
 42 Carol: *Yes.*
 43 Ilsa: *But we understand dialect and we can speak it.*
 44 Saji: *And also you can have the ability to speak different [dialects]*
 45 Ilsa: *[dialects]*
 46 Saji: *To know from where...*
 47 Ilsa: *In reality it's like any other language.*

In this excerpt, Ilsa and Saji frame Darija as part of Fuṣḥā. In lines 12-15, Ilsa and Saji explain that each country has their language and their dialect. In this way, diglossia becomes a natural and unquestioned descriptor for linguistic situations in nation states. In line 11, Ilsa states that many people think that knowing Arabic means being able to speak, read, and write. Ilsa mentions this again in 18 and Saji in line 19. They explain the diglossic status of "dialect" or Darija and "classical" or Fuṣḥā in response to this assumption. However, they challenge the notion of strict diglossia in lines 23 and 25 where they make explicit mention of code-switching.

Ilsa, Saji, Alya and Mariam evoke diglossic constructs in their discourse when describing Fuṣḥā and Darija. In this way, they become iconic examples of diglossia. Diglossic situations are perceived as the natural state of languages within a nation state. As Fuller (2018) argues, diglossic ideologies solidify sociolinguistic hierarchies (also see Ready, 2018). The dialect, then,

marks its speakers as an "Other" through the process of fractal recursivity. The differences between Fuṣḥā and Darija come to be reified and in doing so, index particular geographic, or in some cases, socioeconomic connections. In line 37, Ilsa names the dialect "Moroccan" and provides a brief account to explain the difference between Moroccan and "Arabic." Ilsa explains that other Arabic speakers may not understand Moroccan, at least when they first encounter it. However, Moroccans, because of their ability to speak Moroccan, can understand and speak different dialects (line 44). Therefore, while Darija comes to be a part of a diglossic situation, it also is a marker for Moroccan identity. Ilsa alternates between describing Darija as a dialect (line 33) and then as a language (line 47) because of the significant differences they perceive between Darija and Fuṣḥā. The contradictory description of Darija and Fuṣḥā may reflect the speakers' understanding that while there is a difference in terms of when and how certain languages are used, these differences do not reflect a strict functional separation. Diglossic descriptions often erase more fluid language practices that characterize speakers' language use on a daily basis (see line 25 in Excerpt 19). While speakers in both the first and second generation maintain that the relationship between Fuṣḥā and Darija is diglossic, the way they describe their language practices in more detail does not always reflect this diglossic status. In line 44 in excerpt 19, Ilsa indicates that the ability to speak Darija allows Moroccans to not only understand, but speak Arabic from other regions. Linking Moroccan identity with the ability to use a variety of different languages forms a second prominent ideology within the discourses of first and second generation Moroccans.

6.3.2 *Pluralist vs. Monoglossic Ideologies*

Speakers from the first and second generation groups often discussed language in a way that promoted the use of multiple languages, reflecting pluralist ideologies. Pluralist discourses

highlight the value of multilingualism and aim to maintain multilingual language practices.

However, these pluralist ideologies were often in conflict with monoglossic ideologies which gave Spanish a central role in their multilingual practices. While speakers indicate their desire to maintain their multilingual practices, it may not come at the expense of the majority language (i.e. Spanish) (see Heller and Duchêne, 2017, p. 7).

In excerpt 20, Hana, a first generation Moroccan discusses maintaining a balance of languages (i.e. Spanish and Darija). Earlier in the interview she discussed which language she would teach her children and mentioned Arabic, Spanish, and French. In answering my question regarding whether Darija was important for her to maintain, Hana provides a short account of relatives in France who now only speak French (lines 4-7). For Hana, going to Morocco regularly (line 6) and exposure to Darija at home among family members and through television (lines 12 and 13) is necessary for maintenance of Darija.

Excerpt 20

- 1 Carol: ¿Pero es importante mantener el árabe darija?
 - 2 Hana: Claro, para no perderlo, yo conozco a mucha gente que no lo habla.
 - 3 Carol: ¿Por qué?
 - 4 Hana: Pues porque ya es tercera generación por ejemplo en Francia, tengo familiares y
 - 5 amigos que son tercera generación y no hablan,
 - 6 hablan el francés. Entonces el darija como que se pierde si no vas a Marruecos,
 - 7 no hablas el darija.
 - 8 Carol: ¿Y en España también pasa esto?
 - 9 Hana: Uhh uff, yo últimamente lo veo, yo tengo primos ahora que han crecido aquí y
 - 10 tal, dos, tres, cuatro años y hablan entre ellos, español.
 - 11 Cuando yo estuve, el problema, ya te comenté, de que fuera habla en español y
 - 12 luego llegar a casa y como que tenía los dos idiomas pero yo creo que tener hijos
 - 13 en casa, ver la tele en árabe o sea en darija en para que para
 - 14 mantener ese equilibrio de idiomas.
- Interview HAF107.17

- 1 Carol: *But is it important to maintain Darija Arabic?*
- 2 Hana: *Of course, to not lose it, I know a lot of people that don't speak it.*
- 3 Carol: *Why?*

- 4 Hana: Well, because it's the third generation and for example, in France, I have family
 5 members and friends that that are third generatino and and they don't speak it,
 6 they speak French. So Darija, like, you can lose it if you don't go to Morocco, if
 7 you don't speak Darija.
 8 Carol: And in Spain that happens?
 9 Hana: Uhh uff, I see it lately, I have cousins now who grew up here and such,
 10 two, three, four years and they speak Spanish amongst themselves. [...] When I
 11 was, the problem, as I mentioned, is that outside they speak Spanish and later
 12 upon arriving home and like I had two languages but I think that having kids in
 13 the house, watching television in Arabic, I mean, in Darija, in, in order to, to
 14 maintain the balance of languages.

In line 11, Hana identifies the hegemonic influence of Spanish and difficulties in maintaining Darija where speakers are expected to speak Spanish. Hana discusses a "balance of languages" in line 14 which references a pluralist language ideology that values multilingualism. However, in Hana's explanation, she describes language shift as almost inevitable. Darija is limited to in-group contexts and may only be maintained through direct contact with other Moroccans through travel or the media. Jamila, a second generation Moroccan explains the value of her multilingual practices for her future work as a translator and interpreter.

Excerpt 21

- 1 Carol: Y: el inglés, ¿cómo de importante es el inglés?
 2 Jamila: Emm creo que también porque ya no: por mi vida laboral porque cuando
 3 trabaje, ser estudiante, o sea voy a ser traductora o intérprete de inglés
 4 principalmente, sino: también he crecido con el inglés básicamente, entonces es
 5 como que es una, tanto el español y el inglés como el árabe es como una parte
 6 importante de mi vida, la verdad.

(Interview SF209.18)

- 1 Carol: And: English, How important is English to you?
 2 Jamila: Emm I think it is also important because now no: for my working life because
 3 when I work, being a student, like I'm going to be a translator or interpreter of
 4 English mainly, instead: I also grew up with English basically, so it's
 5 like it's a, just like Spanish and English like Arabic is like an
 6 important part of my life, honestly.

In lines 5 and 6, Jamila asserts the value of Spanish, English and Arabic (both Darija and Fuṣḥā). In this excerpt, the value of multilingualism is tied to their functionality and her use of the languages as part of her career. While speakers oftentimes noted the utility of their multilingual practices, they also used multilingualism as a marker of Moroccan identity. Abd, a first generation Moroccan, discusses the multilingual practices of his family. During the interview, Abd states that while Fuṣḥā is important for his mother, his family also uses Darija, Spanish and French. In Excerpt 22, Abd explains that many Moroccan families can be heard speaking multiple languages (line 16). In lines 18-20, Abd further illustrates the multilingual practices of many Moroccan families with whom he is in contact saying that in some families, French is used more, while in others, Spanish or English may be used in addition to Darija and Fuṣḥā. After asking Abd why this might be the case, he references colonization in line 22, but argues that it is because Moroccans "want to be everything and then at the end we are nothing" (line 25).

Excerpt 22

- 1 Carol: Sí, sí, sí, sí, bueno: Y para tu familia, ¿cómo de importante es el español y
- 2 el árabe marroquí también? ¿Y el fuṣḥā? Para tu madre parece que el fuṣḥā es
- 3 muy importante.
- 4 Abd: Sí, para mi madre el fuṣḥā es muy importante. Mi madre escribe todos los días, lee
- 5 el fuṣḥā, esas cosas también lo usa, habla español también mi madre pero pero
- 6 para mi madre el español es solo cuando se viaja.
- 7 Carol: Mm ¿y tu padre y tu madre solían hablar en español?
- 8 Abd: No, en árabe marroquí.
- 9 Carol: Ahh en árabe marroquí. Una familia multilingüe.
- 10 Abd: Sí. Para todos.
- 11 Carol: Desde el principio parece.
- 12 Abd: Sí, destinados a eso.
- 13 Carol: Sí, claro, muy bien.
- 14 Abd: Pero que, hay que, no somos los únicos, ¿eh?
- 15 Carol: Claro. ¿Cómo que? ¿En qué sentido?
- 16 Abd: Toda la gente de mi entorno son así.
- 17 Carol: Mmhmm

18 Abd: En algunos prevalece más el francés, en algunas familias prevalece más el
 19 español y con otros el inglés pero que todas las familias casi todas hablan cuatro
 20 idiomas, de mi entorno, ¿eh? Porque otras familias hay otras cosas...
 21 Carol: ¿Y sabes por qué? ¿Cuál es el motivo?
 22 Abd: Yo te diría la colonización y esas cosas pero no, porque creo que los marroquíes
 23 todavía no tienen una identidad definida.
 24 Carol: Mmhmm
 25 Abd: Queremos ser todo y luego al final a lo mejor no somos nada.
 (Interview IBM107.17)

1 Carol: *Yes, yes, yes, yes good: and for your family, How important is Spanish and*
 2 *also Moroccan Arabic? And Fuṣḥā? For your mom it seems that Fuṣḥā is*
 3 *very important.*
 4 Abd: *Yes, for my mother Fuṣḥā is very important. My mother writes every day,*
 5 *she reads in Fuṣḥā, she also uses these things, my mother also speaks Spanish but*
 6 *but for my mother Spanish is only for when she travels.*
 7 Carol: *Mm and your father and mother spoke in in Spanish?*
 8 Abd: *No, Moroccan Arabic.*
 9 Carol: *Ahh In Moroccan Arabic. A multilingual family.*
 10 Abd: *Yes. For everyone.*
 11 Carol: *Since the beginning it seems.*
 12 Abd: *Yes, destined for it.*
 13 Carol: *Yes, of course, very good.*
 14 Abd: *But that, it's that, we aren't the only ones, eh?*
 15 Carol: *Of course How? In what sense?*
 16 Abd: *Everyone in my environment is like that.*
 17 Carol: *Mmhmm*
 18 Abd: *In some, French is more prevalent, in other families Spanish is more prevalent*
 19 *and with others it's English but all families almost all speak four languages, in my*
 20 *environment, eh? Because in other families there are other things...*
 21 Carol: *And do you know why? What is the reason?*
 22 Abd: *I could tell you colonization and things like that but no, because I think*
 23 *Moroccans still don't have a defined identity.*
 24 Carol: *Mmhmm*
 25 Abd: *We want to be everything but in the end maybe we are nothing.*

While Abd portrays the multilingual practices of him and his family as normal and even positive, he argues that multilingualism is a sign of a lack of identification. In lines 22-23 and 25, we see indications of a normative monolingual ideology. Through this ideology, monolingualism is considered a natural state for an individual or group of people, if multiple languages are spoken,

there are mixed identities. A normative monolingual ideology holds the mother tongue as the ideal language to be associated with nationality and that one nation is to have one language.

Within the pluralist ideologies in the discourses of first and second generation Moroccans, multilingualism is linked with Moroccan identity. As a result, multilingualism becomes an icon of Moroccanness. Within the fieldnotes there were several instances where I had overheard Moroccans saying that being Moroccan means one has a "facilidad" or "ease" with learning multiple languages. To clarify my notes and better understand this aspect of the pluralist ideology I consulted with Abdul, a second generation speaker. Excerpt 23 is his response to my question as to how Moroccans perceive their multilingual practices.

Excerpt 23

1 Abdul: Hay una idea bastante extendida entre los marroquíes. Ellos dicen, bueno, dicen
 2 que el árabe facilita la adquisición de otras lenguas porque
 3 dicen que utiliza los sonidos de la garganta, pues, como que con la garganta
 4 utiliza todos los sonidos con la boca entonces es fácil aprender otras lenguas,
 5 la pronunciación de otras lenguas. ((chasquido))
 6 En Marruecos sé que es bastante extendido,
 7 no sé en el resto del mundo árabe. Pero:: sí, los marroquíes lo piensan.
 8 Mi opinión, yo creo que es verdad que los marroquíes saben muchas lenguas, pero
 9 yo creo que es más por una cuestión de necesidad por las circunstancias porque
 10 ellos trabajan, mucho en en en el el trabajo con extranjeros y lo turismo como una
 11 oportunidad de ganar dinero entonces se fuerzan a: a aprender otras lenguas.
 12 Ven niños pequeños, yo por ejemplo, tenía un amigo que sabía
 13 hablar español, francés y inglés y hasta un poquito de japonés y nunca había ido al
 14 colegio y ¿era por qué?, porque trabajaba en un barrio turístico en Marrakech y al
 15 final, le gustaban los turistas quería ganar dinero con los turistas entonces tenía
 16 mucho interés en aprender las lenguas, yo creo que por eso, más que por la
 17 necesidad, por la necesidad económica.
 Personal Communication AM202.20

1 Abdul: *There is this notion that is pretty widely held among Moroccans. They say, well,*
 2 *they say that Arabic facilitates the acquisition of other languages because*
 3 *they say that it uses all the sounds of the throat, well, like with the throat it uses*
 4 *all the sounds with the mouth so, it's easy to learn other languages, the*
 5 *pronunciation of other languages. ((clicks))*

6 *In Morocco, I know that it is pretty widely held [this idea],*
 7 *I don't know about the rest of the Arab world. But:: yes, Moroccans think that.*
 8 *In my opinion, I believe that it is true that Moroccans know a lot of languages, but*
 9 *I think it is more for a matter of need because of the circumstances because*
 10 *they work, a lot in in in the the job with foreigners and tourism like an*
 11 *opportunity to earn money so they put a lot of effort into: into learning other*
 12 *languages. They see small children, I, for example, had a friend that knew how to*
 13 *speak Spanish, French and English and even a little bit of Japanese and he had*
 14 *never gone to school and why was that?, because he worked in a tourist*
 15 *neighborhood in Marrakech and in the end, tourists liked him and he wanted to*
 16 *earn money from tourists so he had a lot of interest in learning the languages and*
 17 *I think it is because of that, more for the necessity, for the economic necessity.*

In lines 1-5 Abdul describes a key component to the pluralist ideologies of language use, namely, that Moroccans may perceive their multilingualism as evidence that it is "easier" for them to learn languages. Arabic in particular is the key for achieving this multilingual status. Abdul argues that these multilingual practices may in fact be more directly related to economic circumstance and necessity as opposed to a unique capability (lines 8-10). The brief account in lines 12-16 of his friend in Marrakech highlights the multilingual practices of many Moroccans as a particular skill born of interest and desire to learn multiple languages. Through this multilingualism, Moroccans are framed as unique. However, as Abdul indicates, this perspective often erases the reasons why multilingualism may be considered a necessary tool for Moroccans. For example, the hegemonic influence of Spanish in Spain and English as a global language may challenge the use of Darija which holds a marginalized status within Morocco and an even further marginalized status in Spain. As speakers may be expected to use Spanish in public spaces where Fuṣḥā may be used, Darija and Fuṣḥā are now marked as home languages in Spain. Within the monoglossic and normative ideological framework, Darija and Fuṣḥā may be used, but not at the expense of Spanish, the dominant language.

Multilingualism may be valued, but the languages must be spoken as if one were a native speaker of those languages. Native speaker bias or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2006), although not a prominent ideology in the discourse of Moroccans in this context, may play a role in how speakers perceive their language practices. In the following excerpt, Nabil, a first generation Moroccan uses mock Spanish with a Moroccan accent to illustrate his point that while Moroccans can be multilingual, they must do so in a monoglossic manner, that is, they must speak Spanish as a Spaniard and Moroccan Arabic as a Moroccan. The discourse represents the hegemonic ideology that speakers may be able to maintain their languages, but must also be able to perform belonging through monoglossic linguistic practices using the standard language or the language that is linked with the nation state. It is not sufficient to simply speak the dominant language, one must master the language as a native speaker.

Excerpt 24

- 1 Carol: El dialecto, vale vale vale. Y: umm la última pregunta que tengo si tú: ehh te has
- 2 sentido diferente alguna vez por causa de tu manera de hablar?
- 3 Nabil: Si me he sentido diferente. No, lo que hay que hacer es ehh nosotras las
- 4 personas somos una: nuestro cerebro, nos ayuda a ubicarnos en la cultura en la
- 5 que tú estás hablando, en el idioma de que estamos hablando.
- 6 Carol: Mmhmm
- 7 Nabil: Cuando yo hablo español sigo siendo la misma persona,
- 8 no cambio, metamorfosis...
- 9 Carol: Sí.
- 10 Nabil: Pero: ehh yo como he estudiado, traductores e intérpretes,
- 11 Carol: Mmhmm
- 12 Nabil: Eh cuando hablas ehh hablas como ehh
- 13 te metes en el papel de la cultura española.
- 14 Carol: Mmhmm
- 15 Nabil: Esa es la mejor forma.
- 16 Carol: Mmhmm
- 17 Nabil: Yo no puedo hablar como marroquí español.
- 18 [parodia de un marroquí hablando en español] "Si no hablaría de otra manera y tú
- 19 no comprendería nada"
- 20 Carol: Ohh
- 21 Nabil: "Comprende" Entonces no se puede hacer esto entonces

22 me meto en la cultura española.
 23 Carol: Ohh, huh.
 24 Nabil: Y hablo como, soy un español más.
 25 Cuando hablo en marroquí me convierto en marroquí.
 26 Carol: Mmhmm
 27 Nabil: Es un chip, vas cambiando. Cereb- es como una tecla.
 28 Carol: Uhuh
 29 Nabil: Ahora, español, ahora eres marroquí ahora eres francés,
 30 ¿sabes lo que te digo?
 31 Carol: Mmhmm
 32 Nabil: Y vas tú, y es una riqueza.
 33 Carol: Mmhmm
 Interview SOM106.17

1 Carol: *Dialect, okay okay okay. And: umm the last question that I have if you: ehh have*
 2 *have ever felt different because of the way you speak?*
 3 Nabil: *If I have ever felt different. No, what you have to do is ehh we*
 4 *as people we are a: our brain, helps to situate us in the culture in which*
 5 *you are talking, in the language that we are speaking.*
 6 Carol: Mmhmm
 7 Nabil: *When I speak Spanish I am still the same person,*
 8 *I don't change, metamorphosis...*
 9 Carol: Yes.
 10 Nabil: *But: ehh like because I studied, translators and interpreters,*
 11 Carol: Mmhmm
 12 Nabil: *Eh when you speak ehh speak like ehh*
 13 *you get into the role of the Spanish culture.*
 14 Carol: Mmhmm
 15 Nabil: *That's the best way.*
 16 Carol: Mmhmm
 17 Nabil: *I can't speak like Spanish Moroccan.*
 18 *[parody of a Moroccan speaking in Spanish] "If not I would speak in another way*
 19 *and you would not understand anything."*
 20 Carol: Ohh
 21 Nabil: *"You understand" So you cannot do that so*
 22 *I get into the Spanish culture.*
 23 Carol: Ohh, huh.
 24 Nabil: *And I speak like, I'm just one more Spaniard.*
 25 *When I speak Moroccan I become Moroccan.*
 26 Carol: Mmhmm
 27 Nabil: *It's a chip, you change it. The bran- it's like a button.*
 28 Carol: Uhuh
 29 Nabil: *Now, Spanish, now you are Moroccan now you are French,*
 30 *you know what I'm saying?*

31 Carol: *Mmhmm*

32 Nabil: *And you go, and it's wealth.*

33 Carol: *Mmhmm*

In lines 12-13, Nabil argues that when speaking Spanish, he speaks within the context of Spanish culture and says that it is "the best way" (line 15). In lines 17-22, he expands on this idea using a mock Moroccan accent in Spanish as an example. Nabil explains that when he speaks a particular language, he also takes on that particular identity (lines 24-25) and argues that this is a natural part of being multilingual (lines 27 and 29). Nabil's discourse reflects a monoglossic ideology with the implication that to participate in society, one must not only speak the dominant language but be able to speak the dominant language as a native speaker. This normative monolingual ideological framework may come from his study as a translator and interpreter (line 10) where he may be expected to use languages in this way. As Fuller (2012) argues, prescriptivist ideas on language and language use are prevalent within educational settings where speakers are expected to maintain strict separation of languages. This framework reflects a one-nation-one-language ideology and language purity ideologies which hold that languages should be used and understood as separate, bounded entities (see Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta, Räisänen, 2012).

In other instances, another type of monoglossic ideology is reflected in the expectation for second generation Moroccans to perform Moroccan identity through monolingual language practices (i.e. use of Darija). In this type of monoglossic ideology there is a preference for the "mother tongue" which is the ideal language associated with nationality (Weber and Horner, 2012, p. 18-20). By linking Darija with Moroccan identity, this ideological framework erases the experience of other Moroccans in Spain or as Moha says, Hispano-Arabs whose language

practices are marked by features of various languages and in some cases a preference for using Spanish with other second generation Moroccans. .

Excerpt 25

1 Carol: Y ¿con esos amigos los hispano-árabes o hispano-marroquíes hablas español o el
2 árabe?

3 Moha: No, en castellano @@@ en castellano y: hay un fenómeno bastante bastante
4 curioso, porque cuando cuando crecemos acá digamos eh decir un chiste o un
5 insulto una idea digamos o para llamar la atención, pues hablamos en marroquí o
6 decimos una expresión en marroquí no con todos, pero con la mayoría, por
7 ejemplo, a ver emm, los hispano-marroquíes que conozco en en por ejemplo en
8 mi pueblo porque crecí con ella, hablamos en en en marroquí.

9 Carol: Mmhmm

10 Moha: Claramente hablamos el marroquí em podem- nos podemos comunicar, por
11 ejemplo, en el Whatsapp en en castellano, eso sí, pero hablando hablamos la
12 mayoría de las veces em en marroquí porque... es por mm digamos por...por la
13 comunidad árabe digamos, perdón, por la comunidad marroquí o la comunidad
14 árabe- em parlante porque ellos... ven como una falta de respeto o como como
15 algo malo hablar eh español entre árabes porque ellos nos consideran árabes no
16 consideran marroquíes entonces cuando ven a dos eh: hijos digamos de de
17 marroquíes hablando en español lo miran con una cara bastante emm pff um
18 a ver, bastante digamos como ((chasquido)) eh bastante triste ellos te miran con
19 una mirada triste como ehh como una persona digamos mmm que si quieres salir
20 de su piel como dicen ellos @@@

21 Carol: Sí.

22 Moha: Porque te estás emm ((chasquido)) saliendo de su comunidad está perdien-
23 perdiendo tu legado, ¿por qué? Por qué estás hablando en español con una
24 persona que ya sabe árabe que ya sabe marroquí mientras que si te ven por
25 ejemplo con un español tú tienes la excusa de que es un español
26 @@@ ¿sabes? [Que no sabe hablar árabe @@@]

27 Carol: [Sí, sí.]

28 Moha: Entonces pues, lo miran bastante mal y incluso entre sus hijos un padre cuando
29 va por la calle emm, prefiere que su hijo no hable castellano

30 Carol: Mmm

31 Moha: Ni con los ehh los niños que son también marroquíes ni con los mayores mm
32 porque si en si habla en en árabe pues ((chasquido)) muestra que el padre pues le
33 ha educado bastante bien @@@

34 Carol: Aha interesante.

35 Moha: Entonces, pues allí lo que hacemos emm en mi pueblo digamos, hablo con
36 ellos en en en marroquí ¿sabes? y así nos han acostumbrado a
37 hablar en marroquí mientras que cuando vine aquí y conocí a gente que son
38 digamos eh españoles, pero también em marroquíes em hablamos en castellano y
39 en la facultad, por ejemplo, se habla solo en español porque pff entre comillas

40 no tenemos emm no tenemos ese prejuicio esa visión digamos de: de los

41 marroquíes solamente ¿sabes?

42 Carol: Sí, te entiendo. Interesante...

43 Moha: @@@

Interview AZM212.19

1 Carol: And with those friends who are Spanish-Arabs or Spanish-Moroccan do you
2 speak Spanish or Arabic?

3 Moha: No, in Spanish @@@ in Spanish and: there is a phenomenon that is pretty
4 pretty curious, because when when we grow up here let's say eh telling a joke or
5 an insult an idea let's say or to get attention, well we speak in Moroccan or
6 we say an expression in Moroccan not with everyone, but with the majority, for
7 example, let's see emm, the Spanish-Moroccans that I know in in for example in
8 my town because I grew up with her, we speak in in in Moroccan.

9 Carol: Mmhmm

10 Moha: Clearly we sepak Moroccan em we can- we can communicate, for example, in
11 Whatsapp in in Spanish, that, yes, but speaking we speak the majority of times em
12 in Moroccan because... it's because mm let's say because.. because of the Arab
13 community let's say, excuse me, for the Moroccan community or the
14 Arabic- em speaking community because they... see like a lack of respect or like
15 like something bad to speak eh Spanish among Arabs because they consider
16 Arabs they don't consider Moroccans so when they see two eh: children let's say
17 of of Moroccans speaking in Spanish they look down on that with a face that's
18 pretty emm pff um let's see, pretty let's say like ((clicks)) eh pretty sad they look
19 with a face like ehh like a person let's say mmm that like you want to get out of
20 your skin like they say @@@

21 Carol: Yes.

22 Moha: Because you are emm ((clicks)) leaving your community you are lose- losing
23 your legacy, Why? because you are speaking in Spanish with
24 someone who already knows Arabic and already knows Moroccan while if they
25 see you, for example, with a Spaniard you have the excuse that he is Spanish
26 @@@ you know? [That he doesn't know how to speak Arabic @@@]

27 Carol: [Yes, yes.]

28 Moha: So well, they look down on it and even among their children a father when he
29 is in public emm, he prefers that his child not speak Spanish.

30 Carol: Mmm

31 Moha: Not even the ehh the kids that are also Moroccan or with the elderly mm
32 because if in if he speaks in Arabic well ((clicks)) it shows that the father well,
33 that he educated them pretty well @@@

34 Carol: Aha interesting.

35 Moha: So, well there what we do emm in my town let's say, I speak with
36 them in in in Moroccan, you know? And that way we they are accustomed to
37 speaking in Moroccan while when I came here and I met people that are let's say
38 eh Spaniards, but also em Moroccans em we speak Spanish and

39 *at school, for example, you speak only Spanish because pff quote unquote we*
 40 *don't have emm we don't have the prejudice this vision, let's say of: of the*
 41 *Moroccans only, you know?*
 42 *Carol: Yes, I understand. Interesting..*
 43 *Moha: @@@*

6.4 Summary of linguistic attitudes and ideologies

First generation speakers reported feeling most like themselves when speaking Darija while second generation speakers feel most like themselves when speaking Spanish. However, nearly fifty percent of second generation speakers reported feeling most like themselves when speaking Darija. Second generation speakers identify with a Spanish-speaking culture as well as a Darija-speaking culture while first generation speakers stated identify with a Darija-speaking culture (73%) and a Fuṣḥā speaking culture (60%). While it was important for these speakers to speak the languages like a native speaker, it was much less important for them to be perceived as native speakers of Fuṣḥā, Darija, and Spanish.

In regard to the linguistic ideologies that were present in the discourse of Moroccans, both first and second generation speakers presented diglossic, pluralist, and monoglossic ideologies. The diglossic ideology links Fuṣḥā with prestige while Darija is considered an incorrect form of Arabic. This perspective reflects the diglossic concept of a high (H) variety (i.e. Fuṣḥā) and a low (L) variety (i.e. Darija) (see Ferguson, 1959). Darija becomes a salient marker for Moroccan identity in relation to Arabic speakers from other regions. In addition, the diglossic status of Arabic is extended in the discourses when speakers discuss other linguistic situations. Diglossia is considered a normal and natural state for the linguistic situations in nation states. In this way, Arabic is taken up by these speakers as the point of comparison for linguistic variation (see Harjus & Harjus, 2020). Speakers portrayed rigid functional separation when describing the

relationship between Darija and Fuṣḥā, but in some instances recognized that their language practices are much more fluid. In these references, one might understand their language practices to be a part of a diglossic continuum which is characterized by diglossic code-switching (see Sayahi, 2014).

Pluralist ideologies were also present in the discourse of both groups but were often based on monoglossic ideologies. These ideologies promote the use and value of multilingual language practices albeit from an economic perspective. For some, the multilingual practices marked a distinct Moroccan identity, however, others argued that these same practices indicate a lack of unified identity. The notion that multilingual practices reflect a lack of shared identity is rooted in monoglossic ideologies and "one-nation-one-language: ideologies which see multilingualism as a threat to national identity and uphold the idea of one "mother tongue" which is associated with nationality (see Hornberger, 2007; Weber and Horner, 2012, p. 18-20). Monoglossic ideologies and the hegemonic influence of Spanish were evident in the discourses of first and second generation Moroccans as speakers feared the loss of Darija while simultaneously upholding the idea that one must speak the dominant language of society as a native speaker.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Negotiating language, culture, and identity

Throughout the present work, it has been demonstrated that first and second generation Moroccan immigrants' language practices are dynamic and fluid. These dynamic language practices, which are negotiated at an interpersonal level, are used to align speakers in

sophisticated ways with positions that challenge ethno-linguistic identifications and repurpose racialized categorizations. In this way, Moroccans' language use becomes a resource for identity construction which enables speakers to access various social spaces within their new societies. The value placed on multilingual language practices is evident in the attitudes and ideologies held by speakers of the first and second generation. Speakers of both generations recognize the hegemonic influence of Spanish in maintaining and acquiring these multilingual practices. Although Moroccans engage in dynamic and fluid language practices in various settings, Moroccans may still consider their practices to be diglossically organized. The following sections expand on these findings as they relate to the specific research questions that guided this work in addition to the contributions, limitations, and directions for further study.

7.1.1 Research Question #1

The first research question and sub-question are repeated here:

1. What are the language practices within and across generations in this setting?
 - a) When and how are languages used?

The data from the surveys completed by 30 first generation and 28 second generation Moroccans show that speakers use a variety of different languages in their daily lives including Spanish, Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight, French, and English. First generation speakers reported using French more than second generation speakers who report greater use of English instead. In self-reporting language competence, first generation speakers reported higher scores than second generation speakers for Fuṣḥā, Darija, Tamazight and French while second generation speakers reported higher levels of competency in Spanish. Second generation speakers reported low levels of writing and reading in Darija while first generation speakers did not, suggesting that first generation speakers may be factoring in their ability to write and read in Fuṣḥā into their

reporting for Darija. As Darija has not undergone formal standardization, it is not considered a written language like Fuṣḥā.

In regard to when and how these languages were used, first generation speakers report using Darija and Spanish in their daily routines while second generation speakers report using Darija some of the time and Spanish always in their daily routines. With family, first generation speakers use Darija. Second generation speakers use Darija with parents and Spanish with siblings. Among friends, first generation speakers use Darija while second generation speakers use predominantly Spanish. For work and school, second generation speakers use Spanish more than first generation speakers who use Darija more frequently at work or at school. While the survey results show a preference for Spanish among second generation speakers and Darija among first generation speakers, both groups were most comfortable using features from both languages. Fuṣḥā, Tamazight, and another language (either English or French) are used very little or never among first and second generation speakers. Although the results of the survey point to a clear distinction among first and second generation speakers in terms of when and how languages are used in this setting, results from the interviews and observations point to much more fluid language practices for both groups.

While first generation speakers did indeed use Darija more frequently during observations, however, both groups used features from Darija and Spanish more. In addition, speakers from both groups used features from French (for first generation speakers) and English (for second generation speakers). In alignment with the survey results, second generation speakers used Spanish with siblings and Darija with parents while first generation speakers used Darija with their family members. However, both groups also used features from Spanish and

Darija with their families. Both generational groups used Fuṣḥā in religious practices or when speaking with Arabic-speakers from different regions in the Arabic-speaking world. It is important to note, however, that language use overall in the observations and as reported in the interviews was quite fluid. In some cases, a setting may require one language while the interlocutor required another as found in Dorian's (1981) work on Scottish Gaelic. Like the situation of Zentella (1997) study of *el bloque*, there was no domain that was impenetrable to one language or another. While the survey results point to a possible diglossic situation, the linguistic practices as noted in observations and interviews suggest that an understanding of the linguistic situation as a diglossic continuum (Sayahi, 2014; Haeri, 2003). Rather than asking where or in what setting speakers use different features, the results indicate that a more productive question might be with whom are different features being used. In line with what Blommaert (2010) has argued, languages in this setting can be described as "deterritorialized" (p. 45). Rather than employing structuralist approaches to language practices such as diglossia, the data suggest that the language practices of first and second generation speakers is relational or social. In this way, the language choice or choice of using features from a variety of different named languages reflects a particular established relationship with an individual while also taking into account the individual's stance towards social norms and expectations in conjunction with their social identities and the social identities of their interlocutors. The separation of features from different languages, then, reflect the social norms, language ideologies, and expectations. At an interpersonal level, these norms are negotiated, adjusted, rejected, or taken up depending on the personal relationship of the individuals. A key example of this is represented in Moha's explanation that he avoids scrutiny from other Arabic speakers by using solely Darija in his

hometown, but uses features from Spanish and Darija when he is safe from scrutiny and is with others who prefer using features from Spanish and Darija. To answer the first research question, then, we see that there may be some overall tendencies, but that language practices are negotiated at an interpersonal level based on interpersonal relationships, whether the other person behaves monolingually, bilingually, or multilingually. These language practices are carried out to either uphold, shift, and mold new or existing social norms regarding language use and depend on the individual's position within a particular context in relation to their interlocutor. This finding reinforces the notion of language as a social practice (Heller, 2007, p. 1).

7.1.2 Research question # 2

The second research question and sub-questions are repeated here:

2. How are identities enacted through language practices?
 - a) How do speakers position themselves in interviews?
 - b) How are language features leveraged through this positioning?

First and second generation Moroccans' social identities are enacted through language choice and specific features which index their stance in relation to others within the story world (positioning level 1) in relation to the interviewer (positioning level 2) and their sense of self with regards to dominant discourses (positioning level 3). In describing a "crisis of identity" first and second generation speakers positioned themselves in different ways. Some accounts explicitly reference such crisis while others refer instead to identity confusion or frustration.

First generation speakers positioned themselves as authority figures on what it means to be Moroccan in Spain, suggesting that to be secure in one's place within society, one must understand and accept their family origins. Language is constructed as a key component for such understanding and acceptance. As a symbol for group membership, lack of knowledge in the

language (e.g. Darija) indicates rejection of family origin. New ways of identifying can be taken up through legal documents (i.e. a Spanish passport). To construct the notion of a crisis of identity, first generation speakers positioned themselves in relation to second generation Moroccans in the imagined community of the Moroccan diaspora in Spain, constructing the sense of self in dialogue and in reciprocal process with an "Other" (see De Fina, 2003; De Fina 2011; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg, 2006). For second generation speakers, frustration with one's own identity is brought on by rejection from Moroccans and racialization from Spaniards. However, by positioning themselves as securely within Spanish and Moroccan communities (and setting up a counter discourse), second generation speakers may reject the notion that there is an inherent conflict in their own identity position thus making space for a new way of understanding their place within the world. Knowledge of both Spanish and Darija is considered a crucial component of a hybrid identity. In this way, second generation speakers position themselves as both constrained and enabled by their responsibility to adapt and perform a monolingual and monocultural identity in their host society and the expectation that they must maintain and be able to perform the identity (including knowledge of Darija) of their country of origin. Within this context, individuals find themselves subject to relations of power, but are able to maintain and exert their own human agency through their various subject positions. Different subject positions were negotiated through the use of varying linguistic resources including features from various languages.

First and second generation speakers leveraged fluid language practices to negotiate their positions as members of various communities. In other words, speakers' language practices highlight particular stances or positions. These same positions did not necessarily fit within

previously taken for granted ethno-nationalist and ethnolinguistic identities. While Moroccan identity continues to be highly contested within Spanish society, first and second generation Moroccans utilize their multilingual repertoires to align themselves with specific identities and positions in sophisticated ways which supports the conceptualization of social identities as negotiable and locally constructed (see Rampton, 1995; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001).

In some cases, the racialized categorizations from others are taken up and modified by the speaker as valuable forms of cultural capital. Through this process, speakers show renewed investment in their multilingualism and a desire to acquire or continue to acquire a range of symbolic (i.e. language, education, career) and material resources (i.e. money) (see Norton, 2013). In this way, speakers repurpose imposed and perceived identities and, by doing so, increase the value of such identities. As previously mentioned and as evidenced here, identity work shapes language use and language use shapes identity work (Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 1995; 2013; Block, 2014; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). In her study on Moroccan immigrant children in Spain, García-Sánchez (2014) found that fluid language practices were used to contest imposed identities. Rather than contesting the imposed identities, first and second generation speakers modified them through the use of linguistic resources (e.g. features from various languages). In other instances, these positions were mobilized to uphold and support their multilingual practices. The positions that speakers take and the resources they use to do so allow speakers of both generations to perform belonging in various social spaces where access may typically be denied. The limitations speakers face when performing belonging in social spaces are rooted in dominant discourses about what it means to be Moroccan. That is, when visiting Morocco, second generation speakers' participation may be constrained as they are

perceived as "non-native" speakers of Darija, supporting Heller's (1987) argument that language use can be involved in the formation of ethnic identity insofar as it may constrain access to membership in a particular group. However, in the context of Granada, Spain, first and second generation Moroccans are able to navigate highly monolingual and monocultural expectations using multilingual language practices and multicultural subject positions.

7.1.3 Research question #3

The third research question is stated here:

3. What attitudes and ideologies are linked to such language practices?

To answer the third research question, I analyzed the responses to four sets of questions regarding language attitudes completed by fifteen first generation and twenty-one second generation speakers. The interviews were also analyzed to determine the dominant language ideologies in the discourses of first and second generation Moroccans. First, I will give an overview of the results from the questionnaires regarding language attitudes, followed by a summary of the dominant ideologies.

First generation speakers reported feeling most like themselves when speaking Darija (80% of all first generation speakers completely agreed to the statement) while second generation speakers feel most like themselves when speaking Spanish (80% of all second generation speakers). However, nearly fifty percent of second generation speakers reported feeling most like themselves when speaking Darija. Second generation speakers were nearly split between identifying most with a Spanish-speaking culture (just over 55%) and a Darija-speaking culture (just under 55%). First generation speakers stated that they identify with a Darija-speaking culture (73%) and a Fuṣḥā speaking culture (60%) with second generation speakers

identifying with a Darija speaking culture (53%) more than a Fuṣḥā speaking culture (46%). When asked whether it was important to speak Darija, Spanish, and Fuṣḥā like a native speaker, first generation speakers stated that it was most important to speak Darija like a native speaker (over 85%). Second generation speakers felt that speaking Spanish like a native speaker was important (over 85%). Both groups noted that it was important for them to speak Darija, Spanish, and Fuṣḥā like a native speaker. In contrast, both groups agreed less overall with the statements that it was important for others to perceive them as native speakers of those languages. Just over 60% of all second generation speakers completely agreed that it was important for them to be considered native speakers of Spanish and less than 50% completely agreed that it was important for them to be considered native speakers of Darija. Under 35% of all first generation speakers completely disagreed or completely agreed that it is important to be considered a native speaker of Spanish whereas over 65% percent of this group completely agreed that it is important to be considered a native speaker of Darija. Over 50% of first generation speakers completely agreed that it is important to be considered a native speaker of Fuṣḥā while under 35% of second generation speakers did not agree with the statement at all. While speakers consider it important to speak languages like a native speaker, they are less inclined to agree that it is important that others perceive them as native speakers of those languages.

In describing their language practices, both first and second generation speakers' discourses reflected diglossic, pluralist, and monoglossic ideologies. Through the diglossic Discourse, Fuṣḥā is linked with prestige and understood as the more formal, written form of the language whereas Darija is considered an incorrect form of Arabic and one that marks more informal and spoken. Speakers perceive the high (H) variety (i.e. Fuṣḥā) as more grammatically

complex and for more formal occasions while the low (L) variety (i.e. Darija) is more simple, is considered a result of lack of education, and relegated to more informal settings (see Ferguson, 1959). This finding aligns with Harjus and Harjus' (2020) examination of linguistic biographies of Moroccans in Sevilla which found that speakers claimed to limit their language practices to specific domains. In the discourse of speakers of both generations, Darija's place as the L variety and Fuṣḥā as the H variety are solidified. The use of the dialect marks the speaker as an "Other" through the process of fractal recursivity and through this process, the differences between Darija and Fuṣḥā become reified. Through this process, Darija becomes a salient marker for Moroccan identity in relation to Arabic speakers from other regions. The diglossic status of Arabic is extended in the discourses when speakers discuss other linguistic situations. As a result, diglossia is considered a natural state for the linguistic situations in nation states. That is, Arabic is taken up by these speakers as the point of comparison for linguistic variation (see Harjus & Harjus, 2020). While speakers portrayed rigid functional separation when describing the relationship between Darija and Fuṣḥā, the same speakers also recognized that their language practices are much more fluid. Reflecting on their actual language use, first and second generation speakers recognize that there is no strict functional separation between Fuṣḥā and Darija. In this way, the speakers reference a diglossic continuum characterized by diglossic code-switching. This finding echoes previous studies which argued that speakers engage in the practice of diglossic code-switching in Morocco (Sayahi, 2014).

Pluralist ideologies were also present in the discourse of both groups. These ideologies promote the use and value of multilingual language practices. Pluralist ideologies were often based in the economic utility of multilingual language use. While some speakers claimed that

multilingual practices marked a distinct Moroccan identity, others argued that these same practices indicate a lack of unified identity. The notion that multilingual practices reflect a lack of shared identity is rooted in monoglossic ideologies and "one-nation-one-language: ideologies which see multilingualism as a threat to national identity and uphold the idea of one "mother tongue" which is associated with nationality (see Hornberger, 2007; Weber and Horner, 2012, p. 18-20). Monoglossic ideologies and the hegemonic influence of Spanish were evident in the discourses of first and second generation Moroccans as speakers feared the loss of Darija while simultaneously upholding the idea that one must speak the dominant language of society as a native speaker. Taken together, the results from the questions on attitudes and the interview excerpts suggest that speakers see multilingual language practices as an internal benefit. Pluralist and monoglossic ideologies are often linked in that while speakers value and use multilingual language practices, they must maintain strict separation of the languages. Together, these ideologies erase the fluid language practices of many Moroccans whose language use is characterized by features from Fuṣḥā, Darija, Spanish and even English or French.

7.2 Contributions

Linguistic practices are shaped by social identities, language ideologies and dominant ideologies as well as social and political contexts. The present dissertation makes in number of contributions to current sociolinguistic conceptualizations of multilingual language practices and their relationship to social identities and language attitudes and ideologies. First, I will examine the contributions put forth in regard to the ways in which multilingual language practices are characterized followed by a discussion of the contributions for social identity work as it relates to

language practices. Lastly, the contributions of the results from the examination of language attitudes and ideologies will be considered.

7.2.1 Contributions for characterizing multilingual practices

In the results obtained through the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods, it becomes evident that multilingual language practices are much more dynamic and social than sociolinguistic surveys can capture. I've demonstrated in chapter four that the quantitative data provide only a partial understanding of the multilingual language practices of Moroccans in Granada. Surveys rely on clear-cut distinctions between languages, language practices and domains. Such distinctions fail to accurately depict the complex linguistic realities of multilingual speakers. This finding highlights the need for sociolinguists to take up varied methodological approaches which are better suited to capture the rich language use of multilingual speakers. The results from the observations and interviews help to broaden the scope of characterizing the language practices of Moroccans in Granada.

The data point to the need to understand the language practices of Moroccans in Granada as relational or social as opposed to a-temporal and structural. In this sense, language choice negotiation is ongoing and may be established depending on the relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor(s). This language choice is mediated within several layers of context (i.e. spatial, temporal, relational and social), the speaker's and interlocutor's understanding and stance towards social norms and expectations (i.e. larger discourses and ideologies surrounding language use), and with social identities of themselves and their interlocutors (including ethnolinguistic identification).

7.2.2 Contributions in understanding of social identities

Moroccan identity is highly contested within Spanish society. Moroccans are considered "unassimilable" due to their linguistic, religious, and cultural practices. While the challenges Moroccans face in Spain are framed as inevitable given their "irreconcilable cultural differences" with their new communities, Moroccans in Granada reformulate the racialized positions as a source of social and cultural capital which grant them access to a wider range of social spaces. This finding provides a new aspect of the role of languages and language features in social identity construction.

7.2.3 Contributions in conceptualizing language attitudes and ideologies

Diglossic language ideologies are extended to make sense of linguistic configurations that would not traditionally be considered as diglossic. These same diglossic ideologies are entrenched in speakers understanding of their own language practices despite the fact that speakers actual language practices do not fit within this framework. This finding highlights the limited scope of influence of ideologies on language practices. While these ideologies may play a role in a speaker's language choice, the extent to how much they impact speakers language choice is uncertain.

7.3 Limitations

The first limitation of the current study is the terminology used in the surveys to describe Fuṣḥā and Darija. The term "Arabic" was used for Fuṣḥā and "Moroccan Arabic" for Darija. These terms were chosen based on the speakers' terminology from the preliminary study carried out in the summer of 2017. While some speakers consider Moroccan Arabic as part of Arabic, others view them as separate entities. When completing the surveys, some speakers initially thought that Arabic referenced both Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. Although these

terms were clarified at each instance where speakers completed the surveys, they may have confused the two.

Another limitation is my status as an outsider. Collecting data proved difficult as speakers initially felt that as a researcher I was interested in studying the integration of Moroccan immigrants in Spain. Although the goals of the research were clarified and questions were answered at every step, their experience as "objects of study" may have influenced the data that were elicited.

7.4 Future Directions

This dissertation constitutes one of the first works on the language use of the Moroccan diaspora in Spain. Further research is necessary to better understand the role of language use in Moroccans daily lives in Spain. First, a more detailed examination of particular linguistic phenomena is warranted, for example, an analysis of the phonological and syntactic elements of the fluid language use of the population that was documented in this project. In addition, documentation of linguistic phenomena will be especially important in order to determine if the linguistic situation of Moroccans in Spain will become a language contact situation where linguistic innovation emerges.

Furthermore, as the third generation of Moroccans in Spain grows, it is crucial that research examine the level of language maintenance or shift of the community. In other diasporic contexts, languages of the first and second generation may be lost or the characteristics of such language use dramatically shifted by the third generation. Further study on the role of language maintenance or shift is necessary to determine the extent to which speakers maintain or shift their language practices in this context.

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Appendix A

Observation Protocol

Observer: _____

Location/Setting: _____

Date and time: _____

Participants: _____

Activity: _____

Language(s): _____

Other contextual notes: _____

Visual map:

Descriptive (Observation) notes:

Reflective (Interpretive) notes:

Future Directions/Questions:

Appendix B

Interview Protocol (Semi-Structured interviews)

Entrevista:

La infancia:

- ¿Dónde nació?
- ¿Dónde creció?
- ¿Cómo era el lugar donde creció?
- ¿Cómo era su infancia?

La escuela:

- ¿Dónde asistió a la escuela?
- ¿Qué estudió en la escuela?
 - ¿Qué idiomas estudió en escuela?
 - ¿Qué idiomas deben enseñar en la escuela?
- Si asistió a una escuela en Marruecos y España, ¿cuál prefirió/prefiere? ¿Por qué?

La familia:

- ¿Cómo es su familia?
 - ¿Tiene familia en Marruecos? ¿Cómo es su familia en Marruecos?
- ¿Qué le gusta hacer a su familia?
- ¿Qué idiomas habla con su familia?

Los amigos:

- ¿Cómo son sus amigos?
 - ¿Tiene amigos en Marruecos? ¿Cómo son?
- ¿Qué le gusta hacer con sus amigos?
- ¿Qué idiomas habla con sus amigos?

Emigración a España:

- ¿Cuándo llegó a España?
- ¿Porqué emigró a España?

Segunda o tercera generación:

- ¿Emigraron sus padres o abuelos a España?
- ¿Cómo fue su experiencia?

La vida española:

- ¿Qué le gusta más de vivir en España? ¿En Granada?

- ¿Qué no le gusta de vivir en España? ¿En Granada?
- ¿De qué manera es España/Granada diferente de donde nació/creció?

Identidad:

- ¿Cómo describiría su personalidad?
- ¿Qué experiencias influyen su personalidad?

Idiomas:

- ¿Qué idiomas habla?
- ¿Cuáles idiomas prefiere?
- ¿Cuándo habla el español/ el árabe etc.?
- ¿Cómo de importante es el español/el árabe para usted?
 - ¿Para su familia/ sus amigos?
- ¿Enseñará a sus hijos el español/ el árabe?
- ¿Usted se ha sentido diferente alguna vez por causa de su manera de hablar?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol 2

Familia

- ¿Cómo era tu familia cuando eras pequeño/a? ¿En qué era típica, y en qué era única?
 - ¿Cómo era la relación con tu familia extendida? ¿Qué cosas hacíais juntos como familia?
- ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacían tus padres? ¿Cuáles eran los papeles de los hombres/mujeres en la familia?
- ¿Crees que tus padres eran estrictos? ¿Por qué crees eso?
- ¿Me cuentas la historia de una vez que te metiste en problemas en casa?
- ¿Alguna vez pensaste en escaparte de la casa? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué habrían hecho tus padres si hubieras amenazado con hacerlo?

Individuo

- ¿Alguna vez experimentaste algo inexplicable? ¿Me cuentas la historia?
- ¿Te consideras una persona feliz? ¿Bajo qué condiciones crees que podrías sentirte más feliz de lo que eres ahora?
- ¿Cómo crees que tu vida será en diez años? ¿Qué será igual/diferente? ¿Qué tiene que pasar entre hoy y aquel entonces para que se cumpla esa visión? ¿Qué podría complicar tus planes?

Identidad

- ¿Tus padres emigraron a España? ¿Bajo qué condiciones volverían?
- ¿Alguna vez pensaste a emigrar? ¿Por qué? ¿Bajo qué condiciones? ¿A dónde irías?
- ¿Cuál(es) lengua(s) son necesarias para que una persona se considera marroquí? ¿Es posible ser marroquí sin hablar árabe marroquí (o árabe estándar)?
- ¿Cuál(es) lenguas son necesarias para que una persona se considera español? ¿Es posible ser español sin hablar español?
- ¿Cómo ves el árabe estándar? ¿Es necesario? ¿Cómo se ve a la gente que sólo habla árabe estándar (o árabe marroquí) y no una variedad (o no el árabe estándar)?
- ¿Qué piensa la gente cuando hablas árabe en público?
- ¿Qué piensas tú cuando oyes árabe por la calle?
- ¿Hay una cultura con la que identificas más? ¿Cuál es? ¿Por qué?
- ¿Te consideras un hablante nativo de (árabe, árabe marroquí, español)?
- ¿Qué piensan los demás cuando hablas (árabe, árabe marroquí, español)?
- ¿Cómo de importante es el español (o el árabe, árabe marroquí) aquí en Granada?

Appendix D

Consent Form

INFORMACIÓN SOBRE EL ESTUDIO

El uso de las lenguas en la comunidad marroquí en España

Se le invita a participar en un estudio sobre el uso de las lenguas en España. Usted fue seleccionado/a porque se identifica como marroquí y hablante de español. Su consentimiento a participar en este estudio supone primero que lea y entienda este documento, y que haga cualquier pregunta que tenga antes de aceptar participar.

La investigadora que conduce este estudio es Carol Ready, estudiante de posgrado en el departamento de español y portugués en la Universidad de Minnesota, Twin Cities.

Información sobre el estudio:

El propósito de este estudio es de investigar el uso de las lenguas de personas marroquíes que viven en España.

Procedimientos:

Si acepta participar en el proyecto, se le pedirá hacer un cuestionario sobre su experiencia lingüística y hacer una entrevista con la investigadora, y que la participante prefiera, con un familiar o amigo. También se puede participar en observaciones con miembros de su familia y/o amigos.

Este estudio durará una hora y media que incluye la entrevista y el cuestionario. La observación durará dos horas.

Riesgos y ventajas de ser participante en el estudio:

Aunque poco probable, es posible que esté incómodo compartir información personal. En este caso, puede optar por no contestar la pregunta.

No hay ventajas directas para los participantes de este estudio.

Confidencialidad

Los materiales de la investigación serán confidenciales y se guardarán en un lugar seguro. Sólo la investigadora y su directora tendrán acceso al material original. Todo uso que se haga de este material será para propósitos estrictamente académicos y su identidad será confidencial; es decir, no se incluirá ni su nombre ni los nombres de personas, compañías, organizaciones, etc. que se mencionen en las conversaciones y que pudieran hacer posible su identificación o la de otros individuos.

Naturaleza voluntaria de la investigación

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Su decisión de participar o no en él no afectará sus relaciones vigentes con la Universidad de Minnesota. Si decide participar, Ud. es libre de negarse a responder cualquier pregunta, de retirarse de este estudio en cualquier momento sin repercusiones, o de excluir porciones de las grabaciones de audio después de que sean hechas. El estudio no tiene beneficios directos para los participantes. No habrá compensaciones financieras o académicas por su participación.

Información de contacto y preguntas

La investigadora que conduce este estudio es Carol Ready, estudiante en la Universidad de Minnesota bajo la supervisión de la Dra. Carol Klee, catedrática en el Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies de la Universidad de Minnesota. En este momento puede hacer cualquier pregunta que tenga. Si tiene preguntas más tarde, **se le solicita** que contacte a Carol Ready por teléfono (402) 390-9305 o por correo electrónico: ready027@umn.edu. Si lo desea, también puede contactar a la Dra. Carol Klee al (612) 625-9521 o klee@umn.edu.

Si tiene preguntas y desea hablar con alguien que no sea investigador en este proyecto, **se le solicita** a que contacte Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455; 612-625-1650.

Ud. recibirá una copia de este formulario para sus archivos.

Firma _____ ***Fecha*** _____

Appendix E

Transcription System

/words/	Slashes enclose uncertain transcription.
-	A hyphen indicates a truncated word or adjustment within an intonation unit, e.g., repeated word, false start, self-correction.
?	A question mark indicates a relatively strong rising intonation (interrogative)
!	An exclamation mark indicates rising intonation (exclamatory)
.	A period indicates a falling, final intonation
,	A comma indicates a continuing intonation
..	Dots indicate silence
:	A colon indicates an elongated sound
“words”	Dialogue in quotation marks indicates reported speech
CAPS	Capitals indicate emphatic stress
0	Hyper script indicates whispered utterances
@@@	At symbol is used to indicate laughter
((sound))	Double parenthesis indicates sound such as coughing, sneezing, etc.
words [words]	Square brackets enclose simultaneous talk
<i>Name</i> ⁷	Italics indicate a name that has been omitted.

⁷ Italics are also used for translations of original excerpts immediately following the excerpt in the language it was spoken.

Appendix F

Multilingual Language Profile

Multilingual Language Profile: Español-Árabe-Árabe marroquí, Bereber

Nos gustaría pedir su ayuda para contestar a las siguientes preguntas sobre su historial lingüístico, uso, actitudes y competencia. Esta encuesta ha sido creada con el apoyo del 'Center for Open Educational Resources and Language Learning' de la Universidad de Texas en Austin para poder tener un mayor conocimiento sobre los perfiles de hablantes bilingües independientemente de sus diversos orígenes y en diferentes contextos. La encuesta contiene 19 preguntas y le llevará menos de 10 minutos para completar. Esto no es una prueba, por tanto no hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Por favor conteste cada pregunta y responda con sinceridad, ya que solamente así se podrá garantizar el éxito de esta investigación. Muchas gracias por su ayuda.

I. Información biográfica

Nombre _____ Fecha de hoy ____/____/____

Edad _____ ☐ Hombre / ☐ Mujer Lugar de residencia actual: ciudad _____ País _____

Nivel más alto de formación académica: ☐ Menos de la escuela secundaria ☐ Escuela Secundaria
☐ Un poco de universidad ☐ Universidad (diplomatura, licenciatura.)
☐ Un poco de escuela graduada ☐ Máster
☐ Doctorado ☐ Otra: _____

Please cite as :

Birdsong, D., Gertken, L.M., & Amengual, M. *Bilingual Language Profile: An Easy-to-Use Instrument to Assess Bilingualism*. COERLL, University of Texas at Austin. Web. 20 Jan. 2012. <<https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/>>.

I. Historial lingüístico

En esta sección, nos gustaría que contestara algunas preguntas sobre su historial lingüístico marcando la casilla apropiada.

1. ¿A qué edad **empezó a aprender** las siguientes lenguas?

Español

Desde el Nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Árabe

Desde el Nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Árabe marroquí

Desde el Nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Bereber

Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☒ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Otra lengua:_____

Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☒ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

2. ¿A qué edad **empezó a sentirse cómodo** usando las siguientes lenguas?

Español

Desde el Nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Árabe

Desde el Nacimiento 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

Árabe marroquí

Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Nacimiento

Bereber

Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☒ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Otra lengua: _____

Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

3. ¿Cuántos años de **clases (gramática, historia, matemáticas, etc.)** ha tenido en las siguientes lenguas (desde la escuela primaria a la universidad)?

Español

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Árabe

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Árabe marroquí

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Bereber

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Otra lengua: _____

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

4. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un **país/región** donde se hablan las siguientes lenguas?

Español

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Árabe

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Árabe marroquí

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Bereber

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

Otra lengua: _____

☐ Desde el nacimiento ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+

5. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en **familia** hablando las siguientes lenguas?

Español

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Árabe

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Árabe marroquí

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Bereber

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Otra lengua: _____

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

6. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en **un ambiente de trabajo** donde se hablan las siguientes lenguas?

Español

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Árabe

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Árabe marroquí

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Bereber

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

Otra lengua: _____

☐ Desde el ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20+
Nacimiento

III. Uso de lenguas

En esta sección, nos gustaría que contestara algunas preguntas sobre su uso de lenguas marcando la casilla apropiada. El uso total de todas las lenguas en cada pregunta debe llegar al 100%.

7. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa las siguientes lenguas con **sus amigos**?

Español	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe marroquí	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bereber	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Otra lengua:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

8. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa las siguientes lenguas con **su familia**?

Español	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe marroquí	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bereber	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Otra lengua:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

9. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa las siguientes lenguas en **la escuela/el trabajo**?

Español	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe marroquí	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bereber	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Otra lengua:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

10. Cuando se habla a usted mismo, ¿con qué frecuencia **se habla a sí mismo** en las siguientes lenguas?

Español	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe marroquí	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bereber	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Otra lengua:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

11. Cuando hace cálculos contando, ¿con qué frecuencia **cuenta** en las siguientes lenguas?

Español	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Árabe marroquí	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bereber	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Otra lengua:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

IV. Competencia

En esta sección, nos gustaría que considerara su competencia de lengua marcando la casilla de 0 a 6.

	0=no muy bien							6=muy bien							
12. a. ¿Cómo habla en Español ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
b. ¿Cómo habla en Árabe ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
c. ¿Cómo habla en Árabe marroquí ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
d. ¿Cómo habla en Bereber ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
e. ¿Cómo habla en otra lengua _____?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
13. a. ¿Cómo entiende en Español ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
b. ¿Cómo entiende en Árabe ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
c. ¿Cómo habla en Árabe marroquí ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
d. ¿Cómo habla en Bereber ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
e. ¿Cómo habla en otra lengua _____?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
14. a. ¿Cómo lee en Español ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
b. ¿Cómo lee en Árabe ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
c. ¿Cómo habla en Árabe marroquí ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
d. ¿Cómo habla en Bereber ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
e. ¿Cómo habla en otra lengua _____?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
15. a. ¿Cómo escribe en Español ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
b. ¿Cómo escribe en Árabe ?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6								
c. ¿Cómo habla en Árabe marroquí ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
d. ¿Cómo habla en Bereber ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								
e. ¿Cómo habla en otra lengua _____?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6								

V. Actitudes En esta sección, nos gustaría que contestara a las siguientes afirmaciones sobre actitudes lingüísticas marcando las casillas de 0 a 6.

0=no estoy de acuerdo 6=estoy de acuerdo

16. a. Me siento "yo mismo" cuando hablo en **Español**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

b. Me siento "yo mismo" cuando hablo en **Árabe**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

c. Me siento "yo mismo" cuando hablo en **Árabe marroquí**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

17. a. Me identifico con una cultura **Hispanohablante**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

b. Me identifico con una cultura **Arabófono**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

c. Me identifico con una cultura **marroquí**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

18. a. Es importante para mi usar (o llegar a usar) **Español** como un hablante nativo.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

b. Es importante para mi usar (o llegar a usar) **Árabe** como un hablante nativo.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

c. Es importante para mi usar (o llegar a usar) **árabe marroquí** como un hablante nativo.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

19. a. Quiero que los demás piensen que soy un hablante nativo de **Español**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

b. Quiero que los demás piensen que soy un hablante nativo de **Árabe**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

c. Quiero que los demás piensen que soy un hablante nativo de **Árabe marroquí**.

☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

Appendix G

Survey from the preliminary study carried out in June and July 2017

Cuestionario de experiencia lingüística

(Esta información se quedará confidencial)

Nombre: _____ Fecha de nacimiento: _____

Sexo: _____

Número de teléfono/ email: _____

I. Información personal

¿Cuál es el nivel de escuela más alto que usted completó? (please circle):

escuela primaria escuela secundaria un poco bachillerato bachillerato un poco universidad
graduado universitario

País de origen: _____

País de residencia: _____

1. Si usted no nació en España, ¿durante cuáles edades ha vivido en su país de origen?
2. Si no nació en España, ¿por cuántos años ha vivido en España?
3. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted va a su país de origen?

II. Información familiar

4. ¿De dónde son sus padres/?

Madre: _____

Padre: _____

5. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablan sus padres?

Madre: _____

Padre: _____

6. ¿Qué hacen sus padres para ganarse la vida?

Madre: _____

Padre: _____

7. ¿Cuál es el nivel de escuela mas alto de sus padres? (Haga un círculo para cada uno)

Madre: escuela primaria
escuela secundaria
bachillerato
universidad
posgrado

Padre: escuela primaria
escuela secundaria
bachillerato
universidad
posgrado

III. Su experiencia lingüística

8. ¿Qué idiomas hablas?

9. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablaban en casa antes de los 5 años? (Haga un círculo alrededor de todas las respuestas que aplican)

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber

mezclado otro (especifique)_____

10. ¿Cuáles idiomas oyó en casa antes de los 5 años?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber

mezclado otro (especifique)_____

11. ¿En cuál idioma le hablan sus padres?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber

mezclado otro_____

12. ¿Cuál idioma usa con sus padres?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber

mezclado otro_____

13. Si tiene hermanos, ¿Cuál idioma habla cuando está con sus hermanos?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber

mezclado otro

14. ¿Cuál idioma usan sus abuelos cuando hablan con usted?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber
mezclado otro

15. ¿Cuál idioma habla cuando está con sus abuelos?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber
mezclado otro

IV. Uso actual de las lenguas

16. Si estuvieras en el hospital, ¿cuáles son las personas que le visitaría? Haga una lista de las personas y las lenguas que le hablarían con usted.

1.	Idioma:
2.	Idioma:
3.	Idioma:
4.	Idioma:
5.	Idioma:

17. Haga un círculo alrededor de la respuesta que mejor completa la siguiente frase: Me siento más cómodo/a cuando hablo....

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber
mezclado otro:

18. ¿Cuál lengua prefiere para hacer las rutinas diarias?

español árabe fusha árabe marroquí bereber
mezclado otro:

19. ¿Con qué frecuencia utiliza español ahora?

siempre a menudo pocas veces nunca

20. ¿Con qué frecuencia utiliza árabe fusha ahora?

siempre a menudo pocas veces nunca

21. ¿Con qué frecuencia utiliza árabe marroquí ahora?

siempre a menudo pocas veces nunca

22. ¿Con qué frecuencia utiliza bereber ahora?

siempre a menudo pocas veces nunca

23. ¿Con qué frecuencia utiliza su otro idioma ahora?

siempre a menudo pocas veces nunca

24. ¿Es español importante para usted?

sumamente importante muy importante moderadamente importante un poco importante no es importante

25. ¿Es árabe fusha importante para usted?

sumamente importante muy importante moderadamente importante un poco importante no es importante

26. ¿Es árabe marroquí importante para usted?

sumamente importante muy importante moderadamente importante un poco importante no es importante

27. ¿Es bereber importante para usted?

sumamente importante muy importante moderadamente importante un poco importante no es importante

28. ¿Es su otro idioma importante para usted?

sumamente importante muy importante moderadamente importante un poco importante no es importante

29. ¿En cuáles situaciones es más adecuado usar español? ¿Por qué?.

30. ¿En cuáles situaciones es más adecuado usar árabe fusha? ¿Por qué?

31. ¿En cuáles situaciones es más adecuado usar árabe marroquí? ¿Por qué?

32. ¿En cuáles situaciones es más adecuado usar bereber? ¿Por qué?

33. ¿En cuáles situaciones es más adecuado usar su otro idioma? ¿Por qué?

XIV. Competencia lingüística

34. En una escala de 1 a 5, evalúa sus habilidades con sus idiomas.

(1 =pobre; 2= necesita mejorar; 3=bien; 4= muy bien; 5= como nativo-hablante)

español	Leer =	Hablar=	Escuchar=	Escribir=
árabe fusha	Leer =	Hablar=	Escuchar=	Escribir=
árabe marroquí	Leer =	Hablar=	Escuchar=	Escribir=
bereber	Leer =	Hablar=	Escuchar=	Escribir=
otro idioma	Leer =	Hablar=	Escuchar=	Escribir=

Adapted from the Bilingual background questionnaire for Spanish/English speakers Montrul (2012)