Language Ideologies and Attitudes and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: a Mixed Methods Approach to Immigrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca

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Declaration of ownership

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original and have conformed to the regulations on the use and declaration of Generative AI, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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Declaration of AI use

In the preparation of this doctoral thesis, I made use of two generative AI tools to support specific linguistic and editorial tasks. I consulted ChatGPT, drawing on the versions available during the period 2024–2026, including models such as GPT-4, GPT-4o and GPT-4.5. From September to December 2025 I also used the versions GPT-4 and GPT-5 of Microsoft Copilot. These tools were employed exclusively for language-related support, more specifically to request assistance in rephrasing sentences, clarifying paragraph structure and identifying more precise lexical choices in English.

The outputs generated by these tools consisted of suggested rephrasings, alternative lexical choices and structural improvements to paragraphs. No AI-generated content was incorporated verbatim without critical evaluation. I provide access to representative examples of these outputs within each tool in Appendix I.

My prompts focused on improving clarity, cohesion and academic tone in English. They mainly included requests such as: “Please revise for clarity and cohesion with academic tone and British English”, “Please review the grammar and suggest only essential corrections”, “Please rephrase this sentence to make it clearer and more academically appropriate” (see Appendix I). My use of these tools involved iterative refinement: I reviewed each suggestion, requested adjustments where necessary and ensured that the final phrasing aligned with my intended meaning and disciplinary conventions.

The use of generative AI was limited to editorial assistance. All decisions regarding content, argumentation, theoretical framing and interpretation of data were made independently. The AI tools did not contribute original ideas, nor did they influence the analytical or conceptual development of the thesis. Their role was strictly supportive, comparable to advanced proofreading software and all outputs were critically evaluated before inclusion.

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Publications and presentations

Publications

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Presentations

GRESIB en tàndem amb GREILI, with the talk Aprendre i emprar una llengua minoritzada: adults immigrats a Mallorca [Learning and Using a Minoritised Language: Immigrant Adults in Mallorca]
Mallorca, March 20th, 2026 Universitat de les Illes Balears

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VI Jornades La recerca sociolingüística en l'àmbit de la llengua catalana with the talk *Actituds, ideologies lingüístiques i la decisió d'aprendre i emprar català a Mallorca: un estudi de mètodes mixtos amb adults immigrants*
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Olomouc, May 8-10th, 2025 Palacký University Olomouc

Bilingualism, Bilingual Education and Social (Sociolinguistic/Political) Conflict with the talk: *Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use Catalan in Mallorca: a Preliminary Quantitative Results of Immigrant Adults*
Madrid, November 14-15th, 2024 Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

57th Annual Conference of the British Association for Applied Linguistics with the talk: *Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use Catalan in Mallorca: a Preliminary Quantitative Approach to Immigrated Adults*
Essex, September 5-7th, 2024 The University of Essex

Symposium Sociolinguistics 25 with the talk: *Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use Catalan in Mallorca: Preliminary Quantitative Results of Immigrant Adults*
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List of Abbreviations

AMTB – Attitude/Motivation Test Battery

AULIJOVIB – Actituds i Usos Lingüístics dels Joves de les Illes Balears [Youth Language Attitudes and Use in the Balearic Islands]

CEPA – Centres for Adult Education

CPH – Critical Period Hypothesis

DGPL – General Directorate for Language Policy of the Balearic Islands

DGPLCat – General Directorate for Language Policy of Catalonia

EBAP - Escola Balear d'Administració Pública [Balear School of Public Administration]

ES2004 – Enquesta sociolingüística 2004. Coneixements, lingüístics, usos i representacions de les població de les Illes Balears [Sociolinguistic Survey 2003. Linguistic knowledge, uses and representations of the population of the Balearic Islands]

EULIB2014 – Enquesta d'usos lingüístics a les Illes Balears 2014. Anàlisi [Survey on Language Uses in the Balearic Islands. Analysis]

GOIB – Government of the Balearic Islands

IBESTAT – Statistical Institute of the Balearic Islands

IEB – Institute of Balearic Studies

IES – Institute of Secondary Education

INE – National Institute of Statistics

LA – Language Anxiety

L2 – Second language

LNL – Language Normalisation Law

LPP – Language Policy and Planning

Modular Survey 2010 – Enquesta modular d'hàbits socials 2010. "Usos lingüístics" [Modular Survey of Social Habits 2010. "Linguistic Uses"]

OCB – Obra Cultural Balear

ODDL – Office in Defence of Linguistic Rights

Plataforma – Plataforma per la Llengua

PP – Popular Party

PSOE – Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

RLS – Reversing Language Shift

SLA – Second Language Acquisition

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Abstract

Language Ideologies and Attitudes and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: a Mixed Methods Approach to Immigrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca

Catalina Amengual-Ripoll

Immigrant individuals in minority language territories have long been targeted as key actors in the maintenance and promotion of the minoritised languages such as Catalan in Mallorca. Mallorca, as a peripheral area of the Catalan-speaking territories, has received limited attention in studies examining the factors influencing the decision to learn and use Catalan among immigrant adults. Drawing on previous research about language ideologies (De Costa, 2016; Woolard, 1998), conceptualised here as positioned and power-indexed mental schema about language, and language attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007), understood as evaluations of a language variety and their speakers, the present research aims to understand the extent and the ways in which language ideologies and attitudes shape immigrant adults' decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca.

Following a critical realist approach (Maxwell, 2012), this research integrates results from a self-response questionnaire distributed among 154 immigrant adults and 19 individual semi-structured interviews. Participants reside in Mallorca with some or no knowledge of Catalan and originate from Morocco, Argentina and Germany, collectively representing 19.31% of the island's foreign-born population (IBESTAT). The survey consists of six sections that, together with sociodemographic information, include mainly Likert-scale questions regarding the rationale behind the decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca and participants' evaluations of, and positioning towards, the Mallorcan sociolinguistic situation. The narrative analysis of the interviews provide further insights on the reasons, experiences and participants' resources (e.g. financial means, time constraints, etc.) that encourage or discourage their Catalan language learning and use (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton Peirce, 1995). The findings contribute to theoretical debates on ideology, legitimacy and capital in minoritised language settings as they demonstrate that decisions to learn and use Catalan are articulated by gendered roles, birthplace-related expectations and the unequal recognition of immigrants' cultural and symbolic resources. Building on these insights, the study also highlights the importance of designing revitalisation measures that respond to immigrants' lived conditions and sociolinguistic needs.

1. Introduction

1.1. Beyond Mallorca's Sun and Beaches

Mallorca's sun and beaches have been widely advertised both as a tourist attraction and employment opportunity (Manera et al., 2020; Tejero & Picornell, 2023). In August 2023, Mallorca registered an average of 13.3 tourists per resident and, compared to 2019, saw an increase of more than 2,400 workers in the hospitality and restaurant sectors (Garau, 2024). The promotion of tourism as the main economic activity of the Balearic Islands has triggered four major waves of immigration (Manera, 2001, 2009; Miralles, 2022; see Chapter 2), transforming the islands into a territory where nearly half the population was born outside the community (CES, 2023; see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.). Within a political climate where xenophobic discourses towards immigrants and opposition to the promotion of Catalan are increasingly prevalent (Mascaró, 2023; see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1.), this sociodemographic and economic landscape adds a challenge to the strategies implemented since the approval of the Language Normalisation Act (Act 3/1986) to overcome the minoritised status of the Catalan language, a reality far less known than the region's sun and beaches.

In the Balearic Islands, Catalan holds co-official status alongside Spanish which is the official language in Spain. These two languages share a history of Spanish dominance over Catalan, a dynamic that continues to shape the current sociolinguistic landscape of the Balearic Islands (Webber & Strubell, 1991). For example, despite Catalan language proficiency having increased over the four decades of revitalisation strategies in the Balearic Islands, more than 80% of immigrants use Spanish as their habitual language regardless of their background and initial language in 2014 (Melià & Vanrell, 2017).

The escalation of international diversity since the 1990s (IBESTAT) has added a layer of complexity to achieving a sustainable approach to managing the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Balearic Islands (Marí, 2005). Prior to the 1990s, immigrants to Mallorca

primarily came from other non-Catalan-speaking areas of Spain (Salvà, 2002). Since the 1990s, international immigrants have surpassed those from within Spain and continue to increase, while the number of immigrants from non-Catalan-speaking areas of Spain has remained stable (IBESTAT). Mallorca attracts a highly diverse range of international immigrants, each with distinct profiles (Salvà, 2005, 2008). Some relocate to retire, while others arrive as highly skilled professionals. However, despite holding university degrees, certain immigrants face challenges in recognising their qualifications, leading them to accept jobs below their skill level. Others arrive without formal education and take on low-paid employment. Additionally, a portion of the immigrant population comes for family reunification purposes, further contributing to the diversity of the immigrant community. Given the heterogeneity of immigrant profiles on the island, this study includes Moroccan, Argentinian and German participants not only due to their substantial demographic presence, but also because they represent distinct migratory trajectories and socio-economic characteristics (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.).

The strategies for Catalan linguistic revitalisation in the Balearic Islands cannot ignore the region's highly diverse linguistic and cultural landscape. For this reason, several governmental policies that aim at promoting and maintaining Catalan in the Balearic Islands increasingly focus on immigrant communities as key agents in achieving this goal (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.). However, there is limited knowledge in the Balearic Islands regarding such individuals' sociolinguistic needs, struggles and perceptions in relation to Catalan, which could shed light on the facilitators and constraints of Catalan language learning and use among this population and, consequently, better inform language revitalisation policies and practices (Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021). This is the gap that this research aims to address, paving the way for more research-based approaches to language revitalisation while recognising the immigrant communities as an active agent whose concerns and needs must be considered.

There is little research exclusively focused on the factors surrounding immigrant individuals' decisions to learn and use minoritised languages. Such research tends to underrepresent immigrant participants, outnumbering them by local-minoritised language speakers (Flynn, 2020). Immigrants are frequently investigated under the label of new speakers, which includes those born outside the territories of minoritised languages along with individuals born within them who did not acquire the language at home (O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; see Section 1.4. for further terminological insights on new speakers). Research on new speakers tends to focus on the recognition of such individuals (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; O'Rourke, 2011; Ortega et al., 2014; Puigdevall et al., 2018) and their resources (Bermingham, 2021; Bouchard, 2023; Massaguer, 2022; Patiño-Santos, 2019; Pujolar, 2007; Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022) as having legitimate and prestigious within minoritised-language speech communities. Complementarily, research on minoritised languages has placed strong emphasis on language ideologies and attitudes, as predictors of both these languages' vitality and their adoption by outgroup members of the speech community (Belmar et al., 2019; Campos, 2018; Flynn, 2020; Kircher et al., 2022; Larrea, 2016; Rosiak, 2023).

When immigrants have been exclusively sampled in such studies, the thematic focus has tended to revolve around their integration into the host society through the learning and use of the minoritised language (Bover, 2014; Cutillas, 2014; Fukuda, 2017; Sastre, 2012). In Mallorca, particular attention has been given to North Europeans (Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005), Germans (Sastre, 2012), Moroccans (Akoudad, 2022; Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022), Argentinians (Amengual-Ripoll, 2022) and a mixed-origin groups (Bover, 2013).

The present research, drawing primarily on studies in the Catalan, Spanish and European contexts, engages with central themes in minoritised-language research: language attitudes and ideologies and the legitimisation strategies of outgroup members within the speech community. However, this research is also situated within broader socio-political debates

that highlight the utilitarian logics of contemporary neoliberal and mobile societies. Among such logics, non-material ends such as learning and using a minoritised language—often perceived as having limited global utility and competitiveness in the labour market—are dismissed in favour of investment in dominant languages, considered more useful, global and competitive (Canagarajah, 2017; Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Woolard, 2016). Accordingly, this research argues that to better capture the realities of immigrant individuals embedded in such politico-economic contexts, it is necessary not only to examine language ideologies, attitudes and challenges of recognition, but also to frame these issues within a dual perspective of tangible and intangible enablers and constraints (Bourdieu, 1991; Heller, 2010). This includes the material and immaterial resources available to immigrants, the value attributed to these resources in the host society, and their intersection with identities such as gender and social class, which regulate differential access to language learning and use (Block, 2014; Pavlenko et al., 2001).

In doing so, this study is situated within the field of critical sociolinguistics (Heller et al., 2017), which draws on materialist and economistic approaches to the social value of language. It is primarily informed by Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model, which understands language learning as shaped by learners' identities, their available resources—such as education or social networks—and the ideologies that frame their participation in different contexts. The investment model builds on Bourdieu's (1991) theorisation of linguistic value as a form of capital that gains legitimacy in relation to other economic, cultural and social resources (Bourdieu, 1986). From this perspective, language is not treated as a neutral system but as a socially embedded resource whose value is continually negotiated through discourses and power relations, and which acquires different forms of legitimacy depending on its intersections with identity, economic conditions and social hierarchies (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

1.2. Epistemological, Ontological and Researcher's Positionality

1.2.1. Critical Realism

The present research project relies on a single paradigm (critical realism) to better explain and understand the phenomena it seeks to investigate, as well as to position the researcher's ontological assumptions about the nature of reality and epistemological assumptions about the processes through which knowledge of that reality is obtained (Dawadi et al., 2021; Gazzola et al., 2023; Johnson, 2015). Following this understanding, researchers' assumptions frame the research questions, the methods used to answer those questions and the interpretation of the results (Shannon-Baker, 2016). This research uses Dawadi's et al. (2021, p. 25) definition of paradigm as

> researchers' underlying philosophical views concerning the truth and reality in general and the research issue in particular. [...] it is a philosophical position about the world or the nature of reality and how we approach it to understand it. [...] It includes researchers' assumptions about ontology and epistemology that guide the research process.

The current research is situated within the paradigm of critical realism because it is particularly appropriate for the study of observable phenomena alongside the unobservable causal mechanisms that underpin and shape such material events. Positioned between a constructivist epistemology and a realist ontology (Bhaskar, 2002; Maxwell, 2012; Zhang, 2023), critical realism asserts that an objective reality exists independently of human perception, while recognising that knowledge of this reality is socially and historically mediated. Within this paradigm, the social world is understood as characterised by regularities that remain fluid and subject to change, underpinned by causal mechanisms conceived as interconnected individual and collective processes that interact to shape reality as it unfolds (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2002). This integrated focus on both immaterial and

material realities has not only led to the increasing use of critical realism in social science research, and more specifically in the study of language ideologies and language attitudes (Block, 2014; Massaguer, 2022; Maxwell, 2012; Soukup, 2015; Vella, 2018), but also aligns closely with the theoretical framework of the present study. Because critical realism is an ontological and epistemological proposal rather than a fixed methodological one, it can be readily combined with other theoretical traditions, such as critical sociolinguistics (Massaguer, 2022). In particular, it enables attention to the unobservable factors that may influence immigrant adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan, such as language ideologies, language attitudes, identity and symbolic capital, while also recognising the role of participants' material resources and the structural constraints within which such decisions are made (see Chapter 3).

This ontological and epistemological view engages with materialism since it understands that non-material and unobservable events are interlinked with and affect the material and observable world (Block, 2014). In this regard, critical realism does not introduce a novel perspective distinct from those advanced by materialist and post-materialist scholars such as Bourdieu (1991) or critical sociolinguists such as Heller & McElhinny (2017) (see Chapter 3), as these frameworks also acknowledge the symbiosis between material and non-material dimensions of the social world. However, its novelty lies on the systematisation of these elements of the social world and their interaction within the social world, making them particularly useful for research in this field.

Bhaskar ([Archer et al.,] 1998; 2002) elaborates this systematisation through an epistemological framework that distinguishes three domains of reality: the real, the actual and the empirical. The real domain comprises the underlying mechanisms that enable or constrain events in the actual domain, for example, the idea that immigrants should be addressed in the dominant language rather than in a minoritised language. The actual domain is where events take place irrespective of whether anyone perceives them, for example, a

minoritised language speaker shifting to the dominant language when addressing an immigrant. The empirical domain refers to those events as they are experienced and perceived by humans, for example, someone noticing and evaluating such a language shift (Anderson, 2020; Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018; Sommer, 2011; Vella, 2018). Complementing this, Bhaskar's ontological proposal identifies three aspects of human reality—structure, culture and agency—which interact across these domains. Structure provides material and regulative resources, for example the legal duty to know Spanish versus the mere right to know Catalan in Spain (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018, p. 30). Culture offers ideational and normative orientations, for example the belief that Spanish is necessary for full civic participation, while Catalan is only valued symbolically (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018, p. 31). Agency represents the socioculturally mediated capacity to act, for example, someone exercising their right to use Catalan in domains, such as interactions with the Spanish National Police, where Spanish prevails (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112, as cited in Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018, p. 45). These dimensions are mutually constitutive: structure and culture shape agency, while agency reconfigures its relationship with structure and culture (Archer, 1995; Bourdieu, 1991). For analytical clarity, and in line with relevant literature (Bourdieu, 1991), the present research adopts the term structure to encompass both culture and structure, as both operate through underlying mechanisms that enable or constrain agency (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018).

In this sense, the interplay of structure, culture and agency is not neutral but deeply entangled with power relations and the unequal distribution of symbolic and material capital. Thus, critical realism allows us to move beyond the material world, opening the possibility to investigate hidden aspects of human relations, such as the dynamics of domination between individuals and groups, and the structural inequalities that shape linguistic practices and opportunities for minoritised languages.

1.2.2. Me within this Research

Contained within critical realism and aligned with the theoretical framework of this research (see Chapter 3), this study recognises the importance of the researcher's self-reflection. This self-assessment process involves examining the researcher's identity, resources and ideological stance, and considering how these may shape participants' perceptions of, and experiences with, the researcher (Rolland et al., 2023). Clarifying the researcher's positionality contributes to a more transparent understanding of the interpretation of the data in this study. Accordingly, this section provides a brief reflection on my background, experiences and ideologies relevant to the scope of this research.

I am a white, local and Catalan-speaking woman in Mallorca as well as a Catalan language activist with university education. These factors influence both the research design and my relationship with participants (Heller et al., 2017). On the one hand, my identity as a Catalan language activist informs the focus of this study, which seeks to explore how language revitalisation strategies can be reframed to address immigrant adults' language ideologies and attitudes towards Catalan, taking into account their sociolinguistic needs. On the other hand, these elements collectively form a network of ideologies linked to my identity, which may shape how participants perceive me. This, in turn, could lead them to adjust their responses in alignment with social desirability bias (Oppenheim, 1992) rather than expressing views they might share with someone from outside Mallorca. For instance, during the interviews, many participants distinguished themselves from counterparts born in Argentina, Morocco or Germany by emphasising their own legitimacy as integrated Moroccans, Argentinians or Germans.

Being an outsider of their respective community was also a challenge when collecting the survey data. Due to my lack of proficiency in Arabic, Amazigh and French, I was unable to communicate with a significant portion of Moroccan residents in Mallorca. Fortunately, two individuals assisted me in collecting the surveys, translating everything for participants who

were either illiterate or did not understand any of the languages in which the survey was prepared. It should be noted that the involvement of these two helpers may also have contributed to introducing bias in some of the survey responses within this population. However, regarding this potential bias, it is important to note that the two helpers were a local woman and a Moroccan man. This composition may have introduced different ingroup and outgroup dynamics, potentially influencing participants' responses in distinct ways. Through the data collection process, I aimed to be sensitive to the participants' experiences, providing them space to express themselves freely without judging their opinions, either verbally or through gestures. I aimed to learn from their points of views (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014).

Beyond influencing the design and data collection, my positionality also shaped the interpretation of the findings. In line with critical realism, which acknowledges that knowledge is socially and historically mediated, I was aware that my identity and ideological background could affect how I understood participants' narratives and survey results. To mitigate this influence, I adopted a mixed-methods approach (Kircher & Hawkey, 2022; Sommer, 2011; Yardley & Bishop, 2017): quantitative analysis was conducted first to establish patterns in the data, followed by qualitative analysis to contextualise and interpret these patterns through participants' lived experiences. This sequencing allowed me to cross-check interpretations and reduce the risk of overemphasising my own ideological standpoint. Furthermore, reflexive notes were kept throughout the qualitative analysis to monitor how my perspectives might interact with the data, thereby enhancing transparency and consistency in the interpretation process.

1.3. Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

The research questions guiding this study centre on three main aims: i) to identify and analyse the factors that interact to shape Moroccan, Argentinian and German adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca (RQ1); ii) to examine the role of these adults' language ideologies and attitudes in relation to other factors influencing their decisions (RQ2); and iii) to explore how the interplay of these factors, together with immigrant adults' sociolinguistic needs in navigating Mallorcan society, can inform strategies for Catalan revitalisation (RQ3).

1. What factors interact to shape the decision to learn and use Catalan among Moroccan, Argentinian and German adults living in Mallorca?
2. What role do these adults' language ideologies and attitudes play in these decisions and in relation to these factors?
3. How can these insights inform strategies for Catalan revitalisation while also addressing immigrants' sociolinguistic needs in navigating Mallorcan society?

1.4. Clarification of Some Concepts

This section provides brief clarifications on key terminological choices adopted in this study: the distinction between immigrant and migrant; the preference initial language over L1 and for language learners over new speakers; and the use of minoritised language rather than minority language. Before proceeding, it is important to recognise that any terminological choice entails limitations, as terms are not neutral and remain subject to conceptual contestation.

The discussion begins by addressing the distinction between migrant and immigrant. In this study, the term immigrant is preferred over migrant to designate the adult participants born in Morocco, Argentina and Germany who have relocated to Mallorca. While migrant may

serve as a broader umbrella term for diverse forms of mobility, whether internal or transnational, immigrant is a category more narrowly applied to those who relocate across national borders (Canagarajah, 2017). This choice also reflects the socially charged nature of such labels: being categorised as immigrants situates the participants within discourses of integration and citizenship, shaping both the expectations placed upon them and the decisions they make regarding the learning and use of Catalan. Therefore, framing them as immigrants highlights the ways in which their linguistic trajectories are negotiated through strategies of legitimisation within structural constraints, such as institutional language policies, social hierarchies and ideologies of belonging.

The term initial language is used throughout the monograph to refer to the language that participants learned at home during early childhood. This terminology is preferred over labels such as native speaker for two main reasons. First, adopting this category to describe the language(s) learned at home ensures continuity with the previous sociolinguistic surveys on language uses in the Balearic Islands (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.). Second, it aligns the present study with a broad body of critical sociolinguistic literature which, in line with the disciplinary framework of this thesis, conceptualises the language acquired at home as a key component of primary socialisation (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). From this perspective, the language learned in the family environment is understood as part of the social practices through which individuals begin to make sense of the social world and to develop their linguistic and social identities (e.g., Heller, 2007; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). The abbreviation L1 is avoided because it is associated with essentialised notions of linguistic nativeness and monolingual acquisition trajectories (Davies, 2003; Ortega, 2013; Rampton, 1990). These labels often presuppose fixed linguistic identities and do not adequately capture the multilingual and socially situated language biographies that characterise the participants in this study.

This study divides participants in two big categories: those who decided to learn Catalan and those who did not. Two general terms are used throughout the research to refer to these groups. For the former, participants are referred to as language learners rather than new speakers. While the notion of new speakers has been widely employed in sociolinguistic research to describe individuals acquiring a minoritised language outside of the home or community (O'Rourke et al., 2015, p. 1), individuals included in this category are at very different stages of acquisition: from those with no knowledge of Catalan to those with basic skills and some who have become fluent users. Although some individuals in this category could potentially be defined as new speakers, as they already initiated the language learning process, not all of them fit such a profile. The second category, non-speakers, refers to participants who did not decide to learn Catalan. This label has been used in recent research to designate individuals living in a Catalan-speaking territory who do not use the language when they have opportunities to do so, even if they may possess varying degrees of receptive or productive knowledge (Massaguer, 2022). Most non-speakers in the current research have not initiated any type of Catalan learning and are not interested in it.

Alongside the category of language learners, the term local or traditional speakers will be used to refer to those individuals who have acquired Catalan primarily through family transmission and community use or schooling, that is, as part of their everyday socialisation in Mallorca (Hornsby, 2015). This category designates speakers for whom Catalan constitutes a home language, a community language or a language of schooling, embedded in local practices and intergenerational continuity, and who are often perceived as embodying linguistic authenticity within prevailing ideologies of language (Woolard, 2016).

This study deliberately avoids the generational distinction between "first-" and "second-generation immigrants". Avoiding these generational distinctions reduces comparability with a substantial body of international research, obscures intergenerational differences in linguistic, educational and social trajectories and risks producing an overly heterogeneous

analytical category that masks meaningful variation (Alba & Nee, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Nevertheless, while recognising that these categories are themselves contested and not free from conceptual limitations, such categories have been criticised for oversimplifying complex trajectories of mobility and integration, reducing them to rigid chronological boundaries that fail to capture multidimensional processes (Fajth & Lessard-Phillips, 2023; Kertzer, 1983; Portes, 1997). Scholars have further noted that generational labels obscure actual linguistic practices and identity negotiations (Sancho, 2019), and risk reproducing ideological hierarchies of belonging by positioning descendants of immigrants as perpetual outsiders (Anthias, 2002). Research in education has similarly problematised the notion of "first-generation students," showing that such terms homogenise diverse trajectories, reinforce deficit perspectives and neglect transnational forms of cultural and educational capital (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2018; Pujolar, 2007a). In light of these critiques, this study adopts terms such as immigrant and language learner to more accurately capture the diversity of experiences and identity negotiations in Mallorca.

Finally, this research refers to Catalan as a minoritised language rather than a minority language. While the latter term can encompass minoritised languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2024), within Catalan sociolinguistics it has been emphasised in order to highlight that Catalan's broader sociolinguistic situation is not determined by its size, i.e. its number of speakers (Bastardas & Boix-Fuster, 2018). In fact, Catalan equals or even surpasses other national European languages such as Estonian or Slovene in number of speakers, which positions it as a medium-sized language in Europe. However, the implications of this medium-sized status vary considerably across Catalan-speaking territories: for example, Catalan is far more strongly embedded in institutional life in Catalonia than in Mallorca (Pons, 2005, 2016). Its current status, therefore, results not solely from demographic factors but from extralinguistic processes, including historical processes of oppression and

marginalisation, that have relegated it to a minoritised condition (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 1999).

1.5. Thesis Structure

This study comprises seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research topic, outlines the research questions and aims, discusses the researcher's positionality within the context of the study and clarifies key concepts. Chapter 2 contextualises the study within Mallorca's socioeconomic and sociolinguistic landscape, tracing the island's shift to a tourism-driven economy and the successive immigration waves that accompanied it. It synthesises demographic trends and major sociolinguistic surveys to show how Catalan proficiency and use vary across domains. Finally, it reviews legislative frameworks and linguistic revitalisation strategies in the Balearic Islands.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical foundations underpinning the study, linking adult immigrants' engagement with Catalan to broader processes of mobility, inequality, ideology and access to economic, cultural and social resources. The chapter interrelates socio-psychological perspectives, mainly focused on individual characteristics such as language attitudes, within broader social theories, particularly the investment model. This model links identity—here with particular attention to gender and class—to ideology and capital, conceptualised as three imbricated dimensions within language learning and use processes. Finally, the chapter addresses ongoing debates on revitalisation and prestige planning for Catalan, positioning the research alongside wider social issues and framing it as part of public policy.

Chapter 4 sets out the research design, epistemologically and ontologically grounded in critical realism. The study adopts an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design, beginning with a quantitative survey and followed by qualitative semi-structured interviews.

The chapter details sampling, piloting, procedures and analytical strategies for both phases, emphasising integration between quantitative and qualitative data to enhance validity and transparency. By combining statistical representativeness with qualitative richness, the design contributes a distinctive methodological approach to the study of minoritised languages in Mallorca and beyond.

Chapter 5 presents the empirical findings of the study, integrating survey and interview data. The survey results reveal significant variation across gender and place of birth: women, particularly German and Argentinian, are more likely to have undertaken Catalan learning, while Moroccan participants, despite displaying more favourable predispositions, report lower levels of engagement. Regression models highlight Integrative and Instrumental Orientations, favourable Attitudes towards the Public Presence of Catalan, gender and place of birth as key predictors of learning decisions. For language use, proficiency, Self-confidence, Attitudes towards the Public Presence of Catalan and place of birth also emerge as statistically significant. The qualitative interviews offer an explanation for these patterns, identifying gendered social roles and the symbolic value attributed to participants' resources within the host society as key factors shaping opportunities for language learning and the ability to mobilise and use the language.

Chapter 6 interprets the empirical findings through the lens of the theoretical framework, addressing the research questions and situating immigrant adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan within broader debates on identity, ideology and capital. It highlights the role of Catalan in participants' self-legitimation processes, the greater appeal of the language's socio-affective dimensions for learning and use, and the importance of being able to mobilise one's resources—cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital—in shaping access to Catalan learning and use. These insights inform language policy and revitalisation strategies, emphasising the need to address immigrants' sociolinguistic needs alongside broader revitalisation goals. The chapter concludes by outlining implications for policy,

acknowledging limitations and situating the study's contribution within ongoing efforts to sustain Catalan in Mallorca.

Finally, Chapter 7 synthesises the study's key findings, showing how adult immigrants negotiate access to and legitimacy in Catalan. It highlights the interplay of gender, place of birth and socio-economic positioning in shaping language learning and use trajectories, while recognising the structural constraints that mediate individual investment. The chapter concludes by outlining directions for future research.

2. Context of the Research

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the socioeconomic and sociolinguistic situation of Mallorca. It is divided into three main sections. The first section begins by discussing socioeconomic factors, reviewing the main economic sectors, significant migration waves affecting the islands and concluding with an overview of Mallorca's sociodemographic characteristics. The second section addresses the three major sociolinguistic surveys conducted in the Balearic Islands, synthesising their findings to offer a comprehensive picture of Catalan language use. Finally, the chapter reviews linguistic legislation in the Balearic Islands and examines the policy documents, activities and campaigns to promote the learning and use of Catalan among the adult immigrant population, implemented by governmental institutions often in collaboration with two non-governmental organisations: Obra Cultural Balear and Plataforma per la Llengua.

2.2. Tourism, Migration Waves and Catalan

Mallorca and the other Balearic Islands have been widely identified according to two main stereotypes. On the one hand, the islands are promoted as a paradise of sun and beaches. On the other hand, Mallorca in particular is portrayed as the "island of calm" (*illa de la calma*; Rusiñol, 2004), where everything is quiet and nothing happens, a calmness that isolates Mallorca from the rush and stress of modernity (Manera, 2001). Research (e.g., Manera, 2001; Petrus, 2022) has helped dismantle the myth of the island as merely a vacation destination by tracing Mallorca's socioeconomic evolution from an economy predominantly based on agriculture, through the era of the farmer-shoemaker, to its current highly tertiarised status, with tourism playing a central role.

Currently, the Balearic Islands are characterised by an overdeveloped tourist economy, with the tertiary sector dominating as the primary economic activity (CES, 2023). As a result, this sector not only generates one of the largest demands for labour, attracting both national and international workers, but also stimulates growth in the primary and secondary sectors.

Tourism in Mallorca began in the early 1900s but flourished as mass tourism in the 1950s, driven by factors like commercial flights, lower oil prices, higher incomes, paid holidays and increased leisure time (Manera, 2001; Ripoll, 2022). Under Franco's regime, tourism was further promoted to improve Spain's international image and economy (Rosendorf, 2006), a policy that fostered several waves of migration to the island (Melià, 2004; Miralles, 2022). These waves—four in particular—marked the decline of post-war poverty-driven emigration from other parts of Spain to Mallorca and, instead, witnessed a rise in the arrival of foreign workers (Manera, 2001). The presence of our study's participants in Mallorca can be situated within such mobility dynamics: some, generally Germans, as beneficiaries of tourism, and others, mainly Moroccans and Argentinians, as workers who contributed to making tourism possible (Salvà, 2002). The four distinct tourism booms identified by Manera (2001, 2009) and Miralles (2022), together with the varying legal and social situations of Catalan in the Balearic Islands during each phase, offer insights into the characteristics of immigrants and help contextualise both the origins and the economic relevance of this international population in Mallorca in relation to the Catalan language.

The first tourism boom (1959 to 1976) transformed Mallorca from a region of emigration to immigration. It consisted of rapid, unplanned hotel construction that created a labour demand primarily filled by generally illiterate people from rural non-Catalan-speaking regions of Spain, such as Murcia and Andalucia, many of whom had low levels of formal education (Melià, 2004; Miralles, 2022; Salvà, 2002). This first boom coincided with a period when Catalan lacked governmental protection (Melià, 1990; Miralles, 2022), as Spain was under Franco's

dictatorship, which portrayed Catalan as regressive and incompatible with the cosmopolitan image the regime aimed to project for Francoist Spain (Miralles, 2022; Rosendorf, 2006; Uth & Vanrell, 2023).

The second tourism boom (1976 to 1989) was characterised by the evolution of family-owned touristic businesses into multinational companies, alongside a rise in Spanish immigration and the escalation of tourism (Manera, 2001, 2009; Miralles, 2022). Spaniards migrating to Mallorca during this period primarily came from interurban areas and had higher educational qualifications (Salvà, 2002). In contrast to the first boom, after Spain transition into democracy, the government of the Balearic Islands began promoting Catalan and the children of Spanish immigrants started learning it in schools (Miralles, 2022).

During the third tourism boom (1989 to 2008) residential tourism became prominent, with many Central Europeans buying homes and settling permanently or semi-permanently in Mallorca (Manera, 2009; Miralles, 2022). This situation created additional demand for labour, leading to a more diverse workforce as immigrants from the Maghreb, Latin America, Europe and Asia arrived in Mallorca to work in the service, agriculture and construction sectors. Maghrebis, Latin Americans and Central Europeans represent the regions of origin of the target sample participants in this research, namely Morocco, Argentina and Germany. While immigrants from the Maghreb and Latin America tended to be younger and to form the labour force primarily in agriculture and construction, Europeans tended to be older and to mainly engage in residential tourism (Salvà, 2002). These groups also engaged in different types of employment. European and Latin American women tended to outnumber men in sectors such as the service industry, tourism, domestic work and, in some cases, sexual exploitation, while more Maghrebi men worked in agriculture and construction. During this period, the government of the Balearic Islands developed several policy documents to address the linguistic and cultural diversity of these foreign immigrants along with the sustainability of the

Catalan language and culture revitalisation movement (Marí, 2005; see Section 2.5.2.). This remains a challenge to this day and is directly relevant to the significance of the present research.

After the global financial crisis of 2008, which temporarily reduced immigration and tourism (Miralles, 2022), the fourth tourism boom (2008 to 2019) saw the emergence of a new commercialisation model around 2012. This model promoted seasonal rentals via peer-to-peer platforms and enabled individuals to rent their second residences to tourists. This period coincided with one of the most regressive phases of Catalan revitalisation by the Balearic government (see Section 2.5.1.). In 2015, despite that revitalisation activities were retaken by the Balearic government, the irruption of the COVID-19 pandemic truncated these efforts (Miralles, 2022). In April 2022, tourism in the Balearic Islands was fully recovered, based on strong international demand, increased air connectivity and the consolidation of the European market, particularly German and British visitors (Ara Balears, 2022). Yet this resurgence has also fuelled contemporary debates about the detrimental consequences of tourism for the islands' demographic balance, natural resources and housing crisis (Ara Balears, 2024; see Section 2.3.).

2.3. Demography, Labour Market and Housing Conditions

The Balearic Islands constitute a small yet densely populated region, with approximately 5,000 km² and 1.2 million inhabitants, resulting in a population density of 230 inhabitants/km² in 2022 (CES, 2023; Vanrell, 2022). Mallorca, the largest island, concentrates 77.7% of this population. Tourism and related economic activities, such as the service industry and construction, have long shaped population movements. During peak tourist season, particularly in August, demographic pressure rises by up to 70.8% above the resident population (CES,

2023). Since 2012, the islands' average population growth has been 5.1%, well above Spain's 0.4% (CES, 2023).

From the 1960s onwards, Mallorca and the other islands have attracted non-Catalan-speaking populations, both national and international (see Sections 2.1. and 2.2.). Nearly half of the current population (46%) was born outside the community, either in another Spanish autonomous region or abroad. The Balearic Islands also rank first among Spanish autonomous communities in terms of foreign residents, with 24.7% of inhabitants born in another country, followed by Catalonia, Madrid and the Canary Islands (CES, 2023). The most representative countries of origin are Morocco, the United Kingdom, Germany and Argentina. While immigrants from European countries tend to be over 65 years old, those from other regions are generally of working age. These immigration flows not only sustain the economy but also contribute to demographic renewal: immigrant women have boosted birth rates in a context of ageing, increased life expectancy and persistently low native birth rates. In 2021, 29.84% of newborns had immigrant mothers, of which the highest proportions were European mothers (35.83%), followed by African (30.80%) and South American mothers (22.03%) (CES, 2023). Taken together, these figures underscore the demographic relevance of immigrant adults and reveal sociodemographic contrasts among the three countries selected for analysis—Morocco, Argentina and Germany (see Chapter 4 for further participants' sociodemographic data).

The highly tertiarised economy of the Balearic Islands also raises two structural issues that significantly affect residents' quality of life (CES, 2023, p. 29). First, although employment levels are comparatively high, job quality remains below the Spanish average. Low wages (€18,576 annually per person, compared to €19,160 nationally), particularly for women, an increasing risk of unemployment and a mismatch between qualifications and available opportunities are persistent concerns. Second, the islands face a severe housing crisis. Between 2013 and 2022, prices rose by 84.2% for new homes and 66.5% for second-hand homes, with

foreign buyers dominating the market and exacerbating affordability problems. For an average employee, dedicating 30% of their salary to rent, it would take 116 years to pay for a new house valued at €587,041 and 70 years for a second-hand house priced at €352,821. This situation affects multiple sectors—including tourism, agriculture and public administration—as the cost of living hampers the attraction and retention of workers. These structural pressures provide essential context for understanding the lived experiences of immigrant adults in the archipelago.

2.4. Linguistic Uses in Mallorca: ES2004, Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014

Linguistic uses in the Balearic Islands have been examined through three main key surveys conducted in collaboration between the regional government, the Statistical Institute of the Balearic Islands (IBESTAT) and the public university of the Balearic Islands, the University of the Balearic Islands. These three surveys are: *Enquesta sociolingüística 2004. Coneixements, lingüístics, usos i representacions de les població de les Illes Balears* [Sociolinguistic Survey 2003. Linguistic knowledge, uses and representations of the population of the Balearic Islands] (Villaverde, 2004, ES2004); *Enquesta modular d'hàbits socials 2010. "Usos lingüístics"* [Modular Survey of Social Habits 2010. "Linguistic Uses"] (IBESTAT, 2021, Modular Survey 2010); and *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics a les Illes Balears 2014. Anàlisi* [Survey on Language Uses in the Balearic Islands. Analysis] (Vanrell & Melià, 2017, EULIB2014). These surveys, using self-reported data, assess the use of Catalan in various public and private domains, language proficiency and attitudes towards Catalan and other foreign languages. Two further surveys were also conducted in collaboration with these institutions, one addressing cultural activities like reading and cinema—*El consum cultural de les Illes Balears. Informe dels resultats 2016* [Cultural consumption of the Balearic Islands. Report of results 2016] (GOIB, 2016)—and the other focusing on young people—*Actituds i Usos Lingüístics dels Joves de les*

Illes Balears [Youth Language Attitudes and Use in the Balearic Islands] (Castell et al., 2023, AULIJOVIB). However, these two surveys are not discussed here as they fall outside the scope of the present analysis. Instead, the following sections will discuss data from the ES2004, the Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014, as they offer the most complete and updated information regarding language uses in the archipelago, covering the entire population, including immigrants (Villaverde, 2003). When specific immigrant data is unavailable, information on the overall population is used.

Despite being outdated, the surveys that will be used for this chapter and research are the only data available at the time of writing this research. Surveys on linguistic uses in the Balearic Islands depend on political decisions and planning. They are intended to be conducted every ten years; however, due to political changes (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.), the survey that should have been carried out in 2024 has been delayed by two years and is only now being launched and distributed. It is expected that the first reports and data will be available by 2027.

Before proceeding, it is worth noting two key points about these three surveys. First, the ES2004 categorises individuals as either born within the "Catalan linguistic area", which includes the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and the Valencian Country, or "outside the Catalan linguistic area", including other Spanish regions and foreign countries. By contrast, the Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 provide separate data for individuals born in other Spanish regions and foreign countries. When foreign resident data is unavailable, data for residents born outside the Catalan linguistic areas will be discussed, limiting the correlation of this presented data with the current research target participants, i.e. international immigrants.

Secondly, the three surveys differ in their methodologies and sample sizes. The ES2004 and EULIB2014 were conducted via telephone, sampling individuals aged 15 and older, while the Modular Survey 2010 was carried out in person using a tablet and included participants aged

16 and older. The ES2004 sampled 3,671 participants, the Modular Survey 2010 had 888,840 participants and the EULIB2014 involved 1,800 participants. The ES2004 and EULIB2014 exclusively focused on language use and attitudes, while the Modular Survey 2010 had a broader scope comprising the social habits of Balearic Islands residents, with one module addressing linguistic use. These methodological divergences, particularly differences in sampling scope, data collection tools and the classification of the population, help explain the notable discrepancies in the results obtained across the three surveys (e.g., see Table 1 in Section 2.4.1.).

2.4.1. Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing Catalan

In the Balearic Islands, the abilities of individuals born in other Spanish regions and foreign countries to understand, speak, read and write Catalan show variation across the three surveys (see Table 1). Understanding consistently emerges as the strongest skill, while the other abilities vary according to age, length of residence in the Balearic Islands, level of education and place of residence within Mallorca.

Survey	Understanding (%)	Speaking (%)	Reading (%)	Writing (%)
ES2004	83.4	41.6	61.4	20.7
Modular Survey 2010	61.16	23.14	44.19	17.83
EULIB2014	91.8	58.5	67.1	37.4

Table 1 Understanding, speaking, reading and writing Catalan in the Balearic Islands by individuals born in other Spanish regions and other countries

Source: ES2004, Modular Survey 2010, EULIB2014.

Among individuals aged 30 to 64 (ES2004) and 30 to 44 (EULIB2014), speaking and understanding skills are the lowest, respectively. This finding is particularly relevant to the target population of the present research, as several authors (e.g., Manera, 2009; Miralles, 2022; Salvà, 2002) have theorised that the demographic concentration of immigrants within the working-age bracket of 25 to 44 years, may account for the lower language abilities observed in these age ranges.

Another relevant finding to the target population of the present research concerns the duration of residence in the Balearic Islands. Data shows that earlier waves of immigration report higher understanding skills (EULIB2014). For example, all individuals who arrived in the Balearic Islands before 1958 declare being able to understand Catalan; while the percentages for those who arrived after 1978 are 99.5% and 85.7% for those who arrived after 1999. Additionally, higher level of education correlates positively with Catalan proficiency (Modular Survey 2010; EULIB2014).

Finally, when considering the place of residence within Mallorca, differences in Catalan abilities exist between the highly touristified and urbanised Palma Bay and the rest of Mallorca. Palma Bay shows slightly lower levels of Catalan understanding (91.3%) and specially of Catalan speaking ability (68.9%) as compared to the rest of Mallorca (94.8% and 82.5%, respectively) (ES2004). According to the EULIB2014, these geographical differences may be attributed to the high percentage of residents in Palma Bay (44.4%) reporting fluency in languages other than Catalan and Spanish. This phenomenon correlates with the area's significant immigrant population.

2.4.2. Initial, Identification and Habitual Language(s)

In examining linguistic practices among foreign-born residents, the ES2004, Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 surveys distinguish between three complementary notions of language use. *Initial language* refers to the language participants report speaking first at home, understood as the familial language acquired through socialisation (Melià & Vanrell, 2017, p. 29). *Identification language* is elicited through the question "What is your language?", while *habitual language* denotes the language participants use most frequently. Table 2 presents data for each of these categories across the ES2004 and EULIB2014 surveys, with additional information from the Modular Survey 2010 when available.

When comparing the ES2004, Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 surveys, general trends in initial, identification and habitual language reveal a slight increase in the percentages of categories such as Catalan, Catalan and Spanish, and other language(s) or linguistic combinations. Although Spanish shows a relative decline over time in each category, it nevertheless remains the predominant response across all surveys. However, these trends indicate that individuals who initially identified exclusively with Spanish as their first, identification or habitual language are progressively beginning to associate with and use other languages alongside Spanish, pointing to a statistically minor but notable shift towards greater linguistic diversity, particularly favouring Catalan. The EULIB2014 survey refers to this phenomenon as the *attraction index*, with Mallorca showing the highest attraction capacity for Catalan among the Balearic Islands, suggesting a significant potential for its spread among foreign-born residents. Nevertheless, most foreign residents adopt Spanish as their habitual language regardless of their initial language, a pattern especially evident among adults aged over 30, while among those aged 15 to 29 there is a measurable increase in the use of Catalan as initial language (2.4 points), identification language (1.6 points) and habitual language (2 points) (EULIB2014) (see Table 2).

	Initial language (%)			
Survey	Spanish	Catalan	Catalan and Spanish	Other language(s) and linguistic combinations
ES2004	80.8	2.2	0.2	16.6
Modular Survey 2010	*No data available*			
EULIB2014	59.9	5.3	0.4	34.3
	Identification language (%)			
Survey	Spanish	Catalan	Catalan and Spanish	Other language(s) and linguistic combinations
ES2004	79.8	5.6	2.1	12.6
Modular Survey 2010	55.89	4.13	1.45	38.53
EULIB2014	63.9	4.5	1.7	30
	Habitual language (%)			
Survey	Spanish	Catalan	Catalan and Spanish	Other language(s) and linguistic combinations
ES2004	82.7	6.7	2.9	7.6
Modular Survey 2010	*No comparable data* (see Table 3)			
EULIB2014	81.6	5.8	2.5	10

Table 2 Initial, identification and habitual language(s) in the Balearic Islands by individuals born in a different Spanish autonomous community from the Balearic Islands and in another country

Source: ES2004, Modular Survey 2010, EULIB2014.

The Modular Survey 2010 reveals that the lack of proficiency in Catalan and the predominant use of Spanish in interactions are the two main reasons why foreign-born population does not use Catalan as their habitual language (see Table 3). Indeed, the EULIB2014 survey reports lower percentages of Catalan-speaking ability among foreign-born individuals who identify as Spanish speakers (63.5% report being able to speak Catalan) or as speakers of other languages (70.6%) compared to those who identify as Catalan speakers or bilingual.

	Catalan as habitual language (%)
Yes, almost always	4.73
Yes, but not as much as I would like	4.64
No, people always speak in Spanish	11.76
No, because it embarrasses me	4.77
No, because I don't like speaking it	3.52
No, because I hardly know how to speak it	70.03
No, for another reason	0.56
Total	100

Table 3 Use of Catalan as habitual language by foreign born residents in the Balearic Islands

Source: Modular Survey 2010

2.4.3. Language Uses inside the Family Domain

This section provides data from the ES2004, Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 regarding the language(s) used by the foreign-born population in various family contexts, including home, with parents, partners, children, siblings, grandparents and other family members. The surveys differ in their response categories, making comparisons across them difficult. For instance, the ES2004 and EULIB2014 offer detailed options for reporting language use, distinguishing between various degrees of bilingualism (e.g., "More Catalan than Spanish"), while the Modular Survey 2010 provides only broad categories like "Catalan", "Spanish" or "Other".

The results of the ES2004, the Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 indicate that Spanish, followed by other linguistic combinations, is the predominant language used in most family contexts among foreigners (see Tables 4 and 5). Nevertheless, the use of Catalan is marginally perceptible among interactions with partners and children, specifically among those foreigners who declare to be able to speak Catalan. For instance, while 5.9% of respondents use "Only Catalan" with partners, this figure rises to 14.3% for those who declare themselves capable of

speaking Catalan. Similarly, the use of "Only Spanish" with partners drops from over 65% to 56.1% when participants can speak Catalan. A comparable pattern is observed in language use with children. Among respondents who can speak Catalan, 44.6% continue to use "Only Spanish" with their children, while the use of Catalan rises from 5.8% to 13.9%. Within these respondents able to speak Catalan, 60.3% report using "Only Spanish" with other family members, while 11.3% use "Only Catalan".

The data indicate that individuals with some proficiency in Catalan are more likely to alternate between Catalan and Spanish at home. For example, 3.8% of foreigners without Catalan proficiency report using "Only Catalan" at home, which is still noteworthy given that fewer declared Catalan as their initial language (2.2%, see Section 2.4.2.). Among those who can speak Catalan, this percentage increases to 8.9% for "Only Catalan" and 4.6% for "More Catalan than Spanish". The EULIB2014 survey, influenced by the 2013 sociolinguistic survey of Catalonia (DGPLCat, 2018), defines these participants as *language alternators* who, regardless of their initial language, use Catalan significantly across all domains, both within and outside the family. This concept aligns with the broader idea of *linguistic mudes* (Pujolar & Gonzàlez, 2013), which explains that young Catalans' language choices are increasingly influenced by context rather than ethnicity.

	At home					
Survey	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
ES2004	3.8	2.3	5.3	10.4	65.6	12.7
	With parents					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)

	2.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	79.7	16.4
	With partners					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	5.9	1.2	2.5	7.7	72.4	10.3
	With children					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	5.8	2.2	4.7	8.2	67.5	11.6
	With siblings					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	2.8	1.1	1.1	2.3	79.3	13.4
	With paternal grandparents					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	3.4	1.2	0.1	0	81.2	14.1
	With maternal grandparents					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	2.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	79.8	17.1
	With other family members					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	4.8	1.1	3	4.3	71.8	13.6

Table 4 Language(s) used within the family domain by individuals born in a different autonomous community from the Balearic Islands and outside Spain

Source: ES2004.

	Total	Catalan	Spanish	Catalan and Spanish	Other
Mother (%)	100	-	48.58	-	47.38
Father (%)	100	-	49.97	-	45.65
Siblings (%)	100	3.8	53.16	0.69	42.35
Maternal grandparents (%)	100	-	51.06	-	42.69
Paternal grandparents (%)	100	-	51.89	-	41.59
Partners (%)	100	1.65	64.67	0.7	32.98
Children (%)	100	1.21	63.54	1.45	33.8

Table 5 Language use by foreign-born residents in the Balearic Islands within various family contexts

Source: Modular Survey 2010.

In conclusion, while the surveys reveal that Spanish dominates family language use among the population born outside Catalan-speaking areas in the Balearic Islands, there are small percentages of Catalan use, particularly among those who have learned the language.

2.4.4. Language Uses outside the Family Domain

This section provides data from the ES2004, Modular Survey 2010 and EULIB2014 surveys regarding the language(s) used by the foreign-born population outside the family domain, including friends, neighbours, study colleagues, work colleagues, doctors, strangers and in various settings such as small shops, malls, banks and in personal notes. Similarly to Section 2.4.3., the ES2004 survey provides the most detailed data on language use by individuals born outside Catalan linguistic areas, while the Modular Survey 2010 offers less detail and fewer contexts. By contrast, the EULIB2014 gives a general overview of linguistic use across the entire Balearic Islands population without specifying geographic origin. Response options also differ from ES2004 and EULIB2014 to the Modular Survey 2010 (see Section 2.4.3.).

Similarly to the family domains, most individuals born outside Catalan-speaking areas use "Only Spanish" outside family domains, but Catalan use is slightly more prominent in places like banks and small shops followed by interactions with strangers, doctors and neighbours, especially among respondents who declare to be able to speak Catalan (see Table 6) (ES2004). For instance, percentages of Catalan language use among individuals who declare to be able to speak Catalan increase compared to those reported in Table 6: 34.7% use "Only Spanish" with friends, 20.7% use "More Spanish than Catalan", 16.2% declare "Equal use of Catalan than Spanish", 12.5% use "More Catalan than Spanish" and 6.7% use "Only Catalan" (ES2004).

Catalan language use increases even more when interacting with friends who also speak Catalan, with 37.3% of the respondents using "Only Catalan" and 27.3% using "Only Spanish" (ES2004). This trend is mirrored in other contexts like work, small shops, banks and with neighbours, colleagues, doctors and strangers where Catalan use rises when the other person is also able to speak Catalan. However, Spanish remains predominant overall. For instance, the ES2004 survey reports that when addressing a stranger in Catalan, 68.3% of those born outside the Catalan linguistic area who can speak Catalan switch to Spanish if the stranger responds in Spanish. Conversely, when the situation is reversed, 63.7% of respondents switch to Catalan if the stranger responds in Catalan. Additionally, 23.1% of these individuals never address strangers in Catalan. Indeed, 15.3% of individuals born outside Catalan linguistic areas report never using Catalan in general, while 38.1% declare using Catalan between 1% and 25%, 15.5% declare using it between 26% and 49% and 13.3% declare using it around 50%. The Modular Survey 2010 also provides information regarding the language used by foreign-born individuals with strangers: 3.26% of them use Catalan, 93.87% use Spanish and 2.88% use another language.

	With friends					
Survey	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
ES2004	2.8	5.3	7.4	11.8	60.1	12.6
	With neighbours					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	4.8	2.6	7.4	7.2	71	4
	With study colleagues					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	3.2	1.6	5.1	2.7	72	13
	With work colleagues					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	2.8	3.9	9.8	7.9	58.8	9.2
	With doctors					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	4.9	1.7	4.7	5.8	81.6	0.6
	With strangers					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	5.2	1.7	3.3	5.4	83	0.9
	At small shops					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	6.6	3.3	6.5	9.4	73.3	0.5

	At malls					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	3	1.8	4.4	10.2	79	0.2
	At banks					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	8	3.2	4.5	6.7	76	0.2
	In personal notes					
	Only in Catalan (%)	More in Catalan than in Spanish (%)	Equal use of Catalan and Spanish (%)	More in Spanish than in Catalan (%)	Only in Spanish (%)	Other combinations (%)
	1.8	0.3	1.4	2.1	83.8	9.3

Table 6 Language(s) used outside the family domain by individuals born in different autonomous community from the Balearic Islands and outside Spain

Source: ES2004

The Modular Survey 2010 reports that Catalan language use with friends increases slightly with longer residency in the Balearic Islands (see Table 7). A slightly higher percentage of individuals, 3.04%, who declare having other languages than Catalan and Spanish as initial languages, report using both Catalan and Spanish after residing in the Balearic Islands for 14 years or more, compared to the 1.19% reported by individuals with Spanish as their initial language after an equivalent period of residence. This finding, particularly pertinent for Argentinian participants in the present research, indicates that having Spanish as an initial language might affect the learning and use of Catalan differently compared to those with a different initial language.

Catalan-speakers	**Total**	**Catalan**	**Spanish**	**Catalan and Spanish**	**Other**
Total	100	45.96	48.31	4.84	0.89
Residing for over 14 years	100	24.43	69.08	5.55	0.94
Residing for between 7 and 14 years	100	12.05	83.17	3.22	1.56
Residing for less than 7 years	100	5.89	87.76	3.20	3.15
Spanish-speakers	**Total**	**Catalan**	**Spanish**	**Catalan and Spanish**	**Other**
Total	100	4.35	90.57	4.31	0.78
Residing for over 14 years	100	3.09	94.74	1.19	0.98
Residing for between 7 and 14 years	100	0.08	98.51	0.39	1.02
Residing for less than 7 years	100	0.13	97.36	0.46	2.06
Other	**Total**	**Catalan**	**Spanish**	**Catalan and Spanish**	**Other**
Total	100	4.48	50.22	8.22	37.08
Residing for over 14 years	100	2.47	59.99	3.04	34.50
Residing for between 7 and 14 years	100	-	46.34	-	47.80
Residing for less than 7 years	100	0.11	45.31	0.24	54.33

Table 7 Language used with friends by foreign-born individuals according to the duration of their residence in the Balearic Islands

Source: Modular Survey 2010

The EULIB2014 survey reports that 3% of the individuals born outside the Catalan linguistic area predominantly use Catalan and 8.9% of these individuals are language alternators (see Section 2.4.3.). Among language alternators, 46.5% have Catalan as their initial language, 34.9% have Spanish, 10.1% have both Spanish and Catalan and 8.4% have other languages or linguistic combinations as their initial languages. Among 12% of the language alternators born outside Catalan linguistic areas predominantly use Catalan. Moreover, 2.8% of the total sample are new Catalan speakers, including individuals whose initial languages are different from Catalan. However, Spanish remains predominant among individuals born outside Catalan-speaking linguistic areas. According to EULIB2014, five out of ten individuals born in the Balearic Islands make significant use of Spanish, whereas only one out of ten individuals born outside the Catalan linguistic area makes significant use of Catalan. Indeed, the EULIB2014

reports that after the age of 60s, the adoption of Catalan among these latter individuals drastically decreased. This trend is also supported by the decreasing percentage of alternators among this group: 27.1% of those who arrived before the 1960s, 15.5% of those who arrived between the 1960s and 1970s, 11% of those who arrived between the 1980s and 1990s and only 2.9% of those who arrived after the turn of the century.

Furthermore, the EULIB2014 highlights a generational divide in language use, particularly among youths in Palma, where many young people from Catalan-speaking families are increasingly adopting Spanish in non-family contexts. The sociolinguistic dominance of Spanish in the Balearic Islands is further reinforced by the growing number of individuals born into non-Catalan-speaking families, with two-thirds of these children predominantly using Spanish, as well as those from linguistically mixed families, of which 44.5% report similar language use patterns.

2.5. Language Policy and Planning: the Balearic Islands

The Catalan language has undergone a process of linguistic subordination, which has led to its status as a minoritised language. Language policy and planning (LPP) strategies, understood as the linguistic component of broader social policies (Gazzola, 2023, p. 44; see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.), play a crucial role in addressing the challenges faced by minoritised languages, as these strategies can support their revitalisation. This section examines the evolution of legislative and political management over the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands from the 1980s to the present day.

2.5.1. Linguistic Legislation in the Balearic Islands

Since the democratic transition following Franco's dictatorship, the recognition of the languages other than Spanish within their territories is mandated by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (Ballester & Segura, 2023). Within Spain's decentralised state structure, where responsibility for language policy lies with the autonomous regional government, the management of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands has varied significantly depending on the political tendencies of governing parties (Ballester, 2023b; Ballester & Marí, 2021). The Popular Party (PP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), traditionally understood as the right and left parties of Spain, respectively, have been the two dominant political parties alternating in power, each shaping the trajectory of Catalan language policies in distinct ways.

Following the approval of the 1983 Statute of Autonomy, which established Catalan and Spanish as co-official languages in the Balearic Islands, the region entered its period of political self-government, marking the beginning of 16 uninterrupted years of PP governance (1983–1999). During these 16-year tenure, Catalan was designated as a co-official language under the 1986 Language Normalisation Act (LNL), a foundational measure to promote Catalan in administration, education and media. However, despite its status as a co-official language, Catalan carries different legal obligations than Spanish. While Spanish is the sole official language of Spain and the only one that citizens are legally required to know, Catalan in the Balearic Islands is recognised as a co-official language that citizens have the right to use, but not the obligation to know (Ballester & Marí, 2021, pp. 146–147). Nevertheless, this does not preclude the establishment of linguistic requirements for civil servants, i.e. workers in public administration and health, to ensure the linguistic rights of Catalan speakers (Ballester, 2023a; Ballester & Marí, 2021; Ballester & Segura, 2023).

During the PP's initial tenure (1983–1999), Catalan was made a requirement for accessing public sector positions with unspecified proficiency levels. In education, Catalan's presence was supported by the Decree of Minimums (*decret de mínims*) established in 1997, aiming for at least 50% of all subjects in primary and secondary education be taught in Catalan. In the economic domain, legislation permitted Catalan labelling for products and the use of Catalan when serving customers. At the same time, it required establishments with more than three employees to be able to provide service in Catalan and mandated that tourism information be available in both languages.

When PSOE and a coalition of left-wing parties took power in 1999 under regional president Francesc Antich, acts such as the 2003 Health Act mandated the use of Catalan in public services and expanded linguistic requirements for civil servants, still without specifying the level of proficiency required (Ballester & Marí, 2021). In 2003, the PP returned to power with Jaume Matas as president, and Act 3/2007 subsequently specified the required level of Catalan proficiency for civil service recruitment. Media initiatives, including the launch of regional public media broadcasting IB3 Ràdio and IB3 Televisió, reinforced Catalan's visibility in public life. In 2007, Antich resumed leadership, known as the Second Progression Agreement, during which Act 24/2009 regulated Catalan proficiency for health sector employees, albeit with limited impact due to exemptions of certain professional levels. Until this moment, all measures to promote Catalan adhered to the principles of the LNL.

One of the major regressions occurred under PP President José Ramón Bauzá (2011–2015), whose administration actively undermined Catalan promotion, contradicting the principles of the LNL. Measures included abolishing Catalan proficiency requirements for civil servants and withdrawing support for local Catalan media (Ballester & Segura, 2023). Moreover, Bauzá reduced the role of Catalan in education through the controversial TIL Decree (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües* [Integrated Treatment of Languages]), which established equal hours for

English, Spanish and Catalan in schools. In economy, health products and consumer information was mandated to be in Spanish only while Catalan was recognised merely as a right for tour guides and the signage touristic attractions (Ballester & Segura, 2023).

PSOE regained power in 2015 under Francina Armengol and efforts to restore the LNL framework began. Over Armengol's eight-year tenure, proficiency requirements for civil servants were reinstated, funding for Catalan media was restored and the Office in Defence of Linguistic Rights (ODDL) was established to address discrimination (Ballester & Marí, 2021; Ballester & Segura, 2023; Llabrés, 2020). Educational reforms ensured at least half of school instruction was conducted in Catalan, recovering the Decree of Minimums.

However, the political landscape shifted again in July 2023 when Margalida Prohens of PP became president, supported by the far-right Vox party. This administration has dismantled many Catalan-promoting measures. Catalan proficiency requirements for public service positions have been abolished, including in the health system, while existing job requirements are under review (Mascaró, 2023). In education, Prohens' government proposed a plan allowing parents to choose the language of instruction for their children (*Pla Pilot Voluntari de Lliure Elecció de Llengua* [Voluntary Pilot Plan for Free Language Choice]). This proposal is a language segregation plan which overturns the Decree of Minimums and the 2022 Education Act, which establishes that at least half of all instruction must be delivered in Catalan and guarantee that students are not separated for language reasons. The government dissolved the General Directorate for Language Policy of the Balearic Islands, responsible for language policy and created the *Oficina de Defensa dels Drets Lingüístics* [Office for the Defence of Linguistic Rights], which aims to promote both official languages equally, ignoring the historical marginalisation and disadvantage of Catalan as compared to Spanish. Additional regressive actions include the increased presence of Spanish on local media and changes to literary awards, alongside dismissals of governmental funding for organisations advocating for

Catalan culture. These measures illustrate a clear regression in the promotion and maintenance of the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands, marking a significant shift in the region's linguistic landscape.

Overall, the evolution of Catalan language policy in the Balearic Islands reveals a cyclical pattern in which periods of expansion and institutional support alternate with phases of retrenchment and deregulation, closely aligned with shifts in political leadership. While left-wing governments generally expanded linguistic rights, reinforcing Catalan in public services and education and supporting Catalan-language media, successive right-wing governments implemented measures that weakened Catalan's institutional presence, reduced proficiency requirements and challenged long-standing guarantees of linguistic rights.

2.5.2. Governmental and Civic Strategies for Language Normalisation in the Balearic Islands

The government of the Balearic Islands has implemented various strategies to comply with the normalisation mandate established by the 1986 Language Normalisation Law in the Balearic Islands (hereafter, LNL) (see Section 2.5.1.). This section examines some of these normalisation strategies with exclusive focus on adult immigrant individuals, thereby excluding other relevant initiatives that are not directed at this population.

Normalisation strategies with a focus on adult immigrant individuals have primarily been developed by three main types of organisations. First, there are the bodies responsible for language policy and planning in the Balearic Islands, primarily the Direcció General de Política Lingüística de les Illes Balears (General Directorate for Language Policy of the Balearic Islands, hereafter, DGPL) and the Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana (Social Council for the Catalan Language). Second, a range of organisations involved in Catalan-teaching

provision, such as the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics (Institute of Balearic Studies, hereafter, IEB), the Escola Balear d'Administració Pública (Balear School of Public Administration, hereafter EBAP) and various city councils have also participated in or developed strategies to support this normalisation mandate. Additionally, non-governmental institutions such as Obra Cultural Balear (hereafter, OCB) and Plataforma per la Llengua (hereafter, Plataforma) have also taken part of these strategies, often collaborating with public institutions.

Public institutions have employed two main strategies to address the LNL mandate in relation to adult immigrant population policy development and the implementation of activities and campaigns. Public bodies have issued several policy documents, either targeting immigrants directly or addressing the general population, including immigrants (see Table 8).

Documents specifically addressing the immigrant population	**Documents addressing the broader population**
Pla Integral d'Atenció a la Immigració de les Illes Balears (Integral Plan for Attention to Immigration in the Balearic Islands, hereafter PIAIIB, 2001)	Pla d'Actuacions Urgents en Normalització Lingüística a les Illes Balears (Urgent Action Plan for Language Normalisation in the Balearic Islands, hereafter PAU, 2000)
Els immigrants extracomunitaris a la comunitat de les Illes Balears (Non-EU Immigrants in the Balearic Islands Community, hereafter IECIB, 2001)	Pla General de Normalització Lingüística de les Illes Balears (General Plan for Linguistic Normalisation in the Balearic Islands, hereafter PGNLIB, 2009)
Informe i Propostes Lingüístiques de cohesió social (Report and Linguistic Proposals for Social Cohesion, hereafter IPLCS, 2018)	Pla d'Actuacions en Matèria de Política Lingüística per al Quinqueni 2016-2021 (Action Plan on Language Policy for the Five-Year Period 2016-2021, hereafter PAMPLQ, 2016)
Orientacions per a l'elaboració del pla d'acollida (Guidelines for the Development of the Welcome Plan, hereafter OEPA, 2018)	

Table 8 Main policy documents addressing the LNL mandate in the Balearic Islands

The documents in Table 8 adopt an intercultural approach, which encourages the preservation of the immigrants' languages and cultures as well as those of the host society (Marí, 2005, p. 5). The policies emphasise three primary objectives: providing training in Catalan for both immigrants and those working with them, promoting the importance of maintaining both Catalan and immigrant languages, and creating materials and spaces for interaction and cultural exchange (Amengual-Ripoll, 2020; Marí, 2022; Melià, 2001).

Regarding the implementation of activities and campaigns, training activities are a central focus with the DGPL offering Catalan language courses to immigrants and non-Catalan speakers, often in collaboration with immigrant associations (DGPL, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2008, 2016, 2018, 2023). A notable example is the Cases Balears d'Argentina [Balearic Houses of Argentina] initiative in 2003, which provided such courses to Balearic descendants in Argentina. Additionally, the Oficina d'Informació i Orientació per a persones immigrades (Information and Guidance Office for Immigrants) has integrated basic Catalan instruction into its mandatory integration courses for immigrants. Completing these courses is a prerequisite for immigrants to receive a favourable integration or settlement report, which can later be used in applications for Spanish citizenship. Catalan provision for adults forms part of a broader, non-regulated learning pathway that extends well beyond the DGPL. Catalan classes are also offered by the Escoles Oficials d'Idiomes [Official School of Languages], municipal councils, the island councils and administrative bodies such as the EBAP. Additional provision is available through organisations such as the IEB, the language services of the University of the Balearic Islands and sometimes, local associations.

Informal approaches to language learning include the Parelles Lingüístiques (Language Pairs) programme, coordinated by the OCB. This initiative pairs Catalan speakers with non-Catalan speakers for a series of meetings, during which they engage in casual conversations and social activities, such as hiking or dining together. Similarly, media from immigrant communities in

the Balearic Islands, such as the German radio station Das Inselradio and the TV channel Fernsehen in Canal 4, have aired short segments with basic Catalan conversations translated into German.

The DGPL, in collaboration with other entities like the University of the Balearic Islands, has also organised various conferences and workshops to promote linguistic integration. For example, the 2002 conference Immigration and Linguistic Welcoming focused on the sociodemographic characteristics of the immigrant population and included workshops on innovative teaching methods like linguistic psychodramaturgy, aimed at adult Catalan learners. Later, in 2017, the DGPL launched an annual conference on Linguistic Dynamisation, providing a similar exchange platform.

The DGPL has also developed a range of educational materials for immigrants. Resources like *Llança-t'hi a parlar en català* (Take the plunge and speak Catalan) and *A l'abast* (Within reach) provide basic Catalan vocabulary translated from languages such as German, Arabic and French. Other materials, such as the book *Viure a les Illes Balears* (Living in the Balearic Islands), feature visual aids to assist language learners or *Cada dia, una frase més* (One more phrase each day), which includes 365 sentences in Catalan, one sentence for each day of the year.

Between 2016 and 2021, after a four-year hiatus in promoting the Catalan language (see Section 2.5.1.), the Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana developed a Language Policy Action Plan to promote the Catalan language: *Action Plan on Language Policy for the Five-Year Period 2016-2021*. The plan focused on five main areas, with the most significant being expanding access to Catalan language education for non-speakers (see Table 9). This included establishing courses across various municipalities in Mallorca. Another key area was promoting Catalan through leisure activities, such as guided tours such as *La llengua camina*

(The language walks), gastronomic events and diversity fairs, fostering interaction between Catalan speakers and non-speakers. Municipalities were heavily involved in these efforts and some initiatives, like *La llengua camina*, continue today.

Use of Catalan in…	Completed actions							
	2016-2017		2018		2019		2020	
Language learning	128	49.8%	196	45.2%	163	46.2%	167	50.0%
Leisure activities	81	31.5%	170	39.2%	108	30.6%	86	25.7%
Healthcare and medical field	12	4.7%	12	2.8%	16	4.5%	21	6.3%
Business and services	21	8.2%	27	6.2%	31	8.8%	28	8.4%
Communications	15	5.8%	29	6.7%	35	9.9%	32	9.6%
Total	257	100%	434	100%	353	100%	334	100%

Table 9 Completed actions during the PAMPLQ (2016)

Source: Retrieved and adapted from the 2020 report of PAMPLQ, p. 19.

The Balearic government has also launched various campaigns to encourage both immigrants and locals to use Catalan in everyday life. Some of these campaigns include *El català, una llengua per a tothom* (Catalan, a language for everyone)*; Ara és la teva* (Now it is your turn); *Amb naturalitat, en català* (Naturally, in Catalan)*;* and *Mou la Llengua* (Move the Language); aiming at fostering a sense of belonging and encouraging the adoption of Catalan as a common language. Another significant initiative is *Històries del català* (Stories of Catalan), preceded by the campaign *Gent d'aquí* (People from here), which features short videos of immigrants sharing their experiences of learning Catalan and the benefits they have gained from it, presenting them as role models for other immigrants.

In addition to government-led efforts, non-governmental organisations have played a key role in promoting Catalan. The OCB has been actively involved in advocating for the expansion of Catalan-language audiovisual content and has developed initiatives like *Tots Plegats* (All Together), which offers workshops on Balearic culture, including traditional music and cuisine, aimed at integrating immigrants. Moreover, in November 2024, the OCB presented a comprehensive package of fifty measures[1] designed to strengthen the linguistic and cultural sustainability of the Balearic Islands, with particular emphasis on improving newcomers' access to Catalan through language learning, mediation services and cultural participation.

Plataforma per la Llengua has focused on legal advocacy for the protection and promotion of Catalan. Since its establishment in 2013, Plataforma has adapted campaigns from Catalonia, such as *Benvinguts al català!* (Welcome to Catalan!), a multilingual guide for newcomers that introduces basic Catalan vocabulary and cultural information. The organisation also runs workshops in schools and universities to encourage young people to use Catalan in everyday life.

The efforts to promote Catalan among adult immigrants in the Balearic Islands are diverse and involve both government and non-government actors. Through a combination of policy development, educational activities, and cultural campaigns, these initiatives aim to integrate immigrants into Balearic society while preserving and promoting the Catalan language and their languages and cultures of origin. While challenges remain, particularly in terms of achieving widespread language adoption, the continued collaboration between public institutions and non-governmental organisations provides a strong foundation for the ongoing normalisation of Catalan in the region.

[1] https://ocb.cat/2024/11/15/50-mesures-per-revertir-els-impactes-del-turisme-de-masses-en-la-llengua-i-la-cultura/

2.6. Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the sociolinguistic and demographic situation in the Balearic Islands, with a particular focus on Mallorca. It has contributed to understand the socioeconomic and political processes that have transformed Mallorca into a massified touristic island with a significant foreign-born population and a growing housing crisis. The chapter has also highlighted that Spanish is the most commonly used language among immigrant population, regardless of their origin and initial language. However, it has noted a small percentage of non-initial-Catalan-speakers who adopt Catalan as their habitual or identity language. Finally, the chapter has discussed three main areas of focuses within governmental and institutional policies as well as civic society organisations, activities and campaigns aimed at promoting Catalan learning and use among immigrants. These initiatives include providing training in and about Catalan for immigrants and for the professionals who work with them, as well as offering training related to immigrants' own languages. They also involve promoting the value of maintaining both immigrant and Catalan languages and cultures, and developing materials, resources and spaces that facilitate interaction and exchange between these groups in Catalan.

3. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical background of the study, focusing on selected factors and theories from diverse disciplinary perspectives that are considered relevant to the research aims, questions, context and participant profiles, in order to explain the decision to learn and use a minoritised language. Given that this present research centres on adult immigrants, the chapter begins with a brief overview of mobility and its intersection with language. It then develops two main approaches. The first draws on interdisciplinary insights, such as sociolinguistics and social theory, to contextualise language learning within power relations and embodied discourses that shape learners' dispositions towards language learning and use. The second approach, grounded in social psychology, explores specific variables, such as language attitudes and language orientations, that can offer deeper insight into individuals' perspectives on their reasons to (not) learn and use a language. These two strands converge in the discussion of the investment model, which offers a valuable lens for understanding how individual and structural factors intersect in shaping the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca. The chapter also examines the challenges and facilitating conditions experienced by outgroup members in their use of minoritised languages. Finally, it concludes with theoretical reflections on language policy and planning to situate the study's contribution within broader efforts to enhance Catalan language revitalisation strategies.

3.2. Sociolinguistics of Mobility

This research is situated within a broader context of mobility, focusing specifically on immigrant individuals who, by definition, have moved across national borders. In migration studies, mobility is a central concept that encompasses not only the movement of people, often

along complex and multi-directional trajectories (Paul & Yeoh, 2021), but also the circulation of resources such as capital, products, information and knowledge (Capstick, 2021, p. 1). These resources, which migrants bring with them or acquire along the way, play a crucial role in shaping their experiences and opportunities in host societies. The significance of mobility has grown in recent decades due to the intensification of globalisation and the spread of neoliberal ideologies (see Section 3.4.4.), sparking interdisciplinary interest in fields such as applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2017).

Traditionally, research in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics has framed language learning, particularly the acquisition of the dominant language in host societies, as a tool for integration and access to employment in migration contexts. This process is frequently portrayed as a desirable and voluntary endeavour, universally accessible and instrumental in securing upward social mobility (Canagarajah, 2017). Such representations align with neoliberal ideologies, which, driven by utilitarian principles, promote the maximisation of benefit and resource accumulation through the most efficient means, typically involving the prioritisation of dominant language learning over minoritised languages (Harvey, 2005; Ó Ceallaigh, 2022; see Sections 3.4.3. and 3.4.4.). However, this portrayal overlooks the fact that mobility is not always voluntary, nor equally accessible and does not guarantee social advancement. Access to linguistic, material and economic resources, such as proficiency in the dominant language, visas or residence permits, is often a prerequisite for entry, residence, employment and even citizenship in host societies (Extra et al., 2009; Piller, 2016; Tunger et al., 2010). Canagarajah (2017) distinguishes between mobile individuals, who typically benefit from legal and economic privileges, and migrated individuals, who may face restricted borders and be forced to relocate in search of refuge (Dowd & McAdam, 2017; Lavenex, 2018). Warriner (2016), for example, illustrates how the expectation of dominant language proficiency as a pathway to economic advancement for refugees often only secures basic survival through underpaid jobs,

falling short of the promised upward social mobility. Thus, mobility also entails immobility and inequality.

In this context, the eruption of the sociolinguistics of mobility, which conceptualises language as a fluid and mobile resources rather than a fixed entity, has drawn attention to immobile, identity-based discourses surrounding language, place and community (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2010; Castles, 2010). This paradigm uses mobility as a lens to examine sociolinguistic phenomena, revealing the fragility of socially constructed national boundaries and the linguistic features used to uphold them. It also challenges the notion of immigrants' free choice in adopting dominant languages within neoliberal host societies (Heller, 2003, 2008).

In this light, mobility must be understood not only as movement but also as a condition shaped by structural constraints and unequal access to resources. This is particularly relevant in the context of the Balearic Islands, which have the highest proportion of immigrants and tourists among Spain's autonomous communities (see Chapter 2). Residents of Mallorca navigate their daily lives within this mobility framework, shaped by broader macro-level forces. Accordingly, this research considers mobility and the inequalities it entails as a key structural factor in enabling or constraining access to, and the actual learning and use of, the minoritised language. This is examined by taking into account the resources that participants bring with them and, depending on whether individuals are perceived as mobile or migrated (Canagarajah, 2017), their ability to mobilise such resources to access public services, employment, education and to establish meaningful social relations.

3.3. The Linguistic Market Theory and the Value of Language

The notion that languages hold value in society has been extensively examined from sociological, political-economic and broader critical perspectives on linguistic phenomena, led by scholars such as Bourdieu (1991), Heller and McElhinny (2017) and Block (2014). Guided by the idea that language is a mobile resource (Blommaert, 2010), local and international economic and political activities shape the types of resources to which language becomes tied, such as how they "are produced, circulated, and consumed, including how they are identified as resources at all" (Heller & McElhinny, 2017, p. 3). For example, in the case of minoritised languages, their social value as a commodity may be enhanced, such as in the case of Irish in Ireland (Brennan, 2018) or erased, such as the case of Catalan in Mallorca (Uth & Vanrell, 2023), when they do not align with dominant economic narratives depending on market logics (Heller et al., 2014).

A seminal work on the value of language is Bourdieu's (1991) theory of the linguistic market. Bourdieu (1986, 1991) conceptualises *capital* as socially valued resources that individuals can accumulate and mobilise to gain advantage in specific fields. Within this framework, he differentiates four main forms of capital: economic capital (material wealth and financial assets), cultural capital (knowledge, education, and cultural competencies), social capital (networks and social connections) and symbolic capital (prestige, recognition and legitimacy within a social context). Language is included as a type of cultural capital. In Bourdieu's framework, cultural capital refers to socially valued knowledge, skills and competencies that individuals acquire through socialisation. Linguistic capital, as a specific form of cultural capital, denotes the socially recognised linguistic resources that speakers can accumulate and mobilise. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 244), linguistic capital can be acquired but it depends on the earliest conditions of acquisition which are mediated by the other types of

capitals. For instance, the earlier conditions of acquisition of a language leave visible marks such as “pronunciations characteristic of a class or region” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245).

Capitals are mobilised differently depending on the market’s rules, the anticipation of the market sanctions or self-censorship and the power relationships between the agents involved in this linguistic exchange and their interests. This dynamic lies at the heart of Bourdieu’s theory of the linguistic market, where the value of linguistic practices is determined by the structure of the market itself, shaped by broader economic and political forces, and by the agents’ ability to navigate it strategically. Translated to the context of Mallorca, this market is embedded within a highly tertiarised society (see Chapter 2), where, fostered by the current intensification of globalisation (Harvey, 2005), discourses of homogenisation and efficiency dominate linguistic exchanges (see Sections 3.4.3. and 3.4.4.).

These economic, political and discursive forces dominating linguistic exchanges are referred to as *habitus*, dispositions learned by socialisation (inculcated), mirroring the social characteristics of the acquisition settings (structured), permanent (durable) and creators of a diverse set of practices and perceptions (generative and transposable) (Bourdieu, 1991). It is through the habitus that individuals internalise structural power enablers and constraints. In this sense, the internalisation of dominant linguistic norms, the anticipation of sanctions and the strategic mobilisation of capitals are not merely agentic acts, but embodied tendencies shaped by one’s position within the social space (Block, 2014; De Costa, 2011; Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko et al., 2001).

Through habitus, Bourdieu theorises how social inequalities are perpetuated via the transmission of resources that individuals possess and through which they may gain advantage in specific social contexts. Martín-Rojo (2013) builds on this by conceptualising the mobilisation of resources as a process of bestowing and withholding symbolic capital, what

she terms ‘capitalisation’ and ‘decapitalisation’ respectively. This framing directly echoes Bourdieu’s linguistic market, where the value of linguistic practices is not fixed but contingent on the market’s structure and the legitimacy attributed to speakers.

Recent studies have explored how these processes unfold in contexts of minoritised languages or linguistic varieties. Massaguer (2022), for instance, examines capitalisation and decapitalisation in Catalonia, showing how immigrants experience upward or downward mobility depending on the value attributed to their linguistic resources. Decapitalisation may occur when Spanish is expected to hold the highest value, but Catalan gains prominence instead. Immigrants’ life projects—such as employment, housing or family safety—play a key role in whether they accept or resist these shifts. Those who achieve their goals may accept decapitalisation, while others prioritise Spanish and contribute to the symbolic devaluation of Catalan. In Galicia, Bermingham and Highman (2018) observe how the multilingual resources of immigrant students are decapitalised, as the languages they speak are not considered valuable within the educational or social context of the region. In Madrid, Márquez and Martín-Rojo (2015) show how Latin American immigrants experience decapitalisation when their Spanish accent is valued in immigrant contexts but disregarded in mainstream employment.

The examples above illustrate how the value of linguistic resources is not inherent but contextually negotiated through dominant discourses and institutional structures. These processes of capitalisation and decapitalisation reflect the dynamic interplay between structure and agency that underpins Bourdieu’s theory of the linguistic market. While structural forces—such as economic systems, educational institutions and dominant ideologies—shape the rules of linguistic legitimacy, individuals navigate these constraints through agentive strategies, often mediated by their habitus. In this sense, linguistic practices are both shaped by and shaping the social space in which they occur.

This tension between structure and agency is central to contemporary studies of language ideologies, which increasingly approach language as fluid, socially constructed and embedded in power relations (Blommaert, 2015; Kroskrity, 2015; McKay & Wong, 1996; Woolard, 2020; Wortham, 2001; see Section 3.4.). Blommaert (2015) reconceptualises habitus as a nexus concept that links macro-level structural conditions with micro-level agentive practices. In line with this conceptualisation, the structural domain of reality is defined as "a set of regulative systems that provide the raw materials for and range of potential agentive actions, and specifies that material and objective costs and benefits of those actions" (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018, p. 30). Based on Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 974), agency can be defined as a dialogical and temporally embedded process through which individuals engage with past experiences and structural conditions to evaluate present situations and shape future possibilities. In other words, it reflects how actors navigate constraints while imagining and enacting change within their social contexts. Taken together, these perspectives illuminate how the value of linguistic resources is continually negotiated through the interplay of structure, agency and ideology, providing a conceptual foundation for examining how these dynamics unfold in the Balearic Islands.

3.4. Linguistic Authority and the Economics of Language

Building on the idea that languages function as mobile resources whose value is negotiated within specific markets, this section turns to the question of linguistic legitimacy: how languages or varieties come to be recognised as authoritative, while others are marginalised or erased (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 2016). If the value of linguistic resources is shaped by market logics, then legitimacy becomes a key mechanism through which that value is constructed, sustained and contested (Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Kalocsányiová, 2020).

Language ideologies play a central role in the construction and contestation of linguistic legitimacy. Language ideologies shape perceptions of authority in distinct ways: authentic and anonymous ideologies legitimise different sources of linguistic power; nationalist, standardising and purist ideologies tend to favour uniformity over diversity; whereas cosmopolitan and instrumental ideologies promote those languages perceived as more functional and efficient. These frameworks not only reflect broader economic and political interests but also regulate the conditions under which access to symbolic capital is negotiated, determining who is authorised to speak, in what ways and with what social consequences (Block, 2014; Pavlenko et al., 2001).

3.4.1. Language and Power: Language Ideologies

The concept of ideology began influencing linguistics in the 1970s, gaining traction in linguistic anthropology as scholars aimed to explore the relationship between language and power (Irvine, 2022). This inquiry was situated within a broader debate about the tensions between agency and structure (Cavanaugh, 2020; see Section 3.3.). Early linguistic anthropologists were interested in how human agency regulates our communication forms and, in turn, how these forms shape social structure and vice versa (Woolard, 2020).

This new field of inquiry emerged at a moment in which decolonial movements began and linguists started to question their own neutrality and objectivity (Ricento, 2000). Influenced by Marxist literary theorists such as Bakhtin, Voloshinov and Williams (Woolard, 2020), there was a shift from conceptualising language as a system to understanding it as action (Clark, 1992; Holtgraves, 2008). During this shift, social theorists such as Bourdieu (1991) turned their attention to Austin's speech act theory which moved beyond Saussurian and Chomskyan theories. Saussurian and Chomskyan theories initially pioneered this distinction between

language as a system and language as action but they were not explicitly aiming at explaining linguistic exchanges and the socio-historical facts that surround them (Clark, 1992). Austin's speech act theory conceptualises language as a form of human action rather than solely as a product of a linguistic system and proficiency within that system (Clark, 1992). Within this conceptualisation, language encompasses implicit rules acquired by socialisation shaping language choice and the allocation of power within linguistic transactions (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012; Calaforra, 1997). Boas, Bloomfield and Gossen are some of the earliest scholars in finding inconsistencies in their data that, time after, would be recognised as the effect of language ideologies by scholars such as Kroskrity (2015).

Various scholars, methodological traditions and topical foci of language as a sociocultural phenomenon establish the initial stages of the research in the field of language ideologies (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). In the ethnography of speaking, Hymes (1981) suggested a focus on language beliefs, values, attitudes, contexts and institutions to expand beyond speech events, acts and styles and include broader sociocultural dimensions of communication (Kroskrity, 2015; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). In studies on multilingualism, Pierce's semiotic categories uncovered identity-based, social and political tensions in language standardisation and linguistic purism objectives. Irvine and Gal (2000) would later further develop Pierce's semiotics into iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure. In literacy studies Derrida questioned Western assumptions about literacy and how non-Western speakers are marginalised by these standards (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Historiographical work, like Bauman's, revealed how historical narratives about language often reflect social hierarchies, not linguistic merit. Finally, in metapragmatics and linguistic structure, Labov and Silverstein noted speakers' awareness influence on linguistic structures and forms, and highlighted the need to study their evolution and change (Kroskrity, 2015; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

By the 1980s and 1990s, language ideologies started to be theoretically developed, yet still with limited conceptual resources to incorporate speakers' ideologies regarding their linguistic uses and these ideologies' connections to broader sociopolitical frameworks, namely social structure and power (Kroskrity, 2015). Nevertheless, the ability of the term ideology to connect a system of ideas and politics, that is to denote position and interests, made it suitable to study ideological dimensions with a focus on language. This way, drawing on social theorists like Bourdieu, Foucault and Gramsci, linguists such as Gal, Irvine and Woolard further developed language ideologies when examining how language is intertwined with systems of power (Cavanaugh, 2020; Kroskrity, 2015; Woolard, 1998) (see Woolard, 2020 for further information regarding Foucault and Gramsci's research on power and its enforcement and perpetuation through societal institutions such as cultural institutions, prisons, hospitals and schools).

By the end of the 20th century, Woolard (1998) distinguished three main sets of definitions of language ideologies. First, general definitions include Woolard's (1998, p. 3) and Rumsey's (1990, as cited in Woolard, 1998, p. 57) conceptualisations which respectively depict language ideologies as the "intersection of language and human beings in a social world" and the "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world". Second, definitions focused on the linguistic structure and use, including Silverstein's (1979) conception of language ideologies as a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Third, definitions focusing on the social dimension include Heath's conception of language ideologies as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath, 1977, p. 53 as cited in Woolard, 1998, p. 57) and Irvine's definition of language ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989, p. 255 as cited in Woolard, 1998, p. 57). The current

research approaches language ideologies from a critical approach, in opposition to the neutral approach (Woolard, 2020). While the latter advocates for a descriptive conceptualisation of ideology as a system of beliefs without judging nor evaluating its truth or value (Eagleton, 1991 as cited in Hill, 1998), the critical approach draws on Marxist literature and understands ideology as an oppressive system that distorts and falsifies reality (Eagleton, 1991 as cited in Hill, 1998). This critical approach offers the tools for a comprehensive analysis of power dynamics, interests and positionalities inherent in linguistic exchanges (Cavanaugh, 2020).

Therefore, up until the 2000s it was theoretically clear that language ideologies are not solely about language, as they establish links between linguistic and non-linguistic features, such as links between language and identity, language and aesthetics, language and morality or language and epistemology (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Additionally, power dynamics are understood as a defining feature of language ideologies that help to focus on the interests and positionalities of individuals (Cavanaugh, 2020).

The terms *language ideologies or ideologies of language*, used interchangeably, have been revisited to the extent that their boundaries and conceptual effectiveness have been questioned. Cavanaugh (2020) points out that scholars during the 1990s and 2000s found themselves with the challenge of delimiting the boundaries of language ideologies as this notion permeated every aspect of their observations, weakening the terms' explanatory power. These scholars realised that they needed to move beyond traditional questions, theories and methods, often confined to analysing nation-states and lacking innovative questions that could incorporate economic, affective and political debates (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2003; Irvine, 2022). In this context, the irruption of the sociolinguistics of mobility has contributed to introducing an innovative approach to language ideologies that highlights the immobile identity-based discourses about language, place and community (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2010; Castles, 2010) (see Section 3.2.). Such reconceptualisations are essential for understanding the

Mallorcan context, where language ideologies are continually reshaped by mobility, tourism-driven economies and changing political agendas, making it necessary to adopt a framework capable of capturing these fluid and contested processes.

3.4.2. Linguistic Authority and Minoritised Languages

Linguistic authority, the perceived legitimacy of particular linguistic varieties or forms and their speakers, is a deeply social and political construct (Belmar et al., 2019; Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021). As Woolard (2016, p. 1) argues, linguistic authority is embedded in the "foundations of identity, community, nation, polity, and citizenship", shaping who is recognised as a legitimate speaker and under what conditions. Whether imposed from above through institutional mechanisms or asserted from below through grassroots activism, linguistic authority is produced and reproduced through ideological frameworks that reflect and reinforce broader structures of power, playing a central role in determining the symbolic value of languages and their speakers within specific sociopolitical contexts.

The ideological frameworks shaping linguistic authority often operate within a binomial that characterises some ideologies about language as unmarked and rational—that is, implicit ideologies—and others as marked and irrational—that is, explicit ideologies (Hill, 1998; Woolard, 2016, 2020). Traditionally, dominant language ideologies more directly involve unspoken and unquestionable assumptions about language(s), which become doxic; this means assumed as natural and rational, and serve as reference points for social action and the interpretation of meaning (Woolard, 2016). These ideologies are embodied and implicit in the daily practices of ordinary people, elites and institutions (Bourdieu, 1991; Mertz, 1998; Woolard, 2016). Contrarily, resistant language ideologies, often related to minoritised languages, are usually counterhegemonic discourses that oppose dominant language

ideologies. These opposing discourses are commonly explicitly articulated because of their marginalised situatedness, which position them as non-rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

Linguistic authority is mainly underpinned by anonymous and authentic language by scholars such as Woolard (2016). The ideology of authenticity pertains to issues of identity and essentialism. It suggests a specific linguistic variety as an essential part of a community identity, their "true identifier" (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 179) or their "genuine expression" (Woolard, 2016, p. 22). Hence, it relies on locatedness and belongingness of a linguistic variety which is understood as something given rather than acquired and learned.

The ideology of anonymity, by contrast, presents a specific linguistic variety as neutral and dislocated. The specific linguistic variety does not belong to anyone nor anywhere and the connections between language and identity, community, nation, polity and citizenship are misrecognised (Bourdieu, 1991; Woolard, 2016, p. 1). The anonymous language ideology consists in presenting a language as open access to everyone but, as the authentic language does, it also has access requirements in the form of language proficiency or accent to access or remain in a country (Extra et al., 2009; see Section 3.2.).

3.4.2.1. Legitimisation Discourses in Europe, Spain and Catalan-speaking Territories

Studies on language ideologies across Europe (e.g., Bermingham & Higham, 2018; O'Rourke, 2011), Spain (e.g., Campos, 2018; DePalma, 2015), Catalan-speaking territories (e.g., Fukuda, 2017; Patiño-Santos, 2015; Puigdevall et al., 2018; Tudela, 2015) and Mallorca itself (e.g., Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Sastre, 2012)—selected for review due to their economic and political similarities with the island—reveal the predominance of authentic and anonymous language ideologies.

Minoritised languages are consistently framed through ideologies of authenticity, whereas dominant languages are typically associated with ideologies of anonymity. For instance, immigrants in Catalan-speaking territories often perceive Spanish as the language of everyday utility, enough to feel integrated, as expressed by some Colombian (Patiño-Santos, 2015), Japanese (Fukuda, 2009, 2017, 2020), German (Cutillas, 2014) and Portuguese adults (Mazzoli, 2017). Similar trends frame Spanish within the anonymity framework in Galicia (DePalma, 2015; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017) and in Aragon (Campos, 2018). In Mallorca, Germans sampled by Sastre (2012) in her study on this group integration on the island and Argentinians interviewed by Amengual-Ripoll (2022) to examine their language ideologies in relation to Mallorcan Catalan, likewise reveal expectations of Spanish as the neutral and respectful language of interaction with members of the Catalan-speaking community.

By contrast, minoritised languages are regarded as having a predominant socio-affective dimension, functioning as languages of social and linguistic integration, as they are perceived to be intrinsically linked to the host society's core identity. Several studies report that participants perceive a linguistic and social boundary between local Catalan speakers and immigrants. This is evident among undergraduate students in Catalonia and Estonia (Byrne et al., 2022; Soler, 2013), as well as among Japanese residents in Catalonia examined in Fukuda's research (2017, 2020). Thus, if they wish to overcome this boundary, they feel that they can do so by learning Catalan, which, in turn, will help them establish closer and more meaningful social relationships with local Catalan speakers. Therefore, it is this socio-affective dimension that appears more appealing to outgroup members of minoritised languages when approaching such languages, as observed by O'Rourke and DePalma (2017) among participants in a Galician immersion summer school when deciding to attend.

In this regard, it seems that most of the immigrants perceive minority languages as intimately connected to an essential national identity that they need to perform to integrate in the host

society (McCubbin, 2010). Performing identities that differ from those expected by outgroup members of minoritised languages may undermine individuals' recognition as legitimate minority language speakers (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; McCubbin, 2010; O'Rourke, 2011; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; Posocco & Watson, 2022). While these essentialising features within the authenticity spheres of minoritised languages may constitute their most appealing dimensions, they can also discourage "potential learners by portraying the language and the ethnoculture with which it is associated as impermeable, xenophobic or elitist" (McCubbin, 2010, p. 462). Factors such as race, skin colour and accent are key legitimising elements for (new) speakers of the minority language (see also Section 3.4.3.1.). Akoudad (2022), for example, observes that, based on their physical traits, Moroccans in Mallorca are usually addressed in Spanish regardless of their fluency in Catalan.

In this context, scholars such as Pujolar & Gonzàlez (2013) advocate for strategies to promote minority languages that move beyond their socio-affective dimensions. They emphasise the need to desethnicise these languages, that is, to detach them from strictly identitarian and cultural indices, and to reposition them as anonymous languages useful for business and interaction with non-essentialised members of the territory. In this respect, it seems that a tentative process of anonymisation of minoritised languages is occurring in Catalonia. Puigdevall et al. (2018) comparing Irish, Basque and Catalan, conclude that Catalan in Catalonia is perceived through more instrumental ideologies by participants with high proficiency in one of these languages. Similarly, Bofill (2023) observes Senegalese immigrants in Girona using Catalan as the default language of communication with local people. This anonymisation of Catalan, however, does not appear to be taking place in Mallorca, as suggested by Tudela (2015) who finds stronger ideologies of authenticity associated with Mallorcan Catalan compared with those linked to Catalan in Barcelona. These stronger ideologies of authenticity may help explain why processes of anonymisation do not emerge in

Mallorca, in contrast to Catalonia, where Catalan is more readily perceived as an instrumental resource. Such divergent perceptions are likely linked to the distinct political trajectories of both territories, particularly the comparatively robust and sustained institutional protection of Catalan in Catalonia, which has not been mirrored in the Balearic Islands (Pons, 2005, 2016; see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.).

Moreover, in the case of Mallorca, the binomial of authenticity and anonymity is reshaped into layered forms of authenticity attributed to Catalan, while the anonymity of Spanish remains uncontested. In Mallorca, this diversification takes the specific form of *gonellisme* and, more recently, *neogonellisme*, though more broadly it is referred to as linguistic secessionism or linguistic differentialism (Calaforra, 1997; Duane, 2018; Solivellas, 2021). This diversification or fragmentations of authenticity is associated with contrasting nationalist stances that essentialise distinct language models as central to their identity discourse (Duane, 2017, p. 85). One stance legitimises Standard Catalan as compatible with the linguistic diversity of the Balearic varieties, grounded in a nationalist position that recognises a shared history, language and culture across all Catalan-speaking territories. The other rejects Standard Catalan as incompatible with Balearic diversity and as an imposed foreign model, thereby denying the shared historical, linguistic and cultural ties with other Catalan-speaking regions. Proponents of this latter stance legitimise a standard more closely aligned with the different varieties of the Balearic Islands. The focus on legitimising a non-institutionally promoted standard language model not only challenges the legitimacy of outgroup speakers but also undermines Catalan linguistic revitalisation processes as it weakens the consolidation of a shared standard that enables the language to function in formal domains such as education, the media and public administration (see Section 3.6.).

The fragmentation of authenticity underscores the tension between discourses of legitimisation and homogenisation in the struggles of minoritised languages for revitalisation (see Sections

3.4.3. and 3.6.). Although, like any other language, they require a standard as a single prestigious model to gain access to formal, institutional and academic domains, additional layers of complexity arise because, unlike dominant languages, their social legitimacy is contested and not assumed as natural (see Section 3.4.1.). The homogenised model promoted within the ideological frameworks of standard language ideology (see Section 3.4.3.1.) inevitably accommodates internal diversity. However, when this unavoidable diversity is inserted into nationalist debates about the 'true essence' of the minoritised language community, it becomes a source of fragmentation, enabling competing claims to authenticity.

These debates over legitimacy and identity add an additional layer of complexity to the decision to learn and use a minoritised language, such as Catalan in Mallorca, as they further complicate immigrant (potential) learners' understanding of what constitutes the language of Mallorca, what they are learning and how to use it. For instance, Sastre's (2012) findings on Germans' attitudes towards linguistic unity (*n*= 127) reveal that a majority of participants (68.50%) consider Catalan and Mallorcan Catalan as a separate language and dialect respectively. Conversely, a small percentage (3.15%) perceive them as the same language.

3.4.3. Language and Homogenisation

Rooted on the French Enlightenment and the German Romanticism, linguistic nationalism emerges as a discursive strategy to promote monolingualism among those meant to become citizens of the new nation-states (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998). Linguistic nationalism is also referred to as monolingual language ideology as it defends the broadly known one-language-one-nation slogan (Flores, 2013; Vella, 2018). This homogenising aim is articulated across political justifications of modernity, civilisation, progress and democracy (Heller, 2010; Massaguer, 2022), embodying the integration and efficiency assumptions (Blommaert &

Verschueren, 1998). On the one hand, the integration assumption frames multilingualism as an obstacle to incorporation into the nation-state; on the other, the efficiency assumption posits that a multilingual nation-state requires more complex processes to manage. Hence, linguistic nationalism advocates continuity and homogeneity when confronted with the discontinuities generated by diversity.

The language often projected as the national language typically undergoes a standardisation process guided by the standard language ideology. Milroy (2001, p. 543) defines this ideology as "an idea in the mind—it is a clearly delimited, perfectly uniform and perfectly stable variety—a variety that is never perfectly and consistently realized in spoken use". This definition reveals the inconsistency inherent in the standard language ideology: although standardisation seeks to create a consistent, homogeneous model encompassing all linguistic varieties of a language, it cannot escape variation. Consequently, standardisation becomes "a never-ending and never-accomplished process" (Duane, 2018, p. 20) within which both defenders and detractors of the standard coexist. These tensions are commonly referred to as linguistic secessionism or linguistic differentialism (see Section 3.4.2.1.). Within the contradictions allowed by standard language ideology as personified in Mallorca through neogonella ideologies (see Section 3.4.2.1.), there emerges a belief that the standard language should mirror everyday speech. This reflects an inherent inconsistency in the notion of a standard that claims to encompass all varieties, yet fails to do so. Because the standard does not align with local speech, its homogenising impulse ultimately reinforces the ideology by promoting the prestige of a unified linguistic model over other varieties, while at the same time opening space for purist discourses (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

Doctrines of correctness and incorrectness, or purist language ideologies, emphasise "what language *should be*, rather than what language *is*" (Dragojevic et al., 2013, p. 8, emphasis in original). The assumptions about the embodied identities that speakers must perform to be

recognised as legitimate users are closely tied to discourses of legitimisation (see Section 3.4.2.). In the context of this research, linguistic purism plays a crucial role in either attracting or discouraging learners. During Catalan standardisation, the purification of the language from Spanish grammatical, lexical and phonetic influences was prioritised. Yet this process risks fostering a rigid view of language, particularly among adult learners, which can undermine their confidence in learning and using Catalan. The next section discusses different types of homogenisation discourses relevant to this research.

3.4.3.1. Homogenisation Discourses in Europe, Spain and Catalan-speaking territories

Homogenisation discourses often permeate narratives about which language immigrants need to navigate the host society, as well as shaping immigrants' perceptions of themselves and of the linguistic diversity within that society.

Immigrants are often positioned within a framework that equates integration with the exclusive mastery of the dominant language (Tunger et al., 2010). For example, in Spain immigrants in naturalisation processes need to demonstrate proficiency exclusively in the Spanish language (Ley Orgánica 4/2000; Bruzos et al., 2018; Pons, 2010; Rojo, 2006). Neither minority languages nor immigrants' linguistic and cultural backgrounds are projected as key actors for integration within the dominant discourses of integration in Spain (Marí, 2005; Pons, 2010). Rather, such discourses objectify integration as solely the mastery of one language and access to the job market (Rodríguez, 2017, p. 341).

In the same way that the Spanish state constructs an illusion of cultural and linguistic unity through its institutional discourses and legislative frameworks, immigrants themselves often tend to project their identity as unified and monolithic within the host society. This is evidenced

in the case of Colombian immigrants in Barcelona, as discussed by Patiño-Santos (2015) who shows how they articulate a collective identity that obscures internal differences and reflects the same homogenising logic present in state discourse.

Finally, homogenisation discourses, both in the places of origin and in the host society (see Sections 3.5.1.2. and 3.6.), also shape immigrants' perceptions of Catalan co-officiality alongside the official status of Spanish. For instance, Bofill (2023) and Tunger et al. (2010) report indifference among their respective Senegalese and Romanian participants towards the existence of a society with two public and official languages. By contrast, Hristova (2021) identifies surprise and annoyance among Bulgarian participants when confronted with the same situation, a sentiment echoed in other studies (e.g. Cortès-Colomé et al., 2016). Hristova (2021), Joan (2013) and Trenchs and Larrea (2014) argue that the official monolingualism in newcomers' home countries may contribute to expectations of Catalonia being effectively monolingual in Spanish. In line with this, Cutillas (2014) shows that participants from countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland often hold blurred and misunderstood perceptions of Catalonia's sociolinguistic reality. Moreover, Estévez (2020), studying Spanish organisations in Germany, considers it essential to account for the language policies of immigrants' institutions in the host society. The author explains how the monolingual Spanish language policy during Franco's regime was reproduced by these organisations abroad. While such organisations assisted Galician immigrant workers, they hindered the transmission and preservation of the Galician language.

3.4.4. Language and Globalisation

While linguistic nationalism is politically articulated in tandem with the consolidation and expansion of nation-states, instrumental and cosmopolitan language ideologies are

economically articulated in parallel with the processes of globalisation and the neoliberal drive to maximise profit efficiently (Harvey, 2005; Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Ó Ceallaigh, 2022). In this sense, the assumptions of integration and efficiency already present in linguistic nationalism are recuperated, but with a reinforced economic orientation that frames linguistic phenomena primarily in terms of market value. Consequently, the dominance of certain languages over others is justified on the basis of their perceived appropriateness for competitiveness within the global economic framework (Heller, 2010).

Within this economicist approach to linguistic phenomena, instrumental ideologies conceptualise languages as commodities, mere tools detached from their cultural or identitarian dimensions (Puigdevall et al., 2018). Driven by market logics, dominant languages are positioned as ready to compete within the global economy, while minoritised languages are excluded from such legitimacy. Although instrumental ideologies may also be applied to minoritised languages, particularly in contexts where they hold official status and serve as prerequisites for accessing public employment and education (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; McCubbin, 2010; Soler, 2013), they are frequently perceived as imposed or discriminatory rather than legitimised as competitive resources (Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes, 2016). Efficiency narratives, moreover, carry an implicit national linguistic layer that reinforces the dominance of the majority language, portraying it as modern, democratic and suited for internationalisation and competitiveness, qualities systematically denied to speakers of minoritised languages. In this way, instrumentalist ideologies contribute to reinforcing the binomial distinction between authentic and anonymous languages, relegating the former to socio-affective domains while privileging the latter as tools for global communication.

These market-driven approaches represent another way of erasing power relationships between languages and their speakers, as the prioritisation of dominant languages is maintained through assumed common-sense and rational positions, globally reinforced and justified by

neoliberalism. These discourses are further complemented by cosmopolitan language ideologies, which advocate the celebration of difference and intercultural interaction (De Costa & Jou, 2016). Yet, in doing so, they obscure existing power asymmetries and reduce the celebration of diversity to a form of cultural and linguistic exhibition, relegating minoritised languages to purely socio-affective functions while legitimising dominant languages for their economic appropriateness in the global market (Trenchs-Parera & Larrea, 2014; Woolard & Frekko, 2013).

3.5. Learning and Using a Minoritised Language

This research examines immigrant adults' decisions to learn and use a minoritised language within its community (Rosiak, 2023, p. 32). Scholars such as Cenoz and Gorter (2024) argue that minoritised language learning lies between second and foreign language learning, due to its marginal social status and the usual scarcity of learning resources. Although the learning process typically occurs in areas where the target language is spoken locally, learners often have limited opportunities to engage with it due to the predominant influence of the dominant language.

Traditionally, learning a language different from one's initial or home language(s) is termed second language acquisition (SLA), a field of study aimed at understanding the processes of language acquisition and their outcomes, as well as the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that shape them (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). SLA encompasses the study of any language that a "school-aged children, adolescents, and adults learn and use, at any point in life, an additional language, including second, foreign, indigenous, minority, or heritage languages" (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 19). However, research has largely concentrated on dominant

languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2024; Kiss, 2015), making its findings not highly transferrable for minoritised languages (Hellwig, 2022).

The origins of SLA theories can be traced back to the 1960s, during which the ethnic revival in Western Europe and North America saw a growing interest in acquiring second languages, especially heritage languages linked to cultural identity and heritage preservation (Alonso, 2017; Kiss, 2015). Initial theories emerged from psychology, focusing on mental processes, and from linguistics, which examined language patterns and rules (Alonso, 2017). Over time, SLA shifted from a cognitively centred approach to a socially oriented one, incorporating learner identity, resources and the power relations embedded in the learning process (Norton Peirce, 1995; see Sections 3.5.1. to 3.5.4. and Section 3.7.).

This section provides an overview of factors identified in previous research as relevant to language learning and use. The selection has been deemed appropriate to address the research questions and objectives of this study from a critical realist perspective (see Chapters 1 and 4), which seeks to disentangle the interplay between observable and unobservable events as causal mechanisms of social phenomena (Archer, 1998; Bhaskar, 2002). The factors considered span a continuum between individual and social dimensions, highlighting the interaction of agency, structure and the power relations that shape this embeddedness. Thus, individual aspects such as linguistic attitudes, reasons for language learning, emotional factors and sociodemographic characteristics are examined alongside learners' identities and resources, as well as their capacity to mobilise these resources in order to access and use the host society's language (Norton Peirce, 1995). The diversity of these factors enables the use of varied data collection tools, thereby reinforcing the choice of a mixed-methods approach for this research (see Chapter 4).

3.5.1. Evaluations of Language(s) and their Speakers: Language Attitudes

Language attitudes have been defined as evaluations of a language variety or language varieties and their speakers (Ajzen, 2005; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Research on language attitudes began in the 1960s to enhance understanding of second language learning, language choice or language shift but also to provide better insights into the health of a language (Larrea, 2016; Tudela, 2015). Initially, such studies were employed to counter discrimination against socially stigmatised linguistic varieties (Tudela, 2015, p. 40), but the field has since expanded to encompass a wide range of topics, including attitudes towards foreign languages, racialised minority language groups and particular social classes (Larrea, 2016, p. 132). Research on minoritised language revitalisation strategies often highlights language attitudes, together with language ideologies, as key indicators to consider when designing policies that align revitalisation efforts with community perspectives (Kircher & Zipp, 2022b). In this sense, language attitudes are discussed within a broader section alongside other factors traditionally examined in research on language-learning phenomena. This is because the attitudinal variables introduced in Section 3.5. are interpreted through the power-related dimensions elicited by the language-ideological approach developed in Section 3.4. Rather than treating language attitudes as an isolated construct, the study situates them within the wider set of processes that shape the learning and use of a minoritised language, together with gendered language practices, orientations, context and identity (see Section 3.5.1.1.).

Language attitudes are anchored in a longer tradition of study concerning attitudes. The concept of attitude has a rich research tradition within social psychology, particularly in the study of its influence on human behaviour and social issues, such as race, gender, religion and language (Kircher, 2009; Larrea, 2016; Tudela, 2015; Vella, 2018). There are two classic approaches to the study of attitude: the behaviourist and the cognitivist views (Flynn, 2020; Kircher, 2009; Larrea, 2016; Tudela, 2015; Vella, 2018).

The behaviourist approach proposes that attitudes are observable through and determine human behaviour in response to contextual stimuli (Larrea, 2016). However, research showing inconsistent behaviours across contexts (Ajzen, 2005; 1969, Wicker as cited in Larrea, 2016) weakened the assumption of attitudes determining humans' behaviour and many social psychologists started to look for alternative approaches to human behaviour such as the cognitive view (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005; Wingstedt, 1998).

Contrary to behaviourist views that situated attitudes outside individuals' minds, the cognitive approach views attitudes as tripartite internal predispositions of individuals towards an object, shaped by experience and influencing but not determining behaviour (Flynn, 2020; Kircher, 2009; Larrea, 2016; Tudela Isanta, 2015, p. 34). The tripartite cognitive approach views attitudes as being constituted by cognitive—thoughts and beliefs—, affective—emotions and feelings—and conative dimensions—readiness for action and actual behaviour (Kircher, 2009, pp. 51–52). In this context, Allport (1935, p. 810) defined attitudes as "mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". Other definitions within the cognitivist frame have also been popularised such as those of Ajzen (2005) and Eagly and Chaiken (2007). Ajzen (2005 [1988], p. 3) defined attitudes as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event". Eagly and Chaiken (2007, p. 583) with a similar definition, put the emphasis on the individual's reaction: "individual's propensity to evaluate a particular entity with some degree of favourability or unfavorability".

While behaviourist methods tend to rely on direct observation, such as verbal and non-verbal language in interactions, the cognitive approach often uses indirect methods like the matched-guise technique to assess attitudes (Kircher, 2009; Larrea, 2016; Tudela, 2015). Although the behaviourist and cognitivist approaches differ, both agree that attitudes are learned through

socialisation and prior experiences and are directed towards specific referent, like language (Coronel-Molina, 2014; Kircher, 2009; Larrea, 2016). Therefore, both agree on the fact that individual must first encounter an object and subsequently develop an attitude towards it. The two approaches also agree upon the connection of attitudes with other types of individual variables, such as intelligence or extroversion (Olson & Kendrick, 2008, p. 122). This interconnection of attitudes with other individual variables may aid in understanding why some attitudes are more resistant to change than others (Tudela, 2015).

The present research adopts the cognitive approach to language attitudes not only because it is the most widely accepted within sociolinguistic research, but also because the tripartite structure of language attitudes facilitates linking this concept to the other factors considered in this research, such as language ideologies (see Sections 3.4. and 3.5.1.1.). In addition, it provides a means of situating the present study within the epistemological and ontological lens of critical realism, since the tripartite model itself unfolds an embeddedness between observable behavioural dimensions and unobservable affective and cognitive ones (Bhaskar, 2002; see Chapter 4).

Baker (1992, p. 29) describes language attitudes as an umbrella term encompassing specific attitudes such as "attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style; attitude to learning a new language; attitude to a specific minority language", among others. The inclusion of speakers in the definition of language attitudes, as done by Ajzen (2005) and Eagly and Chaiken (2007), is relevant as Kircher and Zipp (2022b) argue that attitudes about languages primarily reflect attitudes about their users and, additionally, Little (2022) and Tudela (2015) note the impossibility of distinguishing clearly between the evaluation of a linguistic variety and the evaluation of its speaker(s).

Language attitudes have traditionally been assessed based on the dimensions of status and solidarity, as originally outlined in Lambert et al. (1960) when using matched-guise technique, whose study is regarded as foundational in the field (Echeverria, 2005; Kircher, 2009; Kircher & Zipp, 2022; Larrea, 2016; Tudela, 2015; Villaverde, 1998). Woolard (1985) defines status and solidarity as representing competing social values that connect sociolinguistics with social theory. Status is associated with formally and publicly recognised social values such as economic or political positions, while solidarity pertains to more privately acknowledged values, such as covert prestige (Little, 2022, p. 6). According to Kircher et al. (2022, pp. 10–11) "[a] language with high status is associated with power, economic opportunity, and upward social mobility", whereas a language with a high solidarity dimension "is one that elicits an affective attachment and a sense of belonging" (Kircher et al., 2022, p. 11). These two dimensions of status and solidarity are articulated through discourses of legitimisation, this is discourses of anonymity and authenticity, respectively (Little, 2022; Woolard, 2016; see Section 3.4.2.).

Finally, it is useful to situate language attitudes within the broader research tradition focused on individual differences, which examines how learner's diverse cognitive and affective characteristics shape their experiences and outcomes in language acquisition (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 1). Individual differences, also referred to as psychological variables, are traditionally classified into cognitive: "intelligence, language aptitude, language learning strategies, previous language training and experience" (Flynn, 2020, p. 59), and affective: "individuals' reaction to any situation, e.g. attitudes and motivation, language anxiety, feelings of self-confidence about the language, personality attributes and learning styles" (Flynn, 2020, p. 59). Therefore, language attitudes have traditionally been studied within the domain of affective individual differences (see Section 3.5.1.2.).

3.5.1.1. Differentiating Language Attitudes from Language Ideologies

The boundaries between language ideologies and language attitudes are not always clear, as both concepts focus on perceptions of language(s), their speakers and related phenomena (Kircher & Zipp, 2022b; Truan & Jahns, 2024). However, three key elements typically differentiate them: the cognitive intersection of both terms, their communal or individual scope and the methodologies used to research them.

First, language ideologies and attitudes share a cognitive dimension. Language ideologies are mainly defined as mental or cultural embodied assumptions, while language attitudes are formed through a tripartite structure consisting of cognitive, affective and conative dimensions (see Sections 3.4. and 3.5.1.). In language attitudes, this cognitive dimension is shaped by and shapes the mental schemas constituting language ideologies. In this regard, language ideologies represent one of several factors influencing language attitudes and vice versa (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Kircher and Zipp (2022b) consider that language attitudes are influenced by sociodemographic, situational and socio-structural factors, with language ideologies falling within the latter category due to its relation with systems of power (Bourdieu, 1991; see Section 3.4.) (see Figure 1).

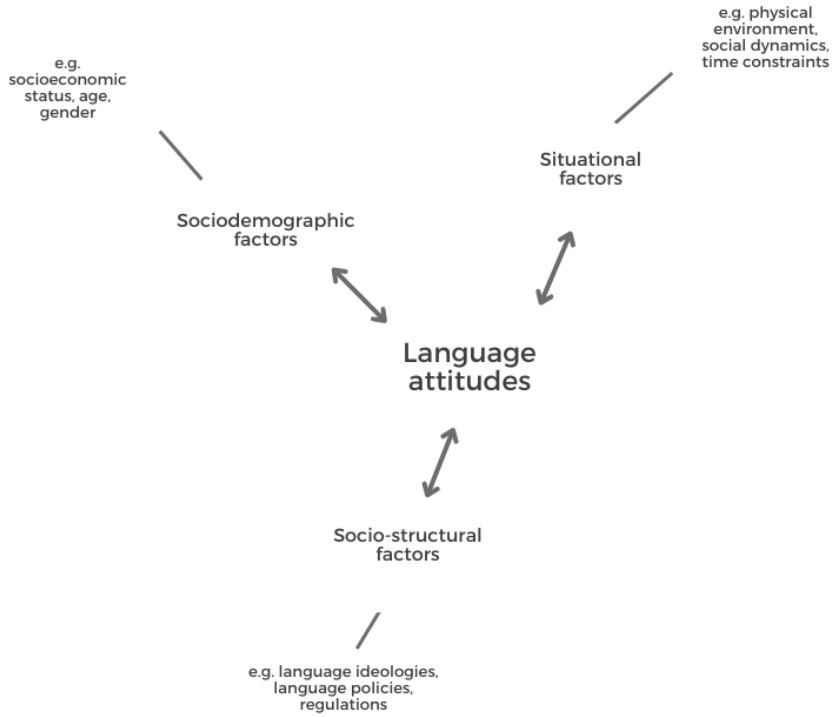


Figure 1 Interplay between language ideologies and language attitudes

The second distinction is the scope of each concept. Language ideologies are broadly shared and transmitted at a community level whereas language attitudes are usually found at the individual level, although shaped by communal ideologies (Baker, 1992; O'Rourke, 2011). Despite this, individual attitudes often reflect social structures, as personal language evaluations are influenced by the broader community's ideologies. Scholars such as Garret (2006, as cited in Truan & Jahns, 2024), Larrea (2016) and Truan and Jahns (2024) argue that attitudes can also be researched at a social group level, thus challenging the strict individual-versus-communal dichotomy. For example, these scholars explain that attitudes can be generalised towards a specific linguistic phenomenon in a specific community with shared main characteristics.

Thirdly, the methodologies used to research these concepts traditionally differ. Language ideologies are explored using qualitative methods such as interviews and ethnographic studies, while language attitudes are often assessed quantitatively through surveys and experiments like matched-guise tests (Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021). However, scholars have increasingly adopted mixed methods (e.g. Vella, 2018; Wingstedt, 1998), combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

These three aforementioned distinctions have been challenged by recent scholars, such as Truan and Jahns (2024), who suggest that the differences between language ideologies and attitudes may stem more from academic traditions than from fundamentally separate concepts. Both ideologies and attitudes can be explicit or implicit evaluations of language and can have behavioural components. Both can be analysed at communal and individual levels (Bourdieu, 1991; Truan & Jahns, 2024).

Integrating the approaches of language ideologies and language attitudes through mixed methods offers a practical way forward, allowing researchers to quantitatively and qualitatively assess beliefs about language (Kircher & Zipp, 2022b; Maxwell, 2012). In the present research, each phase of the mixed methods, the quantitative and the qualitative, will follow the main theoretical precepts explained in Sections 3.4. and 3.5.1. regarding language ideologies and language attitudes. Language ideologies will be used to analyse and interpret language attitudes. This is their interplay, the contribution of one concept to the other: while language attitudes have been conventionally seen as evaluations, language ideologies' approach situate these evaluations morally and politically in the globalised world within systems of power. Therefore, language ideologies are used here to explain the underlying reasons why speakers make particular evaluative judgements and hold, therefore, certain language attitudes.

3.5.1.2. Language Attitudes in Europe[2], Spain and Catalan-speaking territories

Minoritised languages tend to be evaluated through higher levels of solidarity compared with dominant languages, which are more often associated with status attributions (Flynn, 2020; Hotařová, 2017; Kircher et al., 2022, 2023; Pieras-Guasp, 2002; Rosiak, 2023; Tudela, 2015; Villaverde, 1998; Waas, 2008). Nevertheless, across Europe, Spain and Catalan-speaking territories, including Mallorca, research has identified a range of variables whose interplay tends to foster more favourable attitudes toward learning minoritised languages. Ten factors have been highlighted in this regard: place of birth, initial language, gender—considered from a sociodemographic perspective (see Section 3.5.3.), age, level of education, place and length of residence in the host society, political orientation and linguistic awareness, habitual language used and proficiency in the minoritised language.

Research in Catalonia reveals that participants born in Latin American countries tend to show lower positive attitudes towards Catalan and more favourable attitudes towards Spanish (González-Riaño et al., 2019; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017; Trenchs et al., 2013). González-Riaño et al. (2019, p. 763) argue that these individuals might have more favourable attitudes towards Spanish due to the international prestige of the language, while Trenchs et al. (2013), focusing on underage students, point out towards their future educational aspirations as mediators of these individuals' language attitudes. Those who do not aspire beyond secondary education tend to exhibit more negative attitudes towards Catalan because they do not pursue the upward social mobility associated with Catalan in Catalonia. The relevance of place of birth in shaping language attitudes may also be linked to the language policy and planning of the country of origin (see Section 3.4.3.1.) as well as to the language policy and planning of the region in which the individual was born within the same state. Campos (2018),

[2] Any claim is limited to European minoritised contexts at its broadest.

for instance, when examining language attitudes towards Aragonese, finds more favourable attitudes among families settling in Aragon from Spanish regions with co-official languages, such as Galicia or Catalonia, than among families arriving from monolingual territories such as Castile and León. In this regard, the initial language, particularly in monolingual families, and more specifically when this language coincides with the dominant societal language, results in individuals tending to display less favourable attitudes towards the minoritised language. For example, Spanish monolingual families in Aragon were observed to have more negative attitudes towards Aragonese (Campos, 2018).

The selection made in this research of three different places of origin, Morocco, Argentina and Germany, with Argentinians having Spanish as their initial language, responds not only to the high presence of such groups in Mallorca, but also to the aim of examining whether place of origin and initial language may have a significant effect on participants when deciding to learn Catalan in the island.

Gender, age and level of education are found to be positively related to more favourable language attitudes towards minoritised languages in the following way: women, younger and more educated individuals tend to hold more positive evaluations of minoritised languages (Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Lasagabaster, 2005; see Section 3.5.3. for further insights into gender and level of education). Age in this research requires further discussion, as it samples adult participants aged 18 or older, who tend to be surrounded by enablers and constraints intrinsic to adulthood. One of the most widely known assumptions regarding language learning and age is that it becomes more challenging with increasing age. This assumption has been academically referred to as the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), which suggests that decreased brain plasticity hinders language acquisition after puberty (DeKeyser, 2012; Muñoz, 2019). However, while younger learners may surpass older counterparts over extended periods, findings show that outcomes depend strongly on the type of instructional setting and the

amount and quality of contact with the target language (DeKeyser, 2012; Muñoz, 2019; Muñoz & Singleton, 2018). Older learners often perform better in morphosyntax within formal instruction, whereas younger learners progress more quickly in naturalistic contexts. Pronunciation has traditionally been associated with the age at which learning begins, yet evidence demonstrates that adults can also achieve native-like accents (Lenet et al., 2011), challenging the native speaker benchmark (Muñoz & Singleton, 2018). More recent studies highlight socio-affective variables, such as identity, motivation, exposure and language anxiety, as crucial factors shaping performance (Griffiths & Soruç, 2018; Samnidze et al., 2020). In this vein, frameworks like critical foreign language gerontology emphasise empowering older learners and reconceptualising adulthood in language learning research, shifting focus towards what adults can achieve rather than what they cannot (Ramos & Ramirez, 2021; Van Der Ploeg, 2023).

The areas where immigrants reside, and the time they spend in them within the host society, are also deemed relevant to language attitudes (Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017, 2019; Kircher et al., 2022; Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005; Sastre, 2012; Vives, 1989). Residents in rural areas, as well as those with longer periods of residence, tend to display more favourable attitudes towards minoritised languages. The significance of these variables further reinforces the relevance of socio-affective dimensions of minoritised languages, since the sociolinguistic context of residence not only situates newcomers in environments with greater or fewer opportunities to hear and access minoritised languages—depending on the strength of the minoritised language presence in immigrants' residential areas (Bellido, 2018; Campos, 2018; González-Riaño et al., 2013; Hotařová, 2017; Lasagabaster, 2005; Melià, 1996; Vives, 1989)—but also enable, or hinder, the development of more meaningful relationships with minoritised Catalan speakers (see Sections 3.4.2. and 3.5.2.). For instance, Miralles and Iturraspe (2005) and Castell et al. (2023) observe more positive attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan among

Mallorcan residents in areas outside Palma and Palma Bay, the capital city, than among those living in Palma and Palma Bay. The relevance of the sociolinguistic context is addressed in this research by sampling individuals residing in areas with differing densities of Mallorcan Catalan (see Chapter 4).

Political orientation and more specifically linguistic awareness of the sociolinguistic status of marginalisation of minoritised languages, also emerge as relevant variables for minoritised language attitudes (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Campos, 2018; Cortès-Colomé et al., 2016; DePalma, 2015; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017; Puigdevall et al., 2018; Vázquez-Fernández, 2022). For instance, in the Valencian context, Casesnoves and Mas (2017) find a significant correlation between the use of Catalan language and the speakers' self-identification with left-leaning political views. Some participants in Badosa (2020), Colomé et al. (2016), Junyent et al. (2011) and Puigdevall et al. (2018) describe how this political and linguistic awareness empowered them to become actors in the maintenance and promotion of the minority language, a phenomenon termed the mirror effect (*efecte mirall*) by Badosa (2020) and Junyent et al. (2011).

Finally, the language that individuals use more frequently and their proficiency in the minoritised language is also significantly correlated with more favourable attitudes towards such languages (Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Flynn, 2020; Lasagabaster, 2005). The higher proficiency, the more positive attitudes towards that language (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Flynn, 2020; Lasagabaster, 2005). For instance, Gallardo (2022) and Llobet (2022) when respectively investigating language attitudes and language choice in Mallorca, observe that participants who decide to adopt Mallorcan Catalan as their habitual language tend to display a more favourable predisposition towards it. However, the habitual use of the minoritised language presents divergent results; while some studies show a positive correlation with attitudes (e.g. Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Álvarez-Mosquera et al.,

2023), others do not (e.g. Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2013). Mallorcan Catalan proficiency and use is considered in the two stages of this present research, the quantitative and the qualitative phases (see also Section 3.7.).

3.5.2. Orientations for Language Learning and Use

Orientations towards language learning have been one of the most widely developed and researched dimensions of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) socio-educational model within studies focused on motivation in language learning (Dörnyei, 2005). In the early stages of the social-psychological period in SLA research and within a context of intercultural contact between two speech communities, Gardner and his colleagues conceptualised the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) to measure and test their socio-educational model, aimed at understanding individual differences in SLA learners' motivation. The AMTB consisted of broader dimensions such as integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003), as motivation was conceptualised as "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). Nevertheless, although subsequent research has identified additional types of orientations (Gardner, 1985; Noels & Clément, 1989), integrative and instrumental orientations included in the AMTB have been the most commonly used measures of the socio-educational model when studying L2 learners' motivation, disregarding a similar widespread use of other dimensions within the model.

Integrative and instrumental orientations, as defined in Gardner's socio-educational model (1985), are intended to capture learners' ultimate reasons for pursuing the immediate goal of learning a second language. In other words, orientations address the question of why some individuals adopt the goal of language learning while others do not, thereby elucidating one

dimension of motivation, goal, alongside other components such as effort, desire and affect (Gardner, 1985; Noels, 2001). Integrative orientations encompass social-emotional purposes for learning a new language, such as "meeting and conversing with more and varied people" (Gardner, 1985, p. 11), whereas instrumental orientations gather pragmatic reasons for second language learning, such as finding a job or improving one's education.

In relation to minoritised languages, integrative orientations predominate across the studies mainly examining motivation towards such languages (Belmar et al., 2019; Larrea, 2016; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017). Due to their shared socio-affective dimensions, language ideologies of authenticity and integrative orientations have often been linked in such studies (see Section 3.4.2.). For instance, Flynn (2020) and Kircher et al. (2022, 2023) and note lower levels of attraction to non-regional varieties of the minoritised language, suggesting a preference for regional authentic linguistic varieties, which respondents perceive as closely linked to that specific regional or ethnic identity. Kiss (2015) and Rosiak's (2023) respective research highlights how integrative orientations are reinforced by authenticity-based ideologies, showing that learners' motivation is often grounded in the desire to show respect and to seek legitimisation (see also Section 3.4.2.).

Overall, research on orientations demonstrates that integrative and instrumental reasons for learning a language are closely shaped by the sociopolitical conditions surrounding minoritised languages. In this study, orientations are therefore understood as socially situated motivations that reveal how learners imagine their participation in the host society (Norton Peirce, 1995). Their inclusion in the analytical framework enables a clearer understanding of how participants' goals, whether socio-affective or instrumental, interact with the ideological and identity-related processes that structure opportunities for learning and using Catalan.

3.5.3. Language, Gender and Class

The relevance of identity-related factors in language learning has already been demonstrated, both from a descriptive sociodemographic perspective (see Section 3.5.2.) and from the standpoint of social theory (see Section 3.7.). This section emphasises the social theoretical approach to two identity-related factors that require particular attention with regard to opportunities to access and invest in language learning: gender and social class.

The relationship between gender and language learning, much like the field of SLA itself (see Section 3.5.), has evolved from a predominantly socio-psychological perspective towards a poststructuralist feminist approach. Early claims suggested that women tend to value prestigious language varieties more than vernacular ones, which are often more highly regarded by men (Bilaniuk, 2003; Labov, 1973; Lai, 2007). Similarly, women have frequently been described as agents of linguistic change (Labov, 1973) and of language shift in contexts of language conflict (Aracil, 1983). In response to these tendencies, which scholars such as Piller and Pavlenko (2001) argue lack sufficient empirical support and should therefore be treated as assumptions, the study of language and gender has progressed through several phases —the deficit framework, the dominance paradigm and the sex differences approach—before moving towards poststructuralist feminist perspectives (see Piller & Pavlenko (2001) for further detail on each phase). These approaches share a homogeneous view of individuals within the categories of "men" and "women," often taking male models and outcomes as unmarked and normative, against which women's practices are compared and described as deviations.

Studies such as Gal's (1978) begin to trace a more direct path towards poststructuralist feminist approaches in the study of language and gender, demonstrating that language practices, motivation and agency are inherently gendered. From this perspective, the study of gender and language learning comes to be understood as a system of social and discursive relations

mediated by power (Gal, 1991). This opens up the possibility of examining gender in relation to language learning as a set of situated practices, embedded within a historically, socially and culturally constructed habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), in which individuals negotiate, shape and contest discourses of both gender and language (Pavlenko et al., 2001; Takahashi, 2012).

Thus, the focus on gender and language learning from poststructuralist feminist approaches can begin to shed light on the effects of situated and gendered practices, and on how these may hinder or enable access to second language learning (Pujolar, 2007a). It also highlights how learners negotiate their identities, sometimes choosing to embrace forms of femininity different from those of their origin while engaging in language learning and aspiring to accumulate symbolic capital (Eckert, 1989), or alternatively resisting language learning in order to maintain their gender identity and the discourses surrounding it (Pavlenko, 2001). In this sense, as demonstrated by Norton Peirce's (1995) investment model, what is at stake in language learning is the desire for recognition and legitimation. This underscores once again the importance of identity, the capital possessed by the learner and the opportunities provided by the host society, interwoven with dominant discourses, in this case concerning gender and language.

Gender, as a social practice embedded within power relations that generate inequalities, also interacts with other social practices, such as social class (Salazar, 2015). The origins of the study of social class are usually traced to Marx, who conceptualised class through individuals' and collectives' relations to the means of production (Marx & Engels, 2002). Although Marx did not provide a formal definition of social class, he consistently treated it not as an attribute but as a social relation, emergent in the social world of interactions and ultimately (re)produced by the economic order of societies. From these Marxist beginnings, the study of class developed through contributions that moved beyond the exclusive focus on relations to the means of production, incorporating additional dimensions that offered a more comprehensive

picture of social class. Engels (1999), for instance, highlighted material aspects of everyday life such as neighbourhood, housing, clothing and food. Durkheim (1997) drew attention to occupations and the specialised cultures they generated, whereby groups of individuals shared values, behaviours and worldviews. Weber (1978) added political, legal and religious dimensions, emphasising status and prestige alongside economic position. Taken together, these perspectives underscore that economic systems provide structural conditions within which individuals interact from different positions: own different possessions, perform different tasks and consume different products, thereby embedding class positions in everyday life and shaping patterns of thought and behaviour.

Bourdieu (1991) synthesised these earlier contributions and the debates of his time (see Block (2014) for further insights in such debates) into a conception of social class that integrates materialist perspectives, those emphasising possessions and relations to production, and less tangible dimensions such as shared values, cultural practices and symbolic recognition. In his framework, Bourdieu (1986, 1991) defines class not simply by economic position but by the interplay of multiple forms of capital: economic capital (wealth, property, assets), cultural capital (education, tastes, competencies), social capital (networks and connections) and symbolic capital (legitimacy and recognition). These capitals interact dynamically within the social market constituted by the habitus, producing and reproducing social structures while also being contested through individual and collective agency (see Section 3.3.). Just as linguistic practices acquire prestige or marginality depending on the identities, performances and resources of those who employ them, the interplay of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals confers greater social advantage on particular groups and individuals. On this basis, class is defined not only by individuals' position in the relations of production, indexed through occupation, income or educational level, but also by gender, ethnicity and geographical distribution, which are never socially neutral. These factors operate as tacit principles of

inclusion and exclusion, shaping who is granted legitimacy and recognition and who is marginalised within the social market.

Thus, social class is constituted by structural conditions yet continually reshaped through practices, negotiations and symbolic struggles. Building on this trajectory, Block (2014) proposes that social class must be understood as multilayered, encompassing both measurable sociodemographic variables such as income and education, and intangible resources such as cultural and social capital. Ultimately, class is embodied in multimodal symbolic behaviour, how one moves, looks, dresses, speaks, eats or engages in leisure, and reflects the complex ways in which identity, power and social positioning intersect. This intersection is evident in language learning, where scholars such as Frekko (2013) argue that the perception of Catalan as a secondary, leisure activity reflects social class differences, as wealthier individuals can afford to treat language learning as a hobby. In this regard, Frekko (2013) identifies contrasting motivations: immigrant adults from Spanish non-Catalan-speaking regions often attended Catalan classes for instrumental purposes, such as career advancement, whereas foreign wealthier immigrants enrolled for reasons of personal enrichment. A similar dynamic emerges in the sphere of gender where Salazar (2015) demonstrates that middle-class women frequently rely on immigrant women to perform reproductive labour, including childcare, domestic work and elder care. In both cases, inequalities are reproduced through the interplay of class with other social identities, revealing how access to resources, opportunities and symbolic capital stratifies experiences not only between groups but also within them.

3.5.4. Using a Minoritised Language

When using a language, individuals, either monolingual or multilingual, select among varieties of their linguistic repertoire (Otheguy et al., 2015; Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). Selecting words, registers or varieties are examples of the linguistic choices inherent in language use.

Language choice is driven by a set of implicit rules. Speakers deduce these implicit rules from their interactions and activate them in their interactional patterns, selecting the appropriate language resources in a given context (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p. 217; Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000). In the Catalan-speaking context such rules are referred as *normes d'ús linguistic* [linguistic norms of use]. Implicit rules are internalised during socialisation, becoming part of the habitus individual's inhabit (Bourdieu, 1991), and turn explicit during linguistic conflicts, such as the one in Mallorca between Spanish and Catalan (Calaforra, 1997; Woolard, 2016). For instance, one implicit rule in Mallorca is that Spanish is the language to address strangers, the anonymous language (see Section 3.4.2.). In this regard, language ideologies and attitudes can shed light on the decision to use a minoritised language, as they are part of these implicit rules of linguistic use learned by socialisation.

Choosing words, register or language involves language alternation, commonly discussed in terms of codeswitching and translanguaging. While, codeswitching generally refers to "the expressive transgression by bilingual speakers of their two separate languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282), translanguaging challenges conventional notions of language by referring to the use of a speaker's entire linguistic repertoire beyond socially and politically defined language boundaries (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). This study examines language alternation in immigrants' practices in Mallorca, where it may reveal greater use of Catalan than expected.

The interaction between ideology and context in guiding language use is complemented by individual traits, including the cognitive and affective variables discussed in Section 3.5.1.

(Dörnyei, 2005; Flynn, 2020). Among the affective individual differences most frequently examined as either hindering or facilitating language use is self-confidence, which is often classified within the social-psychological approach to SLA as an affective individual difference (Alonso, 2017; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Kircher et al., 2023; Torres, 2016; see Section 3.5.1.). Throughout this chapter, emphasis has been placed on the socio-affective dimension of language learning, which is particularly salient for minoritised languages. This includes recognising the importance of valuing the identity and cultural dimensions of languages (see Sections 3.4.2. and 3.5.1.), as well as establishing meaningful connections with linguistically aware social capital (see Section 3.5.1.2.). The relevance of self-confidence for language use further highlights that the cognitive process of second language learning and use is mediated and shaped by emotions, intertwining affective and cognitive factors (Dabrowska, 2010; Flynn, 2020; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). Consequently, "[l]anguage learning is an emotionally driven process" (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 36) which is why scholars such as Pavlenko (2013) have urged researchers to devote greater attention to affective variables rather than focusing exclusively on cognitive ones.

Gardner and MacIntyre (1993, p. 1) define affective variables as "those emotionally relevant characteristics of the individual that influence how she/he will respond to any situation" (see Section 3.5.1.). Self-confidence intersects with other affective variables: language anxiety, self-concept and attribution variables (Alonso, 2017; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993).

Language Anxiety (LA) can be understood as "the discomfort some learners experience when they perceive a disparity between their true selves and the more limited self they are able to communicate through the second language" (Horwitz & Nassif, 2018, p. 74). It has gained considerable attention as one of the most studied affective variables in SLA as approximately 30 to 40% of second language learners experience it (Horwitz & Nassif, 2018). Following its early beginnings in the 1960s and 1970s, when research on LA yielded inconsistent results

regarding its effects on language achievement, more consistent findings emerged as LA began to be understood as a situation-specific variable. This understanding took into account the particularities of a language learning environment and the beliefs of learners and teachers involved in the process as characteristics of language anxiety. Self-conception refers to "the beliefs one has about oneself" (Alonso, 2017, p. 104). According to Flynn (2020), self-concept is constructed through a range of traits, characteristics and social affiliations, including factors such as gender and political ideologies. Therefore, self-concept is not fixed but malleable, as theorised in Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System as well as in Norton Peirce's (1995) investment model (see Sections 3.5.2. and 3.7.). Regarding attribution variables, these refer to the causes to which individuals ascribe their past successes and failures, and to the subsequent influence such attributions exert on their expectations and future achievements (Alonso, 2017, p. 112).

Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) and Dörnyei (2005) directly relate self-confidence to LA, self-concept and attribution variables. Self-confidence refers to "the individual's beliefs about his or her attributes and abilities as a person" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 211). It draws on attribution variables, encompasses evaluations of one's self-concept and is inversely related to LA. The way learners explain their past successes and failures directly influences their confidence in future performance. A learner who perceives their linguistic identity as valued and aligned with their social networks is more likely to sustain higher levels of confidence. Conversely, tensions between self-concept and linguistic identity can erode confidence and heighten vulnerability to language anxiety. Thus, lower self-confidence is associated with higher LA, and vice versa.

Moreover, self-confidence tends to be positively associated with proficiency, which, in turn is associated with language use (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). Higher self-confidence leads to increased language use (see Clément et al., 2003 for a description of the variable willingness to communicate and the role of self-confidence in it). Conversely, when learners feel insecure

about their proficiency in a minoritised language, this insecurity often discourages its use (Kircher et al., 2023; Torres, 2016). Minoritised language use is further promoted or hindered by additional factors.

Social ties and the social environment are deemed as the most relevant factors in promoting minoritised language use (Fukuda, 2017; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Hristova, 2021; Ortega et al., 2014; see Sections 3.4.2. and 3.5.1.). The quality of these ties is crucial, as seminal studies on minoritised language revitalisation strategies (Fishman, 1991, 2001), together with more recent approaches (Capstick, 2020; O'Rourke, 2024; Puigdevall et al., 2019, 2022), emphasise the need to provide safe spaces where speakers can use the language without fear of judgement or delegitimization. Other scholars also mention identity, political ideologies and attitudes as factors promoting minority language use (Byrne et al., 2022; Casesnoves & Mas, 2017; Puigdevall et al., 2018). Left-leaning ideologies correlate with higher minority language use (Byrne et al., 2022; Casesnoves & Mas, 2017) and more positive attitudes tend to be associated with higher use of minority language (Estors, 2014). Although language attitudes have been critiqued for being an unreliable predictor of language use due to the inconsistent relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Bellido, 2018; Calafat & Calero-Pons, 2019; Castell et al., 2023; Cutillas, 2014; González-Riaño et al., 2013; Melià, 1996; Pieras-Guasp, 2002; Tudela, 2015), Larrea (2016) observes a correlation between extreme attitudes and language use. The author argues that extremely negative attitudes correspond with neither learning nor using Catalan, whereas extremely positive attitudes result in the opposite outcome. The deliberate use of simple words, regular checks to ensure new speakers' comprehension, slow speech and explicit encouragement to participate are identified by Kircher at al. (2023) as specific behaviours of autochthonous minoritised language speakers that foster the use of such languages among learners.

A significant barrier to minoritised language use is the tendency of traditional speakers to switch to the dominant language when conversing with learners or new speakers (Bofill, 2023; Cortès-Colomé et al., 2016; González-Riaño et al., 2013; Hristova, 2021; Ianos, Hinostroza-Castillo, et al., 2023; Kircher et al., 2023; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017). Additional behaviours that discourage minoritised language use include correcting mistakes, mocking learners, quick and poorly articulated speech, swallowing words and impatience during interactions (Kircher et al., 2023). Other scholars (e.g., Hristova, 2021; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017) mention the limited presence in transnational economic exchanges and certain job sectors of the minoritised language, the lack of digital resources (Hristova, 2021) and learners' intimidation when trying to request autochthonous minority language speakers to address them in the minoritised language (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017).

All these enablers and constraints of language use reveal identitarian, affective and ideological dimensions. The promotion and inhibition of minoritised language use cannot, therefore, be understood solely in structural or ideological terms, but rather through their intersection with affective variables, most notably self-confidence. The relevance of self-confidence lies in its mediating role: it integrates attributional reasoning, encompasses evaluations of self-concept and is inversely related to language anxiety. For this reason, the intersection of ideological and identitarian dimensions, together with the established relevance of self-confidence in SLA research, makes this affective variable particularly appropriate for consideration within the present study.

3.6. Language Policy and Planning in Minoritised Languages

This section situates the current research within the broader field of language policy and planning (LPP) in relation to minoritised languages. This research, which seeks to understand

and examine the factors shaping adult immigrants' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca, provides highly relevant insights for the design of language revitalisation strategies. Since the data are drawn directly from interviews and surveys with immigrant adults, the findings offer a unique perspective on the lived realities of such individuals and their motivations, barriers and opportunities to negotiate access to Catalan in Mallorca. Such information is crucial for policymakers and practitioners, since, as scholars such as Dołowy and Hornsby (2021) have observed, any strategy of linguistic revitalisation must take into account the lived realities of those for whom the planning is intended. Thus, this section offers a brief overview of the evolution of LPP and language revitalisation, thereby linking the empirical focus of the study to wider debates on language planning and the sustainability of minoritised languages.

3.6.1. Epistemological Foundations: Towards a Public Policy Approach

Traditionally, language planning has been understood as the implementation of language policy (Cooper, 1989; Spolsky, 2004). Cooper (1989) and Spolsky (2004) argue that language policy often remains implicit and planning helps uncover these hidden goals. However, the distinction between policy and planning is unclear, with multiple terms such as language management also used (Gobbo, 2023).

Language Policy and Planning (LPP) has evolved from an objective and positivist approach to a more subjective and critical conceptualisation (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018; Gazzola et al., 2023; Ricento, 2000, 2006). Throughout this epistemological journey, LPP has progressed through four phases: the neoclassical approach, the historical-structural approach, the critical language planning phase and the public policy approach.

LPP emerged in the 1950s and 1960s alongside the establishment of nation-states and the selection of (often one) national language as a solution to language problems (see Section 3.4.3.). This phase, termed the neoclassical phase by Tollefson (1991, as cited in Gazzola et al., 2023), assumed language planners to be neutral and without any ideological implications in the management of national language(s). It focused on a technical and pragmatic problem-solving orientation which excluded any social and contextual factors (Ricento, 2000).

Haugen (1966, as cited in Cooper, 1989) and Kloss (1967, as cited in Cooper, 1989) respectively proposed language management models that became popular during the neoclassical phase (Ricento, 2000; Spolsky, 2004). Haugen (1966, as cited in Cooper, 1989) theorised language planning in four dimensions: (1) selection of one language or linguistic variety which will be (2) codified, this means standardised, (3) implemented as the language for national education and administration and (4) continuously being elaborated to create new words for new technological gadgets. Kloss (1967, as cited in Cooper, 1989) classified these four dimensions into status planning (selection and implementation), which deals the official roles and functions of the chosen language, and corpus planning (codification and elaboration) which deals with the internal development of the language (Ricento, 2000; Spolsky, 2004).

The neoclassical phase started to be criticised by scholars such as Fishman (1994, as cited in Ricento, 2000) or Haugen (1966, as cited in Cooper, 1989) due to its positivist assumptions that excluded ideological and contextual dimensions. Cooper (1989) is considered pioneer in transitioning towards what Tollefson (1991, as cited in Gazzola et al., 2023) termed the historical-structural approach. Cooper (1989) expanded upon Haugen and Kloss' proposals by introducing the dimension of acquisition planning as a third dimension, alongside status planning and corpus planning. Acquisition planning shifted the focus towards the specific interests and contexts of language planners, posing the fundamental question: who plans what for whom and how? The tripartite structure of corpus, status and acquisition planning would

be later expanded by Haarman (1990), who introduced the dimension of prestige planning to refer to the evaluative aspects of LPP, mainly referring to the need of considering attitudes and ideologies of language planners and the receivers of the policies.

The historical-structural approach, from the 1970s to the late 1980s was influenced by critical theorists such as Bourdieu and Foucault, among others, and LPP began to be conceived as an ideological process that should take into account sociopolitical factors (Johnson, 2023; Ricento, 2000). This phase recognised the role of dominant elites in sustaining social inequalities through language hierarchies, such as diglossia in postcolonial states.

The subsequent phase, critical language planning, marked a paradigm shift where scholars like Cooper (1989) and Tollefson (1991, as cited in Gazzola et al., 2023) began integrating contextual and historical factors into LPP (Gazzola et al., 2023). This phase critically examined societal paternalism and the deterministic views of the historical-structural approach. The emergence of linguistic human rights and concepts such as linguistic imperialism further informed this critical perspective, advocating for the preservation of minoritised languages (Ricento, 2000, 2006). The critique focused on uncovering the positionalities and interests of language planners and linguists when designing and implementing language policies as well as on enhancing individuals' capacity to contest and act upon structural constraints, such as top-down language policies.

Later in this critical language planning phase, several LPP models were proposed, with Spolsky's (2004, 2009, 2021) framework becoming one of the most influential. Spolsky's model provides a foundation for examining the interplay between structural and agentic dimensions in language policy and planning, as it conceives LPP as being constituted by three interrelated components: language practices, language beliefs and language management. These three elements—practices, beliefs and management—can be applied across eleven

societal domains, from religion to government. However, Gazzola (2023, p. 46) argues that this breadth risks making language policy encompass virtually anything people do with language. To address this, he proposes narrowing LPP' meaning to refer specifically to governmental public policies that deal with linguistic diversity. In this view, language policy is best understood as a type of public policy, while Spolsky's model is more appropriately reserved for studying "the ecology of language in a community and characterising the role of various agents in influencing language change" (Gazzola, 2023, p. 48).

Gazzola (2023) considers that the critical turns in LPP have weakened the connections between LPP and public policy studies, a connection which was stronger in the neoclassical phase of LPP. The author advocates for re-establishing the links between LPP and public policy studies by approaching LPP from the perspective of public policy studies and avoiding technocratic and positivist stances. This perspective employs the policy cycle model to address linguistic challenges as public issues. Gazzola (2023, p. 49) and Gazzola et al. (2024) distinguish six main steps in the policy cycle model: (1) emergence and awareness of a collective issue, (2) inclusion of the language-related public issue in the agenda-setting process, (3) consideration of policy options, (4) collective decision-making upon these options, (5) implementation and (6) evaluation.

The present research adopts a public policy perspective on language policy, as it is an approach that connects LPP to other public issues, such as housing crises or ethnic confrontations, and increases the opportunities to give an interdisciplinary answer to language problems in society. The results of this research aim to contribute to the (3) consideration of policy options for the (4) decision-making steps of language planners. The expected contribution is to provide sufficient information on the factors that influence the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca so that policy decisions are research-informed and, therefore, have a greater chance of being effective.

3.6.2. Language Revitalisation and Prestige Planning

By the late 1980s, the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands began to be revitalised through the efforts of governmental institutions (see Chapter 2), in line with similar initiatives already undertaken in other European minoritised communities (Edwards, 2008; Ó Baoill, 2007; Williams, 2014).

Fishman (1991, 2001) was one of the pioneers in theorising linguistic revitalisation. He referred to this phenomenon as *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) of weakened or endangered languages, which he defined as those languages that "pertain to cultures that no longer significantly regulate the daily lives of their members" (Fishman, 1991, p. 8). According to Fishman (1991), RLS consists in recovering a past that needs to be recalled, not reproduced, in order to prevent "abandonment not only of the traditional doings and knowings, but […] [the] abandonment of personal ancestral kin and cultural ancestral heroes *per se*" (Fishman, 2001, p. 5). RLS strategies, as Fishman (1991) argues, contribute to the maintenance of ethnocultural continuity, unlike cultural disruption and dislocation caused by sociocultural and economic factors.

Fishman's (1991, 2001) earlier theories on reversing language shift have been critiqued by scholars advocating for the notion of *reclaiming minority languages*, especially in the context of indigenous Native American languages (Leonard, 2017; Shulist, 2023). Language reclamation challenges the concept of revitalisation, advancing that languages do not necessarily need revitalising because, despite not occupying formal domains in society, they already constitute a fundamental aspect of a community's identity and self-expression. This perspective places the responsibility for action on the linguistic community itself, which must demand its right "to speak a language and to set associated goals in response to community needs and perspectives" (Leonard, 2017, p. 19). Therefore, relationality, community and identity by doing/practising language are central tenets of language reclamation (Shulist, 2023, p. 12).

Despite the theoretical discrepancies among RLS and language reclamation, both positions, as well as current research in language revitalisation (Ó Ceallaigh, 2022; Ó Giollagáin et al., 2020), highlight the importance of involving the linguistic community in these strategies. For instance, Dołowy and Hornsby (2021) argue that without positive language attitudes and ideologies from the linguistic community itself, revitalisation strategies cannot progress effectively, as highlighted by prestige planning (Ager, 2005; Haarmann, 1990; see Section 3.6.1.).

In Catalan sociolinguistics, linguistic revitalisation has been traditionally addressed with the term *linguistic normalisation*. This concept was introduced in the Catalan context by Valencian sociolinguists Aracil (1976) and Ninyoles (1969) in the mid-1960s as the alternative to language shift (Vallverdú, 1991). Drawing on the dimensions of status and corpus planning, Aracil (1976) proposed that the normalisation of Catalan would occur through the development of these two dimensions. Therefore, normalising Catalan involves undertaking a process by which Catalan language can recover the domains from which extralinguistic socioeconomic and political factors has previously displaced it (Marí, 2016; see Chapter 2 for a discussion on normalisation language policies in the Balearic Islands).

This research contributes directly to the ongoing trajectory of linguistic revitalisation in the Balearic Islands, initiated in the 1980s through governmental efforts of linguistic normalisation (see Chapter 2). By focusing specifically on the voices of adult immigrants, the study provides language planners with valuable insights into the lived realities of those negotiating access to Catalan. Such information is crucial for developing strategies from a public policy perspective, where language issues are integrated into broader societal concerns, as scholars in other minoritised communities are claiming (Massaguer, 2022; Ó Ceallaigh, 2022). In this way, the findings inform the major dimensions of language policy and planning—corpus, status,

prestige and acquisition planning—by highlighting how community attitudes, identity and everyday practices intersect with structural conditions.

3.7. From Theory to Practice: the Investment Model

The main theoretical concepts discussed in Sections 3.1. to 3.6. constitute a set of individual and collective characteristics relevant to a comprehensive approach to language learning. This section present the overarching framework that will serve as the theoretical framework for this research, encompassing all the concepts examined in the preceding parts of this chapter. Norton Peirce's (1995) Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model is particularly valuable in this regard, as it brings together constructs from both social psychology and social theory and thereby constitutes the core theoretical framework underpinning this research.

In the field of second language learning, Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model is one of the most commonly applied to examine language learning. The investment model is grounded in the interrelationship of three dimensions: capital, ideology and identity.

Drawing on Anderson's (2006) theory of imagined nations, Norton (2019, p. 163) argues that language learners' imagined identities—this is the subjectivities constructed through their affiliation with communities they may never physically encounter but with which they feel or wish to feel a sense of belonging—shape their investment in language practices. Anderson's (2006) notion of imagined nations highlights how collective identities are sustained through shared symbols, discourses and practices, even across distance. Norton Peirce (1995) adapts this idea to second language learning by emphasising that learners' imagined communities and multiple real and imagined identities influence their motivation and engagement. These imagined affiliations represent the social groups with which learners aspire to align themselves, through which they seek recognition and legitimacy. In parallel, learners also imagine the

identities they might enact within the host society while also imagining that society itself, developing expectations of how it is or how they wish it to be and anticipating their interaction with this imagined target community.

Given that power operates and fluctuates across settings, learners adopt and adapt different identities in response to the diverse power dynamics in these different settings (Darvin & Norton, 2015). This identity performance is related to learners' habitus that is shaped by prevailing ideologies. Language learning is seen "as a site of struggle because what is ultimately at stake is linguistic capital and the dire need for recognition" (De Costa, 2016, p. 17). Learners invest in language learning in order to obtain Bordieusian capitals (see Section 3.3.) while simultaneously valuing and asserting their own capitals and identities as social agents (Darvin, 2019; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2023). Hence, learners' expectations are shaped by structural demands within which negotiation of recognition, legitimacy and value of these identities takes place, shaping both the opportunities available for language learning and use and the extent to which learners can invest in particular linguistic practices (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 33).

Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model has traditionally been applied to the study of immigrant adults' access to the host society's dominant language. Many of these studies focus on languages that not only hold central status within the host society but also enjoy international prestige, such as English (Mavaddat & Razmjoo, 2020; Norton, 2013; Pittaway, 2004; Soltanian et al., 2018; Sung, 2023). In recent years, the model has begun to be explored in the context of minoritised languages (Holm, 2024; Orcasitas-Vicandi et al., 2024; O'Rourke, 2019), including Catalan in both Catalonia (Massaguer, 2022) and Mallorca (Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022). Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al.'s (2022) study is particularly relevant to the current research, not only because it samples Moroccan women residing in Mallorca—one of the target groups of this current research—but also because it

highlights the intersection between gender, identity and social context in shaping learners' investment in Catalan. By applying Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model, the authors show that these women's engagement with Catalan is not merely a matter of linguistic acquisition but is deeply tied to their access to safe learning spaces, their negotiation of social roles and the symbolic value they attribute to the language within both family and community settings.

Taken together, the integration of social-theoretical insights with socio-psychological approaches to language learning makes Darvin and Norton's (2015) model particularly well suited to pursue the aims of this research (see Chapter 1 and Sections 3.5.1. and 3.5.2.) while also making it an appropriate choice to serve as the theoretical scaffolding of the study. Such appropriateness is justified by two main arguments: Darvin and Norton's investment model engages in dialogue with, and contains, the main theoretical perspectives discussed thus far in this chapter, and it strengthens the rationale for employing mixed methods.

To begin with, the conversation of Darvin and Norton's (2015) model with the main concepts presented in the literature review occurs because these key concepts can be included, at least, within one of the three dimensions of investment. For the development of the design, analysis and discussion of this research, capital, identity and ideology are therefore employed as the dimensions through which the concepts and theories presented in the preceding sections are operationalised (see Chapter 4 for further information on how these dimensions are operationalised in the data-collection tools, and Chapters 5 and 6 for their operationalisation during the analysis and discussion, respectively).

The dimension of capital is related to the discussion contained under the sections of the sociolinguistics of mobility (see Section 3.2.), Bourdieu's (1991) theory of the linguistic market (see Section 3.3.) and the factors that social-psychology and social theory have deemed as

positively influencing the learning and use of minoritised languages (see Sections 3.5.1. to 3.5.3.). This way, this research uses the dimension of capital referring to economic, social, cultural and symbolic resources that move and are moved transnationally (see Section 3.2.) within structural constraints and enablers for their accumulation and mobilisation to gain advantage in certain fields, such as employment, education or social relationships (see Section 3.3.). Moreover, and as a bridge to the dimension of identity, this research also understands individual characteristics such as gender, level of education or language attitudes as both capital and identity (see Sections 3.5.1. to 3.5.3.). This interpretation follows Norton Peirce's (1995) model, which integrates social-psychological perspectives with social theory. From this standpoint, such characteristics are not neutral, fixed or free from power relations. Instead, they are fluid, socially positioned and shaped by the forms of capital in which individuals have been socialised (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991).

The dimension of identity therefore includes these social-psychological characteristics but approaches them through a social-theoretical lens. This allows for a more dynamic interpretation of the subjectivities that individuals perform, while also illuminating the struggles they face when navigating the host society. These struggles concern access to language learning and the resources required to exchange, accumulate and mobilise capital. Mobilising capital ranges from the movement of material objects, such as personal belongings, to the strategic negotiation of gendered or classed identities to enter and occupy certain spaces. For example, a middle-aged Moroccan woman living in Mallorca who wishes to go to a bar with friends must draw on, among other resources, an awareness that she is entitled to occupy a space that is still infrequently accessed by people with her profile.

Finally, the dimension of ideology intersects directly with language ideologies (see Section 3.4.), serving as an encompassing backdrop for identity negotiation and resource mobilisation processes. In this research, Darvin and Norton's (2015) dimension of ideology is

operationalised through the language ideologies of legitimacy (language ideologies of authenticity and anonymity; see Section 3.4.2.), homogeneity (linguistic nationalism, standard language ideology and linguistic purism; see Section 3.4.3.) and efficiency (instrumental and cosmopolitan language ideologies; see Section 3.4.4.). Language ideologies shape how participants understand linguistic value, how they position themselves and others as legitimate or illegitimate speakers and how they interpret the social meanings attached to particular linguistic practices. The current framework acknowledges that investment is not only shaped by material and symbolic resources (capital) or by fluid and socially positioned subjectivities (identity), but also by the ideological environment in which individuals act. In this context, Section 3.6. on language policy and planning is also situated within the ideology dimension of the model, as it addresses the structural conditions and sociopolitical context in which the phenomena examined in this study take place. Ideologies structure the conditions under which capital can be mobilised and identities can be performed. They also shape the struggles individuals face when attempting to access linguistic, social and spatial resources in the host society. In this sense, the dimension of ideology provides the analytical lens through which the broader power structures that condition investment become visible.

The second argument supporting the use of the investment model as the theoretical framework for this research is that its underlying principles align naturally with a mixed-methods design (see Chapter 4 for further information into the operationalisation of both social-psychological constructs and social-theoretical concepts). Such compatibility follows from the model's integration of social-psychological constructs, such as language attitudes and integrative and instrumental orientations, with broader social-theoretical approaches that emphasise the fluidity and positionality of identity and other resources within systems of power. In line with this dual integration, the research is structured in two phases that reflect and operationalise both perspectives. The first phase, consisting of a self-response survey, provides an overview of core

social-psychological constructs, such as language attitudes and orientations towards Catalan learning, while also generating a detailed sociodemographic profile of participants. The second phase, consisting of semi-structured interviews, engages with the socio-theoretical approaches of the investment model, situating social-psychological variables within the broader framework of power relations.

When interview narratives are interpreted alongside survey-based indicators, these accounts help understand participants' resources and the social positions they aspire to occupy. The two phases of data collection demonstrate how the investment model provides a coherent analytical bridge between the theoretical constructs outlined in the literature review. For example, while the survey responses and interview narratives of participants such as Btissame and Max suggest highly favourable language attitudes and ideologies, examining these variables in relation to gender and place of origin reveals a more complex picture. Their initially positive evaluations do not translate into equivalent outcomes, as gendered and class-based constraints shape how these attitudes can be enacted in practice (see Chapters 5 and 6).

By operationalising identity, capital and ideology through both quantitative indicators and qualitative narratives, the study ensures that the analysis remains firmly grounded in the interplay between individual agency, structural conditions and the sociopolitical dynamics surrounding Catalan as a minoritised language in Mallorca. This integrated approach further aligns with the epistemological and ontological lens of critical realism adopted in this research (Bhaskar, 2002), which aims to uncover underlying, unobservable causal mechanisms that account for observable phenomena (see Chapter 4).

Thus, the investment model provides a holistic framework for examining the decision of adult immigrants in Mallorca to learn and use Catalan, how they negotiate their linguistic trajectories and the forms of participation, belonging and mobility they imagine for themselves within the

host society. Rather than focusing on a single dimension that might influence such decisions, the model allows for the consideration of a broad—though not necessarily exhaustive—range of influences. That said, adopting this holistic perspective entails certain limitations. Specifically, it does not allow for determining the precise weight of each individual factor in shaping linguistic decisions. This has implications for the present study, as the findings cannot isolate the impact of variables such as gender or social class on participants' decision to learn and use Catalan. Instead, the results and conclusions of this thesis show how the different elements included in the theoretical framework intersect in participants' narratives and survey responses to shape their choices. Consequently, outcomes concern patterns of imbrication rather than the discrete influence of any single variable (see Chapters 5 and 6). Even so, this holistic orientation is well aligned with the aims of the study, as it reflects the way linguistic investment operates in practice: through the interplay of multiple, mutually conditioning factors rather than through the action of isolated elements.

3.8. Summary

This chapter has outlined the main theoretical constructs underpinning the study. It has traced mobility as an inherent feature of the target participants (Section 3.2.) and has situated language as an exchangeable resource within the host society (Section 3.3.), while highlighting the structural characteristics that explain why certain resources are valued over others and exposing the power relations that sustain them (Section 3.4.). The discussion then turned to how these structural factors intersect with evaluative and identity-based dimensions in shaping decisions to learn and use a minoritised language (see Section 3.5.). By reviewing how such factors have been studied in European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking contexts, the chapter demonstrates the unique contribution of this research in addressing the gap concerning peripheral territories and immigrant adults residing in them. It situates the study within the broader framework of

language policy and planning, emphasising its potential impact: the findings provide language planners with significant insights into the lived experiences of immigrant adults, whose voices are often absent from revitalisation strategies (see Section 3.6.). Finally, Section 3.7. presents Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model as the theoretical scaffolding underpinning this research.

4. Research Design

This explanatory sequential mixed methods project adopts the main precepts of critical realism as both an epistemological and ontological paradigm to investigate language ideologies and attitudes, alongside other sociodemographic factors such as gender, place of birth or socioeconomic circumstances, as a rationale for the decision to learn and use a minoritised language by immigrant adults. Following an overview of the key principles of critical realism and a discussion of the researchers' positionality within the study, Chapter 4 outlines the sampling strategies and methods employed in each of the two phases of data collection for this research.

4.1. Methodological Choice: Mixed Methods

Since the beginning of the 21st century, social scientists are increasingly using mixed methods in their research (Dörnyei, 2007) and advocating for this approach in the study of language ideologies and language attitudes (Kircher & Hawkey, 2022; Kircher & Zipp, 2022a; Soukup, 2015; Vella, 2018). Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) define mixed methods as the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data derived from research questions and hypotheses, framed under a specific theory and philosophy—the choice of which depends on the researcher, the research questions and the context of each project—and implemented through a research design that integrates both types of results.

Mixed methods research is grounded in the idea that quantitative and qualitative approaches, traditionally considered epistemologically incompatible (Kuhn, 1970), can be combined to provide a more comprehensive understanding of complex social phenomena. Quantitative methods are typically associated with positivist assumptions, focusing on numerical data, statistical analyses and questions of "what," whereas qualitative methods are linked to

constructivist assumptions, privileging words, interpretive analyses and questions of "why" (Creamer, 2018; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Soukup, 2015; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Anchored in Kuhn's (1970) early conception of a paradigm as the consensus among experts regarding appropriate questions and procedures within a speciality area (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017), these epistemological differences have traditionally led quantitative and qualitative approaches to be portrayed as incommensurable or incompatible. However, such incompatibility has been increasingly questioned in contemporary methodological debates, as the boundaries between them are not always clear-cut and scholars increasingly highlight their potential complementarity.

Soukup (2015) highlights that incommensurability itself is both an assumption and a position. Creamer (2018) demonstrates this with some examples, such as Hauser's (2013, as cited in Creamer, 2018) struggle in classifying research articles in distance education as either quantitative or qualitative. Hauser (2013, as cited in Creamer, 2018) found articles stating being quantitative without any statistical analysis and articles declaring being qualitative reporting results using statistical methods.

Soukup (2015) draws on Howe's (2003) compatibility thesis as an alternative perspective. Scholars such as Soukup (2015), Freshwater and Cahill (2013), Mertens (2012) and Shannon-Baker (2016), propose to move away from the traditional epistemological assumptions related to quantitative and qualitative methods and refer to them as toolboxes which can be used under different epistemological and ontological stances. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) understand the quantitative and qualitative approaches as the two poles of a continuum, with overlapping points at the centre. This perspective establishes a bridge for combining and integrating different types of data, data collection tools and analyses, thus contributing to a focus on the potential gains of richer, more varied and more complex research data (Creamer, 2018; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017).

Mixing or integrating these varied data and methods lies at the core of mixed methods research (Creamer, 2018; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Mixed methods is distinct from multimethod approaches in that it involves the blending of different types of data and methods into a cohesive whole (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Integration can occur in various ways. Two of the most common approaches are: transforming data, i.e., quantifying qualitative data in order to merge it with a quantitative database; and using the results, and possibly also the same participants, from the initially collected data to inform subsequent data collection aimed at explaining or exploring those initial findings. Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) categorise the latter type of integration into three main forms, based on the points of interface, which is based on the stage at which the integration occurs. These three integration designs include: the convergent design, which involves parallel collection of varied data; the explanatory sequential design, consisting of an initial quantitative phase, the results of which are subsequently explained through a qualitative phase; and the exploratory sequential design, which explores initial qualitative findings to later develop a quantitative instrument.

This research adopts an explanatory sequential mixed methods design consisting of an initial quantitative phase, a survey, followed by a qualitative phase, individual semi-structured interviews, which builds upon the quantitative findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; see Table 10). The initial quantitative phase is chosen to get a general picture of the factors facilitating and constraining Catalan learning access and use, as well as participants' language attitudes and ideologies towards this phenomenon. The qualitative phase is intended to expand upon the data generated in the quantitative phase by delving further into participants' perspectives, offering a more nuanced understanding of the statistically significant variables and outcomes. Thus, integration occurs by using the initial quantitative results to plan the follow-up qualitative data collection phase, including what questions need to be further examined and what individuals can be sampled to best help explain the quantitative results.

Indeed, interviewees are carefully selected based on their survey responses, with the aim of including three participants per gender and place of birth (see Section 4.2.) representing, on the one hand, low, medium and high attitudinal values regarding Catalan (see Section 4.3.1.1. for further details on the attitudinal variables in the survey) and, on the other hand, both those who had decided to learn Catalan and those who had not. From a methodological perspective, this explanatory sequential design ensures that the qualitative phase is not treated as secondary but as complementary, providing depth and contextualisation to the statistical patterns identified in the survey. In doing so, the analysis responds to common criticisms regarding the incommensurability of mixed methods research. Operationally, this was achieved by explicitly linking the sampling strategy and interview questions to the quantitative results, and by adopting a reflexive stance during the qualitative analysis to monitor how interpretations were shaped by the preceding quantitative phase. At the same time, insights emerging from the qualitative accounts also helped to contextualise and refine the interpretation of quantitative patterns. This stepwise integration allowed for a coherent dialogue between numerical trends and participants' lived experiences, thereby strengthening the validity and transparency of the findings.

	Phase	**Procedure**
Quantitative phase	Quantitative data collection	Survey distribution (*n*=154)
	Quantitative data analysis	Data cleaning Descriptives Crosstabulations (ANOVA) Logistic and linear regressions
First integration: interview guide built from survey findings		
Second integration: interviewees recruited from survey respondent volunteers		

	Qualitative data collection	Semi-structured interviews (*n*=19*)
Qualitative phase	Qualitative data analysis	Generating codes Grouping codes Categorising Summarising individual patterns Identifying and confirming general patterns
Third integration: establishing dialogue between survey and interview findings		

Table 10 The explanatory sequential mixed methods research design

* The total expected number of interviewees was 18 (see Table 11 Section 4.2.); however, one additional participant was included due to their strong interest in taking part in the study.

The use of mixed methods in this research is underpinned by three key considerations (see Section 4.3. for an explanation of the specific mixed methods design adopted). Firstly, the combination of varied methods, both quantitative and qualitative, is well-suited to support the epistemological and ontological foundations of critical realism (see Section 1.2.1.). The use of varied forms of data, collection tools and analysis strategies enables close observation, deepens understanding of the research phenomenon and facilitates the identification of underlying causal mechanisms that interact symbiotically within the material and immaterial domains of social reality (Maxwell, 2012).

Secondly, using mixed methods increases the chances of mitigating the potential influence of researchers' subjectivity on the research object (Sommer, 2011; Yardley & Bishop, 2017). Therefore, incorporating multiple methods enhances researchers' confidence in the findings (Kircher & Hawkey, 2022). In this regard, Dawadi et al. (2021) similarly support mixed

methods for reliability and validity purposes, as they argue that mixed methods increase the potential for more rigorous and nuanced conclusions, thereby enhancing generalisability.

Finally, the growing application of mixed methods in social science research, particularly in studies of language ideologies and attitudes (Kircher & Hawkey, 2022; Kircher & Zipp, 2022a), not only highlights mixed methods' relevance to this study, which seeks to understand the language ideologies and attitudes of immigrant adults in Mallorca concerning their decisions to learn and use Catalan, but also demonstrates the utility of mixed methods for examining the multifaceted nature of attitudes and ideologies (Vella, 2018; see Chapter 3).

Moreover, the use of mixed methods in the study of minoritised language learning and use, and more specifically in the context of Mallorca, represents a novel and distinctive approach. As reviewed in Chapter 3, most studies conducted in European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking territories on minoritised languages have relied predominantly on either qualitative or quantitative methods. Qualitative approaches, such as interviews, discussion groups, participant observation, linguistic landscape analysis, fieldnotes, spontaneous interactions and class recordings, are widely employed in research on language ideologies and new speaker legitimisation strategies (Bermingham, 2021; Fukuda, 2005; Gubitosi & Medina, 2022; Massaguer, 2022; Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005; Puigdevall et al., 2018; Rosiak, 2023).

By contrast, quantitative approaches, such as surveys, implicit association tests or matched-guise techniques, are more common in studies of language attitudes and orientations to language learning and use (Kircher et al., 2023; Lasagabaster, 2005; Villaverde, 1998).

The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods remains comparatively rare across European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking contexts (Bellido, 2018; Campos, 2018; Cutillas, 2014; DePalma, 2015; Flynn, 2020; Fukuda, 2017, 2020; Mac Lochlainn, 2023; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017; Vella, 2018) and is almost non-existent in Mallorca, with few exceptions (e.g.,

Castell et al., 2023). Hence, to my knowledge the application of integrated quantitative and qualitative tools in the present study provides a novel methodological approach to investigating language learning and use, not only in Mallorca but also within the wider European research on minoritised languages. It enables a deeper exploration of these processes among under-researched communities (see Section 4.2.), thereby contributing significantly to the understanding of minoritised language dynamics in peripheral territories.

4.2. Sampling

The selected sample for both quantitative and qualitative phases comprises immigrant adults born in one of the three countries with the largest populations in Mallorca, according to 2025 data from the Statistical Institute of the Balearic Islands (IBESTAT): residents born in Morocco (8.83% of the total foreign-born population), Argentina (3.39%) and Germany (7.09%) together account for 19.31% of Mallorca's foreign-born population. Taken together, these three groups comprise 5.48% of Mallorca's overall population in 2025. Nevertheless, due to the mobile nature of the immigrant population, referred to as floating population (Melià, 2004), as well as the legal procedures and requirements they must meet to be recognised as legal residents, such as obtaining a visa or residence permit, this percentage can vary.

In addition to the demographic reasons, the selection of these countries is also based on sociodemographic differences among Moroccan, Argentinian and German residents in Mallorca, mainly education level and types of employment. The National Survey of Immigrants (ENI2007) conducted by Spain's National Institute of Statistics (INE), highlights relevant contrasts, yet its now-outdated results must be interpreted with caution. It points that the majority of immigrants from European and South American countries had completed secondary education, while those immigrants from African countries either had no formal

education or were uncertain about the nature of their studies. Regarding employment, European immigrants typically worked in the service sector (e.g., hospitality, personal services, security and retail); by contrast, African immigrants were primarily employed in manual labour and skilled labour sector such as manufacturing, construction and mining; meanwhile, immigrants from South American countries were frequently employed in unskilled labour sectors.

These findings regarding educational and employment differences depending on the place of birth, align with previous studies in the particular context of Mallorca about immigrants' characteristics conducted by Salvà (2002; see Chapter 2). Salvà (2002) observed that Europeans mainly engaged in residential tourism and tended to be older, while immigrants from the Maghreb and Latin America formed the labour force, particularly in agriculture and construction, and tended to be younger. Additionally, the three selected groups are embedded in distinct cultures and initial languages, each carrying a different symbolic value within the host society (Bourdieu, 1991), with Spanish, typically being the first language of Argentinians, having an hegemonic status. Thus, the selection of Morocco, Argentina and Germany provides a continuum from lower to higher-skilled immigrants, offering an overview of the three main immigrant categories identified in ENI2007 as well as a diverse range of socioeconomic needs.

Besides being born and raised in one of the selected countries, individuals needed to meet two main conditions to be included in this research. First, participants had to be 18 years of age or older. As discussed in Chapter 3, there is a notable lack of research on language ideologies among immigrant adults in the Balearic Islands and, therefore, this criterion helps to address this gap. Second, participants should have arrived in Mallorca after the age of 18 to ensure that they were not schooled in a Catalan-speaking area. Prior residence, socialisation and schooling in a Catalan-speaking area can impact language ideologies and attitudes (Calafat & Calero-Pons, 2019; Castell et al., 2023; Hotařová, 2017; Melià, 1996; Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005; Vives, 1989; see Chapter 3). Given that nearly half of the population in the Balearic Islands

was born outside the region (CES, 2023; see Chapter 2), the present research aims to understand the processes that lead (or not) these immigrant adults, who continually arrive in Mallorca, to learn and use Catalan, a language with which they likely have had no prior contact and may be entirely unfamiliar. Even though these selection criteria narrow the scope of the study to a specific profile of immigrants, they nonetheless allow for a more focused examination of individuals whose linguistic experiences have been entirely shaped outside the Catalan-speaking context.

Once an individual met the two primary criteria, participants of all socioeconomic backgrounds were included to reduce sampling bias, enhance representativeness and explore the importance of socioeconomic factors in shaping the accessibility of foreign-born adults to the learning and the use of Catalan in Mallorca. Additionally, in order to establish two control groups based on participants' Catalan proficiency, the study included both those with at least a basic understanding and active use of Catalan, and those who neither understood nor spoke the language (see Sections 4.3.1.3. and 4.3.2.3.).

A sequential mixed methods sampling design helped to achieve this sampling design, in which the participants in the qualitative sample were selected from the pool of survey respondents in order to explore key patterns identified in the quantitative phase in greater depth (Creamer, 2018). Across both phases, a combined sampling strategy was used. In the quantitative phase, probabilistic stratified sampling based on country of origin was employed to ensure balanced representation across the three selected countries. The expected sample size for the quantitative phase (n = 192) represented 0.32% of the total population of Moroccan, Argentinian and German residents in Mallorca in 2022 (IBESTAT). This percentage was proportionally calculated based on the average sample percentages used in previous sociolinguistic surveys in the Balearic Islands: in ES2004 (Villaverde, 2004), 0.46% of the total population of the Balearic Islands was sampled, whereas EULIB2014 (Melià & Vanrell, 2017) included 0.19%

of the total population (see Chapter 2). Stratification by group size was also applied, reflecting their respective demographic weights: 38% of the immigrant population is Moroccan, 35.73% Argentinian and 26.22% German (see Table 11). In parallel, the quantitative phase also uses non-probabilistic snowball sampling (see Section 4.3.1.4. for further details on quantitative sampling procedures).

Total sample expected	Individuals according to their statistical percentages	Countries
192	73	Morocco
	69	Argentina
	50	Germany

Table 11 Expected stratified sampling

In the qualitative phase, purposeful sampling was used to select participants with varying levels of Catalan proficiency and socioeconomic backgrounds. Variety in place of residence within the island was also considered, where possible, in order to include participants living in areas with higher densities of Mallorcan Catalan as well as those in areas with lower densities (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2.). Additionally, an extreme case sampling strategy (Saldaña, 2013) was applied to include individuals with particularly positive and negative language attitudes as well as outliers to capture a broader attitudinal range (see Section 4.3.2.3.). The sampling aimed to include three participants per gender and country of origin, resulting in a total of 18 individuals. The integration of these different sampling techniques facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the research topic by combining the strengths of statistical representativeness with contextual richness and depth.

The focus on immigrant individuals constitutes a central contribution of this research, not only within the context of Mallorca but also in relation to studies on varying aspects of minoritised languages in European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking territories. Although immigrant populations are occasionally included in such studies (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Belmar et al., 2019; Bermingham & Higham, 2018; Bouchard, 2023; Flynn, 2020; Lasagabaster, 2005; Little, 2022; Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2013; McCubbin, 2010; Posocco & Watson, 2022), they are generally represented to a lesser extent compared to local speakers of minoritised languages, with some notable exceptions (Bofill, 2023; Fukuda, 2005, 2017, 2020; Larrea, 2016; Rosiak, 2023), yet many focused on underage participants (Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017, 2023; Trenchs et al., 2013; Trenchs & Larrea, 2014). In the case of Mallorca, it is important to highlight previous studies focusing on North Europeans (Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005), Germans (Sastre, 2012), Moroccans (Akoudad, 2022; Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022) and Argentinians (Amengual-Ripoll, 2022). Building on this background, the use of a mixed methods approach to examine the factors shaping immigrant adults' decisions to learn Catalan in Mallorca not only introduces an epistemological perspective rarely applied in this context, but also generates new insights into a group about whom little is known in relation to the island's minoritised language, yet whose role is crucial for its revitalisation.

4.3. Methods

This section discusses both quantitative and qualitative phases of data collection, covering their respective piloting processes, structure, content, participants, procedures and types of analyses conducted. Each data collection tool has been designed to operationalise the theoretical constructs embedded within the three dimensions of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model discussed in Section 3.7. of Chapter 3 (see Sections 4.3.1.1. and 4.3.2.1.).

4.3.1. Questionnaire

4.3.1.1. Structure and Content

The survey was made available in three languages, Catalan, Spanish and English, to allow participants to select their preferred language. Other languages in which participants might have greater proficiency, such as Moroccan Arabic, Amazigh or German, were not included due to the researcher's lack of expertise and professional resources in these languages (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4. for this research's limitations).

The final version of the questionnaire, which received approval from the Humanities & Social Sciences Faculty Research Ethics Committee (F-REC) at Dublin City University (see Appendix A.1.), consisted of five sections (see Table 12), along with an introductory plain statement, an informed consent form, and a closing section thanking participants for their time and effort. The plain statement provided an overview of the research objectives, participation requirements and data protection protocols (see Appendices A.2.). The informed consent form reiterated this information and served as a checklist to confirm participants' eligibility based on the selection criteria (see Section 4.2.). Participants who responded negatively to any eligibility statement in the informed consent were excluded from the study.

The closing section expressed gratitude to participants and offered opportunities for further involvement, such as follow-up interviews or survey repetition. It also provided options to receive the research results and included gestures of appreciation, namely a lottery of DCU products and a brochure with resources for learning Catalan (see Appendices A.4. and C).

The questionnaire's main body, Sections A to E, includes seven variables alongside the sociodemographic variables (see Tables 12 and 13). Most questions employed a 5-point Likert scale, with answer options of opinion ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; quality ranging from Only in Spanish to Only in Catalan and frequency ranging from Never to

Always. Fewer questions were nominal, requiring categorical responses, for instance, selecting an initial or identity language such as Spanish, Moroccan Arabic or German. Some questions, such as Place of Birth or Year of Arrival in Mallorca, were open-ended.

Section	Variable	Subvariable	Items
A	Decision to Learn Catalan		1
	Catalan Declared Ability		1-3 (3)
	Orientations to Learn Catalan	Integrative Orientations	4-7 (4)
		Instrumental Orientations	8-11 (4)
B	Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers	Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Character	12-13 (2)
		Attitude towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Hospitality	14-15 (2)
		Attitude towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Socioeconomic Status	16-17 (2)
C	Linguistic Uses	Catalan Linguistic Uses	18-21 (4)
		Language Alternation	22 (1)
	Self-confidence		23-27 (5)
D	Attitudes towards the Mallorcan Sociolinguistic Situation	Attitudes towards Education Language Policy	28-29 (2)
		Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan	30-33 (4)
		Expected General Language(s) Knowledge	34-35 (2)
		Expected Catalan Proficiency by Newcomers	36-37 (2)
		Current and Future Catalan Mallorcan Use	39-39 (2)
E	Sociodemographic Information	(see Table 13)	40-56 (17)

Table 12 Structure and content of the questionnaire

Variable	Subvariable	Items
Place of Birth		40 (1)
Place of Residence		41 (1)
Language Density Perception		42 (1)
Age		43 (1)
Gender		44 (1)
Year of Arrival in Mallorca		45 (1)
Initial Language		46 (1)
Identity Language		47 (1)
Socioeconomic Status	Nationality	48 (1)
	Education	49 (1)
Housing conditions	Frequency of Relocation within Mallorca	50 (1)
	Housing Problems	51 (1)
	Percentage of Salary Spent on Rent (Rent)	52 (1)
Reasons to Move to Mallorca		53 (1)
Current Labour Conditions in Mallorca	Employment	54 (1)
	Type of Job	55 (1)
	Hours of Work per Week	56 (1)

Table 13 Sociodemographic variables in the questionnaire

The following paragraphs explain how the survey was constructed by adapting variables from established sociolinguistic questionnaires to operationalise the three dimensions of the investment model. Most of the variables included in the survey are adapted from existing questionnaires on language attitudes and ideologies, to operationalise the theoretical constructs embedded in the three dimensions of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model, i.e.,

capital, identity and ideology. Given the interdependent nature of the three dimensions of the investment model, it is not fully possible to draw strict boundaries between the constructs associated with each one. Although the survey aims to operationalise the concepts embedded within one dimension, these inevitably overlap with those linked to the other two dimensions.

From the ideas embedded within the dimension of capital involving transnational mobility of resources alongside their accumulation and mobilisation (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.), the survey focuses on the description of the resources that participants have (see Section 4.3.2.1. for more insights into the operationalisation of the dimension of capital). To that end, the survey includes questions to obtain information about the types of capital participants' have, such as level of education. Variables like Decision to Learn Catalan, Catalan Declared Ability and the sociodemographic variables listed in Table 13 provide information about these forms of capital (see Appendix C for the specific items under each variable). Except for the variable Decision to Learn Catalan, specifically designed to serve as the dependent variable for this survey's aim, the remaining variables are adapted from existing surveys.

On the one hand, the variable Catalan Declared Ability draws on Flynn's (2020) adaptation of the language proficiency descriptors associated with the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. On the other hand, the sociodemographic variables follow models from Baker (1992), Flynn (2020), Kircher (2009), Vella (2018), Tudela (2015) and Wingstedt (1998). Variables such as Age, Gender, Place of Birth, Place of Residence and Year of Arrival in Mallorca are general sociodemographic indicators commonly used in the studies cited above.

The remaining sociodemographic variables have more specific origins. Language Density Perception, Initial Language and Identity Language are taken from the three major sociolinguistic surveys conducted in the Balearic Islands, i.e., the ES2004 (Villaverde, 2004),

the Modular Survey 2010 (IBESTAT, 2021) and the EULIB2014 (Melià & Vanrell, 2017). The subvariables included into the variables of Socioeconomic Status, Housing Conditions, Reasons to Move to Mallorca and Current Labour Conditions are inspired by the National Survey of Immigrants (ENI2007) conducted by Spain's National Institute of Statistics (INE).

The variables on orientations towards Catalan, attitudinal evaluations, linguistic uses and self-confidence exemplify the quantitative operationalisation of the imbrication among capital, identity and ideology. The variable Orientations to Learn Catalan is adapted from Flynn (2020) who, at the same time, draws on Baker (1992). The variable Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers combines the items on Mallorcans' character from Flynn (2020), the items from Mallorcans' hospitality from Amengual-Ripoll (2022) and the perceived socioeconomic status of Mallorcan Catalan Speakers from Vella (2018). All the subvariables contained in the variable Attitudes towards the Mallorcan Sociolinguistic Situation derive from the ES2004 (Villaverde, 2004) and the EULIB2014 (Melià & Vanrell, 2017) surveys. Similarly, the variables Linguistic Uses and Self-confidence are also adapted from Flynn (2020). Closely related is the variable Language Alternation, inspired by the Q-BEx[3] bi/trilingual questionnaire, which seeks to capture the mobility of linguistic resources inherent in migration processes. This variable on Language Alternation may reveal higher levels of Catalan use than would appear when languages are considered in isolation. These variables primarily assess participants' evaluations of Catalan, its speakers and their own legitimacy as users of different linguistic resources. Such evaluations offer initial insights into participants' embodied hierarchies, their perceptions of power relations and the forms of capital in which they have been socialised, which will be further explored in the second phase of data collection (see Section 4.3.2.1.). The operationalisation used in this research brings together broader operationalisation practices in

[3] https://www.q-bex.org/

Europe and more locally grounded instruments, enabling the questionnaire to align with previous surveys conducted in the Balearic context while incorporating additional detail on the immigrant population.

4.3.1.2. Pilot and Content Validity

The questionnaire was tested with two types of participants: a small sample of the target population piloted the survey (see Appendix B.1.), while three field experts assessed its content validity (Oppenheim, 1992) (see Appendix B.2.). The questionnaire was piloted among nine individuals, three from Morocco, three from Argentina and three from Germany, from April to May 2024. Due to incomplete responses from one of the Argentinian participants, the pilot ultimately contained eight valid responses (88.9% of the total), which were not included in the final version of the questionnaire because some items changed according to participants' and experts' feedback.

Participants provided feedback on the response options for two items. The first concerned a 5-point Likert scale statement in Section B (see Section 4.3.1.1.): "Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it". One participant suggested adding a "Not applicable" option, recognising that not all participants might have encountered this situation. This feedback was addressed by including the following instruction at the start of the section: "If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios".

The second observation pertained to an item in Section C: "I speak Mallorcan Catalan with at least one person every day". One participant and, later, an expert (see Table 15), suggested replacing the existing 5-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree,

with options reflecting frequency, such as Never to Always. This change was subsequently implemented across all relevant items in Section C (see Table 12 in Section 4.3.1.1.).

Participants also identified two errors in the questionnaire's wording. In the informed consent form, the statement "I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday" did not account for participants who arrived later than age 18. This was corrected to "I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca at age 18 or older", aligning with the selection criteria outlined in Section 4.2. Additionally, at the start of the survey, the phrase "There are no right or wrong questions" was incorrectly worded and revised to "There are no right or wrong answers".

Analysis of the pilot test revealed that one of the two main variables, the Decision to Learn Catalan, was absent (see Section 4.3.1.5. for further details on the variables and their classifications). To address this, the following initial question was added: "Have you ever thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan?" The answer options are: "No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan", "Yes, but I still did not do it" and "Yes, and I have done it".

Experts' feedback was highly positive, as detailed in Table 14. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean rating was 4.46, with individual scores ranging from 4.20 to 4.80. Three experts on language attitudes and ideologies conducted a context validity test consisting of 10 items designed to evaluate the appropriateness of the questionnaire items in measuring the intended variables. Table 15 details the feedback provided by these experts and the corresponding actions taken to address it.

Participant	Mean overall evaluation	Mean total evaluation
Expert 1	4.20	4.4667
Expert 2	4.40	
Expert 3	4.80	

Table 14 Means content validity test

Section	Item	Feedback	Answer
A	What do you think your abilities in Mallorcan Catalan are? 1. I cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations. 2. I can (at least) understand basic instructions or participate in a basic conversation on a predictable topic. 3. I can advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions.	To avoid the negative statement in response option 1 because it is more difficult to answer.	Statement modified: I have difficulty understanding and participating in basic conversations.
		The answers are not mutually exclusive; someone with a good level of Catalan will select options 2 and 3, and that can complicate the coding.	Answer options are maintained because literature considers proficiency as significant regarding language attitudes. It is clarified that only one answer option can be selected.
B	Items 12 to 17 regarding the character and status of Mallorcans in general (see Section 4.3.1.1. and Appendix B.2.).	To include negative attributes alongside the currently exclusively positive attitudes when evaluating Mallorcan Catalan speakers because it increases validity.	Not possible due to the length of the survey.
C	Item 18 to 20 regarding linguistic uses (see Section 4.3.1.1. and Appendix B.2.).	Practices can be best evaluated by frequency items than opinion items.	Answers changed from 5-point Likert scale Strongly disagree to Strongly

			agree, for frequency items from Never to Always.
C	How often do you mix words or structures in Mallorcan Catalan with those in Spanish or other languages?	It is difficult to answer. Sometimes speakers (ourselves) are not aware of this mixture. The information may not be reliable.	Maintained it because higher Catalan linguistic uses may emerge when considered beyond fixed linguistic boundaries.
		Replace 'with' for 'and' to make clearer the direction of the mixture.	Suggestion implemented: How often do you mix words or structures in Mallorcan Catalan and those in Spanish or other languages?
C	I do not know how to pronounce Mallorcan Catalan sounds and that is why I feel embarrassed to speak it in general.	Embarrassment may come from a lack of general Mallorcan Catalan proficiency and not only because of correctness.	Statement modified: I feel that I do not have a sufficient command of Mallorcan Catalan and that is why I feel embarrassed of speaking it.
C	I feel uncomfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with Mallorcan people who speak Mallorcan Catalan as native language.	Use 'initial language' instead of 'native language' (Vila et al., 2002).	The term 'native language' is used only here for its clarity and accessibility to non-academic audiences. The theoretical framework of this research avoids it.
D	Which language would you prefer to be the default vehicular language in public compulsory	Make it shorter.	Suggestion implemented: What language would you prefer to be

	education in Mallorca? A vehicular language is the one primarily used as the main means of communication, that is, the one used most frequently.		mainly used in compulsory public education in Mallorca?

Table 15 Expert's feedback

4.3.1.3. Participants

The survey was initially answered by 183 participants, of whom 154 were included in the final sample, slightly lower than expected (n = 192, see Section 4.2.). The two main reasons for exclusion were participants providing too few responses for their data to be considered valid (i.e., only one or two questions answered) or not being born in Morocco, Argentina or Germany. See Chapter 5 for further information on participants' sociodemographic background.

4.3.1.4. Procedures

Several methods were used to recruit participants for the questionnaire (see Graph 2), ensuring representation from Moroccan, Argentinian and German residents in Mallorca. Snowball sampling, initiated through personal connections, served as a starting point to identify and reach additional participants within these target nationalities.

Efforts extended to public and private venues and platforms frequented by the target groups, including shops, restaurants, grocery stores, governmental intercultural centres, social services, cultural associations and media. The researcher established contacts via social media, email and in-person visits, and explained the research to shop owners, association leaders, civil servants and journalists to encourage their participation and that of their networks. Recruitment advertisements (see Appendix D.1.) and paper surveys (see Appendix C.1.) were distributed at these locations, allowing individuals to complete them independently and return them either directly to the researcher or through the venue. The researcher was not present during survey completion. Follow-up contact was conducted to address queries and monitor progress. All recruitment advertisements were multilingual, with each advert presented in a single language, including Catalan, Spanish, German and Standard Arabic.

The local media also supported recruitment. The researcher participated in an online interview with Radio Cultura of the intercultural association Hipatia (see Appendix E.1.). Additionally, journalist Frank Feldmeier published an article in the German newspaper Mallorca Zeitung, promoting the study and encouraging participation (see Appendix E.2.) as so did a local magazine of a Mallorcan town (see Appendix E.3.).

Schools across Mallorca were another key recruitment avenue. Approximately 540 schools were contacted via email and staff, including directors, department heads and teachers, were invited to act as intermediaries between the researcher and parents. Schools were encouraged to share the survey link and study details through their communication channels (see Appendices D.2. and D.3.). The researcher also presented the study during two teacher meetings to explain its objectives and respond to questions.

Institutions offering Spanish and Catalan courses, such as the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, Centres for Adult Education (CEPA) and the Escola Municipal de Mallorquí, were also targeted (see Appendix D). Spanish courses prioritised Moroccan and German participants, while Catalan courses focused on individuals with basic Catalan proficiency.

Finally, the researcher's social media platforms, including Instagram and X (formerly Twitter), were used to post recruitment advertisements and broaden the outreach to potential participants (see Appendix D.4.).

Due to the researcher's lack of proficiency in Arabic, Amazigh and French, it was impossible to communicate with a significant portion of potential Moroccan participants. Fortunately, two individuals with these skills voluntarily helped the researcher in collecting the surveys, translating everything for participants who were either illiterate or did not understand any of the languages in which the survey was prepared. One was a volunteer Catalan teacher well known in her town for supporting Moroccan residents, and the other was the president of a

Moroccan association in Mallorca. These strategies combined direct and mediated approaches to maximise accessibility, ensuring a diverse and representative sample while maintaining ethical considerations.

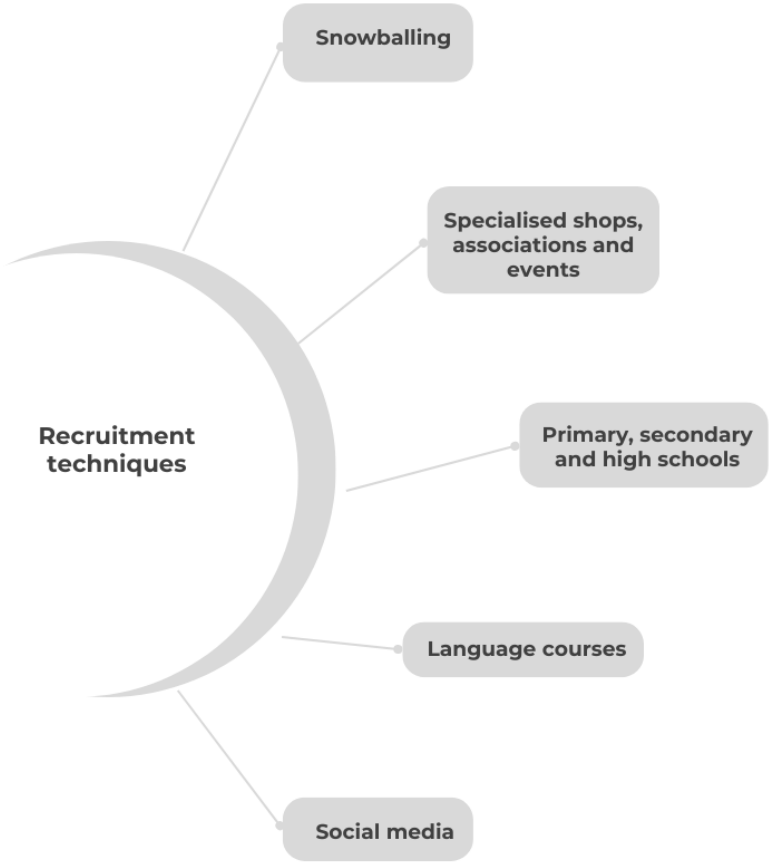


Figure 2 Recruitment techniques

4.3.1.5. Analysis

The questionnaire data were analysed quantitatively using IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences v29.0.1.0). The survey contains seven main variables and twelve subvariables, classified as either dependent or independent variables (see Chapter 5), alongside the

sociodemographic variables (see Tables 12 and 13 in Section 4.3.1.1.). Five main steps were followed during the quantitative analysis: data cleaning; examination of the frequency of participants' responses across each variable, subvariable and item; one-way analysis of variance; three-way and four-way cross-tabulations; and several simple linear and logistic regressions.

The data were first cleaned by checking that participants met the selection criteria (see Section 4.2.), handling missing data (e.g., merging missing answers with 'I prefer not to answer' and 'I do not know'), reaggregating response options (e.g., reducing eight educational levels to four), creating new categories from open-ended responses (e.g., grouping ages into five categories), reversing certain items (e.g., self-confidence items) and computing variables as item means (e.g., averaging four Likert-scale items to create the variable Total Integrative Orientations).

In the second step, the frequency of each variable, subvariable and item was examined to form an initial understanding of the participants' responses and to identify the variables with the highest proportion of missing data. The threshold for reliably including a variable was set at 25 missing values, as this represents over 15% of the total sample and, given that no place-of-birth group includes more than 50 participants, such a number of missings could result in the loss of over half the data for some variables within individual groups, thereby affecting the robustness of those variables.

Two more decisions were made at this step regarding the inclusion of two more variables. The variable Catalan Declared Ability, initially intended to be calculated as the mean of three items measuring self-assessed Catalan language proficiency, was ultimately represented solely by the third item. This item, which assessed the highest level of self-perceived Catalan proficiency, was selected because its 5-point Likert scale (from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree') encompassed the full range of proficiency, including null, low and high levels. The second

decision concerned the computation of item means for the variable Linguistic Uses, which was based on three of the four available items; the fourth item ('I would like people to speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan when I request it') was excluded as it assessed opinion rather than actual frequency of use.

Following this step, several one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to have a first approach to the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, as well as between the sociodemographic and dependent variables. These second and third steps served to decide whether and how to include the variables in Tables 12 and 13 in Section 4.3.1.1. for further analysis. In line with these two previous steps, according to the research questions and aims of the research and for the sake of a more straightforward analysis, the variables and subvariables 'Language Alternation', 'Attitudes towards Education Language Policy', 'Expected Catalan Proficiency by Newcomers', 'Current and Future Catalan Mallorcan Use', 'Language Density Perception', 'Nationality', 'Frequency of Relocation within Mallorca', 'Type of Job' and 'Reasons to Move to Mallorca' were excluded from further analysis as they did not yield significant results. The same applied to the second item of the subvariable 'Expected General Language(s) Knowledge', which assessed participants' expectations of the general Spanish proficiency of Mallorcan residents. These ANOVAs also informed the restructuring of the nominal dependent variable Decision to Learn Catalan, which was reduced from three response options ('No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan', 'Yes, but I still did not do it', and 'Yes, and I have done it') to two ('No' and 'Yes'), as the results did not show significant differences between the two types of 'Yes' responses, but did reveal significant differences between the 'No' responses and either form of 'Yes'.

The next step involved a three-way cross-tabulation, including one dependent or independent variable, gender and another sociodemographic variable, and a subsequent four-way cross-tabulation, which included one dependent or independent variable, Gender, Place of Birth and

another sociodemographic variable. Gender and Place of Birth were consistently included in each cross-tabulation due to their low number of missing values and their relevance to the theoretical framework, research questions and aims of the present study. These descriptive analyses aimed to examine how dependent and independent variables vary across sociodemographic variables, including those sociodemographic variables with more than 25 missings, which were cautiously interpreted (see Chapter 5).

Finally, several linear regressions were conducted between the independent and sociodemographic variables—excluding those sociodemographic variables with more than 25 missing values—and the dependent variable Linguistic Use. The same procedure was applied using logistic regression, with the dependent variable Decision to Learn Catalan. These regressions produced a model for each dependent variable, serving as a basis for further exploration in the qualitative phase (see Chapter 5).

4.3.2. Interviews

4.3.2.1. Structure and Content

Similar to the survey, the interview guide was designed in three languages, Catalan, Spanish and English, to facilitate interviews in whichever of these languages the interviewees preferred (see Appendix F). The interview guide was designed based on the survey results, serving two main purposes. First, it aimed to explore in greater depth the survey trends regarding the factors influencing participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca (see Chapter 5). Second, it sought to capture participants' perspectives on how these factors might shape their decisions, their perceived needs for navigating different public and private spaces in Mallorca and their needs related to the maintenance and transmission of their heritage languages and cultures. Together, these two purposes aimed to provide a more comprehensive understanding

of the experiences, circumstances and reasons behind learning and using Catalan among immigrant adults in Mallorca, while also allowing for the consideration of additional factors not covered in the survey. To achieve these two purposes, the interview was structured in three main sections, as Table 16 shows.

Section	Subsections
1. Learning Catalan	1.1.Facilitators and difficulties to accessing language learning 1.2.Reasons to learn 1.3.Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn 1.4.Ideal conditions to continue learning
2. Using Catalan	2.1.Experiences using Catalan 2.2.Factor(s) promoting Catalan use 2.3.Perceptions about the factors influencing Catalan use 2.4.Ideal conditions to use Catalan
3. Sociolinguistic necessities	3.1.Sociolinguistic necessities to navigate Mallorcan society 3.2.Perceptions about the factors influencing sociolinguistic necessities 3.3.Necessities regarding heritage language(s) and culture(s) maintenance

Table 16 Structure of the interview

Subsections in Table 16 contain open general questions regarding the factors shaping participants' decision to learn (1.1. and 1.2.) and use Catalan (2.1. and 2.2.) as well as those factors shaping their sociolinguistic necessities (3.1.), expanding on the survey variables (see Appendix F for the interview guide). When relevant factors did not come up spontaneously, the interviewer prompted participants with examples of variables identified as statistically significant predictors of higher learning and use of Catalan in the survey models, such as

weekly working hours, housing difficulties, place of residence, self-confidence or Spanish and Catalan language preferences in different social contexts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014).

The construction of the interview guide was closely aligned with the operationalisation of Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton (2015) three dimensions developed for the survey (see Section 4.3.1.1.). The interview questions were designed to deepen the concepts already explored quantitatively in the following way. Survey variables such as Decision to Learn Catalan and Catalan Declared Ability were examined qualitatively through questions on the facilitators and barriers to accessing language learning (1.1.). Linguistic uses were further explored by asking participants about their experiences using Catalan in everyday interactions (2.1.). Similarly, variables related to Orientations to Learn Catalan and Self-confidence were expanded through questions on motivations to learn Catalan (1.2.) and the factors that encourage its use (2.1.). Sociodemographic variables, including those variables related to participants' socioeconomic conditions, were qualitatively operationalised through questions about the factors participants perceived as influencing their decisions to learn and use Catalan (1.3. and 2.3.).

The interview format allows for a more nuanced examination of the attitudinal variables included in the survey, particularly those concerning Mallorcan Catalan speakers and the Mallorcan sociolinguistic situation. Through participants' narratives, the analysis can infer the language ideologies underpinning their evaluations. A clear example is the set of questions on perceived differences in engagement with Catalan according to gender, age or origin. Although these questions appear to elicit sociodemographic information, they reveal the ideological frameworks within which participants interpret linguistic behaviour.

The interview also addresses issues absent from the survey, such as opinions on language planning and policy, which were excluded from the questionnaire to maintain brevity. These

questions continue to reflect the imbrication of the three dimensions by inviting participants to articulate their perceived sociolinguistic needs and the conditions they consider ideal for learning or continuing to use Catalan (3.1. to 3.3.).

Taken together, the operationalisation of Darvin and Norton's (2015) three dimensions across both data collection tools demonstrates how the theoretical constructs outlined in the literature review have been systematically integrated into the empirical design of this study. The survey translates key concepts related to capital, identity and ideology into measurable variables, capturing participants' resources, linguistic practices, orientations and evaluations. The interview then extends this operationalisation by exploring these constructs qualitatively, allowing participants to articulate the processes through which they access, accumulate and mobilise their resources in the dire need for recognition. By linking each set of interview questions to the survey variables from which they derive, the study ensures coherence between theory, quantitative indicators and qualitative narratives as well as the integration of the mixed methods.

4.3.2.2. Pilot

The interviews were piloted with three individuals whose profiles were similar but did not match with the selection criteria (see Section 4.2.). These included two men in their 30s, one born in Mallorca to a Senegalese family and another from Uruguay who immigrated to Mallorca at around his 16s, and a woman in her early 50s from Uruguay who immigrated in her 40s.

The pilot helped refine question phrasing, interview length and prioritisation of questions. Regarding question phrasing, it helped clarify how to ask complex questions. The original broad question "When considering the decision to learn Catalan, what factors do you think

influenced your decision? How and why?", was split into two: first, "When considering the decision to learn Catalan, which circumstances did you have? For instance, professional circumstances (employed, unemployed, etc.)", followed by, "What role do you think these circumstances played in your decision? How? Why?" (see Section 4.3.2.1. for interview's structure and content). This sequence helped interviewees first reflect on their situation when they decided to learn Catalan, before considering how it influenced their choice, a process that often involves complex reflection.

Another suggestion from pilot participants regarding question phrasing was to improve clarity by adding examples when needed and checking for understanding. For instance, for the opening question on access to Catalan language learning, they advised including prompts like: "For example, think about the difficulties you had finding out which resources were available to learn Catalan in your area".

Finally, in terms of interview length and prioritisation of questions, piloting the interviews also helped identify which questions to prioritise and which to skip if time was short or the interview ran long. Altogether, this preparation gave me greater confidence in conducting the interviews.

4.3.2.3. Participants

Eighteen survey participants who had voluntarily expressed willingness to take part in the second phase of the study (individual semi-structured interviews) were selected using extreme case sampling (see Section 4.2.). Table 17 shows the expected sampled profiles: one positive, one negative and one outlier profile per gender and place of birth, based on the survey trends (see Section 4.2. and Chapter 5). For further descriptive information on the interviewed participants see Chapter 5, Tables 37-40.

Place of birth	Gender	Profiles for extreme case sampling		
		Profile with more positive attitudes	Profile with more negative attitudes	
Morocco	Female	Aged 18-45, employed, arrived before 2010 and living in Migjorn or Pla[4]	Over 45, unemployed, arrived between 2010 and 2019 and living in Palma	
	Male	Over 45, employed, arrived before 2010, living in Migjorn or Pla, low income percentage spent on rent and working long hours	Aged 30-44, unemployed, arrived after 2010 and living in Palma	
Argentina	Female	Over 45, arrived before 2010, living in Migjorn, with higher education, fewer socio-structural problems at home, initial language and identity languages other than dominant ones and higher income percentage spent on rent	Aged 30-44, unemployed or working long hours	Outlier profile
	Male	Over 44, employed, arrived before 2010, living in Pla,	Aged 30-44, unemployed or working long	

[4] Migjorn and Pla refer to Mallorca's southern region and central plain, respectively.

		initial language and identity languages other than dominant one and lower percentage of income spent on rent	hours, higher education and more socio-structural problems at home
Germany	Female	Older age, living in Pla and initial language and identity languages other than dominant ones	Unemployed, higher education, more socio-structural problems at home, higher percentage of income spent on rent and working long hours
	Male	Under 45 or over 64, arrived before 2010 or after 2019, unemployed and living in Pla	Homeowner, more socio-structural problems at home, unemployed, higher education and working long hours.

Table 17 Profiles for extreme case sampling

4.3.2.4. Procedures

Interview participants were easy to recruit, as they had previously taken part in the survey and had provided their preferred contact details. The main recruitment effort had been conducted for the survey itself, which facilitated a quicker recruitment process for the semi-structured interviews (see Section 4.3.1.4.). Several participant options were prepared and prioritised for

each profile type, gender and place of birth. However, for two profiles—a Moroccan woman and a Moroccan man—none of the selected survey participants were available or responded. In addition, the researcher could not communicate directly with the remaining Moroccan respondents, who had completed the survey with the assistance of a volunteer, since the researcher did not speak Arabic, Amazigh or French (see Section 4.3.1.4.). Consequently, two personal contacts of the researchers were invited to take part in the interviews. While they met the selection criteria and matched the intended profiles, their prior connection to the researcher may have influenced the dynamics of the interview, potentially affecting the openness of responses. To mitigate potential bias, interviews followed the same protocol as with other respondents, and their contributions were compared with those of other participants through the narrative analysis to ensure consistency of their answers (see Section 4.3.2.5.).

All interview participants were informed that the interview would last approximately one hour and were offered the opportunity to choose their preferred day, time and location (see Appendices A.3. and A.5.). All interviews took place at the chosen locations, including bars, parks and their homes, except for one conducted online at the participant's request. Before the interview began, participants were informed about the study procedures, confidentiality and voluntary participation, and were asked to sign the informed consent form. Throughout the interviews, the researcher adopted an empathetic and curiosity-driven stance, using prompts, follow-up questions and scenario-based probes to encourage participants to elaborate on their experiences. When participants hesitated or were unsure how to respond, the researcher introduced possible situations they might have encountered and invited them to reflect on whether they had experienced something similar and how they had felt. This approach aimed to create a comfortable interactional environment that facilitated openness and depth.

All interviews were conducted in Catalan, Spanish or English, depending on participants' preferences. In the extracts, the language of each participant's intervention is indicated in

brackets after their first turn. In five cases, those of Hayat, Btissame, Fede, Salva and Monika, the interviews were bilingual: the interviewer spoke Catalan while the participants responded in Spanish. These participants had sufficient knowledge of Catalan to follow the conversation but expressed insecurity about their productive proficiency, requesting that the interviewer speak Catalan while they replied in Spanish. This bilingual format also enabled the researcher to observe and corroborate participants' linguistic abilities in Catalan. Some interviewees shifted between languages during the interaction. In certain instances, such as Btissame's (see Extract 5 in Section 5.2.1.1. of Chapter 5), these shifts appeared to function as a relational strategy, allowing participants to position themselves more closely to the interviewer.

During the interviews, the researcher took relevant notes in a personal notebook, which were later used for the analysis (see Section 4.3.2.5.).

4.3.2.5. Analysis

A total of 19 hours, 12 minutes, and 4 seconds of interviews were recorded and verbatim transcribed in their original language(s) with the support of the software Happy Scribe. All drafts produced by the programme were reviewed, and those from Catalan or bilingual Spanish-Catalan interviews were often almost entirely rewritten because of limited accuracy. Nevertheless, the software was chosen as it made the transcription process more efficient through its interactive and dynamic interface. Transcripts do not include pauses, information about intonation or repetition because the focus of the analyses is thematic (see the following paragraphs). NVivo (version 1.7.2, 1560) software was used for the qualitative analyses. It was chosen due to the researcher's familiarity with the software and its availability through the university, which also provided free NVivo training for users at different levels. The software supports various ways of visualising qualitative data and enables notetaking and memo-writing

during coding. Its ability to link survey responses with interview data through cases further enhances the effectiveness of the analysis.

The analysis of the interviews followed five main coding processes designed mainly based on Maxwell (2012) and Saldaña's (2013) recommendations for critical realist qualitative analysis and coding strategies, respectively. The first cycle underwent a line-by-line coding process, chunking interview transcripts into small bits, offering a first approach to data more descriptive and deconstructive rather than hierarchical (Saldaña, 2013). Firstly, three main organisational categories were applied. These were broad thematic groupings, defined prior to data collection and aligned with the three sections of the interviews— learning Catalan, using Catalan and sociolinguistic necessities (see Section 4.3.2.1.), intended to serve as initial containers for sorting the material (Maxwell, 2012). Four additional organisational categories were introduced during the first coding cycle to address more specifically the research aims and questions (see Table 18). Except for the categories 'Structural Constraints' and 'Agentic Moments', each organisational category was subdivided into participants who decided to learn Catalan and those who did not. In the case of categories related to language use, the division differed: participants were grouped according to whether they chose to use Catalan or not, regardless of their decision to learn it. Thus, the group of non-users could include both those who had decided to learn Catalan and those who had not, while the group of users comprised only those with at least basic knowledge.

The first coding cycle (generating codes) began with provisional coding, using initial codes derived from the theoretical framework and research questions. This was subsequently combined with eclectic coding, which applied different coding methods concurrently, and simultaneous coding, which assigned multiple codes to the same segment of text when relevant (Saldaña, 2013). The types of coding used eclectically and simultaneously combined elements of elemental and affective coding (Saldaña, 2013). Within the elemental category, descriptive

coding summarised the basic topic of a text segment in a word or short phrase; In Vivo coding captured participants' own words; and process coding identified ongoing actions (Saldaña, 2013). Within affective coding, values coding focused mainly on participants' ideologies; versus coding explored how participants positioned themselves in relation to others; and evaluation coding captured participants' assessments of events. See Table 18 for examples of each type of coding and Appendix G for visual illustrations in NVivo showing the progression from the first to the third coding cycle.

Category	Subcategory	Type of coding		Number of codes
		Provisional coding	**Eclectic and simultaneous coding (some examples)**	
Learning Catalan	Learning	Accessing facilitators Difficulties in accessing Reasons to (not) learn Catalan Attitude to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers Attitude to public presence of Catalan Age	Integration anxiety (descriptive code) Being pregnant didn't prevent me from attending Catalan classes (In Vivo code) Unstructured Catalan classes (evaluation code)	301
	Not learning	Employment Housing conditions Hours of work per week Place of residence Ideal conditions to continue learning	No need of learning Catalan (descriptive code) My Argentinian friends tell me it's not necessary to learn it (In Vivo code)	143
Using Catalan	Using	Catalan Declared Ability Self-confidence Attitude to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers Attitude to public presence of Catalan Age	Safe space (descriptive code) I don't have daily spaces where to practice (In Vivo code)	108
	Not using	Place of residence Employment	Catalan is more difficult to pronounce than Spanish (values code)	134

		Ideal conditions to continue using Catalan linguistic uses From not using to using	Peer pressure as a facilitator to use it (descriptive code)	
Sociolinguistic necessities	Learning	Differences over time in sociolinguistic situation	Immigrants integrated among themselves (values coding)	91
	Not learning	Linguistic resources needed in daily life in Mallorca	Visual change of Mallorca: more modern houses fewer traditional houses (descriptive code)	51
Structural limitations			Low salary and expensive rent (descriptive code)	17
Agentic moments			Why do you speak to me in Spanish? (In Vivo code)	37
Perceptions	Learning		Catalan is also an identity (values coding)	259
	Not learning		Germans are first-class immigrants (versus code)	168
Recommendations revitalisations language strategies	Learning		Public institutions have to first offer Catalan (evaluation code)	32
	Not learning		Catalan should be a merit and not a requirement (values code)	15
			Total number of codes	**1356**

Table 18 First coding cycle

The second coding cycle (grouping) reduced the large number of codes generated during the first cycle by grouping repeated or similar codes, removing those not relevant to the research aims and questions and reshaping others. The total number of codes was reduced from 1356 to 552 (see Table 19). This large initial number of codes resulted from the coding strategy, in which every segment with distinct meaning, no matter how small, was considered a separate code in the first step. This stage aimed to connect the coded data more directly with the study's theoretical framework and epistemological lens, while also helping to prioritise the most significant codes for further analysis. Therefore, the second cycle distinguished structural factors, such as infrastructural or socio-economic condition, from agentic factors and their different forms of expression.

Throughout both the first and second coding cycles, the researcher wrote analytic memos and draw visual maps on emerging patterns (see Appendix H for an example of a visual map), noteworthy questions and reflections on assumptions and positionalities, including the researcher's assumptions and positionality following Saldaña's (2013) suggestion to remain attentive to what stands out during coding. This coding process, together with memo-writing, laid the foundation for the deeper critical realist analysis conducted during the third coding cycle.

Category	Subcategory	Grouped codes		Number of codes
		Encompassing code	**Specific code (some examples)**	
Learning Catalan	Learning	Accessing facilitators	Structural -infrastructural: free Catalan classes	192
	Not learning	Difficulties in accessing		97
		Reasons to (not) learn Catalan	Structural-socioeconomic: previous education	
		Learning facilitators		
		Learning difficulties	Agency: reshaping identity	
		Ideal conditions to continue learning		
		Type of learning	Agency: questioning habitus	
Using Catalan	Using	Facilitators to use it	Structural-social capital: encouraging peers	57
	Not using	Difficulties in using it		57
		Using Catalan is…	Agency-structural-ideology: speaking Catalan as a legitimator	
		From knowing to using		
		Ideal conditions to continue using it		
Sociolinguistic necessities	Learning	Catalan sociolinguistic necessities	Individual-privatised option: maintaining place	28
	Not learning	Place birth language(s) and culture(s)	birth language(s) and culture(s)	14
		Changes in sociolinguistic necessities		
			Instrumental Catalan necessities	
Perceptions	Learning	Catalan for some specific things	Catalan for casual topics and informal contexts	55
	Not learning	Catalan is…		52
		Spanish for a wide range of purposes		

	Spanish is…	Defending Catalan is promoting discrimination	
	Integration	and exclusion	
	Defending Catalan is…		
	One language, one nation	Spanish is the common language	
	Sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca		
	Education	Spanish is to show respect	
	Catalan and Spanish are individual autonomy		
		Total number of codes	**552**

Table 19 Second coding cycle

The third coding cycle (categorising) moved beyond individual details and focused on the broader picture of the data pattern and causation coding (Saldaña, 2013). Pattern coding allowed bringing together different units of analysis and creating broader and more abstract categories, while causation coding helped explore participants' perceptions about events and their causes (see Table 20). This third cycle is the culmination of approaching data from a similarity approach, where ideas are associated by resemblance, and move towards a contiguity approach, where ideas are contextualised into a narrative or sequence (Maxwell, 2012). This movement from individually approached and specific events to situationally contingent and narratively connected patterns is followed by critical realist scholars (e.g., Brönnimann, 2022; Fletcher, 2017; Massaguer, 2022; Vella, 2018; Wikgren, 2005). Within a critical realist lens, looking for the mechanisms underlying both observable and unobservable events is aimed at explaining rather than predicting, as these causal mechanisms are understood as situationally contingent (see Section 1.2.1. and Maxwell, 2012; Saldaña, 2013). The third coding cycle helped to interpret distinct patterns between participants who decided to learn Catalan and those who did not, as well as between those who chose to use the language and those who did not (see Chapter 5).

Category	Subcategory	Grouped codes		Number of codes
		Encompassing code	**Specific code (some examples)**	
Learning Catalan	Learning	Factors positively influencing the decision to learn Catalan	Infrastructural	45
	Not learning	Factors negatively influencing the decision to learn Catalan		27
		Place of birth	Socioeconomic	
		Gender		
		Gender and Place of birth	Positive agency	
		Age		
		Age and Gender		
Using Catalan	Using	Factors positively influencing the use of Catalan	Self-confidence	28
	Not using	Factors negatively influencing the use of Catalan		26
		Place of birth	Encouraging social capital	
		Gender		
		Age	Language proficiency	
Sociolinguistic necessities	Learning	Catalan sociolinguistic necessities	Maintaining place birth language(s) and culture(s)	15
	Not learning	Place birth language(s) and culture(s)	given for granted	7

			Instrumental Catalan necessities	
Perceptions	Learning	Catalan is authentic	Catalan for casual topics and informal contexts	11
	Not learning	Spanish is anonymous, moral, open to everyone and global		12
		Linguistic nationalism-monolingualism	Defending Catalan is promoting discrimination and exclusion	
		Wellbeing and language		
		Instrumental ideology	Spanish is the common language	
		Language revitalisation dependent on (coherent) politics and government	Spanish is to show respect	
		Catala as symbolic capital		
		Spanish as symbolic capital		
		Efecte mirall (mirror effect)		
		Place of birth		
Recommendations	Learning	Ideal conditions to learn Catalan	Integrative orientations as ideal conditions to learn Catalan	16
	Not learning	Ideal conditions to use Catalan		13
		Place birth language(s) and culture(s)		
		external help	Encouraging social capital as ideal conditions to use Catalan	
			Total number of codes	**200**

Table 20 Third coding cycle

The fourth coding cycle (summarisation of individual patterns) produced individual summaries for each participant based on the critical realist questions outlined in Table 21. Building upon the third cycle, which identified emergent patterns, this phase aimed to further interrogate the development of those patterns across participants. To achieve this, a consistent set of questions concerning participants' positionality and individual interests was applied to all data adapted from Massaguer (2022). This adaptation was inspired by Massaguer's (2022) analytical approach in her doctoral thesis, particularly her method of engaging with data, articulating findings and framing positionality within a critical realist paradigm.

Questions	**Follow-up inquiries**
From what position does this individual speak?	Gender Gender roles Educational background Place of birth Social class Underlying assumptions and ideologies Dominant initial language(s)
What has been this individual's experience with, and access to, the Catalan language?	Positive and negative experiences Access to Catalan-speaking social networks
What type of linguistic market does the individual habitually navigate?	Why?
What kind of (non-)investment does the individual engage in?	Why?
What kinds of justifications does the individual offer to explain their (non-)decision to learn and use Catalan?	Where does the individual place the responsibility for successful communication? → Is the Catalan speaker expected to adapt, given the presumed resources to navigate the Spanish-dominant linguistic market?

	Where does the individual locate the responsibility for their own decisions? Internally or externally? Where does the individual place the responsibility for the promotion of Catalan? → Does the individual disassociate from it? → Is it perceived as external or unrelated to them?
Which value does the individual prioritise in relation to language: communicative value or identity value?	
What notions of integration and belonging does the individual hold?	What kind of rootedness is expressed? Is a cosmopolitan lifestyle prioritised? What role does Catalan play in this vision of integration?
How does the individual understand the co-official status of Catalan and Spanish in Mallorca?	Is it perceived as the result of historical minoritisation? Is a hierarchy between Catalan and Spanish acknowledged? Is reference made to the limited competitiveness of Catalan in the global market?
Is the individual satisfied with their trajectory of material, social, linguistic and symbolic capitalisation (or decapitalisation)?	What are the individual's primary aspirations (e.g., economic capitalisation)? What role does Catalan play in the individual's personal or professional aspirations? Is Catalan perceived as an added value for accessing specific domains or markets (e.g. employment, friendships, education)?
What are the individual's position and interests?	Does the individual avoid the Catalan linguistic market? → Can the individual choose which market to operate in?

	Does the individual seek to prioritise their capital when unable to access or navigate the Catalan linguistic market? → Can the individual mobilise alternative resources?
Does the individual differentiate themselves from others of similar origin?	How? How is it justified?

Table 21 Fourth cycle guiding questions

The fifth and final coding cycle (pattern identification and confirmation of general patterns) built upon the individual patterns that had emerged during the fourth cycle. These patterns were both confirmed and expanded across all relevant participants, thereby reinforcing and deepening the initial insights identified in the third cycle.

4.4. Summary

This chapter has outlined the epistemological and methodological foundations of the study, situating it within the paradigm of critical realism and adopting an explanatory sequential mixed methods design. The rationale for combining quantitative and qualitative approaches has been explained, highlighting how surveys and interviews are integrated to capture both statistical patterns and participants' lived experiences. Particular attention is given to sampling strategies, which focuses on immigrant adults from Morocco, Argentina and Germany, and to procedures ensuring validity, reflexivity and transparency throughout data collection and analysis. By detailing the instruments, piloting processes and coding strategies, the chapter establishes the methodological coherence and novelty of the research. Building on this framework, the following chapter presents the empirical results, showing how the methodological choices enable a nuanced exploration of language ideologies, attitudes and decisions regarding Catalan learning and use within structural constraints.

5. Results

This chapter presents the results of the two mixed-methods phases of the research and is therefore organised into two main sections: survey results and interview results. Consistent with the mixed-methods approach, these sections engage in dialogue with one another, by using the qualitative findings to expand and contextualise the quantitative results. Chapter 5 mainly focuses on presenting these results descriptively, while Chapter 6 centres on their discussion in relation to the literature outlined in Chapter 3. While occasional references to previous studies are included to contextualise the descriptive patterns with the literature reviewed in Sections 3.1. to 3.6. of Chapter 3, Chapter 5 remains primarily descriptive. The in-depth interpretative engagement with the theoretical framework presented in Section 3.7. is therefore reserved for Chapter 6, which is organised around the three dimensions of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model. This organisation aligns with the two major stages of analysis undertaken in this research. First, the data are organised, categorised and contextualise through comparison with similar existing findings. Later, they are situated within the chosen theoretical framework to be interpreted in light of its underlying constructs.

5.1. Survey Results

This section is organised around the two dependent variables of the survey: the Decision to Learn Catalan and Catalan Linguistic Uses. Following an overview of participants' sociodemographic characteristics, it provides a descriptive examination of the variables significantly correlated with each dependent variable. The subsequent regression models allow for further discussion of their interplay, thereby offering a quantitative overview of the factors that influence immigrant adults in Mallorca in their decisions to learn and to use Catalan.

5.1.1. Participants' Background Information

This section first presents participants' demographic data, followed by an overview of the selected socioeconomic variables for the final analysis (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.5.). The total sample consists of 154 participants relatively evenly distributed across Morocco (28.6%), Argentina (32.5%) and Germany (29.9%) with women representing over half of the total sample (51.3%) (see Table 22). No participants self-identified as non-binary.

Place of Birth	**Gender**	**18–29**		**30–44**		**45–64**		**65+**		**Missing cases**		**Total**	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Morocco	Female	4	25.0	6	37.5	5	31.25	1	6.25	9	20.45	16	36.3
	Male	1	5.26	7	36.84	10	52.63	1	5.26			19	43.1
	Total											**44**	28.6
Argentina	Female	3	9.09	15	45.45	13	39.39	2	6.06	2	4	33	66.0
	Male	3	20.0	5	33.33	6	40.0	1	6.67			15	30.0
	Total											**50**	32.5
Germany	Female	2	8.0	9	36.0	11	44.0	3	12.0	2	4.35	25	54.3
	Male			4	21.05	12	63.16	3	15.79			19	41.3
	Total											**46**	29.9
Missing cases										14	9		
Total sample												**154**	100

Table 22 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Age group

A closer look into Age, Education and Employment differences by Place of Birth and Gender reveals three main characteristics that align with patterns observed in previous research (e.g., Iturrraspe & Miralles, 2005; Salvà, 2002, 2005; see Tables 23-25 and Chapter 2). Firstly, Moroccan and Argentinian participants are more concentrated in younger categories than

German participants. For instance, 45.45% of Argentinian women are aged between 30 and 44, while 63.16% of German men fall within the 45-64 bracket. Germany's older age profile is reinforced by the proportionally greater presence of participants aged 65 and over among Germans compared to the other two groups (15.79% of men and 12% of women).

Secondly, despite high levels of tertiary education, especially among men from Morocco (91.3%) and Germany (90%), employment status[5] does not uniformly reflect this education (see Table 23). For example, although 83.3% of Moroccan women hold higher education qualifications, only half are employed, in contrast to Argentinian men, whose employment rate reaches 93.8% despite only 56.3% having completed higher education. These trends should be interpreted with caution, as the education variable contains a substantial proportion of missing data (more than 25 cases; see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.5.).

[5] Employment status has been classified according to the Spanish national Labour Force Survey (*Enquesta de Població Activa*) conducted by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE). Accessible in the following link: https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736176918&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254735976595 [Consulted: 07.07.2025].

Place of Birth	Gender	Education								Employment								Total
		Primary studies		Secondary studies		Superior studies		Missing cases		Working		Unemployed		Inactive		Missing cases		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Morocco	Female	1	5.6	2	11.1	15	83.3			9	50	2	11.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	18
	Male			1	4.3	21	91.3	1	4.3	15	65.2	4	17.4	4	17.4			23
Argentina	Female			3	9.1	20	60.6	10	30.3	26	78.8	2	6.1	5	15.2			33
	Male			4	25.0	9	56.3	3	18.8	15	93.8			1	6.3			16
Germany	Female			6	23.1	19	73.1	1	3.8	19	73.1	1	3.8	5	19.2	1	3.8	26
	Male	1	5.0			18	90.0	1	5.0	13	65.0	2	10.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	20
Missing cases																		18
Total sample																		154

Table 23 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender, Education and Employment

Thirdly, participants' employment type[6] suggests occupational segregation by both Place of Birth and Gender. Considering Place of Birth, Moroccan participants are more likely to be concentrated in less skilled roles than German and Argentinian participants, who are more likely to occupy intellectual or managerial positions (see Table 24). Regarding Gender, Moroccan women are concentrated in elementary occupations (60%), including household and cleaning tasks, and service and sales roles (40%), while Moroccan men are situated in skilled manual jobs, such as plant and machine operators and assemblers (45.45%) and industry, construction and crafts (27.27%). By contrast, Argentinian women are more widely distributed across professional and semi-professional roles, with 32.14% working as scientific and intellectual professionals and another 17.86% in administrative roles. A smaller but notable proportion is found in service and sales (21.4%) and elementary occupations (14.3%). Argentinian men, by comparison, show a stronger presence in management (23.08%) and skilled manual occupations (23.08%). German women are predominantly employed in highly skilled roles, with 31.25% working as scientific professionals and 25% in management positions. German men show a similar trend, with 30.77% employed in scientific professions and 23.08% in management, though some are also found across technical, administrative and manual roles.

[6] Employment type has been classified according to the Spanish National Classification of Occupation (*Codi Nacional d'Ocupacions, CNO*) which closely follows the structure of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) developed by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Accessible in the following link: https://www.ine.es/jaxi/Tabla.htm?tpx=36470&L=0 [Consulted: 07.07.2025]

Place of Birth	Gender	Employment type															
		Management and executive roles		Scientific and intellectual professionals		Technicians and associate professionals		Administrative employees		Service and sales workers		Skilled workers in industry, construction and crafts		Plant and machine operators and assemblers		Elementary occupations	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Morocco	Female									4	40.0					6	60.0
	Male									1	9.09	3	27.27	5	45.45	2	18.18
Argentina	Female	2	7.14	9	32.14	2	7.14	5	17.86	6	21.43					4	14.29
	Male	3	23.08	2	15.38			1	7.69	2	15.38	3	23.08	2	15.38		
Germany	Female	4	25.0	5	31.25	3	18.75	3	18.75	1	6.25						
	Male	3	23.08	4	30.77	2	15.38	1	7.69			1	7.69	1	7.69	1	7.69
Missing cases	63																
Total sample	154																

Table 24 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Employment type

Occupational segregation is reflected to some extent in participants' Place of Residence on the island, in line with Salvà's (2002) observations on occupational profiles. As Salvà (2002) highlights, agricultural work is particularly common among Moroccan immigrants in Mallorca, and the Moroccan participants in this study are predominantly concentrated in rural areas such as Pla and Migjorn. By contrast, Argentinian and German participants are more evenly distributed across the island, with Argentinians showing a stronger presence in Palma, where their occupational profiles are more closely associated with service and scientific employment (see Table 25).

Place of Birth	Gender	Place of Residence														
		Palma and Palma Bay		Pla		Serra de Tramuntana		Raiguer		Migjorn		Llevant		Missing cases		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Morocco	Female	3	6.82	11	25.0			2	4.55	2	4.55			4	9.1	44
	Male	1	2.27	7	15.91			1	2.27	13	29.55					
Argentina	Female	14	28.0	4	8.0	2	4.0	4	8.0	2	4.0	4	8.0	6	12	50
	Male	5	10.0	2	4.0	1	2.0	3	6.0	1	2.0	2	4.0			
Germany	Female	6	13.04	4	8.7	2	4.35	5	10.87	5	10.87	3	6.52	3	6.5	46
	Male	7	15.22	3	6.52	1	2.17	3	6.52	4	8.7					
Missing cases																14
Total sample																154

Table 25 Crosstabulation by Gender, Place of Birth and Place of Residence

Other socioeconomic information collected by the survey also includes participants' self-reported reasons for moving to Mallorca, working hours per week, rent affordability, housing problems (such as external noise, construction deficiencies or poor transportation connectivity) and frequency of relocation within Mallorca. These trends, however, must be interpreted with caution due to the high proportion of missing data (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.5.).

Participants' self-reported reasons for moving to Mallorca may relate to the previously mentioned socioeconomic information concerning type and job status. While Argentinian and German participants primarily cite quality of life as their main motivation for migration, Moroccan participants most frequently mention employment opportunities and family-related motives, such as reunification.

Patterns in working hours indicate that a higher percentage of Moroccan men tend to work more than 31 hours per week (60.9%), followed by German men (50%) and Argentinian women (48.5%) (see Table 26). With regard to rent affordability, a noticeable divide emerges between i) Argentinian men alongside German women and men and ii) the rest of the participants. More than half of those in the former group report not paying rent, possibly indicating home ownership. By contrast, the latter groups report significant financial strain, with 73.9% of Moroccan male participants spending more than 41% of their monthly salary on rent.

When considering housing conditions, no clear characteristics emerge across the sample, largely due to the high number of missing responses. Similarly, the data on frequency of relocation reveal comparable trends across all participant groups, suggesting that this aspect may be more closely related to their shared status as immigrants rather than to differences in Place of Birth or Gender. Indeed, over half of the total sample report having relocated at least between one and three times within Mallorca.

Place of Birth	Gender	Hours of Work per Week								Rent Affordability							
		Less than 30		More than 31		Not applicable		Missing cases		No more than 40% of my monthly salary		More than 41% of my monthly salary		Not applicable		Missing cases	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Morocco	Female	2	11.1	7	38.9	7	38.9	2	11.1	6	33.3	5	27.8	5	27.8	2	11.1
	Male	3	13.0	14	60.9	6	26.1			5	21.7	17	73.9	1	4.3		
Argentina	Female	12	36.4	16	48.5	4	12.1			10	30.3	12	36.4	9	27.3	2	6.1
	Male	9	56.3	7	43.8	1	6.3			3	18.8	5	31.3	8	50.0		
Germany	Female	7	26.9	12	46.2	4	15.4	1	3.8	6	23.1	2	7.7	15	57.7	3	11.5
	Male	4	20.0	10	50.0	4	20.0	2	10.0	5	25.0	4	20.0	10	50.0	1	5.0
Missing cases	18																
Total sample	154																

Table 26 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender, Hours of Work per Week and Rent Affordability

5.1.2. Decision to Learn Catalan

The variable *Decision to Learn Catalan* indicates whether participants have considered learning Catalan and whether they have already done so. Overall, women are more likely to decide to learn Catalan than men. German and Argentinian women show the highest levels of actual learning, with 65.4% and 54.5% respectively having already done so. By contrast, Moroccan respondents show the lowest levels of learning, with 26.1% of men and 16.7% of women not interested in learning Catalan. German men are more evenly distributed across the three response categories (see Table 27).

		Decision to Learn Catalan					
Place of Birth	**Gender**	No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan.		Yes, but I still did not do it.		Yes, and I have done it.	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Morocco	Female	3	16.7	8	44.4	7	38.9
	Male	6	26.1	14	60.9	3	13.0
Argentina	Female	2	6.1	13	39.4	18	54.5
	Male	4	25.0	4	25.0	8	50.0
Germany	Female	1	3.8	8	30.8	17	65.4
	Male	6	30.0	7	35.0	7	35.0
Missing cases	18						
Total sample	154						

Table 27 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Decision to Learn

The three original response categories were reduced to two by merging the two 'Yes' options and maintaining the 'No' option, based on the significance results obtained from ANOVA tests (see Chapter 4).

5.1.2.1. Three Logistic Regression Models

The selection and testing of predictors for the dependent variable Decision to Learn Catalan followed a theory-driven approach grounded in previous research on language attitudes and minoritised language engagement (see following paragraphs). Logistic regression was chosen due to the binomial nature of the dependent variable (Agresti, 2018).

Firstly, consistent with sociolinguistic models that emphasise the role of ideological, attitudinal and sociodemographic factors in shaping language learning decisions within European (Kircher et al., 2022), Spanish (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Bellido, 2018; Bier & Lasagabaster, 2022; Campos, 2018; Echeverria, 2003; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008) and Mallorcan (Castell et al., 2023; Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005; Sastre, 2013) research, the modelling process began with univariate regressions to examine the individual contribution of each theoretically relevant predictor to the dependent variable, including the sociodemographic variables. Importantly, variables that did not reach significance at this stage were not excluded, as theory suggests that sociodemographic factors may exert their influence only when combined with attitudinal or ideological variables. This is particularly relevant in studies involving immigrant populations, whose linguistic trajectories may not align with patterns observed among local majorities (e.g. Ianos et al., 2017).

In line with this literature, Gender emerged as the only sociodemographic variable with a significant individual effect. Other variables traditionally associated with more favourable attitudes towards minoritised languages, such as Age, Place of Residence or Length of Stay,

did not reach significance. These previous studies have highlighted youth, rural settings and long-term residency as associated with more favourable attitudes, which would, in turn, be expected to increase the likelihood of deciding to learn Catalan. Variables such as education could not be tested due to the high number of missing responses. This divergence from previous findings of the European, Spanish and Mallorcan studies cited above, suggests that the variables traditionally considered in studies of this kind—studies which, although they include immigrants, rarely feature them as the predominant participants—exert less influence on immigrant participants than on local populations, as other research (e.g. Ianos et al., 2017) has already noted in studies of linguistic attitudes among undergraduate participants. The rest of the variables in Table 28 were deemed significant individually.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Logistic regression models: Decision to Learn Catalan</th><th colspan="3">Linear regression models: Catalan Linguistic Uses</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Independent variable</th><th>Dependent variable</th><th colspan="2">Independent variable</th><th>Dependent variable</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Orientations to Catalan Learning</td><td>Integrative Orientations</td><td rowspan="7">Decision to Learn Catalan</td><td colspan="2">Catalan Declared Ability</td><td rowspan="7">Catalan Linguistic Uses</td></tr>
<tr><td>Instrumental Orientations</td><td colspan="2">Self-confidence</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Attitude to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers</td><td colspan="2">Attitude to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Attitudes towards Mallorcan Sociolinguistic Situation</td><td>Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan</td><td rowspan="2">Attitudes towards Mallorcan Sociolinguistic Situation</td><td>Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan</td></tr>
<tr><td>Expected General Knowledge of Catalan</td><td>Expected General Knowledge of Catalan</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Sociodemographic variables</td><td colspan="2">Sociodemographic variables</td></tr>
</table>

Table 28 Dependent and independent variables for the regression models

Secondly, variables that reached significance individually were subsequently tested in pairs to assess whether their effects were independent or overlapping. Particular attention was paid to the two orientations, Integrative and Instrumental Orientations, given their central role in language learning research (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). When entered simultaneously, one consistently lost significance, indicating conceptual and empirical codependence already observed in the building of the socio-educational model (see Appendix K for correlation between these two scales). Consequently, two separate models were built to explain the Decision to Learn Catalan, one for each type of orientation (see Table 29). However, for theoretical coherence and because Instrumental Orientation still shows a substantive effect (OR/Exp(B) = 2.75), the combined model is also presented in Table 29. Including this joint model provides a comprehensive view of how the significant factors influencing the Decision to Learn Catalan in Mallorca interact when considered simultaneously.

Regarding the other variables, Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers was excluded, as it did not yield significant results when combined with the other predictors. By contrast, Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan was retained instead of Expected General Knowledge of Catalan. Although both showed significant effects when tested separately alongside the orientation variables, their significance diminished when combined. Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan was preferred, as it offers richer and more policy-relevant information for future language planning. This variable is based on the average of four items assessing participants' preferences regarding the presence of Catalan (see Section 5.1.2.2.), whereas Expected General Knowledge of Catalan is a single-item, 5-point Likert scale measuring whether participants believe that residents of Mallorca should know Catalan.

Lastly, two multiple logistic regression models were conducted (see Table 29). As shown in Models A and B, the higher the Integrative or Instrumental Orientations, the higher the odds of deciding to learn Catalan. Similarly, in both models, the more favourable Attitudes to the Public

Presence of Catalan and being a woman also increase the probability of deciding to learn Catalan. In model B, this probability is also enhanced by Place of Birth: being from Germany, compared to Morocco (reference category), significantly increases the odds of deciding to learn Catalan, whereas the difference with Argentina is not significant.

Dependent variable	**Independent variable**	**Final model**			
		B	SE	Exp(B)	*p*
Decision to Learn Catalan (final model A)	Integrative Orientations	1.336	.323	3.804	<.001
	Attitudes towards The Public Presence of Catalan	.040	.013	1.041	.003
	Gender - Female	1.776	.663	5.909	.007
Decision to Learn Catalan (final model B)	Instrumental Orientations	1.844	.460	6.325	<.001
	Attitudes towards The Public Presence of Catalan	.044	.014	1.045	.002
	Gender - Male	1.502	.654	.223	.022
	Place of Birth - Germany	2.372	.948	10.723	.012
Decision to Learn Catalan (final joint model)	Integrative Orientations	1,021	417	2,777	.014
	Instrumental Orientations	1,012	553	2,750	.067
	Attitudes towards The Public Presence of Catalan	41	15	1,042	.006
	Place of Birth - Germany	1,986	947	7,284	.036
	Gender - Female	1,610	696	5,004	.021

Table 29 Final logistic regression models A, B and joint model for the dependent variable Decision to Learn Catalan

5.1.2.2. Significantly Correlated Variables

This section provides a descriptive overview of the significantly correlated variables with the Decision to Learn Catalan (see Section 5.1.2.1.): Integrative and Instrumental Orientations and Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan (see Appendix J for reliability measures and Appendix K for correlations between scales). The other two significantly correlated variables, Gender and Place of Birth, have already been presented in Section 5.1.1. Moreover, although not included in the regression model, a descriptive overview of the variable Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers, will prove useful in subsequent sections, especially when articulating participants' profiles most and least predisposed to learn Catalan (see Section 5.2. and Chapter 6).

Integrative and Instrumental Orientations refer respectively to the socio-emotional and status-related dimensions of language (see Chapter 3). For this research, each type of orientation is composed of four items, from which a mean score is calculated for subsequent statistical analyses. Higher scores mean more positive orientations. Table 30 shows that, overall, both Integrative and Instrumental Orientations are high, with the former slightly exceeding the latter and women scoring higher than men. These results align with previous research on minoritised languages in European (Belmar et al., 2019; Hogan-Brun & Ramonienė, 2005; Kircher et al., 2022, 2023; Kiss, 2015; Rosiak, 2023), Spanish (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017) and Catalan-speaking contexts (Fukuda, 2005, 2017, 2020; Larrea, 2016) which consistently report stronger Integrative than Instrumental Orientations. They also align with Spanish studies showing higher scores for both orientations among women than men (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Bellido, 2018; Bier & Lasagabaster, 2022; Campos, 2018; Echeverria, 2003; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008).

A closer look at the mean scores of the items comprising each type of orientation reveals some differences by Gender and Place of Birth. For Integrative Orientations, men tend to score higher on the item related to participation in social and cultural activities, whereas women assign higher ratings to feeling more comfortable with Mallorcans, with this item receiving the lowest evaluation by men. In general, the trend from most to least positive responses is as follows: Moroccan men > Moroccan women > German women > Argentinian women > Argentinian men > German men. Regarding Instrumental Orientations, German participants tend to report the lowest overall scores, although their ratings increase for the items 'People will respect me more' and 'It will make me a person with more aptitudes'. By contrast, Argentinian and Moroccan participants assign higher ratings to the item related to helping their children with schoolwork. Similar to Integrative Orientations, Moroccan participants tend to display the highest overall scores for Instrumental Orientations.

Place of Birth	Gender	Integrative Orientations					Instrumental Orientations				
		It allows me to speak to different people.	It allows me to take part in social and cultural activities (e.g., festivals).	It allows me to feel more comfortable with Mallorcans.	It allows me to enjoy books, songs, TV, and radio.	**Total mean**	It will help me get a job or promotion.	It will make me a person with more aptitudes.	People will respect me more.	It allows/help with children's schoolwork.	**Total mean**
		Mean					Mean				
Morocco	Female	4.17	4.22	4.28	4.22	**4.22**	4.06	4.39	3.28	4.83	**4.13**
	SD	1.098	1.114	1.018	1.166		1.259	0.916	1.487	0.383	
	Male	4.3	4.3	3.83	4.05	**4.11**	3.57	3.87	3.17	4.74	**3.84**
	SD	0.876	0.765	1.072	1.133		1.161	0.869	1.267	0.449	
Argentina	Female	3.97	4.06	4.15	4.09	**4.06**	3.27	4.06	2.73	4.18	**3.56**
	SD	1.334	1.088	1.004	1.128		1.547	1.059	1.306	1.044	
	Male	3.63	3.81	3.5	3.5	**3.6**	3.0	3.63	2.38	4.25	**3.31**
	SD	1.455	1.328	1.366	1.506		1.461	1.544	1.31	0.856	
Germany	Female	4.08	4.19	4.23	3.85	**4.08**	2.77	3.81	3.69	3.27	**3.38**
	SD	1.197	1.167	1.107	1.156		1.336	1.132	1.258	1.589	
	Male	3.6	3.65	3.65	3.5	**3.6**	2.25	3.55	3.55	2.7	**3.01**
	SD	1.353	1.182	1.268	1.357		1.372	1.099	1.356	1.525	

Table 30 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Orientations to Learn Catalan

The variable Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan consists of four items measuring participants' preferred balance between the presence of Catalan and Spanish in public domains in Mallorca (see Table 31). Higher scores indicate a stronger preference for the use of Catalan, with values ranging from 0 (exclusively Spanish) to 100 (exclusively Catalan). A mean score across the four items is calculated for subsequent statistical analysis. Overall, most participants express a preference for bilingualism in public settings, favouring an equal presence of Catalan and Spanish. Men tend to show slightly more favourable attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan, except among German participants. Argentinian men demonstrate the strongest support for Catalan across all sectors, followed by Argentinian and German women. These higher positive attitudinal trends among Argentinians seems to contradict findings from Catalan studies that report lower attitudes towards Catalan among (adolescents) Latin American immigrants (González-Riaño et al., 2019; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017; Trenchs et al., 2013). Moroccan participants, particularly women, report the lowest levels of support. Support for Catalan is generally highest in the domain of local television (IB3) and lowest in the local police and healthcare sectors.

Place of Birth	Gender	Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan				
		Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local administration in Mallorca (town halls, social services, etc.)?	Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in public healthcare in Mallorca?	Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local police in Mallorca?	Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in the local television of Mallorca (IB3)?	**Total mean**
		Mean				
Morocco	Female	37.5	33.82	31.94	43.06	**36.8**
	SD	32.37	29.237	29.463	38.161	
	Male	41.3	33.7	35.87	54.35	**41.3**
	SD	25.682	25.682	24.802	28.853	
Argentina	Female	45.31	46.09	43.75	59.09	**48.63**
	SD	22.394	21.165	21.997	27.824	
	Male	56.25	51.56	53.13	76.56	**59.37**
	SD	26.615	28.09	31.458	32.234	
Germany	Female	46.15	43.27	42.31	60.58	**48.07**
	SD	26.165	24.039	24.258	28.437	
	Male	41.25	40.0	40.0	58.75	**45**
	SD	30.645	29.691	29.691	33.712	

Table 31 Crosstabulation by Place of Birth, Gender and Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan

Finally, the variable Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers comprises three dimensions reflecting participants' perceptions of Mallorcan Catalan speakers' character, hospitality and socioeconomic status (see Table 32). For this research, the variable Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers is composed of six items, from which a mean score is calculated for subsequent statistical analyses. Higher scores mean more favourable Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers. Within a framework in which women consistently score higher than men, Moroccan participants and German women recorded the highest overall scores. Argentinians'

tendency to report lower positive attitudes aligns with findings from Catalan studies that observed similar trends among Latin American immigrants in Catalonia (González-Riaño et al., 2019; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017; Trenchs et al., 2013). Nonetheless, regardless of Place of Birth or Gender, two main patterns can be observed. First, all participants rate items related to the perceived socioeconomic status of Mallorcan Catalan speakers the lowest, with Argentinian respondents giving the lowest scores. Second, items concerning hospitality received the second lowest ratings. By contrast, the item describing Mallorcan Catalan speakers' character received the highest overall score.

Place of Birth	Gender	Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers						
		Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Character		Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Hospitality		Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Socioeconomic Status		**Total mean**
		Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with.	The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.	Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.	Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.	Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.	In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well-off than those who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.	
		Mean						
Morocco	Female	4.0	4.17	3.94	3.61	2.56	2.44	**3.43**
	SD	1	0.985	1.162	1.243	1.338	1.097	
	Male	3.83	3.83	3.67	3.78	2.26	2.3	**3.27**
	SD	0.778	1.23	0.966	1.043	1.214	1.295	
Argentina	Female	3.48	3.64	2.73	2.67	2.39	2.52	**2.9**
	SD	1.004	1.168	1.206	1.315	0.966	0.972	
	Male	3.44	2.94	3.0	2.69	2.19	2.25	**2.75**
	SD	1.153	1.611	1.506	1.537	1.276	1.125	
Germany	Female	3.85	3.81	3.38	2.85	2.42	2.58	**3.15**
	SD	1.047	1.415	1.235	1.19	1.206	0.902	
	Male	3.45	3.45	3.0	2.55	2.45	2.4	**2.88**
	SD	1.432	1.356	1.214	0.999	0.999	1.046	

Table 32 Crosstabulation by Place of Birth, Gender and Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers

5.1.3. Catalan Linguistic Uses

The variable Catalan Linguistic Uses is composed of three items, from which a mean score is calculated for subsequent statistical analyses (see Table 33). Higher scores indicate higher Catalan uses. Contrary to the Decision to Learn Catalan, overall, men tend to report higher Catalan use than women and everyday interpersonal use of Catalan tends to score higher than use in institutional contexts. German participants report the highest use of Mallorcan Catalan across all domains, closely followed by Moroccan participants. By contrast, Argentinian participants report the lowest use overall, with women slightly ahead of men. The fact that women and Moroccan participants are among those most inclined to decide to learn Catalan, yet report comparatively lower levels of linguistic use, suggests that such discrepancies may be linked to gendered social roles and to the interaction of socio-economic factors with participants' Place of Birth (see Section 5.2. and Chapter 6).

Place of Birth	**Gender**	**Catalan Linguistic Uses**			
		I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday.	I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan.	I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).	**Total mean**
		Mean			
Morocco	Female	3.15	2.28	1.85	**2.47**
	SD	1.405	1.139	1.144	
	Male	2.71	2.85	2.07	**2.55**
	SD	1.326	1.167	1.141	
Argentina	Female	2.66	2.36	1.77	**2.28**
	SD	1.061	1.299	1.230	
	Male	2.38	2.31	1.81	**2.16**
	SD	1.5	1.493	1.328	
Germany	Female	2.62	2.88	2.04	**2.5**
	SD	1.377	1.453	1.367	
	Male	2.81	3.2	2.28	**2.76**
	SD	1.424	1.612	1.637	

Table 33 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Catalan Linguistic Uses

5.1.3.1. Linear Regression Model

The construction of the multiple linear regression model for the dependent variable Catalan Linguistic Uses was likewise grounded in theoretical expectations derived from research on minoritised language use (see Section 5.1.2.1.). Linear regression was chosen due to the numeric nature of the dependent variable.

Following the same theory-driven logic as in the logistic models, univariate regressions were first conducted to assess the individual contribution of each predictor. Consistent with European (Kircher et al., 2022), Spanish (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Bellido, 2018; Bier & Lasagabaster, 2022; Campos, 2018; Echeverria, 2003; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008), Catalan (Fukuda, 2017, 2020) and Mallorcan research (Castell et al., 2023; Miralles & Iturrraspe, 2005; Sastre, 2013) variables related to proficiency (Catalan Declared Ability), confidence (Self-confidence) and attitudes showed significant positive associations with Catalan Linguistic Uses. Among sociodemographic variables, Year of Arrival and Place of Residence were also significant, aligning with studies that link earlier arrival and rural residence to greater engagement with minoritised languages (see Section 5.1.2.1.). Moreover, and still consistent with the research cited above, participants who arrived between 1980-1989 ($p < .012$) or 2000-2009 ($p < 0.14$) tended to use Catalan more frequently, as did those residing outside the capital of Mallorca ($p < .002$). Similar to the logistic regression models, variables such as Age did not yield significant results and Education could not be tested due to the high number of missing responses.

After testing several predictors together, the prioritisation of Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan over Expected General Knowledge of Catalan followed the same approach as in the logistic regression models, under the same conditions and for the same reasons (see Section 5.1.2.1.). The two significant sociodemographic variables lost their significance when

combined with other predictors. By contrast, Place of Birth, although non-significant when tested individually, became significant when included alongside other predictors. Therefore, Table 34 shows that participants with higher self-assessed Catalan proficiency, greater self-confidence, more favourable Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan and those born in Germany have a higher probability of reporting greater Catalan linguistic use. The positive influence of fluency in a minoritised language and self-confidence on its use aligns with European (Flynn, 2020; Kircher et al., 2022, 2023) and Spanish research findings (Álvarez-Mosquera et al., 2023; Bellido, 2018; Bier & Lasagabaster, 2022; Campos, 2018; Echeverria, 2003; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008). The final model (see Table 34) explains 61.7% of the variance in Catalan linguistic use ($R^2 = 0.617$), indicating a strong explanatory power.

Dependent variable	**Independent variable**	**Final model**					
		Unstandardised B	Coefficients Std. Error	Standardised Coefficients Beta	*t*	*p*	R^2
Catalan Linguistic Uses	Catalan Declared Ability	.199	.058	.239	3.461	<.001	.617
	Self-confidence	.621	.097	.466	6.415	<.001	
	Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan	.018	.003	.410	6.246	<.001	
	Place of Birth - Germany	.441	.168	.185	2.619	.010	

Table 34 Final linear regression model for the dependent variable Catalan Linguistic Uses

5.1.3.2. Significantly Correlated Variables

This section provides a descriptive overview of the independent variables significantly correlated with Catalan Linguistic Uses: Catalan Declared Ability and Self-confidence (see Section 5.1.3.1.; see also Appendix J for reliability measures and Appendix K for correlations between scales). The other significantly correlated variables, Attitudes Towards the Public Presence of Catalan, Gender and Place of Birth are already discussed in Sections 5.1.2.2. and 5.1.1.

The variable Catalan Declared Ability captures participants' self-assessed Catalan language proficiency. It is the mean of the 5-point Likert scale item 'I can advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions'. Higher scores mean higher Catalan self-assessed proficiency. Overall, men tend to report higher Catalan Declared Ability than women. When Place of Birth is considered, Moroccan participants report the lowest Catalan self-assessed proficiency, while Argentinian participants report the highest (see Table 35).

Place of Birth	Gender	Catalan Declared Ability
		Mean
Morocco	Female	1.44
	SD	0.616
	Male	2.05
	SD	1.495
Argentina	Female	2.67
	SD	1.384
	Male	2.75
	SD	1.571
Germany	Female	2.0
	SD	1.327
	Male	2.15
	SD	1.496

Table 35 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Catalan Declared Ability

For this research, the independent variable self-confidence is composed of five items, from which a mean score is calculated for subsequent statistical analyses (see Table 36). Four (1, 2, 3, 5) of the five items of the variable self-confidence have been inverted for easier interpretation, meaning that higher scores mean higher self-confidence. In general, men report higher self-confidence than women when trying to speak Catalan. Moroccan participants report the highest overall self-confidence, particularly women, closely followed by German men respondents. By contrast, German and Argentinian women report the lowest overall self-confidence. Self-confidence scores tend to be higher when speaking with local Mallorcan Catalan speakers and lower when speaking with peers at a similar proficiency level.

Place of Birth	Gender	Self-confidence					
		Speaking Mallorcan Catalan in public makes me uncomfortable.	I feel that people mock me when I speak Mallorcan Catalan.	I feel that I do not have a sufficient command of Mallorcan Catalan and that is why I feel embarrassed of speaking it.	I am more comfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with people who are at the same level as I am.	I feel uncomfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with Mallorcan people who speak Mallorcan Catalan as native language[7].	**Total mean**
		Mean					
Morocco	Female	3.0833	4.75	3.6154	2.9231	3.9231	**3.78**
	SD	1.37895	0.45227	1.7097	1.89128	1.25576	
	Male	3.0	4.2143	3.2857	3.7857	4.1429	**3.68**
	SD	1.56893	1.12171	1.54066	1.62569	1.09945	
Argentina	Female	2.6667	3.7143	2.6667	3.2222	2.7692	**2.92**
	SD	1.35873	0.85449	1.38675	1.31071	1.2746	
	Male	3.2	3.8571	2.8667	2.2143	3.6667	**3.08**
	SD	1.47358	1.29241	1.64172	1.42389	1.39728	
Germany	Female	2.5238	3.5217	2.6522	2.9048	3.0909	**2.88**
	SD	1.36452	1.44189	1.5553	1.44585	1.4771	
	Male	3.2	4.2143	3.7857	2.0769	4.25	**3.48**
	SD	1.26491	1.18831	1.18831	1.18754	1.13818	

Table 36 Crosstabulation of Place of Birth, Gender and Self-confidence

[7] The term 'native' is used in the survey solely to facilitate participants' understanding. However, the theoretical framework of this study rejects the hierarchical distinction between native and non-native speakers (see Chapter 3).

Two types of inconsistencies emerge when approaching data from the perspectives of Gender and Place of Birth: firstly, those arising within the descriptive trends themselves and secondly, those emerging from the comparison between these trends and the regression model results (see Section 5.2. for further information on these inconsistencies). Within descriptive patterns, despite women deciding to learn Catalan more often than men and generally show higher Integrative and Instrumental Orientations, as well as more favourable Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers, men tend to declare higher self-assessed Catalan proficiency (especially Argentinian men), greater Catalan use and higher Self-confidence. Likewise, Moroccan participants tend to express the most favourable Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers and report higher Integrative and Instrumental Orientations compared to the other two birthplaces. However, they are less likely to decide to learn Catalan, report lower self-assessed proficiency and make less use of the language.

Regarding the mismatch between descriptive tendencies and statistically significant associations, two key discrepancies emerge. First, although Moroccan participants tend to report higher Integrative and Instrumental Orientations and express more favourable Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers than other groups, these variables are not significantly associated with Moroccan birthplace in the regression models; instead, high orientation levels are significantly linked to German participants. Second, while men, particularly Argentinian men, declare higher self-assessed proficiency, greater use of Catalan and stronger self-confidence, these variables do not yield statistically significant associations with male gender. By contrast, female gender consistently shows stronger and more significant associations with linguistic use across the models.

5.2. Interview Results

This section presents the interview findings in relation to the quantitative results outlined in Section 5.1. The analysis engages with the descriptive trends and regression models introduced earlier to identify the factors shaping participants' profiles as more or less predisposed to learning and using Catalan. These profiles are considered alongside broader dimensions of identity, legitimisation and structural constraints, which act as facilitators or barriers to such decisions and overlap with the three dimensions of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model. To support this analysis, Tables 37-40 summarise participants' sociodemographic information together with the variables significantly correlated with the two dependent variables—Decision to Learn and Catalan Linguistic Uses (see Section 5.1.). Similar to quantitative data (see Chapter 4), participants who decided to learn Catalan and have already done so and those who have decided to but have not yet done so, are both included in Table 37.

The narrative analysis of participants' factors influencing their decision to learn and use Catalan, beyond the statistical and quantitative descriptions, also sheds light on the inconsistencies identified in Section 5.1., namely, the tendency among women and Moroccan participants to express stronger orientations and more favourable attitudes yet report lower proficiency and use. This section is organised around three types of discourses identified across participants' narratives as shaping their decisions to learn and use Catalan: legitimisation, homogenisation and efficiency-based discourses. It concludes by examining additional factors that also impact these decisions.

Pseudonym	Place of birth	Gender	Age	Educational level	Place of residence	Employment status
Hayat	Morocco	Woman	30-44	Superior studies	Pla	Worker
Btissame			30-44	Secondary studies	Pla	Worker
Samia			18-29	Secondary studies	Raiguer	Inactive
Moha		Men	30-44	Primary studies	Pla	Worker
Luciana	Argentina	Woman	65 or more	Superior studies	Serra de Tramuntana	Inactive
Fede			45-64	Superior studies	Raiguer	Worker
Germán		Men	45-64	Superior studies	Raiguer	Worker
Salva			18-29	Superior studies	Raiguer	Worker
Nele	Germany	Woman	30-44	Superior studies	Pla	Worker
Ermelinda			65 or more	Superior studies	Llevant	Inactive
Monika			45-64	Superior studies	Serra de Tramuntana	Worker
Max		Men	30-44	Superior studies	Palma and Bay	Worker
Fritz			45-64	Superior studies	Raiguer	Worker
Wilhelm			65 or more	Superior studies	Pla	Inactive

Table 37 Participants who decided to learn Catalan

Pseudonym	Integrative Orientations (mean)	Instrumental Orientations (mean)	Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers (mean)	General Catalan Linguistic Uses (mean)	Self-confidence (mean)	Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan (mean)
Hayat	5	4	3	4	3.80	100
Btissame	5	4	3.50	3.75	3	62.50
Samia*						
Moha	5	5	3.83	5	4.20	50
Luciana	4.75	4.50	3.67			
Fede	5	4	3.83	2.33	2.60	68.75
Germán	4.50	3.50	3.83	4.50	3.20	75
Salva	5	3	2.50	3.75	3.80	75
Nele	5	4.50	4.17	5	4.60	100
Ermelinda	5	3	4	3	2.40	50
Monika	4.75	3	3.50	2.75	2.40	50
Max	3.25	3.25	3.33	3.75	3.80	62.50
Fritz	3.75	4	3.17	4	3.60	62.50
Wilhelm	5	3.75	3.67	5	4	75

Table 38 Overview of selected survey variables for participants who decided to learn Catalan

* No data available.

Pseudonym	Place of birth	Gender	Age	Educational level	Place of residence	Employment status
Ayoub	Morocco	Men	45-64	Superior studies	Migjorn	Worker
Oualid			45-65	Primary studies	Raiguer	Worker
Yaiza	Argentina	Woman	30-44	Superior studies	Palma and Bay	Worker
Matías		Men	30-44	Superior studies	Palma and Bay	Worker
Klaus	Germany	Men	45-64	Superior studies	Palma and Bay	Worker

Table 39 Participants who did not decide to learn Catalan

Pseudonym	Integrative Orientations (mean)	Instrumental Orientations (mean)	Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers (mean)	General Catalan Linguistic Uses (mean)	Self-confidence (mean	Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan (mean)
Ayoub	5	3.75	3.17	3.50	4.20	50
Oualid*						
Yaiza	2.75	3.75	1.67	1.75	3.20	0
Matías	1	1.75	1.67	1	1	50
Klaus	2.50	2.75	2.33			50

Table 40 Overview of selected survey variables for participants who did not decide to learn Catalan

* No data available.

5.2.1. Factors Shaping the Decision to Learn and Use Catalan

5.2.1.1. Legitimisation Discourses: Authentic and Anonymous Language Ideologies

This section explores how participants engage with ideologies of authenticity and anonymity in the interviews, and how these ideological frameworks provide the backdrop against which participants shape their decisions to learn and use Catalan. Essentially, Catalan is framed as the language of rootedness and legitimate belonging, while Spanish is positioned as neutral and placeless (Woolard, 2016). These discourses shape participants' identity (re)construction, social participation and perceptions of linguistic authority, often revealing tensions, particularly in how Catalan and Mallorcan are distinguished, and how Spanish's anonymity is both reproduced and contested. The following excerpts and discussion expand on these themes and offer insight into how such ideologies emerge within participants' narratives. The analysis unfolds in two thematic strands: it first addresses Catalan as a language of rootedness and legitimisation and later, Spanish as a common-sense and unmarked language.

Catalan as the Language of Rootedness and Legitimisation

Participants who decide to learn and use Catalan consistently link the knowledge and use of the language to a strengthened sense of belonging to Mallorca and a perceived closeness to Mallorcan people. For these individuals, such as Wilhelm in Extract 1, Catalan is not simply a communicative resource but a symbolic means of anchoring themselves in Mallorcan society (Woolard, 2016).

Extract 1[8]

Catalina (*Catalan*): I també has mencionat una mica una cosa que m'interessa, que és el	**Catalina**: And you also mentioned something that interests me, which is the

[8] Translations of excerpts from Catalan or Spanish into English are carried out by the researcher.

motiu que sí o sí te va fer aprendre català, que entenc que va ser el fet de tenir una parella que parlava català, no? Hi ha qualque motiu més principal que creguis que...	reason that absolutely made you learn Catalan, which I understand was the fact of having a partner who spoke Catalan, right? Is there any other main reason you think...
Wilhelm (*Catalan*): No, per integrar-me aquí en el poble, perquè jo sempre he dit: no hi pots viure, a Mallorca, en un poble, si no xerres es mallorquí.	**Wilhelm**: No, to integrate myself here in the village, because I've always said: you can't live in a village in Mallorca if you don't speak Mallorcan.
Catalina: D'acord, sí, sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Right, yes, yes, yes, yes.
Wilhelm: Perquè sempre seria que t'han de traduir o sempre estàs una mica fora.	**Wilhelm**: Because it would always be that they have to translate for you or you're always a bit on the outside.

Expressions of warmth and emotional closeness seem to be more appealing than utilitarian dimensions in the decision to learn a minoritised language. Even though, in the survey, both Integrative and Instrumental Orientations significantly correlate with the Decision to Learn Catalan (see Model A in Table 29, Section 5.1.2.1.), it is these socio-affective dimensions that are shared and prioritised by all participants who decide to learn Catalan. Table 38 in Section 5.2., shows that, although the difference is modest, Integrative Orientations (mean 4.7) outweigh Instrumental Orientations (mean 3.8) among participants who decide to learn Catalan. Moreover, in the interview narratives, such participants consistently state and prioritise reasons to learn Catalan that coincide with the dimensions of Integrative Orientations. For instance, Max in Extract 2 explains that he enrolled in a Catalan language course, initially to avoid forcing his Catalan-speaking friends to switch to Spanish when addressing him. Later, while attending this course, he chose to take advantage of the opportunity to certify his Catalan

proficiency, considering it potentially useful for future job opportunities in the Balearic Islands. Therefore, the mean scores of Integrative and Instrumental Orientations alongside Max's extract demonstrates that socio-affective dimensions tend to be the initially most appealing reasons for participants who decide to invest in Catalan language learning, that is, the ones which lead them to take the action of learning Catalan. These socio-affective dimensions are embedded in both authentic language ideologies and Integrative Orientations. These observations align with research on language attitudes and ideologies across European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking settings, which has consistently highlighted the prominence of socio-affective dimensions in shaping perceptions of minoritised languages (Akoudad, 2022; Amengual-Ripoll, 2022; Belmar et al., 2019; Campos, 2018; DePalma, 2015; Fukuda, 2009, 2017; Hogan-Brun & Ramonienė, 2005; Larrea, 2016; Mazzoli, 2017; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017; Rosiak, 2023; Sastre, 2012; Tudela, 2015; see Chapter 3). Hence, Extract 2 recalls this socio-affective prioritisation in participants' decisions to learn Catalan.

Extract 2

Catalina (*Catalan*): En el teu cas en concret, tot i que si te volguessis fer professor necessitaries un certificat, realment ara mateix no el necessites i no estàs aprenent català per tenir un certificat per ser profe, com a, com a principal motiu, sinó que és per allò que me contaves dels teus amics, per estar... Que no canviïn de llengua, per aquesta part més, no sé, integrativa, diria, no? Una cosa així.	**Catalina**: In your specific case, even though if you wanted to become a teacher you'd need a certificate, right now you don't actually need it and you're not learning Catalan to get a certificate to be a teacher, as your main reason, but rather it's because of what you were telling me about your friends, about being... so they don't switch languages, for that part that's more, I don't know,

	integrative, I'd say, right? Something like that.
Max (*Catalan*): De fet, quan, quan m'hi vaig inscriure, al curs que estic anant ara, sí, era per això, però ara també hi ha una motivació addicional per això. Per això, perquè aquella decisió la vaig prendre a... No sé, no fa gaire.	**Max**: In fact, when I signed up for the course I'm attending now, yes, it was for that reason, but now there's also an additional motivation for it. For that, because I made that decision... I don't know, not long ago.
Catalina: D'acord, sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Right, yes, yes, yes.
Max: Que ja havia començat el curs.	**Max**: The course had already started.
Catalina: D'acord, d'acord. D'acord. D'acord. Sa decisió, dius de pensar, de cercar una feina de professor aquí?	**Catalina**: Right, right. Right. Right. The decision, you mean about thinking of looking for a teaching job here?
Max: Sí.	**Max**: Yes.

The perception of Catalan as the language of rootedness and belonging acquires a particular articulation in Mallorca, where it is associated with two distinct forms of legitimisation linked to different nationalist identity positions (Calaforra, 1997; Calaforra & Moranta, 2005; Canyelles, 2018; Duane, 2018; Solivellas, 2021). Catalan authenticity in Mallorca is thus fragmented between those who defend Mallorcan Catalan as one of the Catalan language varieties, and those who do not recognise this linguistic unity and instead claim Mallorcan Catalan as the only authentic language of Mallorca, distinct and without shared origin or historical continuity with other Catalan varieties (Duane, 2017; see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.1.). Participants in this research are aware of these legitimisation debates, which tend to be related to different decisions regarding the learning of Catalan in Mallorca. Those participants aligning with the unity of Mallorcan Catalan with other language varieties tend to refrain from engaging

directly in such debates, allowing the interlocutor to choose how to refer to the Catalan language in Mallorca. By contrast, participants aligning more with the separatist view of Mallorcan Catalan in relation to other Catalan linguistic varieties tend to show greater engagement in these debates. These individuals position themselves in favour of distancing Mallorcan Catalan from any other Catalan variety. They disregard any reference to the language of Mallorca other than through the name Mallorcan (*mallorquí*), as they regard naming it Catalan as a form of recognising linguistic unity, as appreciated with Luciana in Extract 3.

Extract 3

Luciana (*Spanish*): Yo creo que me engañaron cuando yo me anoté [a clases de catalán].	**Luciana**: I think they lied to me when I enrolled [to Catalan classes].
Catalina (*Spanish*): Sí, ¿por qué? ¿En qué sentido?	**Catalina**: Yes, why? In what sense?
Luciana: Porque yo pregunté antes de anotarme si el catalán y el mallorquín eran igual. Y me dijeron que sí. Era lo mismo.	**Luciana**: Because I asked before enrolling whether Catalan and Mallorcan were the same. And they told me yes. It was the same.
Catalina: ¿Y crees que no lo es?	**Catalina**: And do you think it's not?
Luciana: No, no lo es. Porque la gente que es mallorquina te dice que no es lo mismo.	**Luciana**: No, it's not. Because people who are Mallorcan tell you it's not the same.

These different ways of legitimising Catalan in Mallorca both shape and are shaped by the interplay of distinct emotional responses, different decisions regarding the learning and use of the language, and varying intensities of homogenising, instrumental and efficiency-based ideologies. Participants who adopt more unitary stances often show empathy or a form of

conformism towards the presence of a language they recognise as necessary and legitimate for navigating life in their new home, and they tend to decide to learn the language, as Fede illustrates in Extract 4. By contrast, participants aligning more with secessionist views often express resentment and even hostility towards Standard Catalan's visibility and institutional role, as it conflates the symbolic representation of linguistic unity (Duane, 2018). In their narratives, Catalan is frequently framed as an imposition, enforced by what they perceive as illegitimate external forces. For instance, Matías repeatedly uses expressions such as "I have been at odds with Catalan" (*peleado con el catalán*), "I had to" (*me tuve que*), "they force me" (*me obligan*), "I have no other choice but" (*no me queda otra que*). While homogenising, instrumental and efficiency-based ideologies do not tend to drive unitarist individuals' decisions, they do tend to guide secessionist ones (see Sections 5.2.1.2. and 5.2.1.3. for further insights into the role of these ideologies and the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca).

Extract 4

Fede (*Spanish*): Ahora podría estar en plan, decía, enfadada, diciendo: "Ahora tengo que aprender catalán", para cuando tú dices: "Bueno, pero si eres apto", porque también eso a veces… Si tengo las condiciones para pensar: "Pero bueno, la lengua es esta y te tienes que saber expresar, faltaría más. O cuanto menos, entenderla muy bien, ¿sabes?" Porque a lo mejor expresarse de la misma manera que me expreso en castellano, bueno yo creo que a mi edad es poco probable. Pero	**Fede**: Now I could be, like, I was saying, angry, saying: "Now I have to learn Catalan", for when you say: "Well, but if you're capable", because that sometimes is also… If I have the conditions to think: "But well, this is the language and you have to be able to express yourself, obviously. Or at the very least, understand it very well, you know?" Because maybe expressing myself in the same way I do in Spanish, well I think at my age it's unlikely. But well, understanding a

bueno, entender una lengua, no sé, sobre todo si estás en un ámbito de esto, de la administración, de que tienes que estar a la altura de los que hablan y faltaría más, y es el idioma, no sé. No, yo es como que esto lo he tenido siempre claro.	language, I don't know, especially if you're in a field like this, like administration, where you have to be up to the level of those who speak it, obviously, and it's the language, I don't know. No, it's like I've always been clear about this.

Within the social spaces they inhabit and the networks they interact with, participants who decide to learn and use Catalan perceive it as a language that not only provides them with benefits of rootedness and belonging but also of self-legitimisation (De Costa, 2016). Self-legitimisation occurs as participants socially reposition themselves as unique individuals precisely through their decision to learn Catalan, differentiating themselves from other immigrants who decide to not learn the language (Estors, 2014). Thus, self-repositioning involves a set of processes of identity reconstruction, re-projection and negotiation (Norton Peirce, 1995), which, among the participants in this research, are often prompted by painful experiences of loneliness or marginalisation resulting from not understanding Catalan. One salient example in this regard is Btissame's self-legitimisation trajectory (see Extract 5). Upon her arrival in Mallorca, she felt unable to interact with people, attend medical appointments alone, do the groceries or understand her children's homework. Over time, by relying on her abilities and educational background, she positions herself as capable of learning Catalan and Spanish in order to manage such interactions successfully. Through this process, she invests in a new imagined identity: no longer a Moroccan living in Mallorca, but a Moroccan-Mallorcan resident, embracing both her origin and her new sociocultural belonging.

Extract 5

Btissame (*Spanish*): Al principio estaba como invitada aquí.	**Btissame**: At the beginning, I felt like a guest here.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Claro, total. Sí, sí, sí, sí, sí. Claro al principi t'acompanyaven, no?	**Catalina**: Right, totally. Yes, yes, yes. So at first they accompanied you, didn't they?
Btissame (*Spanish*): Sí.	**Btissame**: Yes.
Catalina (*Catalan*): En es metge, te traduïen…	**Catalina**: To the doctor, they translated for you…
Btissame (*Spanish*): Sí	**Btissame**: Yes.
Catalina: I això te feia sentir malament?	**Catalina**: And did that make you feel bad?
Btissame (*Catalan*): Molt malament.	**Btissame**: Really bad.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Okey. Com te senties? Ho recordes? En plan malament, en quin sentit?	**Catalina**: Okay. How did you feel? Do you remember? I mean, bad, in what way?
Btissame (*Spanish*): Lloraba, a ver, lloraba. Y llego a mi casa llorando y dice mi marido: "A ver, ¿qué te pasa? Y bachiller tú, y ahora… No tiene sentido que una que se va al tercero, no sé qué, tercero primaria y no tiene ningún estudios…", y dice: "No, tienes que empezar ya". Y, o sea, lloraba antes del trato malo, a ver, de…	**Btissame**: I cried, you know, I cried. I'd get home crying and my husband would say: "What's wrong with you? You've got your secondary school diploma, and now… It doesn't make sense that someone who only got to third year of primary, no studies at all…", and he said: "No, you have to start now". So, I cried before the bad treatment, you know, from…

Catalina (*Catalan*): Oh, ja me sap greu! És que ha de ser difícil, no?	**Catalina**: Oh, I'm really sorry! That must be so hard, right?
Btissame (*Spanish*): Es que no es fácil, a ver.	**Btissame**: It's just not easy, you know.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Total.	**Catalina**: Totally.
Btissame (*Spanish*): El marido trabaja, aunque bueno, habla, pero… Yo no.	**Btissame**: My husband works, and well, he speaks, but… I don't.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Clar, i també degueres…	**Catalina**: Right, and you must've also…
Btissame (*Spanish*): Tengo que estar como, independent […] Y ya está. Y así empezó la cosa.	**Btissame**: I have to be, like, independent […] And that's it. That's how it all started.

Within the framework of Catalan as the authentic and language of belonging to Mallorca, participants in this research employ three main strategies of differentiation from other immigrants in their dire need for recognition. Firstly, similar to Btissame's reliance on her abilities and educational background to reconceptualise her identity, other participants engaged in identity reconstruction also draw on personal attributes and resources to justify their stronger commitment to learning Catalan compared to other immigrant individuals. For example, some associate their favourable predisposition to learn Catalan with their inner curiosity or intrinsic motivation to learn new things. Others, specifically Moroccan participants, believe that their educational background has not only enabled them to learn Catalan but also empowered them to make the decision to do so, an experience exemplified by Btissame (see Section 5.2.1.4.1.).

Secondly, many participants who decide to learn Catalan express a willingness to interact differently with Mallorca. German participants, like Fritz in Extract 6 below, are particularly

illustrative in this regard, as many refer to their counterparts as preferring to continue living as they did in Germany, merely transposing their lifestyle onto a picturesque backdrop.

Extract 6

Fritz (*Catalan*): Pots viure a Mallorca, xerrant alemany o anglès, sense problemes, però també has de tenir clar que Mallorca només és un… Com una pantalla, no? Com un… Com un transfons.	**Fritz**: You can live in Mallorca speaking German or English without any problems, but you also have to be aware that Mallorca is just… like a screen, you know? Like a backdrop.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Ah, t'entenc.	**Catalina**: Ah, I see what you mean.
Fritz: No vius Mallorca sinó només tens el paisatge bonic i el clima.	**Fritz**: You're not really living Mallorca, you just get the beautiful landscape and the nice weather.
Catalina: T'entenc.	**Catalina**: I get you.
Fritz: Com que no estàs, diguem, no estàs immers dins el teu entorn, sinó que simplement el viatges, el sobrepasses, no? Tens les fotos guapes d'Instagram, però no tens l'essència.	**Fritz**: It's like you're not, let's say, immersed in your surroundings, but simply passing through them, skimming the surface, right? You've got the pretty Instagram photos, but you don't have the essence.

Finally, through the understanding they have gained by establishing meaningful contacts with Mallorcan Catalan speakers (see Section 5.2.1.4.), some participants position themselves as advocates for the Catalan language. This positioning reflects a form of political and linguistic awareness that empowers these participants to become active agents in the maintenance and promotion of the minoritised language. Some scholars have referred to this process as the *efecte*

mirall (mirror effect, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2.), whereby individuals internalise the values and struggles of the local linguistic community while reflecting them in their own attitudes and practices (Badosa, 2020; Cortès-Colomé et al., 2016; Junyent et al., 2011; Puigdevall et al., 2018). Participants within this positioning strategy, such as the Argentinian Germán in Extract 7, recount discussions with their counterparts in which they themselves, as convinced individuals, attempt to demonstrate the historical dominance of Spanish over Catalan as a way of explaining the relationship between Catalan and Mallorca's identity and culture. In this sense, Vázquez-Fernández's (2022) argument that new speakers often engage with the language through a form of political activism or consciousness finds partial confirmation in this research, as illustrates Germán's extract 7. However, the counterargument by Urla and Ramallo (2022) proves more accurate in the context of this research, as not all participants who chose to learn Catalan did so from a politically activist standpoint.

Extract 7

Germán (*Catalan*): Sa gent no ho sap, no sap per què aquí se xerra català.	**Germán**: People don't know, they don't know why Catalan is spoken here.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Vale, ok.	**Catalina**: Right, okay.
Germán: Jo crec que… És una manera… Jo crec que… Esto sí que no lo sabe. Ahí se cree que xerra català perquè… Jo se lo explicava també… perquè jo, perquè jo, encara, me barall amb gent del meu país…	**Germán**: I think that… It's a way… I think that… This, they really don't know. They think Catalan is spoken because… I've explained it too… because I, because I still argue with people from my country…
Catalina: Sí, sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Yes, yes, yes, yes.
Germán: Immigrants, va.	**Germán**: Immigrants, yeah.
Catalina: Sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Yes, yes, yes.

Germán: Perquè, pensa tu que… Porque jo recuerd històries… Tenc, he tingut més acceso a la vida del mallorquín, con la meva dona, que si no, tal vez me hubiese costat més entendre.

Germán: Because, think about it… I remember stories… I've had more access to Mallorcan life through my wife, and without that, maybe it would've been harder for me to understand.

Catalina: Claro, claro.

Catalina: Of course, of course.

Germán: I quan… Per ejemplo, historias que he escoltat en la seva família… cuando había un al·lot que bueno ha estudiat econòmica y todo ese tema… Bueno, un al·lot no, un home gran ja…

Germán: And when… For example, stories I've heard from her family… there was this guy who'd studied economics and all that… Well, not a guy, an older man by now…

Catalina: Sí, sí, sí.

Catalina: Yes, yes, yes.

Germán: I quan era petit i venía al camp, le feían xerrar en castellà, por el mismo motiu que uno fa a xerrar un nin en anglès o en alemán, per escoltar xerrar i no entendre res. Porque todo el món xerrava català.

Germán: And when he was little and went to the countryside, they made him speak Spanish, for the same reason someone might make a child speak English or German, to hear them speak and not understand a word. Because everyone spoke Catalan.

Catalina: Claro.

Catalina: Of course.

Germán: Estoy diguen 1920, 1970, 1970.

Germán: I'm talking about 1920, 1970, 1970.

Catalina: Claro, sí.

Catalina: Right, yes.

Germán: Tot el món xerrava. Y que de repente,

Germán: Everyone spoke it. And then suddenly,

Catalina: Claro.

Catalina: Of course.

Germán: Venga qualcú i te diga: "No, ara no has de xerrar esta lengua, has de xerrar una altra".	**Germán**: Someone comes along and says: "No, now you don't have to speak this language, you have to speak another one".
Catalina: Claro.	**Catalina**: Of course.
Germán: I jo se lo grafico molt bé, i si demà va a l'Argentina un francès. Conquista un francès y dice: "Ara a todo el món a xerrar en francès".	**Germán**: And I explain it very clearly, like, imagine tomorrow a French person goes to Argentina. He conquers it and says: "Now everyone has to speak French".
Catalina: En francès.	**Catalina**: French.
Germán: Tu què diries?	**Germán**: What would you say?

Therefore, discourses that enhance the socio-affective dimension of Mallorcan Catalan, understood from a unitarist stance as another Catalan linguistic variety, legitimising it as the language of belonging and social recognition, foster both its learning and use. This enabling role of socio-affective discourses is further reinforced by their less prominent presence in the narratives of participants who have not decided to learn Catalan. In the survey the Integrative Orientations of such participants are considerably lower (mean 2.81) than those of participants who decided to learn the language (mean 4.7) (see Tables 38 and 40 in Section 5.2.). Participants deciding to not learn Catalan generally do not seek differentiated forms of interaction with Mallorcan Catalan speakers nor do they perceive Catalan as a means of fostering closer ties with them. Likewise, they do not pursue legitimisation through Catalan but instead articulate more homogenising and efficiency-based discourses. These type of discourses shift the legitimacy of Catalan as a language of belonging and legitimisation exclusively to Spanish, framed as the sole language of integration, legitimacy and utility in Mallorca (see the following subsection in this section and Sections 5.2.1.2. and 5.2.1.3.).

Spanish as the Common-sense and Unmarked Language

The second thematic block of this section, which examines legitimisation discourses, focuses on perceptions of Spanish as the common-sense and unmarked language. Table 41 summarises how participants articulate the anonymity of Spanish in their narratives, an issue explored in detail in the following paragraphs.

Spanish anonymity articulated through	Prioritising learning Spanish before Catalan
	Perceiving Spanish easier than Catalan
	Perceiving Spanish as the language of respect
	Perceiving Spanish as the appropriate language for outgroup members of Catalan speech community

Table 41 Articulation of Spanish anonymity

The anonymisation of Spanish constitutes the naturalised ideological background against which the authenticity of Mallorcan Catalan is claimed and marked. As the unmarked and assumed common language, Spanish appears in participants' experiences, regardless of whether they have decided to learn Catalan or not, as the language typically used by Catalan-speakers to address them, or as the language chosen in situations where communication and the avoidance of misunderstanding are prioritised (see Extract 8; see Section 5.2.1.3. on the prioritisation of efficiency and instrumental language ideologies).

Extract 8

Oualid (*Spanish*): Y cuando tenemos un extranjero, es como estamos obligados, pero no estamos obligados.	**Oualid**: And when we have a foreigner, it's like we're obliged, but we're not obliged.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Claro.	**Catalina**: Right.
Oualid: Es automáticamente, le hablamos castellano.	**Oualid**: Automatically, we speak to them in Spanish.
Catalina: Claro.	**Catalina**: Right.
Oualid: Ahora, ahora, tú viniste aquí.	**Oualid**: Now, now, you came here.
Catalina: Sí. Ya.	**Catalina**: Yes. Uh-huh.
Oualid: Como yo no hablo mallorquín, tú automático...	**Oualid**: Since I don't speak Mallorcan, you automatically...
Catalina: Eso mismo.	**Catalina**: Exactly.
Oualid: Has hablado conmigo castellano.	**Oualid**: You've spoken to me in Spanish.
Catalina: Ajá.	**Catalina**: Uh-huh.
Oualid: ¿Sabes qué te…? Y más extranjeros, menos mallorquín.	**Oualid**: You know what I mean? And the more foreigners, the less Mallorcan.

Moreover, the fact that linguistic norms of use dictate that Spanish is the appropriate language for outgroup members of the Catalan speech community (Calaforra, 1997), also reinforces the assumption that anyone learning Catalan would do so with prior knowledge of Spanish. This, in turn, leads some Catalan learners, like Ermelinda, to pause their learning process in order to improve their Spanish first, before returning to Catalan so they can follow the classes. Some participants, especially Germans like Nele in Extract 9 who decided to learn Catalan, question

this assumption, which is an extension of the anonymity attributed to Spanish, and emphasise the difficulties of learning Catalan without any knowledge of Spanish.

Extract 9

Nele (*Catalan*): Abans me preguntaves les dificultats. No és tant d'accedir o trobar la informació on pots fer les classes, però per a un estranger són classes dirigits a castellanoparlants. És horrible.	**Nele**: Earlier you asked me about the difficulties. It's not so much about accessing or finding the information about where you can take classes, but for a foreigner, the classes are aimed at Spanish speakers. It's horrible.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Exacte, ok. Molt interessant.	**Catalina**: Exactly, okay. Very interesting.
Nele: És horrible. És horrible perquè no aprens, diguéssim català com una llengua pròpia estrangera, sinó aprens el català com a "Bueno, i això és la diferència amb el castellà". [...] Tios és que jo estic aquí per aprendre català, no? Però no només per treure'm el certificat, perquè al final…	**Nele**: It's horrible. It's horrible because you don't learn Catalan as a proper foreign language, let's say, but you learn Catalan like "Well, this is the difference from Spanish." [...] Guys, I'm here to learn Catalan, right? Not just to get the certificate, because in the end...
Catalina: Clar, clar, clar, clar.	**Catalina**: Right, right, right, right.
Nele: Que entenc la situació però per a una estrangera no és la classe més òptima.	**Nele**: I understand the situation, but for a foreigner, it's not the most optimal class.

Related to the concept of openness inherent to the anonymous language, many participants, independently of their decision regarding Catalan learning, consider Spanish easier than

Catalan and argue that the latter has really complex pronunciation and sounds (see Extract 10). These participants' experiences and thoughts reinforce both the authenticity of Catalan and the anonymity of Spanish. More concretely, Catalan is presented as an inherent trait rather than an acquired ability reserved for authentic interlocutors and informal or less serious topics, while Spanish perceived as open to everyone and with easy pronunciation, is regarded as the appropriate language for any type of person and for any subject matter.

Extract 10

Luciana (*Spanish*): Acá que tenés otro idioma, tienen otro tono de voz, son como muy cerrados.	**Luciana**: Here since you have another language, you have a different tone of voice, you're kind of very closed off.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Total, total. **Luciana**: El movimiento de boca, la voz sale distinta, la A no es la A, la O no es la O.	**Catalina**: Totally, totally. **Luciana**: The mouth movement, the voice comes out differently, the A isn't the A, the O isn't the O.

Within this binomial framework of authenticity and anonymity, participants also experience connections between language and morality (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). With the background assumption that Spanish is the legitimate language for any interlocutor in any situation, some participants, particularly those who have not decided to learn Catalan, perceive the use of Catalan with non-authentic interlocutors, that is, with immigrant individuals, as a sign of disrespect and hostility (see Extract 11). This conception of Catalan as disrespectful echoes historical narratives from nation-building processes in which dominant languages were

legitimised as vehicles of modernity, civilisation, progress and democracy, often at the expense of minoritised languages (Heller, 2008; Massaguer, 2022).

Extract 11

Matías (*Spanish*): Sí, a mí me pasó en mi trabajo. Tenía reuniones con... Yo trabajaba en una carpintería de aluminio. Y iba a las obras y estaba hablando con el jefe de obra y el arquitecto, los dos mallorquines. [?] Entonces, teníamos que hablar sobre la partida de ventanas y no había manera de que entre ellos dos hablen en español.	**Matías**: Yes, it happened to me at work. I had meetings with... I worked in an aluminium carpentry shop. And I'd go to the construction sites and talk with the site manager and the architect, both Mallorcans. [?] So, we had to talk about the window order and there was no way the two of them would speak Spanish to each other.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Okey.	**Catalina**: Okay.
Matías: "No, es que cuando empiezo a hablar con él, ya no lo puedo hablar en español". Y yo: "Sí, pero yo tengo que entender lo que tenemos que hacer", porque lo hablaban entre ellos en mallorquín y después me lo traducían en cada momento. Era superincómodo. Se quedaban esperando que yo responda y: "Bueno, a ver, ¿de qué estamos hablando?". Entonces, eso genera una barrera, una incomodidad. Porque digo: "Okey, entiendo que hablen en mallorquín y que sea su... Pero tomense un café y hablen	**Matías**: "No, the thing is that when I start talking to him, I can't speak Spanish anymore". And I'm like: "Yes, but I need to understand what we have to do", because they'd speak Mallorcan between themselves and then translate it for me each time. It was super uncomfortable. They'd stand there waiting for me to respond and I'd be like: "Well, let's see, what are we talking about?". So, that creates a barrier, a discomfort. Because I say: "Okay, I get that they speak Mallorcan and that it's their... But go have a

de la vida [?]. Quiero saber lo que están hablando para trabajar".	coffee and talk about life [?]. I want to know what they're talking about so I can work".
[…]	[…]
Matías: Entonces, desde ese punto es que como que se cierran, como que no hay manera de hacer que cambien el idioma circunstancialmente, no en su cotidianidad	**Matías**: So, from that point of view, it's like they close off, like there's no way to get them to switch languages circumstantially, not in their everyday life.

In short, while the ideological framework of Catalan as an authentic language tends to dominate among those who decide to learn it, the framework of Spanish as an anonymous language prevails among those who do not. Nevertheless, these two dimensions of linguistic authority are present to varying degrees of intensity among individuals who engage in minoritised language learning as well as those who do not (Bourdieu, 1991; Woolard, 2016). This is because both the authentic and anonymous language ideologies form part of the sociolinguistic habitus. Thus, participants who decide to learn Catalan tend to embody dominant perceptions of Catalan as an authentic language, legitimate for belonging and recognition. However, the same participants also become aware of the underlying ideological layers sustaining the apparent and assumed rationality and common sense of the dominant language, as shown by Nele in Extract 9. Meanwhile, participants who do not decide to learn Catalan tend to align with these apparent rationality and common-sense conceptions of Spanish as the legitimate anonymous language. They embrace such arguments as valid justification, alongside homogenisation and efficiency-based arguments (see Sections 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.3.), for their decisions not to engage in Catalan language learning, as illustrated by Matías in Extract 11. Among participants' reasonings, essentialist identitarian values attributed to Catalan enhance its learning and use among those whose decisions are less driven by utilitarian considerations.

Nevertheless, such essentialist values also contribute to keeping the minoritised language at a distance from individuals who base their choices primarily on utilitarian guides (see Sections 5.2.1.2. and 5.2.1.3.). Table 41 summarises the ideological patterns observed and discussed from Sections 5.2.1.1. to 5.2.1.3.

Decided to learn Catalan		Not decided to learn Catalan	
Predominance of authentic language ideologies	Prioritisation of sense of belonging	Non-rooted way of living	Predominance of anonymous and cosmopolitan language ideologies
	Perceiving language as a sociocultural construct	Perceiving language as a tool	
Predominance of ideologies of linguistic unity	Accepting Catalan legitimacy	Questioning Catalan legitimacy	Predominance of linguistic nationalism and linguistic secessionist ideologies
	Empathy or conformism	Hate or resentment	
	Catalan as a differentiator from place-of-birth peers	Zero interest in self-differentiating from place-of-birth peers	

Table 42 Ideological patterns

5.2.1.2. Homogenisation Discourses: Linguistic Nationalism, Standard and Purism Language Ideologies

The second type of discursive factors identified in participants' narratives that shape their decisions to learn and use Catalan consists of homogenisation-based ideas. Homogeneous conceptions of language and language use within a single nation-state are consistently present among participants who did not decide to learn Catalan, serving as the ideological backdrop against which such individuals justify their lack of engagement with the minoritised language. Nevertheless, such homogenising discourses, underpinned by linguistic nationalism, standard and purist language ideologies, are also present to a lesser extent among participants who decided to learn Catalan. Such discourses, act as the ideological backdrop participants (usually consciously) contest when investing in Catalan language learning. This section is articulated in two strands: firstly, addressing linguistic nationalism, and secondly, standard and purist language ideologies, to illustrate the way in which homogenising discourses unfold among participants and their decisions to learn and use Catalan.

Homogeneous Conceptions about Language: Linguistic Nationalism

Linguistic nationalism is present across all participants' narratives, either explicitly, in those advocating a one-nation-one-language ideology that reinforces Spanish hegemony, or implicitly, in those challenging such views who articulate their resistance assuming linguistic nationalism as the discursive framework against which they position themselves. Among the participants explicitly advocating linguistic nationalism, the relationship with such discourses varies according to their social positioning and interests. In this research, two broad positionings have been distinguished: first, the perspective of dominant Argentinians initial speakers seeking to preserve their symbolic and linguistic advantages; and second, individuals who argue that only one language should hold official status, whether Spanish or Catalan.

The first positioning is exemplified by Luciana, Yaiza and Matías, three Argentinian-born adults who speak from the perspective of individuals whose initial language is Spanish and whose interests align with maintaining their privileges as speakers of the dominant national language. These participants' attitudinal and ideological profiles are, respectively, low and unfavourable to the social promotion of Catalan. They hold more negative attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan (75% mean preference for Spanish) and towards its speakers (mean rating of 2.33 on a scale from 1 to 5) (see Tables 38 and 40 in Section 5.2.) and tend to strongly defend the legal primacy of Spanish over Catalan, explicitly invoking national symbols, territorial unity and monolingual imaginaries (see Extract 12). In doing so, they often (unconsciously) delegitimise languages other than Spanish, disregarding language diversity in what scholars have conceptualised as the homogenisation of difference (e.g. Bermingham, 2021; Campos, 2018; Doiz et al., 2013; Gubitosi & Medina, 2022; see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3.1.).

Extract 12

Catalina (*Spanish*)**:** Antes has dicho... Porque catalán, llámese catalán o mallorquín, es un dialecto, Un dialecto del castellano querías decir o, ¿cómo lo entiendes tú?	**Catalina**: Earlier you said… Because Catalan, whether you call it Catalan or Mallorcan, is a dialect. A dialect of Castilian, you meant to say, or how do you understand it?
Luciana (*Spanish*)**:** Del español. […] Es que el español es el idioma. El castellano es posterior al español.	**Luciana:** Of Spanish. […] It's just that Spanish is the language. Castilian came after Spanish.
Catalina: Sí, te entiendo, sí.	**Catalina:** Yes, I understand you, yes.

Luciana: El castellano se castellanizó también con invasiones que hubieron cuando vinieron los moros, cuando vinieron los romanos. O sea, hay un montón de cosas que enriquecieron para llegar al castellano. Y luego, del castellano, creo que aquí es el catalán, el mallorquín, pero me parece que, si no digo pavada, en Sevilla también tienen una manera de hablar, en Bilbao tienen otra, en Galicia, en Vigo tienen otra, quiero decir, en Galicia tienen otra, que son dialectos.

Catalina: Del español, digamos.

Luciana: Del español. La bandera es española, el idioma es español. Todo lo demás, con catalanes, yo respeto las ideologías políticas, pero no es un idioma.

Catalina: Claro, entonces por eso tiene sentido esa idea de que no esté nunca solo en catalán, sino que esté como con los dos.

Luciana: Esto es España, no me puedes hablar en catalán como idioma.

Luciana: Castilian became Castilian also through the invasions that happened when the Moroccans came, when the Romans came. I mean, there are loads of things that enriched it to become Castilian. And then, from Castilian, I think here it's Catalan, Mallorcan, but I think, if I'm not talking nonsense, in Seville they also have a way of speaking, in Bilbao they have another, in Galicia, in Vigo they have another, I mean, in Galicia they have another, which are dialects.

Catalina: Of Spanish, let's say.

Luciana: Of Spanish. The flag is Spanish, the language is Spanish. Everything else, with the Catalans, I respect political ideologies, but that's not a language.

Catalina: Right, so that's why it makes sense, that idea that it should never be only in Catalan, but rather in both.

Luciana: This is Spain, you can't speak to me in Catalan as if it were a language.

They perceive Catalan as a disruptive factor to their legitimacy as Spanish initial speakers, an identity which, in their view, should entitle them to full citizenship rights, including access to public employment and education, the ability to navigate the linguistic landscape in Mallorca

and to support their children with schoolwork. These assumptions, however, do not always materialise and their linguistic and symbolic resources are decapitalised or devalued within a host society where they expect—and wish—to be more highly valued than is actually the case (Bourdieu, 1991; Martín-Rojo, 2013; Massaguer, 2022, see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.). In response to these processes of decapitalisation, Yaiza and Matías reject learning Catalan and instead assert their perceived legitimate rights as speakers of a dominant language. Extract 13 illustrates this point.

Extract 13

Yaiza (*Spanish*): Yo me considero altamente cualificada para opositar en cualquier tipo de cosa que me pregunten, menos por el idioma.	**Yaiza**: I consider myself highly qualified to apply for any kind of thing they ask me about, except for the language.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Y eso, ¿cómo lo ves? ¿Cómo lo sientes? ¿Cómo lo percibes?	**Catalina**: And how do you see that? How do you feel it? How do you perceive it?
Yaiza: Eh, […] Es hasta discriminatorio.	**Yaiza**: Eh, […] It's even discriminatory.
Catalina: Sí, sí, sí, claro.	**Catalina**: Yes, yes, yes, of course.
Yaiza: Habiendo un idioma oficial nacional.	**Yaiza**: Given that there's a national official language.
Catalina: Ajá, Ajá, Ajá. Te entiendo.	**Catalina**: Uh-huh, uh-huh, uh-huh. I understand you.
Yaiza: O sea, no tendría que ser un requisito excluyente al menos.	**Yaiza**: I mean, it shouldn't be an exclusionary requirement, at least.

Other participants explicitly advocating linguistic nationalism, such as Luciana, make only a minimal investment in Catalan language learning, for instance by attending adult classes, yet

with the clear intention of continuing to navigate Catalan-speaking spaces in Spanish, which they regard as the language that must prevail (see Extract 14).

Extract 14.

Luciana (*Spanish*): Uso el coche solamente, no sé, para salir a pasear los domingos. Están las carreteras divinas, todas marcadas con las señalizaciones en la carretera. Están los carteles. Y vos pones el GPS, yo que no conozco, […] Entonces, tú dices: "Gira a la derecha per el carrer de la Madre de Déu...." Además, ¿qué sé yo que me está diciendo?	**Luciana**: I only use the car, I don't know, to go out for a drive on Sundays. The roads are lovely, all marked with signs on the road. There are the signs. And you put on the GPS, me, who doesn't know, […] So, then it says: "Turn right onto Carrer de la Madre de Déu…" And I'm like, I do not know what it's saying?!
Catalina (*Spanish*): Claro, sí, te entiendo.	**Catalina**: Right, yes, I understand.
Luciana: Traducímelo. Y pon el cartel que yo lo lea.	**Luciana**: Translate it for me. And put the sign so I can read it.

The second positioning which is exemplified by Germán and Hayat, an Argentinian-born man and a Moroccan-born woman who view linguistic co-officiality as counterproductive. They argue that a country should have only one official language, Spanish or Catalan, as co-officiality confuses citizens, particularly immigrants, and ultimately favours the dominant. Their positions stem from a rigid one-nation-one-language ideology and align with the monolingual bias that scholars such as Pujolar (2007b) have identified in minority language movements, such as the Catalan movement, where nationalist strategies are adopted to reinforce the status of the minoritised language. These nationalist strategies are reflected in their insistence on a single official language as a means of safeguarding social cohesion and reinforcing the symbolic authority of the minoritised language. In their discourse, co-officiality

is framed as a threat to linguistic clarity and national unity, thereby reproducing the homogenising logic characteristic of one-nation-one-language ideologies. This perspective resonates with Germán and Hayat's positive attitudes towards Catalan in the survey (87.5% preference for its public presence; mean rating of 3.41 towards Catalan speakers; see Table 38 in Section 5.2.), suggesting that, although grounded in a rigid monolingual ideology that rejects co-officiality, their discourse nonetheless expresses support for Catalan, thereby aligning with revitalisation strategies (see Extract 15).

Extract 15

Germán (*Catalan*): Ten en compte que si tu [?] a cualquier otro país on xerres sa seva lengua i res més.	**Germán**: Keep in mind that if you [?] to any other country, you speak their language and nothing else.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Sí, Exacte.	**Catalina**: Yes, exactly.
Germán: El fet de que tu [no] lo xerres massa bé no seria ningún impediment per a que sa gent te segueixin xerrant, més que res perquè no saben una altra [llengua].	**Germán**: The fact that you [don't] speak it very well wouldn't be any obstacle for people to keep speaking to you, mainly because they don't know another [language].
Catalina: No hi ha una altra llengua, exacte, exacte.	**Catalina**: There isn't another language, exactly, exactly.
Germán: Jo, jo xerro francès, si vas a França, jo xerro francès. I si vols, xerra en francès, i sobretot un francès	**Germán**: I speak French, if you go to France, I speak French. And if you want to speak in French, and especially a French person
Catalina: Exacto, exacto.	**Catalina**: Exactly, exactly.
Germán: Si vols xerra en francès, i si no... O els alemanys, lo mateix.	**Germán**: If you want to speak in French, and if not… Or the Germans, same thing.

Homogeneous Conceptions about Language Use: Standard and Purist Language Ideologies

Standard and purist language ideologies are articulated in different ways throughout participants' narratives in this research. Despite their differences, both are closely tied to legitimisation discourses that influence how participants position themselves in relation to the existence of a standard Catalan language or to the existence of Catalan as a language in itself, as well as their perceptions of what constitutes legitimate ways of speaking it (see Section 5.2.1.1. Legitimisation discourses). The following extracts exemplify, firstly, the articulation of standard language ideology, and secondly, the expression of purist language ideologies.

Within participants' experience, standard language ideology emerges as a discursive site of struggle (Pujolar, 2007b) concerning the linguistic unity or differentiation between Catalan and Mallorcan Catalan. Participants are aware of the tensions among Mallorcans and their conceptualisations of Catalan. On the one hand, there are those Mallorcans who view Catalan as an encompassing term that includes all Catalan varieties, Mallorcan Catalan among them. On the other hand, there are those who regard Catalan as an imposed language, unrelated to Mallorcan Catalan, which they consider the truly authentic and essential language of Mallorca (Calaforra & Moranta, 2005; Duane, 2017; Solivellas, 2021). Extract 16 reflects how these ideological clashes affect Monika's self-confidence when speaking Catalan (see Section 5.2.1.4.2. for further self-confidence insights). She does not feel sufficiently legitimate speaking Catalan, as she remains uncertain about which forms of expression will be socially sanctioned or perceived as appropriate in specific contexts.

Extract 16

Monika (*Spanish*): Y otra cosa que para mí es, creo que también importante, es el catalán y el mallorquí. Porque si tú haces el curso, yo qué sé, en el Duolingo, es catalán. Pero luego, como aquí hay un rollo que aquí, con los catalanes, no sé qué. Entonces, claro.	**Monika**: And another thing that for me is, I think it is also important, is Catalan and Mallorcan. Because if you do the course, I don't know, on Duolingo, it's Catalan. But then, like here there's this thing here, with the Catalans, I don't know what. So, yeah.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Exacte.	**Catalina**: Exactly.
Monika: Si. "Mira este catalán, ya claro". Y tú, siendo alemana, sueltas algo catalán, ¿qué pasa? Entonces, es como un rollo, como hay este rollo tan raro de... Incluso los de Sóller y los de Bunyola, yo que sé. Es como un rollo tan así, pues también, tengo me da como vergüenza, como meter la pata.	**Monika**: Yes. "Look at this Catalan, yeah sure". And you, being German, say something Catalan, what happens? So, it's like a thing, like there's this weird thing of... Even the ones from Sóller and the ones from Bunyola, I don't know. It's like such a thing, so I also, it kind of makes me feel embarrassed, like I'll mess it up.

This perceived lack of legitimacy when speaking Catalan, leads to purist language ideologies that most participants express when referring to their way of speaking Catalan. In Extract 17, Fritz for example, feels that his accent is never going to be authentic.

Extract 17

Catalina (*Catalan*): Creus que hi ha qualque cosa més que te pugui influir en es fet d'emprar català?	**Catalina**: Do you think there's anything else that might influence you in the fact of using Catalan?

Fritz (*Catalan*): El que m'agradaria més és millorar la meva pronunciació.	**Fritz**: What I'd like most is to improve my pronunciation.
Catalina: D'acord.	**Catalina**: Okay.
Fritz: Volia estar més segur. Jo volia. Ja sé que sempre tendré un accent de guiri, sempre.	**Fritz**: I wanted to feel more confident. I wanted. I know I'll always have a foreigner accent, always.

Thus, homogenisation discourses tend to undermine the decision to learn Catalan, particularly when Spanish hegemony is upheld as prevailing over Catalan on the island. Homogenisation discourses also discourage Catalan use, especially when participants are unsure how to refer to the language they are attempting to speak and fear that they may never perform a sufficiently authentic speaker identity. By contrast, when such discourses reject co-officiality in favour of Catalan as the sole official language, Catalan learning and use tends to be initiated.

5.2.1.3. Efficiency Discourses: Cosmopolitan and Instrumental Language Ideologies

Participants in this research articulate efficiency discourses through instrumental and cosmopolitan language ideologies embedded within a broader neoliberal framework (Heller & McElhinny, 2017; see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.). This section explores the types of justifications offered by participants who adopt efficiency-based perspectives in their preference for learning or using Spanish over Catalan. These justifications are structured around three interrelated arguments: first, a market-driven framework that prioritises economic utility; second, an instrumental ideological conception of language, whereby languages are viewed as mere tools; and third, a cosmopolitan approach to life that favours mobility and detachment from rooted cultural identities. Together, these arguments form a cognitive framework that is as complex as

it is coherent, legitimising economically oriented approaches to linguistic phenomena as rational and rooted in common sense.

The German participant Klaus and the Argentinian Matías are the two participants who most explicitly prioritise efficiency discourses. Neither has chosen to learn Catalan, and both exhibit low Integrative (mean score of 1.75 on a scale from 1 to 5) and Instrumental Orientations (mean score of 2.25) towards the language (see Table 40 in Section 5.2.). Their survey responses reflect notably negative attitudes towards Catalan's public presence (expressed through a 50% preference for Spanish over Catalan) and towards its speakers (mean score of 2). The following extracts explore their views.

Klaus and Matías perceive Catalan as offering little to no individual economic benefit as compared to Spanish, which is associated with a greater number of speakers and perceived as a legitimate global language (see Extract 18).

Extract 18[9]

> **Catalina**: And do you think you would choose Spanish first? Why [Spanish first] than Catalan? […]
>
> **Klaus**: Because it's much... I'm very much on efficiency. What can I do? For me, it's not easy. I have to really put a lot of effort to learn it, the language. So if I put so much effort in it and I can use it only in this, let's say, little island or maybe also in [?], but it's very little part of the world, I would prefer to

[9] This interview was conducted in English at the interviewer's request; therefore, no translation has been applied.

> have a language more to be usable in mainland Spain also and in South America. It's much more just from the point of efficiency. It makes much more sense.

Anchored in a utilitarist logic, Catalan is not an appropriate instrument to achieve economic, material and symbolic benefits (see Extract 19) and becomes unnecessary in daily life (Fukuda, 2017, 2020). As part of the features of instrumental ideology, Klaus and Matías also emphasise the communicative dimension of language and dismiss its potential identity-based value. Although Catalan holds some instrumental value—particularly as a requirement for access to education and public employment—this dimension is often viewed as discriminatory by participants who prioritise efficiency discourses in their lifestyle (see also Matías' Extract 11 in Section 5.2.1.1. Legitimisation discourses). Those who decide to learn Catalan tend to prioritise Integrative Orientations, whereas only those who reject learning it refer to instrumental motivations hypothetically, such as access to public education and employment. Yaiza, for instance, explains that she would only learn Catalan in order to complete the subjects required for the recognition of her Argentinian degree in Spain, as she does not see the point of learning it for everyday life. This ideological pattern makes sense when situated within an efficiency-based ideological background, where identitarian and cultural values of language are systematically dismissed.

Extract 19

Catalina (*Spanish*): ¿Crees que este tiempo libre que has tenido, ha podido influir en tu	**Catalina**: Do you think this free time you've had could have influenced your decision to

decisión de aprender o no aprender o crees que no tiene nada que ver?	learn or not learn, or do you think it has nothing to do with it?
Matías (*Spanish*): No. Si hubiese tenido el tiempo libre, que de hecho lo tuve y hoy lo tengo, lo hubiese empleado en aprender cualquier otro idioma que me… A ver, no es falta de respeto, sino es...	**Matías**: No. If I had had the free time, which in fact I did and I still do, I would have used it to learn any other language that... Look, it's not out of disrespect, it's just...
Catalina: No, no, no, no, no, súper bien.	**Catalina**: No, no, no, no, no, super good.
Matías: Me lo tomo como una herramienta.	**Matías**: I see it as a tool.
Catalina: Te agradezco que me lo digas, porque yo quiero esto, que me lo digas.	**Catalina**: I appreciate you telling me this, because this is what I want, that you tell me.
Matías: Es como herramienta, a mí me serviría más aprender inglés o aprender alemán que aprender catalán. Así que es esto.	**Matías**: It's like a tool, it would be more useful for me to learn English or to learn German than to learn Catalan. So that's it.

The focus on the utility of language disregards identity-based and emotional dimensions of it, while giving rise to non-rooted ways of living in which individuals perceive themselves as global citizens rather than belonging to a specific place. Such cosmopolitan perspectives overlook power asymmetries between individuals and speech communities (see Extract 20).

Extract 20

Matías (*Spanish*): Sí. Mi punto de vista es que el idioma para mí es para comunicarse, es una herramienta para... Y si les damos más herramientas a los chicos, le estamos	**Matías**: Yes. My point of view is that language, for me, is for communication, it's a tool for... And if we give more tools to the kids, we're giving them wings so they can

abriendo las alas para que se muevan. Pero yo vengo de otro país, entonces es más fácil pensarlo de esta manera que la gente que es de aquí y que está más aferrada a lo suyo.

Catalina (*Spanish*): Claro.

Matías: Porque yo creo que somos ciudadanos del mundo. Tú tienes la la libertad de irte a vivir adonde quieras y nadie tiene que decirte nada por eso. Mientras pagas tus impuestos, hagas las cosas bien como corresponde.

move. But I come from another country, so it's easier to think about it this way than for people who are from here and are more attached to their own.

Catalina: Of course.

Matías: Because I believe we are citizens of the world. You have the freedom to go live wherever you want and no one should say anything to you about it. As long as you pay your taxes, do things properly, as you should.

Therefore, as Klaus suggests in Extract 21, being a 'citizen of the world' is not necessarily associated with establishing meaningful connections with one's neighbours, but rather with maintaining individual autonomy. In this view, Mallorca is approached not as a culturally and identitarily rich territory to engage with, but as a neutral landscape for living.

Extract 21

> **Catalina**: Maybe you don't have this quality I would say quality free time. When you're at home after a job, you have time to relax. And no, that's not your case, right? Okay, I see. I see. Interesting. […] Okay. And then maybe you don't have a lot of chance to interact with your neighbours, right? Just when you go shopping to

the local shops maybe, but not more than that, right? Okay. Super.

Klaus: But this is a personal point. I mean, even in Germany, I was living in a big city in Düsseldorf. I was also born in a big city in Eastern Germany. So, I'm a person who prefers to be in the centre.

Catalina: Okay.

Klaus: Because even Palma feels a little bit small for me. I enjoy really next week or in two weeks, I will fly to Madrid. And this is, to be honest, I love it. This is Madrid is for me. This is like paradise. I enjoy very much to go there. And I want to be in the city centre. But I've never had good or close relationship to my neighbours. It's quality time to be independent.

Catalina: Okay. I understand.

Klaus: If you are too close to your neighbours, I think persons or people like me who love to live in the city centre, it's anonymity. You know, like you are on your own, you don't want to know what the others are doing it's you, and there's a wall between you and someone else.

Within a cosmopolitan and instrumental language ideological framework, English is positioned as the global language par excellence, and limited proficiency in it is sometimes interpreted as a form of exclusion or even hostility (Extract 22). In this context, the language rights of Mallorcans are acknowledged only as far as they do not conflict with Klaus's perceived rights as a cosmopolitan, international, European, English speaker individual. His interests come first, framing linguistic coexistence through a lens of global mobility and individual entitlement.

Extract 22

> **Klaus**: I think the most important thing is that everyone speaks a little bit, at least a little bit of English. And you can do it. To be honest here, Mallorca, especially the Spanish people, they are compared to other countries like Sweden or whatever, Netherlands, or so, they are not speaking so well English.
>
> **Catalina**: Because the bureaucratic stuff, you say that you have someone helping you always, and it's not an issue in this.
>
> **Klaus**: It's not an issue at all. I mean, I hate it, but I can tell you my experience here in Mallorca. Even with the perfect Castellano, this is the same. You need help because you need someone from Mallorca who is speaking Mallorquin to achieve something. So, I don't guess you are, even as a German who is speaking Castellano at the police

> or Ayuntamiento. It's the same like English. It's a foreign language for them. So, I have this feeling, and it's a bad feeling. To be honest, I hate it. I hate it, totally, because it's like, it's like the feeling for a foreigner. I mean, it's the right of the Mallorquin people to decide which language they want to speak. But for a foreigner, it makes you a very uncomfortable feeling. It makes you a uncomfort feeling of being pressured to learn this language, even if it is not very clear here on the island. I mean, of course, the Mallorquin, they prefer Mallorquin, but there are a lot of Spanish people here on the island. They don't want to talk Mallorquin. So even this is not clear, and they try to force people to use it and to learn it and make you feel uncomfortable without this Mallorquin, speaking Mallorquin. And this makes, it's not a good feeling.

All in all, Klaus and Matías's narratives position Catalan as lacking the capacity to compete within an international and globalised market, while Spanish is perceived as fully equipped for such demands. This contrast reflects a broader ideological framework in which linguistic value is measured through economic utility and global reach. Therefore, within this ideological framework, learning and using Catalan is dismissed.

5.2.1.4. Other Facilitators and Constraints

The preceding sections have established a dialogue between survey findings on orientations, attitudes and self-confidence, and interview narratives revealing legitimising, homogenising and efficiency-based ideologies. This conversation has helped to distinguish the attitudinal and ideological profiles of those participants who invest in learning and using Catalan from those who do not. The remaining survey variables significantly correlated with the decision to learn and use Catalan (see Sections 5.1.2.2. and 5.1.3.2.) also appear in participants' interview narratives, alongside additional variables not considered in the regression models. This interplay demonstrates the greater explanatory power obtained through the use and combination of multiple methods of data collection and highlights the complex imbrication of factors involved in language learning and use, beyond attitudinal and ideological considerations alone. The current section builds on the dialogue between qualitative data and quantitative variables. It addresses separately the factors specific to learning and those specific to use that participants identify as either facilitating or constraining their decision to learn and use Catalan.

5.2.1.4.1. Facilitators and Constraints for Catalan Learning

Gender and place of birth, the two remaining variables to be addressed from the logistic regression models, together with infrastructural and socioeconomic conditions, social and cultural capital, individual agency, intrinsic motivation and age, emerge as relevant factors for the decision to learn Catalan. They not only shape the decision to learn Catalan but also contribute to the formation of individuals' profiles with differing symbolic value, thereby enabling or constraining access to Catalan learning (Block, 2014; DePalma, 2015; Pavlenko et al., 2001).

Commencing with gender, survey descriptives reveal an emerging pattern according to which more women than men tend to decide to learn Catalan (see Section 5.1.2.). As primary caregivers, women are more directly involved in their children's schooling, where Catalan is the language of instruction, and therefore perceive learning Catalan as a practical necessity, as Yaiza illustrates in Extract 23. This tendency is also observed by Amengual-Ripoll's (2022) study on Argentinian parents in Mallorca.

Extract 23

Catalina (*Spanish*): ¿Crees que las mujeres inmigradas aprenden más catalán que los hombres o al revés?	**Catalina**: Do you think immigrant women learn more Catalan than men, or the other way around?
Yaiza (*Spanish*): Sí, sí.	**Yaiza**: Yes, yes.
Catalina: ¿Y por qué?	**Catalina**: And why?
Yaiza: Sí, porque la mujer es la que más involucrada en el ámbito escolar de los chicos.	**Yaiza**: Yes, because the woman is the one most involved in the children's school environment.
Catalina: Vale. Ok, entonces	**Catalina**: Okay. Right, then.
Yaiza: Se ve obligada. Más rápido.	**Yaiza**: She feels obliged. Faster.
Catalina: Ajá. Ajá.	**Catalina**: Uh-huh. Uh-huh.
Yaiza: Y aprende más rápido. El hombre es más cómodo.	**Yaiza**: And she learns faster. The man is more comfortable.
Catalina: Ok, vale, vale, vale, vale, vale.	**Catalina**: Okay, right, right, right, right, right.
Yaiza: Acá el hombre es como que delega la crianza y lo vemos. O sea, es una de las	**Yaiza**: Here, it is as if the man delegates the upbringing and we see it. I mean, it's one of

cuestiones por las que se pelea sobre la lucha de igualdad y derechos. Es decir que que ambos participemos de una crianza de igual manera.	the issues that's part of the fight for equality and rights. That is, for both of us to participate in raising children equally.
Catalina: Eso mismo	**Catalina**: Exactly.
Yaiza: Se sigue dando en las mujeres.	**Yaiza**: It still falls to women.

These gendered roles are also linked to different priorities between men and women, as Btissame points out in Extract 24. Women often express a stronger need to build close friendship networks, with Catalan perceived as playing an important role in that process. By contrast, men are more frequently perceived as prioritising economic capitalisation and the communicative value of language. Btissame's observations directly correspond to the higher scores recorded on integrative orientation items among women (mean 4.12) compared with men (mean 3.77), particularly in relation to the statement "Catalan allows me to feel more comfortable with Mallorcans" (see Table 30 in Section 5.1.2.2.). These different priorities directly relate to strategies of accumulating symbolic capital in the pursuit of social recognition, a domain often relegated to women, whereas men can usually achieve social legitimisation through material means (Eckert, 1989; see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3.). It is important to note that the researcher acknowledges that gendered experiences of language learning extend beyond the binary categorisation of men and women, which may entail different routes to social prestige (Connell, 2020). Nevertheless, the present analysis is limited to this dichotomy because the dataset comprises only participants who self-identified as men or women, and who themselves articulated their experiences in relation to these categories.

Extract 24

Catalina (*Catalan*): Aprenen [català] més dones que homes?

Btissame (*Spanish*): Si son como yo,

Catalina: Sí?

Btissame: Hablo de

Catalina: Sí, sa teva experiència, claro.

Btissame: Eso. Más. Las donas, más que homes.

Catalina: Sí. I per què creus que més ses dones que es homes? Què creus que fa que aprenguin més ses dones?

Btissame: Ah, y, a ver, los hombres, a ver, trabajan y no necesitan mallorquín... No dan el peso a la lengua. A mi experiencia, a mi marido también. Es que lo importante para él es que trabaja y se entiende y nada más. El valor del catalán no le da... A ver, no tiene estudios él, pero bueno, a ver, creo que la mayoría que están aquí no tienen estudios, bastante. No tienes, para aprender el catalán al menos tienes que tener un poco, a ver.

Catalina: Sí? Ok. En plan de com?

Catalina: Do more women than men learn [Catalan]?

Btissame: If they're like me,

Catalina: Yes?

Btissame: I'm talking about

Catalina: Yes, your experience, of course.

Btissame: That. More. Women more than men.

Catalina: Yes. And why do you think more women than men? What do you think makes women learn more?

Btissame: Ah, well, let's see… men, well, they work and don't need Mallorcan… They don't give importance to the language. In my experience, my husband too. What matters to him is that he works and is understood, and that's it. He doesn't give value to Catalan… I mean, he doesn't have any education, but well, I think most people here don't, really. You don't, at least to learn Catalan you need to have a bit, I mean.

Catalina: Yes? Ok. Like how?

Btissame: A mi experiencia es que si no sabía el francés y eso, creo que el catalán es un poco difícil. Hablamos de los mayores, a ver.	**Btissame**: In my experience, if I didn't know French and that, I think Catalan is a bit difficult. We're talking about older people, I mean.

Regarding place of birth, the interviews clarify the inconsistency between survey descriptives, which suggest more positive attitudes towards Catalan and its speakers among Moroccan participants, and regression models, which associate Moroccan origin with lower probabilities of deciding to learn Catalan compared with German participants (see Section 5.1.2.).

Participants' narratives suggest that immigrants' engagement with the local language and culture is shaped by expectations from local Mallorcan Catalan speakers, not uniformly experienced and mediated by intersecting factors such as place of birth, gender and the value of their resources within Mallorca's habitus. Such expectations shape demands ranging from experiences of near-obligatory language learning to instances where the choice to learn Catalan is framed as voluntary (see Figure 3 and the following paragraphs).

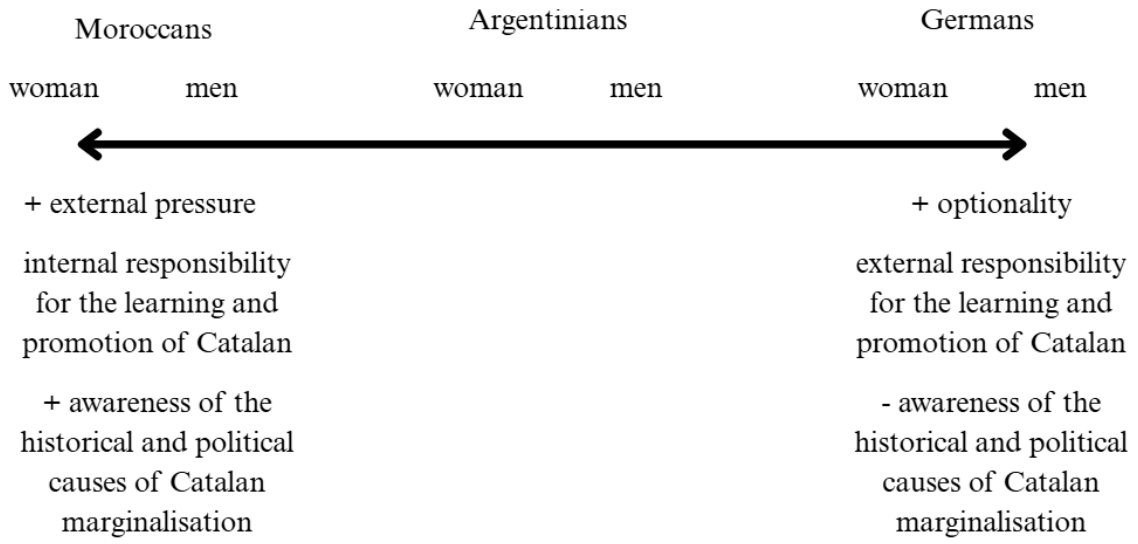


Figure 3 Continuum from external pressure to optionality

Near-obligatory language learning experiences refer to situations in which participants perceive limited choice over whether to learn Catalan and are more likely to be exposed to discourses from Mallorcan Catalan speakers framing such learning as expected of them. By contrast, participants who experience optionality perceive greater freedom in deciding whether to learn Catalan and tend not to be subject to such expectations.

The experiences of external demands to learn Catalan range from a heightened sense of pressure among Moroccan participants to comparatively lower levels of perceived pressure among Germans, with Argentinians situated somewhere between these two poles. Understanding these differences requires consideration of Mallorca's history, in which the positions of such groups have been shaped by historically differentiated roles within the island's economic structure, as the following paragraphs explain.

During Francoist promotional campaigns of the island as touristic destination, Germans were positioned as desirable tourists, contributing to the rebranding of Spain's post-war image

(Rosendorf, 2006; Salvà, 2002). By contrast, Moroccan and Argentinian immigrants were recruited as labour from the 1990s onwards to sustain the island's expanding tourism economy. Argentinians typically occupied roles linked to tourism services, while Moroccans were employed in construction and agriculture (Salvà, 2002). These divergent trajectories have contributed to the legitimisation of a symbolic hierarchy on the island, positioning Germans at the top, followed by Argentinians and, lastly, Moroccans. In this context, German, Argentinian and Moroccan participants hold unequal positions of symbolic capital, understood as accumulated prestige (Bourdieu, 1991), making the decision to learn Catalan a site of struggle for maintaining or reshaping such unequal distribution.

German participants, although also subject to social pressures and negative perceptions when they decide not to learn either Catalan or Spanish, are typically able to mobilise highly valued cultural, economic and social capital, rooted in an inherited habitus of symbolic privilege (Block, 2014; Salvà, 2005). These resources afford them greater freedom to choose where to live, where to work and with whom to interact, and to distance themselves from Catalan-speaking environments if they wish (see Extract 25). Those who do learn Catalan tend to do so as a form of counter-hegemonic positioning, challenging dominant representations of Germans in Mallorca as wealthy individuals, disengaged from the local language and culture (see Section 5.2.1.1.).

Extract 25

Ayoub (*Spanish*): Alemanes creo que es difícil [que aprendan catalán], te lo digo, más que los marroquís.	**Ayoub**: Germans, I think it's difficult [that they learn Catalan], I'm telling you, more than Moroccans.
Catalina (*Spanish*): ¿Por qué crees que es más difícil que los…?	**Catalina**: Why do you think it's more difficult than…?

Ayoub: Porque ellos tienen su idioma y tampoco van por la necesidad mucho.

Catalina: Vale. ¿En qué sentido?

Ayoub: En el sentido de que él viene, es que los alemanes, yo no los veo que aprende el catalán más que incluso te hablan inglés. Porque también juega lo que te digo, la necesidad.

Catalina: Claro.

Ayoub: Que la mayoría de los alemanes que vienen ya tienen, como digo, ya tienen dinero, tienen su proyecto, es más de categoría. Entonces, él no necesita aprender más idiomas más para que tú lo entiendes, porque algo a veces eres tú que tienes que entenderle. No sé, no está obligado a entenderte. También es una cosa un poco…

Catalina: Te entiendo. Sí, con una relación de poder diferente.

Ayoub: De poder, sí.

Catalina: Una jerarquía diferente entiendo.

Ayoub: Exactamente.

Ayoub: Because they have their own language and they don't really come out of necessity.

Catalina: Okay. In what sense?

Ayoub: In the sense that he comes, it's just that Germans, I don't see them learning Catalan, more than that, they even speak to you in English. Because, like I said, necessity plays a role too.

Catalina: Sure.

Ayoub: Most of the Germans who come already have, like I say, they already have money, they have their project, it's more high-level. So, he doesn't need to learn more languages so that you understand him, because sometimes it's you who have to understand him. I don't know, he's not obliged to understand you. It's also a bit of a thing…

Catalina: I understand you. Yes, with a different power relationship.

Ayoub: Power, yes.

Catalina: A different hierarchy, I see.

Ayoub: Exactly.

By contrast, Moroccan participants' capitals are less socially recognised and they have limited choice in whether to engage with Catalan-speaking domains. Unlike Germans, Moroccans stand to gain more tangible benefits from learning Catalan. It enhances their social and professional competitiveness and serves as a means of acquiring symbolic capital, something Germans already possess by default. For Germans, Catalan may shift their symbolic positioning from mainstream prestige to counter-prestige; for Moroccans, it offers access to recognition otherwise denied. Btissame in Extract 26 exemplifies the perceived external pressure to learn Catalan. During the interview, she expresses a willingness to learn the language but she does so from a position in which she feels compelled by the social expectation that immigrants of her profile, young Moroccan women, must learn Catalan. She experiences the decision to learn Catalan not only as a personal choice, but also as something expected of her, something friends and her children's schoolteachers insist she must do, leading her to conclude that it is obligatory, not voluntary. Btissame's example also highlights how place-of-birth affordances within the host society's habitus interact with gendered pressures that traditionally place higher demands on immigrant women than on men to acquire proficiency in their children's school language.

Extract 26

Catalina (*Spanish and Catalan*): Vale, entonces, la pregunta es: en ese momento, vale, ¿cuál fue el principal motivo que te va motivar a aprendre català?	**Catalina**: Okay, so the question is: at that moment, okay, what was the main reason that motivated you to learn Catalan?
Btissame (*Spanish*): Bueno, y convivir, a ver, convivir. Convivir. […] Y por los niños	**Btissame**: Well, to live together, I mean, to live together. To live together. […] And because of the children too, and the teachers.

también, y maestras. Es que en la escuela también las maestras siempre en mallorquí.

It's just that at school the teachers always speak in Mallorcan.

Catalina (*Catalan*): Okay, claro.

Catalina: Okay, sure.

Btissame (*Spanish*): Los riuniones en mallorquí. Es una cosa más de los principios que me dan energía para aprender.

Btissame: The meetings are in Mallorcan. It's one of the things that gives me energy to learn.

Catalina (*Catalan*): Sí, sí, sí, sí, sí,

Catalina: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes.

Btissame (*Spanish*): Es que en la escuela, aunque hay gente de Marruecos o de Argentina, no sé qué, hay mallorquí. Mallorquí, mallorquí. Todo y hay gente que no entiende nada. Yo, menos mal que, a ver, parece un poco al francés, y hago una comparación y eso. Y digo: "No, eso no funciona. Tengo que al menos aprender. Y bueno, entender". Y luego contestar no pasa nada, pero al menos… Que la maestra, la directora, dicen que: "Vais a clase, vais a clase. Espabiliza". Eso sí que me…

Btissame: It's just that at school, even though there are people from Morocco or Argentina, I don't know, there's Mallorcan. Mallorcan, Mallorcan. Everything, and there are people who don't understand anything. Me, luckily, well, it's a bit like French, and I make a comparison and that. And I say: "No, that doesn't work. I have to at least learn. And well, understand". And then [not] answering [in Catalan] is fine, but at least… The teacher, the headteacher, says: "Go to class, go to class. Wake up". That really made me…

Catalina (*Catalan*): I com te senties quan això passava?

Catalina: And how did you feel when that happened?

Btissame (*Spanish*): En principio, sí. Molesta. No quería así, però bueno, ràpid,

Btissame: At first, yes. Annoyed. I didn't want it like that, but well, quickly, I

entenc. […] es que venia con francés, nada más, y árabe. Y bueno. […] Y digo: "No, eso no. No puede ser". […] es obligatorio eso. No es voluntario, a ver. No me quedo así estatua y… No.	understood. […] It's just that I came with French, nothing else, and Arabic. And well. […] And I say: "No, not that. That can't be". […] It's obligatory, that. It's not voluntary, you see. I don't just stay there like a statue and... No.

Argentinian participants occupy a more ambivalent position. They are generally less exposed to demands to learn Catalan than either Moroccans or Germans. Despite some participants arriving with limited economic capital and facing structural constraints similar to those of Moroccans, their linguistic capital—Spanish as a first language—aligns with Mallorca's dominant language. This grants them a degree of symbolic capital, reinforced by both Spain's linguistic nationalism and these participants' reproduction and appropriation of the idea of Spain as a transnational metropolis rooted in imperial history (Del Valle, 2013; Moreno Cabrera, 2015). As a result, Catalan offers less added value for Argentinians than it does for Moroccans or for Germans seeking to reposition themselves symbolically. Matías, in Extract 27, while acknowledging a degree of pressure himself, highlights that such expectations are not typically extended to German residents and argues that if the island is open to everyone, no one should be expected to learn Catalan, regardless of their capital.

Extract 27

Matías (*Spanish*): Y según qué pueblo hay carteles en inglés o carteles en alemán. Y digo, al final yo tengo que estar traduciendo una pregunta de matemáticas para que mi	**Matías**: Depending on the village, there are signs in English or signs in German. And I think, in the end I have to be translating a maths question so that my son learns a

hijo aprenda un idioma que lo va a hablar solo en el colegio y permiten que después haya carteles en alemán, haya carteles en inglés. No sé.

[…]

Y algo que a mí me empuja a no querer aprenderlo o a no necesitarlo, es esto que te mencioné al principio. Yo soy muy respetuoso de las tradiciones, de que la gente cuide su tierra y demás. Pero también, a lo largo de mi vida, soy bastante coherente y yo veo que me están obligando a que mi hijo aprenda el idioma del lugar para cuidar el lugar, pero rifan todo al primer postor, es como que digo: "Bueno, al final, ¿por qué?" Porque si viene un alemán, le van a hablar en alemán, no le van a llevar a que hable en catalán. Entonces es como… […] que obliguen a los chicos a aprender un idioma, que… Pónganlo opcional para que la gente que es de aquí lo quiera saber, me parece fantástico que lo siga, que lo aprenda. Pero el que viene de otro lugar, porque la isla está abierta para que vengan todos, no le compliques la vida.

language he's only going to speak at school and yet they allow there to be signs in German, signs in English. I don't know.

[…]

And something that pushes me not to want to learn it or not need it, is what I mentioned to you at the beginning. I'm very respectful of traditions, of people taking care of their land and so on. But also, throughout my life, I've been quite coherent and I see that they're forcing my son to learn the language of the place in order to care for the place, but they auction everything off to the highest bidder, and I think: "Well, in the end, why?" Because if a German comes, they'll speak to them in German, they won't make them speak Catalan. So it's like… […] to force children to learn a language, well… Make it optional so that the people who are from here and want to know it, I think it's fantastic that they continue with it, that they learn it. But those who come from elsewhere, because the island is open for everyone to come, don't make life difficult for them.

Gender, place of birth and the unequal distribution of symbolic value to immigrants' resources also intersect with additional infrastructural and socioeconomic factors, as well as with social and cultural capital, individual agency, intrinsic motivation and age. Among these factors, education and initial language were included in the survey of this research but none of them yield significant results due to their large number of missing data.

Infrastructural factors such as accessible education (both in terms of facilities and in terms of educational opportunities) and the predominance of Catalan in teaching environments are perceived as enablers, yet these same domains also reveal constraints: limited, inflexible and poorly accessible educational opportunities and information. Some participants report difficulties in accessing information about available Catalan courses and in finding suitable class schedules, while those living in small villages face additional barriers due to the need to commute to larger towns to attend Catalan classes, often complicated by limited transport connections.

Socioeconomic conditions similarly operate on both sides of the spectrum. Participants perceive that prior education, stable income, flexible work schedules (often associated with retired individuals, who are assumed to have greater flexibility and free time) and free or affordable classes facilitate their decision to learn Catalan. By contrast, illiteracy, precarious employment and housing situations, job-related and often-gendered family responsibilities and lack of free classes pose significant barriers. For example, Oualid prioritises job and housing over Catalan learning, Fede prioritises motherhood and Klaus prioritises employment.

Within socioeconomic conditions, education is usually emphasised as a key facilitator to access Catalan learning by participants with lower levels of formal education, particularly individuals from Morocco. For many, previous schooling, even if limited, enables the mobilisation of

previously acquired cultural capital, such as communicative strategies and prior language learning experiences. For instance, many of these participants perceive their experience of having learned French, along with their literacy in the Latin alphabet, as advantageous in navigating the linguistic demands of their host society, as illustrates Hayat in Extract 28. By contrast, participants from Argentina and Germany rarely mention education in their interviews, except in relation to previous language learning experiences. These divergent perspectives reflect and reinforce the distinct social positionings mentioned earlier in this section: while Moroccan participants often speak from a position of needing to fight for recognition and legitimisation, Argentinian and German participants appear to draw on a background of socialisation that affords them status, prestige and access to more socially valued resources. For the latter, education is often taken for granted, a silent privilege that enables them to overlook its role in language learning.

Extract 28

Catalina (*Catalan*): Això de fet, m'interessa molt, veure que, realment, pareix que no has tengut dificultats, no, per aprendre català? Entenc que no has anat a classe, tampoc.	**Catalina**: Actually, this really interests me, seeing that, really, it seems you haven't had difficulties learning Catalan, right? I take it you haven't been to classes either.
Hayat (*Spanish*): He ido un poco, porque… Bueno, pero Catalina, mi caso es un poco diferente. Porque yo tengo estudios.	**Hayat**: I've been a little, just because… Well, but Catalina, my case is a bit different. Because I've had an education.
Catalina: Ah! Això és important.	**Catalina**: Ah! That's important.
Hayat: Y hablo idiomas. Y cuando eres un poco multilingüe, es que te ayuda. No puedes comparar esto con un inmigrante que viene	**Hayat**: And I speak languages. And when you're a bit multilingual, it helps. You can't compare that with an immigrant who arrives

sin estudios, que es la primera vez que va a hablar una idioma latina o algo como así.	without any education, and it's the first time they're going to speak a Latin language or something like that.

Social capital, and particularly meaningful connections with linguistically aware local Mallorcan Catalan speakers, is perceived by participants as a key factor in deciding to learn Catalan. This includes social networks, such as friendships, workplace relationships, neighbourhood ties and involvement in community associations, which resonate with Nele's experience in Extract 29. Social connections often provide encouragement, exposure and informal learning opportunities, particularly when peers demonstrate linguistically aware attitudes or supportive behaviours, such as avoiding switching to Spanish when addressing them. Moreover, establishing closer ties with linguistically aware Mallorcan Catalan speakers allow immigrants to deepen their understanding of the intricate relationship between language, identity and the broader struggle of Mallorcan Catalan speakers to be recognised as a legitimate community. In turn, such friendships also increase immigrants' chances of empathising with their local companions and, potentially, of investing in the decision to learn Catalan. However, being surrounded by Catalan-speakers who do not use Catalan with them, nor show linguistic awareness, discourages participants from learning Catalan, as does the lack of relationships between immigrants and locals, whether in workplaces, education or neighbourhoods (Bellido, 2018; Campos, 2018; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Mac Lochlainn, 2023; Melià, 1996).

Extract 29

Nele (*Catalan*): Estava visquent a Palma però clar, el [LLOC DE FEINA], primer li donava més importància. Tenia molt de	**Nele**: I was living in Palma, but of course, the [WORKPLACE], at first I gave it more importance. I had lots of texts, emails, like a

textos, correus, com a molt d'inputs català, encara que jo seguia xerrant castellà.

Catalina (*Catalan*): Sí, sí, sí, sí.

Nele: I, i així. I una amiga […] en aquest moment, com a volíem fer un intercanvi anglès-català. no va funcionar. Vàrem xerrar castellà sempre, però m'ha inculcat molt aquesta curiositat i els detalls i és com un referent molt important de l'hora d'aprendre i accedir a la llengua perquè…

Catalina: D'acord.

Nele: Com ella és tan motivada, saps?

Catalina: Sí, sí, sí, sí.

Nele: I ho viu pues ho transmet.

lot of Catalan input, even though I kept speaking Spanish.

Catalina: Yes, yes, yes, yes.

Nele: And like that. And a friend […] And at that time, like, we wanted to do an English-Catalan exchange. It didn't work. We always spoke Spanish, but she really instilled in me that curiosity and attention to detail and she's like a very important reference point for learning and accessing the language because…

Catalina: Right.

Nele: Like, she's so motivated, you know?

Catalina: Yes, yes, yes, yes.

Nele: And she lives it, so she transmits it.

Beyond meaningful connections, participants also stress the importance of Catalan's visible and audible presence in daily life as a key facilitator to learn the language. In particular, Moroccan participants believe that exposure plays a greater role than personal choice (see Extract 30). In line with previous studies (e.g. Calafat & Calero-Pons, 2019; Uth & Vanrell, 2023), a clear distinction is drawn between, on the one hand, Palma and the Bay, seen as highly touristified and less Catalan-speaking, and, on the other hand, the rest of the island, where a greater linguistic presence is perceived to foster more opportunities to learn Catalan.

Extract 30

Ayoub (*Spanish*): Es que hay zonas que se habla mucho catalán o depende de dónde cae y dónde trabaja.	**Ayoub**: It's just that there are areas where Catalan is spoken a lot or it depends on where you end up and where you work.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Claro, eso es.	**Catalina**: Right, exactly.
Ayoub: Si te encuentras con el jefe que habla catalán, vas a aprender perfectamente. Yo conozco un marroquí, que hablan en catalán mejor que yo y castellano, poco.	**Ayoub**: If you have a boss who speaks Catalan, you're going to learn perfectly. I know a Moroccan who speaks Catalan better than I do and Spanish, not so much.

Cultural capital, especially in its cognitive dimension, is also seen as influential in the decision to learn Catalan. Participants refer to factors such as language aptitude (frequently associated with women), general intelligence, previous experiences with language learning and prior awareness of the sociolinguistic dynamics in Mallorca. Related to language aptitude, age emerges as a recurrent constraint for deciding to learn Catalan. Participants adhere to the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2.) and feel that in adulthood learning a language is significantly harder than at a younger age, not only in terms of the process but also the outcomes they expect to achieve. Additionally, linked to previous experiences with language learning, participants mention individual learning styles as another constraint, as, for example, some prefer structured or frequent classes, while others benefit more from informal or less frequent classes.

Two additional factors are considered relevant by participants when deciding to learn Catalan: intrinsic motivation and individual agency. Many describe a personal interest and curiosity in learning languages as a key facilitator, which aligns with Mac Lochlainn's (2023) findings with

Irish adult learners. At the same time, they highlight their own active role in seeking information about Catalan classes, encouraging others to address them in Catalan and reshaping their identities to integrate into a new society (see also Section 5.2.1.1.). Despite living in a region where Catalan is locally spoken, participants feel fully responsible for fostering their own learning, as opportunities to hear or use the language are often limited due to the dominant presence of another language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2024). Compared to participants who decide not to learn Catalan, those who learn Catalan tend to reflect stronger sense of personal agency and investment, even when they acknowledge structural limitations such as the limited presence of Catalan in their immediate social environment or the tendency of local speakers to switch to Spanish. Wilhelm illustrates this heightened sense of agency in Extract 31.

Extract 31

Wilhelm (*Catalan*): Això també és el problema més gran que he tingut amb el mallorquí, que no me volen xerrar, es cas, es mallorquí, aquí.	**Wilhelm**: That's also the biggest problem I've had with Mallorcan, that they don't want to speak it to me, the, the Mallorcan, here.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Clar.	**Catalina**: Right.
Wilhelm: Me veuen sa cara, me senten s'accent, que tenc, i tot d'una me xerren el castellà.	**Wilhelm**: They see my face, they hear my accent, that I have, and immediately they speak to me in Spanish.
Catalina: Sí, eh? I això com… Què en penses, d'això, tu?	**Catalina**: Yeah, huh? And how… What do you think about that?
Wilhelm: Jo sempre li deman: "I per què m'has de xerrar el castellà? Per què?", i	**Wilhelm**: I always ask them: "Why do you have to speak to me in Spanish? Why?", and

encara, fins ara, fins avui, ninguna persona m'ha pogut donar una explicació.	even now, to this day, no one has been able to give me an explanation.
Catalina: Una explicació.	**Catalina**: An explanation.
Wilhelm: Una vegada me varen dir: "Bé, això és per cortesia", i jo he dit: "Bé, però també has de pensar que pot ser un despreci".	**Wilhelm**: Once someone told me: "Well, it's out of courtesy," and I said: "Well, but you also have to consider that it could be taken as an insult".

By contrast, participants who do not decide to learn Catalan tend to externalise responsibility, framing their linguistic choices as shaped by factors beyond their control. They often justify their lack of engagement with Catalan by pointing to inefficient governmental promotion, the absence of Catalan in their everyday interactions or the coexistence of Catalan and Spanish, which they construct as a source of confusion. Within this logic, the responsibility for adaptation is displaced onto the host society, with participants expecting institutional and social actors to accommodate them unilaterally. Luciana's Extract 14 in Section 5.2.1.2. exemplifies this stance when she complains about the monolingual Catalan street sign, which, according to her, should be bilingual so that she can understand them.

This divergence in how responsibility is positioned correlates with broader attitudinal tendencies observed in the results of the survey (see Table 43). Those who assume responsibility for their linguistic decisions tend to express more positive orientations and attitudes towards Catalan, its speakers and its public presence, whereas those who externalise responsibility often display more negative orientations and attitudes. Yet some participants occupy an intermediate position. While their orientations and attitudinal scores more closely align with those who decided to learn Catalan, their discursive patterns resemble those of participants who did not make that decision. Participants in this intermediate category decided

to learn Catalan but most of them did not move beyond a basic understanding of the language. These contrasting patterns in attributing responsibility for individual decisions not only reflect differing degrees of agency and investment but also reveal how ideological discourses shape perceptions of linguistic legitimacy and belonging within a multilingual context.

Participants attribution of responsibility for their decisions			
Internally		**Intermediate position**	**Externally**
Btissame		Hayat	Ayoub
Samia*		Luciana	Oualid*
Moha		Germán	Matías
Fede		Monika	Yaiza
Salva			Klaus
Ermelinda			
Nele			
Fritz			
Max			
Wilhelm			
Mean Integrative Orientations	4.7	4.75	2.81
Mean Instrumental Orientations	3.8	3.75	3
Mean Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers	3.55	3.5	2.2
Mean Attitudes towards the Public Presence of Catalan	67.36	56.25	37.5

Table 43 Participants attribution of responsibility for their decisions

* These participants did not complete the quantitative survey and were therefore excluded from the calculation of mean scores for orientations and attitudes.

The interplay between agency, the decision to learn Catalan and the locatedness of responsibility for such decisions also generates different engagement with the institutional promotion of Catalan in Mallorca. Participants who tend to externalise responsibility for their language learning decisions also tend to disengage from any sense of personal involvement in the promotion and maintenance of the Catalan language. By contrast, those who locate responsibility internally are more likely to reflect on their potential role within the broader Catalan revitalisation movement.

Participants who do not perceive themselves as having a role in the revitalisation of Catalan and who typically make null or minimal investment in the language, also tend to lack awareness of the historical and political processes that have contributed to the marginalisation of Catalan in Mallorca. Matías in Extract 32 exemplifies this profile: he explicitly draws on perceived political inconsistencies on the island to justify his decision not to learn Catalan, punishing Mallorcan Catalan speakers for not being consistent with their political mandate to revitalise the language. In doing so, he erases the sociopolitical factors, such as shifting political support for Catalan language revitalisation, that have shaped the current linguistic landscape.

Extract 32

Matías (*Spanish*): Y algo que a mí me empuja a no querer aprenderlo o a no necesitarlo, es esto que te mencioné al principio. Yo soy muy respetuoso de las tradiciones, de que la gente cuide su tierra y demás. Pero también, a lo largo de mi vida, soy bastante coherente y yo veo que me están obligando a que mi hijo aprenda el idioma	**Matías**: And something that pushes me not to want to learn it or not need it, is what I mentioned to you at the beginning. I'm very respectful of traditions, of people taking care of their land and so on. But also, throughout my life, I've been quite coherent and I see that they're forcing my son to learn the language of the place in order to care for the

del lugar para cuidar el lugar, pero rifan todo al primer postor, es como que digo: "Bueno, al final, ¿por qué?" Porque si viene un alemán, le van a hablar en alemán, no le van a llevar a que hable en catalán. Entonces es como…	place, but they auction everything off to the highest bidder, and I think: "Well, in the end, why?" Because if a German comes, they'll speak to them in German, they won't make them speak Catalan. So it's like…

Conversely, participants who internalise responsibility for their decision to learn Catalan often extend this sense of agency to their role in the broader revitalisation movement. These individuals demonstrate a heightened level of awareness and, in some cases, political consciousness or activism. While committed to learning Catalan, they also critique the lack of coordinated efforts needed to ensure the success of linguistic normalisation and, by extension, their own legitimacy as Mallorcan citizens of Moroccan, Argentinian or German origin. By "coordinated efforts," they refer to the perceived institutional shortcomings in promoting Catalan, such as the limited quantity, variety and flexibility of available courses or the absence of workplace support for language learning (see Section 5.2.1.4.). Within their commitment to learning and using Catalan, they also call for reciprocal engagement: that "the other side", namely the government and Mallorcan Catalan speakers, should facilitate access, act in accordance with the official status of Catalan and embrace the responsibilities this entails, including offering the language more widely and encouraging immigrants to learn it upon arrival to the island. Btissame in Extract 33 illustrates this point.

Extract 33

Catalina (*Spanish*): ¿Y tenéis una idea de por qué pasa eso? ¿De por qué primero aprenden castellano y después ya aquí, si quieren	**Catalina**: And do you have any idea why that happens? Why they first learn Spanish and then here, if they want to
Btissame (*Spanish*): Pero antes no estaba el catalán.	**Btissame**: But before, Catalan wasn't there.
Catalina: Vale.	**Catalina**: Right.
Btissame: No es culpa nuestra. A ver, que estamos aquí.	**Btissame**: It's not our fault. I mean, we're here.
Catalina: No, no, no. O sea, claro.	**Catalina**: No, no, no. I mean, of course.
Btissame: A ver, ¿me entiendes? Que no ofrecen el catalán. Hablan de la lengua y del valorar, pero no dan… A ver, valoran catalán.	**Btissame**: I mean, you get me? They don't offer Catalan. They talk about the language and about valuing it, but they don't give… I mean, they value Catalan.
Catalina: A ver, pues eso me interesa. ¿Cómo? Explícalo. ¿Quién es que no ofrece el catalán?	**Catalina**: I mean, that interests me. How? Explain it. Who is it that doesn't offer Catalan?
Btissame: Bueno, hablo de… Como estamos aquí, el Ayuntamiento que nos da la oportunidad de ir a clase, pero como que es Mallorca y defendemos la lengua, pues al principio empezamos. Somos extranjeros y la lengua oficial es catalán, pues catalán.	**Btissame**: Well, I'm talking about… Since we're here, the Town Hall should give us the opportunity to go to class, but since it's Mallorca and we defend the language, well at the beginning we start. We're foreigners and the official language is Catalan, so Catalan.

Catalina: Claro, o sea,	**Catalina**: Of course, I mean
Btissame: ¿Tú me entiendes?	**Btissame**: You get me?
Catalina: Crees que sería…	**Catalina**: Do you think it would be…
Btissame: Si yo, cuando vino del Marroc, aprendo catalán en principio, con clase de catalán, ya sería mejor.	**Btissame**: If I, when I came from Morocco, had learned Catalan from the start, with Catalan classes, it would've been better.

Therefore, the decision to engage with the Catalan language emerges as a site of negotiation, a site that reflects broader struggles over recognition, legitimacy and the distribution of symbolic capital. The qualitative data in this study reinforce the relevance of factors previously identified in the literature as contributors to more positive attitudes towards minoritised languages (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2.). Through participants' experiences, these same infrastructural and socioeconomic factors, as well as, social and cultural capital, or intrinsic motivation, go theoretically a step further by not only acting as attitude-shaping but also as enablers of their decision to learn Catalan. This convergence suggests a temporal and functional link: the conditions that foster favourable attitudes may, over time, evolve into practical facilitators of language learning. In this sense, the findings of this study complement existing research that highlights the role of material circumstances, such as infrastructural and socioeconomic factors, in enabling immaterial outcomes like Catalan learning (Massaguer, 2022; Ó Ceallaigh, 2022). They also reinforce the importance of meaningful social ties and a dominant minoritised language environment (Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Bellido, 2018; Calafat & Calero-Pons, 2019; Campos, 2018; Castell et al., 2023; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Hotařová, 2017; Lasagabaster, 2005; Melià, 1996; Vives, 1989), individual agency (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017), as well as the impact of literacy or education in fostering positive attitudes and enabling access to language learning (Aguiló-Mora & Lynch, 2017; Hogan-Brun & Ramonienė, 2005).

Thus, the participants' narratives not only align with but also expand upon previous research by illustrating how attitudinal predispositions and structural enablers can reinforce each other in the process of deciding to engage with Catalan.

5.2.1.4.2. Facilitators and Constraints for Catalan Use

This section examines the intervening factors in the process, comprising the move from understanding Catalan to using it. Participants describe diverse trajectories in this transition: for some, the shift was gradual and developed along with language learning; for others, it occurred abruptly. Some participants remain unsure why they are unable to speak Catalan, while others regard comprehension as sufficient and see no need to go further. In all cases, participants report being affected by a range of factors, some of which have already been identified as significant in the linear regression analysis, namely language proficiency and self-confidence (see Section 5.1.3.1.). All the factors described by participants can be understood as stemming from three intertwined components: self-confidence, the availability of a safe space and the awareness of Catalan's sociolinguistic dynamics (see Figure 4 and the following paragraphs).

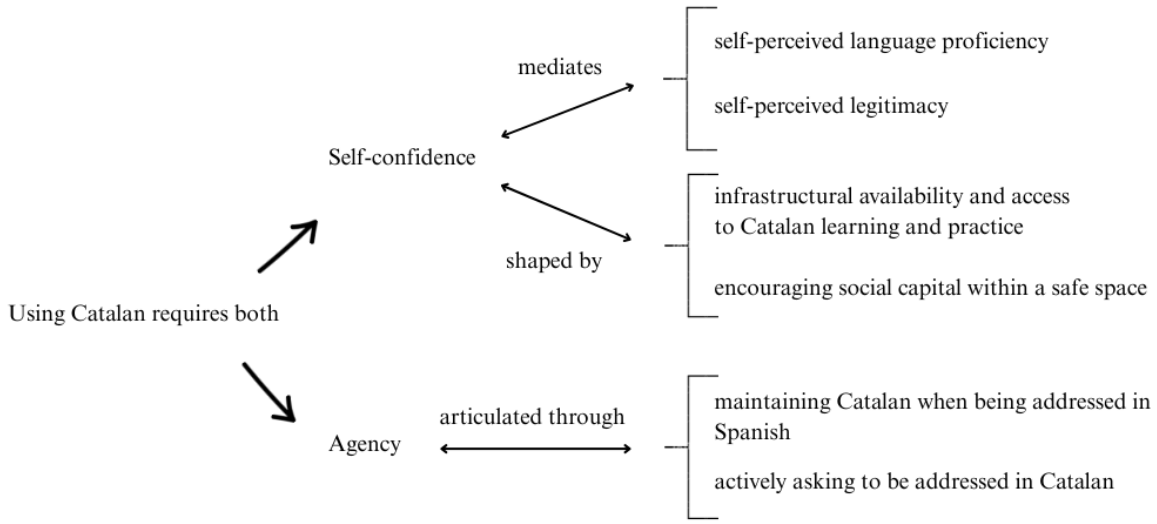


Figure 4 Components for Catalan Use

Many participants cite language proficiency and self-confidence as constraints for using Catalan. However, regardless of their real language proficiency, the factor most clearly shaping the transition from understanding to speaking Catalan is self-confidence. Participants frequently underestimate their own proficiency, a tendency mediated by low self-confidence. This low self-confidence, in turn, is often rooted in homogenising discourses shaped by purist ideologies and linguistic prejudices (see Section 5.2.1.2. and Chapter 6). Most justifications for not speaking Catalan rest on the perception that it is more difficult than Spanish, regardless of participants' initial language, and, subsequently, on the belief that whatever they say or do in Catalan will never suffice to be considered a full speaker of the language. In this context, the shift towards active use of Catalan is often hindered by a focus on how the language ought to sound, an internalised concern shaped by ideologies of linguistic purism that delegitimise themselves as rightful speakers of the language. As a result, participants are frequently caught in an overly harsh self-critical discourse, listing their perceived shortcomings, as exemplified by Fritz in Extract 34.

Extract 34

Fritz (*Catalan*): No sé combinar els pronoms febles […] a mi em costa més el vocabulari […] hi ha moltes paraules que em costen molt. I ara al llibre surten aquests tipus de paraules i i al mateix temps hi ha molt de vocabulari que encara no està molt…	**Fritz**: I don't know how to combine the weak pronouns […] I struggle more with the vocabulary […] there are lots of words that I find really hard. And now in the book these types of words are coming up and at the same time there's a lot of vocabulary that still isn't very…
Catalina (*Catalan*): Assolit?	**Catalina**: Acquired?
Fritz: Assolit, sí.	**Fritz**: Acquired, yes.
Catalina: D'acord, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Right, yes, yes.
Fritz: A vegades, cerc una paraula i no sé, l'altre dia, 'sospitós', no?	**Fritz**: Sometimes I look for a word and I don't know, the other day, 'sospitós', right?
Catalina: Claro, sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Of course, yes, yes, yes.
Fritz: Falten paraules bàsiques i ja en el C1 hi ha moltes les paraules molt especiales que no em serveixen, no?	**Fritz**: Basic words are missing and already in C1 there are lots of very specialised words that aren't useful to me, right?
Catalina: Sí, sí, sí, sí.	**Catalina**: Yes, yes, yes, yes.
Fritz: I aquesta és una dificultat.	**Fritz**: And that's a difficulty.

The second dimension commonly mentioned by participants as relevant to their use of Catalan is the availability of a safe space (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.4.). According to participants' experiences, such a space where they do not fear to make mistakes, is typically shaped by the combination of infrastructural factors, encouraging social capital and a high-Catalan-input environment. Infrastructural factors include the elements identified by participants in Section

5.2.1.4.1. as having helped them frequently access spaces for learning Catalan, such as accessible course information, flexible class schedules, proximity to learning centres and reliable transport connections. These conditions, in turn, allow them to practice it in their daily lives, such as Catalan language classes or participation in the language exchange programme *parelles lingüístiques*. Meaningful and encouraging social ties, alongside an environment where Catalan is predominantly seen and heard, are crucial for participants to move beyond mere comprehension and begin using the language actively. Participants, like Max in Extract 35, describe how specific friends played a key role in their initial steps, for instance, by showing patience and allowing them time to find the right words. Similarly, taking part in popular festivities where Catalan is the main language also helps them feel safe enough to start or continue using it. Conversely, the absence of encouraging social capital and a Catalan-dominant environment proves highly detrimental for those who attempt to speak Catalan. They often find themselves in situations where they have to explicitly request that others speak Catalan to them or observe how the presence of just one Spanish-speaking individual in a group prompts the entire conversation to shift to Spanish.

Extract 35

Catalina (*Catalan*): D'acord, i recordes, ja sé que és difícil també, però recordes quan i com, sobretot com, vares fer sa passa de començar a emprar català?	**Catalina**: Right, and do you remember, I know it's difficult too, but do you remember when and how, especially how, you took the step to start using Catalan?
Max (*Catalan*): Sí, crec que sí. Perquè crec que va ser en [NOM DE PERSONA], que un company de feina que…	**Max**: Yes, I think so. Because I think it was [NAME OF PERSON], a workmate who…
Catalina: D'acord, ok.	**Catalina**: Right, ok.

Max: Sí, que va tenir molta paciència i va ser al laboratori que eren coses fàcils, que ja sabies més o manco allò que anava a dir o…	**Max**: Yes, who was very patient, and it was in the lab where things were easy, where you more or less already knew what was going to be said or…
Catalina: D'acord, d'acord. Per tant, era amb una persona que tenies una certa confiança, no?	**Catalina**: Right, right. So, it was with someone you had certain trust with, wasn't it?
Max: Sí.	**Max**: Yes.
Catalina: D'acord. I te senties segur que podies cometre errors, que no passava res i que tenies com a temps perquè s'altra persona te donava temps perquè poguessis cercar les paraules, no?	**Catalina**: Right. And you felt safe that you could make mistakes, that it didn't matter and that you had time because the other person gave you time so you could look for the words, right?
Max: Sí, jo crec que sí.	**Max**: Yes, I think so.

Finally, some participants frame the decision to start speaking Catalan as a more deliberate and agentive act, one that requires heightened awareness of the sociolinguistic dynamics surrounding Catalan in Mallorca (see Section 5.2.1.4.1. for further details into agency). Participants feel that speaking Catalan entails a more active commitment than learning it: requesting that others use Catalan with them, explaining that they are still learning and asking for patience or setting personal challenges to practise. Interview participants who speak Catalan daily and demonstrate heightened awareness align with two of the four variables significantly correlated with Catalan use in the linear regression in Section 5.1.3.1.: they show positive attitudes towards Catalan in public spaces (with a mean preference of 70.8%) and the majority are born in Germany.

In sum, as has been shown throughout this and previous sections, interview data serves to expand the quantitative findings and deepen understanding of the underlying mechanisms shaping participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan. However, one notable mismatch remains unresolved. While both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that women tend to show greater commitment than men to learning Catalan, the quantitative data also indicates that men report higher levels of Catalan use and self-assessed proficiency. Hypotheses such as men overestimating their linguistic abilities have not been confirmed, leaving this discrepancy open for future investigation beyond this dissertation.

Nevertheless, the three core dimensions identified in this section, self-confidence, the availability of a safe space and sociolinguistic awareness, align closely with previous research on minority language use. Scholars have similarly emphasised the role of linguistic insecurity (Kircher et al., 2023; Torres, 2016), the impact of encouraging and patient social ties and environments (Fukuda, 2017; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Hristova, 2021; Kircher et al., 2023; Ortega et al., 2014) and the influence of political positioning in favour of minoritised languages (Byrne et al., 2022; Casesnoves & Mas, 2017) as both facilitators and barriers to active language use. The present findings thus not only reinforce existing literature but also offer a nuanced account of how these factors intersect in the lived experiences of new speakers in Mallorca (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3. and Chapter 7).

5.3. Summary of Results

The results presented in this chapter reveal a complex interplay between a number of factors in shaping immigrant adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca. The survey results reveal significant variation across gender and place of birth: women, particularly German and Argentinian, are more likely to have undertaken Catalan learning, while Moroccan participants,

despite displaying more favourable predispositions, report lower levels of engagement. Regression models highlight Integrative and Instrumental Orientations, favourable attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan, gender and place of birth as key predictors of learning decisions. For language use, proficiency, self-confidence, attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and place of birth also emerge as statistically significant. The qualitative interviews offer an understanding of these patterns, identifying gendered social roles and the symbolic value attributed to participants' resources within the host society as key factors shaping opportunities for language learning and the ability to mobilise and use the language.

6. Discussion

This chapter establishes a dialogue between the theoretical framework underpinning this research and its empirical findings. In doing so, it aims to address the research questions of this study, which are restated below.

1. What factors interact to shape the decision to learn and use Catalan among Moroccan, Argentinian and German adults living in Mallorca? (RQ1)
2. What role do these adults' language ideologies and attitudes play in these decisions and in relation to these factors? (RQ2)
3. How can these insights inform strategies for Catalan revitalisation while also addressing immigrants' sociolinguistic needs in navigating Mallorcan society? (RQ3)

Finally, the chapter outlines the potential implications of the study and discusses the limitations encountered during the research process.

6.1. Survey Variables and Interview Factors Shaping the Decision to Learn and Use Catalan

This section addresses Research Questions 1 and 2, which aim to identify and analyse the factors shaping Moroccan, Argentinian and German adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca, with particular attention to the role of their language ideologies and attitudes. To answer these questions, the section establishes a dialogue between the theoretical constructs and the empirical data gathered during the study by interpreting them in light of the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.7. Such dialogue is established by structuring the discussion around the three interrelated dimensions of Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and

Norton (2015) investment model—identity, ideology and capital. The model conceptualises language learning as a socially situated process shaped by the interplay of learners' imagined and actual identities, the ideologies surrounding the language and the forms of capital they can mobilise within specific social structures (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.). Building on these three dimensions, the following subsections discuss the empirical data through the lens of each dimension. The identity section examines the forms of self-legitimisation pursued by participants (Section 6.1.1.). The ideology section analyses how the types of legitimacy sought align with particular language ideologies and orientations, producing varying degrees of openness towards learning and using Catalan (Section 6.1.2.). The capital section considers the resources participants bring with them, the symbolic value attributed to these resources by the host society, and how such value determines which resources can be mobilised and by whom (Section 6.1.3.). At the same time, data shows that these dimensions are inherently interconnected: identity work is shaped by ideological discourses and mediated by the value of resources, while ideologies and capitals are themselves enacted through participants' identity projects (see Figure 5 for a visual synthesis of the discussion). This integrated approach adopted here, in addition to being a core characteristic of Darvin and Norton's model, reflects the theoretical framework of the study, in which mobility (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.), linguistic markets (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.), discourses of legitimisation, homogenisation and efficiency (Chapter 3, Section 3.4.), language attitudes and orientations to language learning (Chapter 3, Sections 3.5.1. and 3.5.2.), and the intersections of gender and class (Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3.) converge within the investment model to explain immigrant adults' engagement with Catalan.

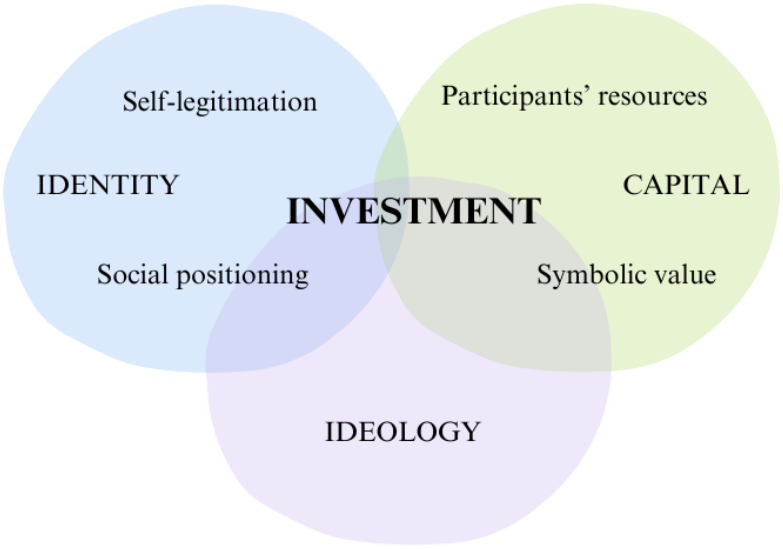


Figure 5 Investment model in this research

Hence, such a theoretical model is particularly suitable for interpreting how the interaction between structural conditions and agentive strategies in immigrant adults' engagement with Catalan in Mallorca is articulated in the empirical data. In this sense, empirical results outlined in Chapter 5 are integrated both with the theoretical background outlined in Chapter 3 and with the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of the study, as the latter is likewise guided by the search for regularities to be interpreted in relation to underlying structures, mechanisms and lived experiences (Bhaskar, 2002).

6.1.1. Self-legitimation: Identity in Catalan Language Learning and Use

The decision to learn and use Catalan among Moroccan, Argentinian and German adults in Mallorca can be initially unpacked by examining the types of legitimising forms in which individuals decide to engage (Bourdieu, 1991; Woolard, 2016). Such choices are made within a range of opportunities that are not equally available to all participants and that involve distinct

identity processes and strategies. Driven by how they wish to navigate the spaces they inhabit, how they seek to position themselves within these spaces and how they hope to be perceived by Catalan-speaking Mallorcans (Costa, 2015; Norton Peirce, 1995; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016), participants express varying imagined identities which result in two main outcomes discussed below: those who decide to learn and use Catalan, and those who do not. These identities are described as 'imagined' not because they are unreal, but because they are projected towards possible futures and negotiated in relation to communities and social positions that participants aspire to or perceive themselves as belonging to (Norton Peirce, 1995; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). At the same time, they are lived and experienced in everyday interactions, serving as a key mechanism through which individuals negotiate belonging, differentiation and legitimacy.

Participants who decide to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca often project their imagined identities in relation to two main discourses within the host society. On the one hand, they act in relation to their perception of Catalan as intimately connected to an essentialised national identity that they need to perform to integrate in the host society (McCubbin, 2010; Woolard, 2016; see Section 6.1.2.). For example, the German participant Wilhelm not only records the maximum score for Integrative Orientations towards Catalan (mean 5) in the survey but also elaborates on this result in the interview by considering learning Catalan as a means of bringing him closer to his fellow villagers (Chapter 5, Sections 5.2. and 5.2.1.1.). On the other hand, participants who decide to learn Catalan also project their ideal selves in relation to the host society's imaginaries, which homogenise immigrants by attributing to them specific traits and expected profiles (see Sections 6.1.2. and 6.1.3.). For example, Monika in Extract 36 perfectly reflects the tension between the places she wants to navigate within the island and the identity she wants to perform of herself. At the same time, she wants to differentiate herself from the dominant imaginary in Mallorca held regarding her German place-of-origin counterparts as

wealthy property owners living in a socially distant bubble, disconnected from Catalan-speaking Mallorcans. Previous examples of identity projections are Btissame's Extract 5 in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1.

Extract 36

Monika (*Spanish*): Ahora se me ha ocurrido una cosa que, por ejemplo, me sentía como mal que era. El año pasado en la manifestación por el tema del turismo y la vivienda, que me fui a la manifestación. Y ahí, claro, todo era en Mallorquín. Y yo incluso me sentía... Yo tengo el mismo problema que la gente [?] Yo gano una mierda, trabajo un montón de horas y tal, y justamente ahora yo me cambio a una casa enana.	**Monika**: Something just came to mind that, for example, made me feel kind of bad. Last year during the protest about tourism and housing, I went to the protest. And there, of course, everything was in Mallorcan. And I even felt... I have the same problem as everyone else [?] I earn crap, I work loads of hours and all that, and right now I'm moving into a tiny house.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Ya ves.	**Catalina**: Wow.
Monika: O sea tengo que tirar la mitad de mis trastos y pago mucho más que he pagado hasta ahora. Entonces, claro, yo fui por eso a la manifestación, porque a mí el problema para mí es el mismo.	**Monika**.: I mean, I have to throw out half my stuff and I'm paying way more than I used to. So, of course, I went to the protest because the problem is the same for me.
Catalina: Totalmente, sí, sí, sí, sí	**Catalina**: Totally, yes, yes, yes, yes.
Monika: Pero allí, por ejemplo, yo me sentía rara de no poder hablar, porque la gente ahí...	**Monika**: But there, for example, I felt weird not being able to speak, because the people

pues. Yo quería formar parte del rollo y sentía que no por el idioma.[…] Entonces, yo creo que ha sido allí que... […] porque allí había como un rollo, que la gente estaba como muy unida y yo sentía que no... Dice: "Joder, llevo tantos años aquí, ¿por qué coño no hablo?	there... well. I wanted to be part of it all and felt like I couldn't because of the language. […] So, I think it was then that... […] because there was this vibe, like people were really united and I felt like I wasn't... I said: "Damn, I've been here so many years, why the hell don't I speak?"
Catalina: Claro, claro, claro.	**Catalina**: Of course, of course, of course.
Monika: Es que me daba rabia a mí misma. Entonces, yo creo que aquí había como un cambio de chip.	**Monika**: It really made me angry with myself. So, I think that was like a shift in mindset.

Among such profiles, Catalan proficiency is perceived as a valuable strategy for self-legitimation. Within these cases, the pursuit of self-legitimation is enacted through various discursive strategies, emphasising personal attributes, contrasting lifestyle choices and adopting advocacy roles as a means of accumulating symbolic capital and achieving the desired imagined identities (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1.). For example, Germán, an Argentinian participant, draws on his Catalan proficiency to legitimise himself in front of fellow Argentinians in Mallorca who are reluctant to learn the language. In such situations he positions himself as a defender of Catalan which makes him unique as an Argentinian immigrant on the island (see Extract 7 in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1.).

Many studies have focused on the challenges immigrant learners face in gaining legitimacy as minoritised language speakers (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; McCubbin, 2010; O'Rourke, 2011; Posocco & Watson, 2022), mainly due to discouraging behaviours from local minoritised language speakers, characterised by limited patience in allowing them time to understand

Catalan and by frequent switching to Spanish (Kircher et al., 2023; see Section 6.1.3.). Such behaviours, often rooted in the linguistic trauma inherent to minoritised language communities (Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021), directly undermine the legitimisation of the imagined identities that (potential) learners have invested in through Catalan. Additionally, participants interpret their age, intelligence, language aptitude, previous language learning experiences and inherent curiosity and interest in languages as explanatory variables for their engagement—or lack thereof—with Catalan (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1.4.). For example, Fede, an Argentinian participant in Section 5.2.1.1. of Chapter 5, explains that given her age it is unlikely she will be able to express herself in Catalan with the same ease as in Spanish. However, beyond the objective fact that such variables do affect language learning as shown in previous research (DeKeyser, 2012; Dörnyei, 2005; Flynn, 2020; Griffiths & Soruç, 2018; Lenet et al., 2011; Muñoz, 2019; Muñoz & Singleton, 2018), these projections reflect learners' self-perceptions and their ability to mobilise these variables as resources to challenge their delegitimisation and achieve their imagined identities (see Section 6.1.3.). For example, self-confidence emerges as particularly significant in mediating their decision to learn Catalan and more specifically, to use it: the higher a participant's self-confidence, the greater the probability of using Catalan. This correlation is statistically corroborated in the linear regression model presented in Chapter 5, Section 5.1.3.1, and discursively reinforced through participants such as Fritz. The German participant Fritz in Section 5.2.1.2. of Chapter 5, asserts: "I know I'll always have a foreigner accent, always" (Extract 17). This assertion is complemented in Section 5.2.1.4.2. of the same chapter, where the same participant lists his perceived shortcomings as constraints on using Catalan (Extract 34). Self-confidence, closely linked to language anxiety, self-conception and attributional processes (Alonso, 2017; Dörnyei, 2005; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Horwitz & Nassif, 2018; Weiner, 1985; Williams & Burden, 1999), encompasses self-evaluations in relation to the ideal speaker they imagine as the target (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.). This

imagined speaker is typically assumed to possess essential traits, such as specific ways of pronouncing words (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.2.), which are perceived as inherited rather than acquired. Lower self-confidence or a perceived lack of legitimacy to be a full speaker of Mallorcan Catalan, has been shown, both by other scholars (Dörnyei, 2005; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Kircher et al., 2023; Torres, 2016) and by this study's participants (see Fritz example and the comment on linear regression models above), to significantly impact language proficiency and, consequently, participant's projected identities of themselves as legitimate speakers of Catalan.

All these identity-based strategies and processes require a specific type of agency from immigrant learners and users of a minoritised language. Though constrained by individual mental schemas and society's dominant discourses (Bouchard & Glasgow, 2018; Norton Peirce, 1995; Silverstein, 1998), agency enables a dialogue between past experiences and the imagination of future possible selves (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). It is through these iterative conversations with oneself that projections of future imagined identities are constructed and enacted, mediated by resources, such as cultural capital and self-confidence, that (potential) learners are able to mobilise within the structural constraints (see Section 6.1.3. for further insights into resources involved in the decision to learn and use Catalan). It is through the enactment of their agency that participants who decided to learn Catalan tend to attribute internal responsibility to their decisions (see chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.). For example, Wilhelm in Extract 37 (reprint of Extract 31) illustrates how agency is enacted when learners confront situations in which their legitimacy as speakers is questioned. Such an example also show that participants who decide to use Catalan often express the need for a stronger ideological commitment to language revitalisation, underpinned by a heightened degree of linguistic awareness, as also observed by scholars like Casesnoves and Mas (2017), Cortès-Colomé et al. (2016) and Puigdevall et al. (2018).

Extract 37

Wilhelm (*Catalan*): Això també és el problema més gran que he tingut amb el mallorquí, que no me volen xerrar, es cas, es mallorquí, aquí.	**Wilhelm**: That's also the biggest problem I've had with Mallorcan, that they don't want to speak it to me, the, the Mallorcan, here.
Catalina (*Catalan*): Clar.	**Catalina**: Right.
Wilhelm: Me veuen sa cara, me senten s'accent, que tenc, i tot d'una me xerren el castellà.	**Wilhelm**: They see my face, they hear my accent, that I have, and immediately they speak to me in Spanish.
Catalina: Sí, eh? I això com… Què en penses, d'això, tu?	**Catalina**: Yeah, huh? And how… What do you think about that?
Wilhelm: Jo sempre li deman: "I per què m'has de xerrar el castellà? Per què?", i encara, fins ara, fins avui, ninguna persona m'ha pogut donar una explicació.	**Wilhelm**: I always ask them: "Why do you have to speak to me in Spanish? Why?", and even now, to this day, no one has been able to give me an explanation.
Catalina: Una explicació.	**Catalina**: An explanation.
Wilhelm: Una vegada me varen dir: "Bé, això és per cortesia", i jo he dit: "Bé, però també has de pensar que pot ser un despreci".	**Wilhelm**: Once someone told me: "Well, it's out of courtesy," and I said: "Well, but you also have to consider that it could be taken as an insult".

By contrast, participants who decide not to learn Catalan tend to position themselves as individuals who should already be fully legitimised, basing such stance in homogenising and

efficiency-based justifications, a trend also observed by Massaguer (2022) (see Section 6.1.2.). Two extracts from Matías in reprint Extract 38 exemplify this position. Matías expresses indignation at being required to invest in learning Catalan while, in his view, Germans are not. This indignation, beyond indexing social class positioning and aspirations (see Section 6.1.3.), also reflects his expectation that, as a Spanish speaker he should not be asked to meet what he perceives as an unnecessary requirement.

Extract 38

Matías (*Spanish*): […] me están obligando a que mi hijo aprenda el idioma del lugar para cuidar el lugar, pero rifan todo al primer postor, es como que digo: "Bueno, al final, ¿por qué?" Porque si viene un alemán, le van a hablar en alemán, no le van a llevar a que hable en catalán. Entonces es como…	**Matías**: […] they're forcing my son to learn the language of the place in order to care for the place, but they auction everything off to the highest bidder, and I think: "Well, in the end, why?" Because if a German comes, they'll speak to them in German, they won't make them speak Catalan. So it's like…
Catalina (*Spanish*): ¿Crees que este tiempo libre que has tenido, ha podido influir en tu decisión de aprender o no aprender o crees que no tiene nada que ver?	**Catalina**: Do you think this free time you've had could have influenced your decision to learn or not learn, or do you think it has nothing to do with it?
Matías (*Spanish*): No. Si hubieses tenido el tiempo libre, que de hecho lo tuve y hoy lo tengo, lo hubiese empleado en aprender cualquier otro idioma que me… […] Es como herramienta, a mí me serviría más	**Matías**: No. If I had had the free time, which in fact I did and I still do, I would have used it to learn any other language that... […] It's like a tool, it would be more useful for me to learn English or to learn German than to learn Catalan. So that's it.

aprender inglés o aprender alemán que aprender catalán. Así que es esto.

Among these type of participants, the essentialising link between Catalan and Mallorca's identity is not appreciated, revealing divergent aspirations in how they want to navigate Mallorcan spaces, to project their identities and to adopt self-legitimation strategies distinct from those described above. Seeking cultural and linguistic uniformity as the most efficient way for a territory to function, they delegitimise the social status of Catalan, an act that, in turn, serves as a strategy to prioritise and protect their own interests, usually as (initial) speakers of Spain's dominant language or as cosmopolitan citizens who speak internationally valued languages such as English. While Matías serves as an example of the former category, Klaus in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.3. exemplifies the latter (Extracts 18, 21 and 22). Delegitimising Catalan and advocating for what they regard as more useful languages, such as Spanish or English, these participants feel entitled to and aim to connect with Mallorcan Catalan speakers in Spanish, a type of social interaction that provides the kind of closeness they seek (see Section 6.1.2. for further explanation into these profiles). Therefore, Catalan is neither used as a self-legitimating resource nor as a differentiating element from their place-of-birth counterparts (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1.). On the contrary, it is perceived as a delegitimising factor, and the spaces they seek to navigate in Mallorca, the identity they aim to project and the forms of legitimation they pursue are all shaped by efforts to erase the social value of Catalan while asserting their privileges.

Thus, imagined identity within the host society is a central initial factor in understanding participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan. For many, this decision forms part of a broader process of identity reconstruction, in which Catalan becomes embedded within the imagined

identities through which they negotiate their place in Mallorcan society (Norton Peirce, 1995; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

6.1.2. Socio-affective Dimensions of Language: Ideology in Catalan Language Learning and Using

As discussed in the previous section (Section 6.1.1.), one of the discourses through which participants who decide to learn Catalan tend to enact identity processes and strategies of self-legitimation is the intrinsic relationship they perceive between the Catalan language and the identity of the island. This perceived link between Catalan and the essence of Mallorca is evidenced by these participants' high scores in Integrative Orientations and the predominant presence of authenticity-based language ideologies within their interviews (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Woolard, 2016). Both Integrative Orientations and authenticity-based ideologies have a socio-affective dimension: while orientations reflect participants' desire to join the Catalan-speaking community, authenticity-based ideologies frame this integration as legitimate only when learners adopt Catalan as a marker of genuine belonging (Kircher et al., 2022; Tudela, 2015). In light of this, the following paragraphs will argue that the profiles outlined in the survey, together with their experiences and narratives analysed in the interviews, reveal that participants who decide to learn and use Catalan tend to translate their decisions into action when driven by socio-affective perspectives of the language and the island's identity. By contrast, this section will also examine how, among participants who decide not to learn and use Catalan, homogenising and efficiency-based discourses prove more strongly appealing.

Participants who decide to learn Catalan tend to value engagement with Mallorca through its language and culture as a genuine, respectful and authentic approach (see Chapter 5, Section

5.2.1.1.). These individuals often express sentiments of empathy or solidarity with the broader struggle for linguistic normalisation, fostered by the establishment of meaningful connections with local people. Participants such as Fritz, Fede and Germán position themselves emotionally aligned with this cause, explaining that their understanding emerged through socially meaningful relationships with Mallorcan Catalan speakers, relationships that granted them access to experiences, histories and narratives which further deepened their connection to what they perceive as Mallorca's genuine identity (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.). By contrast, the emotional expressions of those who have chosen not to learn Catalan are more often marked by resentment or hostility, such as the cases of Matías, Yaiza or Klaus. When comparing quantitatively the two profiles, clear differences emerge. Fritz, Fede and Germán display markedly higher Integrative (4.42 vs 2.08) and Instrumental Orientations (3.83 vs 2.75), more positive Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers (3.61 vs 1.89) and more supportive stance towards the public presence of Catalan (68.75 vs 33.33) (see Tables 38 and 40 in Section 5.2.). As noted by participants who have learned Catalan, and as reflected in the narratives of those who have not, this emotional distance appears linked to the absence of meaningful contact with linguistic aware Catalan-speaking Mallorcans and a lack of engagement with their cultural and identity-based realities.

The fact that the establishment of meaningful connections with local people can foster empathy and, consequently, increase the odds for language learning and use, reveals the language's stronger appeal when framed through its socio-emotional dimensions, i.e. Integrative Orientations and authenticity-based ideologies, rather than its utilitarian ones, i.e. Instrumental Orientations and anonymity-based ideologies. Indeed, participants who decide to learn Catalan not only tend to show relatively high Integrative Orientations (mean 4.7) but prioritise them over Instrumental ones (mean 3.88), a pattern reinforced by the qualitative data, where authenticity-based language ideologies predominate in explaining such decisions. In these

accounts, the decision to initiate language learning is often motivated by the prospect of building meaningful connections with linguistically aware Mallorcan Catalan speakers. Max in Section 5.2.1.1 of Chapter 5 exemplifies this socio-affective prioritisation in his learning trajectory when he explains that the main reason for enrolling in a Catalan course was to avoid continually forcing his Catalan-speaking friends to switch language when speaking with him (Extract 2).

Among those who do decide not to learn Catalan, not only lower Integrative Orientations are displayed (mean 2.81) alongside slightly higher Instrumental Orientations (mean 3), but also mainly articulate homogenisation- and efficiency-based discourses. Luciana, for instance, in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.2., exemplifies this non-learning profile when she argues that Catalan is not a language in its own right but merely the way Mallorcans speak Spanish, insisting that Spanish should remain the dominant language (Extract 12). Driven by homogenising ideologies such as linguistic nationalism, alongside efficiency-based ideologies rooted in instrumental views of language, these participants base their decisions on investing in whichever language offers the greatest possible benefit and can be used across the widest range of contexts. In Mallorca, this ideological positioning is more commonly associated with Spanish than with Catalan.

Empirical studies on language attitudes and ideologies within European, Spanish and Catalan-speaking settings, show that participants often frame minoritised languages through socio-affective dimensions, privileging Integrative Orientations and authenticity-based ideologies over utilitarian ones (Akoudad, 2022; Amengual-Ripoll, 2022; Belmar et al., 2019; Campos, 2018; DePalma, 2015; Fukuda, 2009, 2017; Hogan-Brun & Ramonienė, 2005; Larrea, 2016; Mazzoli, 2017; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017; Rosiak, 2023; Sastre, 2012; Tudela, 2015; see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, this tendency has also been criticised as a constraint for minority language revitalisation processes, as framing such languages solely as carriers of local culture

and identity tends to move them away from utilitarian dimensions. This is why scholars such as Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013) have argued for the need to de-ethnicise the Catalan language as a revitalisation strategy (see Chapter 3). In this regard, Catalonia appears to have initiated a process of anonymisation (Bofill, 2023; Puigdevall et al., 2018; Tudela, 2015; Woolard, 2016), whereas this does not seem to be occurring in Mallorca, as both the survey and the interview data show that socio-affective dimensions are the most salient and appealing dimensions for language learning (see Max example above). These findings also resonate with research from the economics of language in Catalonia (Di Paolo & Sastre, 2010), where, among other indicators, the intensity of exposure—often shaped by workplace and social interactions—emerges as a key correlate of language learning, although no equivalent studies exist for the Balearic Islands and no direct conclusions can therefore be drawn for this context. In this regard, Tudela's (2015) observations of the heightened authenticity dimensions attributed to Catalan in Mallorca compared with Catalan in Catalonia. A plausible hypothesis is that in Mallorca authenticity is reinforced because social discourses and the island's collective imaginaries may strongly root the language in local idiosyncrasy and interpersonal relations, whereas in Catalonia the deeper institutionalisation of Catalan has facilitated its framing through anonymity and utilitarian orientations (Pons, 2005). Participants who decide not to learn Catalan tend to be ideologically situated within dominant social discourses of homogenisation and efficiency-driven logics (Harvey, 2005) and they name only hypothetical instrumental reasons for learning a language in adulthood (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1.1 to 5.2.1.3.). Lacking exposure to the perspectives of linguistically aware Mallorcan Catalan speakers—namely, the ways in which locals articulate Catalan as the island's identity language, positioned sociolinguistically as marginal due to historical and political processes—or, as the Moroccan participant Btissame notes, struggling to ascribe value beyond utilitarian considerations to something immaterial like a language, these individuals appear willing to

learn Catalan only if it were the sole official language and dominant in private employment contexts. Therefore, the Integrative Orientations and authenticity-based ideologies are consistently attributed to Catalan in Mallorca, where the role of anonymity and communicative efficiency is mainly relegated to Spanish. In this regard, Spanish functions as the dominant utilitarian language in everyday and institutional contexts.

The predominant socio-affective dimensions of Catalan situate the learning of the language within an ideological sphere of seemingly emotionally driven decisions, rather than logic and utilitarian-driven choices, which are more commonly associated with the decision to learn Spanish (Fukuda, 2009, 2017; Mazzoli, 2017). These dynamics align with the inherent characteristics of dominant discourses, which are socially embedded within a common-sense framework and perceived as normal and unmarked. By contrast, counterhegemonic discourses tend to be framed as marked and illogical (Hill, 1998; Woolard, 2016, 2020). Participants in this research, such as Fritz, explicitly acknowledge that their decision to learn Catalan arises less from efficient calculation or common-sense expectations of material gain, and more from an emotionally charged desire to understand Mallorca more deeply. Therefore, if the learning of Catalan is framed within marked and emotional spheres of decision-making, this may help explain the greater salience of socio-affective dimensions in dominated languages as opposed to dominant ones. In turn, the predominance of socio-affective variables in language learning underscores the importance of conceptualising learning as an affective process, rather than a purely cognitive one (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

While favourable attitudinal and ideological profiles are associated with a higher likelihood of at least a basic investment in Catalan language learning, these predispositions alone do not ensure sustained learning and use. This is evident in the case of Fede, who despite being predisposed to learn Catalan was unable to dedicate time to it until her children grew older, as childcare responsibilities fell largely on her. Similarly, Btissame, with a strong willingness to

learn Catalan, has been constrained by the lack of frequent and flexible classes in her town, combined with the difficulty of commuting due to having young children. These examples highlight the need to account for additional sociodemographic, infrastructural and socioeconomic factors within a complex interplay of power relations shaping the decision to learn and use Catalan which will be addressed in Section 6.1.3.).

In conclusion, this section aligns with previous studies that reveal the importance of considering language attitudes and ideologies as key factors for successful minoritised language revitalisation movements (Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021), within which the decision to learn such languages by outgroup community members is also key. That said, this study argues for the necessity of further considering additional factors embedded within these complex power relationships as necessary variables to achieve a more complete picture of the factors that shape immigrant adults' decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca.

6.1.3. Mobilising Resources: Capital in Catalan Language Learning and Using

The inconsistencies observed between the descriptive cross-tabulations of the survey's quantitative variables and the statistical tests applied to those same variables prompted further interpretative reflection, aided by insights from the qualitative data (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.). Recalling these inconsistencies, the following tendencies stand out: while women more frequently decide to learn Catalan and exhibit stronger Integrative and Instrumental Orientations, as well as more favourable Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers, it is men—particularly Argentinian men—who tend to report higher self-assessed proficiency, greater use of Catalan and stronger linguistic self-confidence. Similarly, Moroccan participants express the most favourable attitudes and orientations, yet they are less likely to decide to learn Catalan and report lower proficiency and use. These descriptive tendencies do not align with

the statistically significant associations from the regression model: high Integrative and Instrumental Orientations scores are significantly linked to German participants rather than Moroccans, and female gender shows stronger associations with linguistic use than male gender, despite men's self-reported confidence and use.

Such discrepancies underscore the need to consider mediating factors, namely structural constraints such as childcare responsibilities or limited course availability, beyond attitudinal dispositions and identity-related aspirations, a need which, paradoxically, has also shaped the evolution of academic approaches to understanding language learning decisions (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.). While early models, such as Gardner and colleagues' socio-educational framework (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003), focused on individual and attitudinal variables, later developments introduced identity and context as central components (e.g., Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System). These developments culminated in the proposal of Norton Peirce's (1995; 2013) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model, which underpins the present thesis and structures the current discussion. Within the investment framework, ideology plays a central role (see Section 6.1.2.) since power relations are understood as key factors in shaping language learning decisions. This perspective situates learners within broader social structures that condition their access to linguistic resources and opportunities for investment.

Therefore, in the present study, the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca is shaped not only by individual agency and ideological positioning, as discussed in Sections 6.1.1. and 6.1.2., but also by the structural conditions under which participants operate, conditions that are not always directly observable but remain materially consequential (Archer, 1995; Bourdieu, 1991; Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Maxwell, 2012). In this study, such structural conditions include infrastructural constraints (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.), such as the lack of classes close to home; socioeconomic constraints, such as job responsibilities; the

inequalities indexed by sociodemographic characteristics such as gender and place of birth; the type of environment and social capital in participants' lives—whether situated in more or less Catalan-speaking contexts; and participants' agentic strategies to actually learn and use Catalan in Mallorca. The interplay between tangible and intangible elements resonates with the epistemological and ontological premises of critical realism, whose paradigmatic position—situated between a constructivist epistemology and a realist ontology—allows for the simultaneous recognition of a material world that exists independently of our beliefs and constructions, and the inevitable mediation of knowledge about that world through our subjectivities (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2002). This dual perspective reinforces the relevance of adopting critical realism as a guiding framework for the present dissertation, while simultaneously highlighting the suitability of the investment model to organise and structure the analysis of the studied phenomena, further proving its particularly appropriateness for minority language contexts already initiated by Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al. (2022) in the Mallorcan context.

By attending to infrastructural and socioeconomic factors beyond identity and ideology to further understand the underlying dynamics shaping the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca, this study engages with a broader tradition of interdisciplinary research, encompassing applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology and migration studies (Blommaert, 2010; Bourdieu, 1991; Canagarajah, 2017; Capstick, 2021; Extra et al., 2009; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2015; Martín-Rojo, 2013; Piller, 2016; Silverstein, 1998; Warriner, 2016; Woolard, 2016; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), which seeks to uncover the power relations embedded in linguistic phenomena. For example, focusing on gender and place of birth helps to explain why participants with similar predispositions, such as Btissame, a Moroccan woman, and Max, a German man, follow different trajectories. Both share some characteristics. They are of similar age, have lived in Mallorca for a comparable period of time and display

(moderately) high scores on Integrative (mean 5 in Btissame; mean 3.25 in Max) and Instrumental Orientations (mean 4 in Btissame; mean 3.25 in Max), as well as on Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers (mean 3.50 in Btissame; mean 3.33 in Max) and the language presence in public domains (mean 62.50 in both). Nevertheless, their opportunities to access Catalan learning diverge (see Tables 38 and 40 in Section 5.2.). Whereas Btissame's trajectory is constrained by limited course availability and family responsibilities, Max has been able to enrol and sustain his learning. This contrast highlights how, among others, socio-demographic, infrastructural factors and the ability to mobilise one's resources, mediate the translation of favourable attitudinal and ideological profiles into actual language learning practices.

Moreover, the present research engages with the growing methodological turn towards mixed methods within the social sciences (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Maxwell, 2012), and more specifically within the study of language ideologies and attitudes (Kircher & Hawkey, 2022; Kircher & Zipp, 2022a; Soukup, 2015; Vella, 2018). Mixed methods have proved especially useful in the present study, as evidenced by the need—stated at the beginning of this subsection—for further qualitative inquiry into the inconsistencies observed in the quantitative data. By enabling a layered analysis that bridges statistical tendencies with interpretative depth, mixed methods have facilitated a more comprehensive understanding of how agency and structure interact in shaping participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca.

Thus, through an integrated examination of both quantitative and qualitative data (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.), the following factors emerge as mediating capitals or resources that, alongside the identitarian and ideological dimensions discussed earlier, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the complex constellation of mechanisms surrounding the decision to learn and use Catalan. In preparing this discussion chapter, the integration between quantitative and qualitative phases has been operationalised by systematically linking the statistical patterns identified in the survey with the narratives and examples provided by

interviewees. For instance, when survey data revealed higher Integrative Orientations among learners of Catalan, the discussion expands on this finding by drawing on interview accounts (e.g. Fritz and Btissame examples in Section 6.1.1. and 6.1.2.) that illustrate how such orientations are experienced and articulated in practice. Similarly, when quantitative results pointed to attitudinal differences by gender or place of birth (e.g. Btissame and Max example above), the discussion contextualises these trends through qualitative cases that show how structural conditions and symbolic resources mediate access to learning. In this way, the discussion chapter does not simply restate results, but applies the explanatory sequential design by weaving together numerical trends and lived experiences to highlight mediating capitals and ideological dimensions.

The factors discussed below include gender, place of birth, the sociolinguistic dynamics of participants' everyday interactional environments, the nature of meaningful connections they have or aspire to build within their surrounding social capital, their individual agency and the infrastructural and socioeconomic conditions under which they operate. Such factors are specifically chosen because they are explicitly mentioned by participants in the interviews and can be further contrasted with their sociodemographic profiles in the survey. The consideration of these factors which encompass both the material and immaterial characteristics participants bring with them, as well as the opportunities and constraints presented by the host society in relation to learning and using Catalan, further highlights the structure–agency interplay that shapes their decision to engage with the language. As Btissame and Max example above showed, these factors underscore that the decision to learn and use a minoritised language such as Catalan is a socially embedded process shaped by power relations, access to symbolic capital and one's positioning within the broader sociocultural hierarchy.

Commencing with gender and place of birth, their intersection emerges as key in understanding why some immigrant adults decide to learn Catalan while others do not, and why women tend

to do so more frequently than men. The present research observes higher learning rates and more favourable language attitudes towards learning Catalan among women and Moroccan participants, yet these groups respectively show lower Catalan Linguistic Uses as compared to men and lower learning rates as compared with the other two place of birth groups. These more favourable attitudes among women than men are also observed in previous studies on language attitudes (Baker, 1992; Flynn, 2020; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Ianos et al., 2017; Lasagabaster, 2005; O'Rourke, 2005; Trenchs et al., 2013; Vella, 2018). Likewise, these studies consistently highlight that favourable attitudes towards a minoritised language do not necessarily translate into increased use, prompting to consider additional mediating factors—such as access to learning opportunities, socioeconomic responsibilities and the sociolinguistic environment—beyond attitudinal and ideological dimensions.

Interpreting these mismatches through single-variable explanations—by isolating either gender or place of birth—risks obscuring not only their underlying mechanisms but also the variability in how individuals prioritise different reasons in their linguistic decisions (Maxwell, 2012; Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001; Pujolar, 2007a). Rather than being driven by a universally dominant reason, the decision to learn and use Catalan emerges from a constellation of factors whose relative salience varies across individual trajectories depending on identity, ideology and available resources. While learners who engage with Catalan tend to share integration-oriented and authenticity-based language ideologies, as discussed in Section 6.1.2., the ways in which these orientations translate into practice depend, among others, on future self-projections (see Section 6.1.1.), perceived external pressures and the social and symbolic value attributed to their linguistic resources. Practical conditions such as access to flexible classes, available time beyond work responsibilities, residential location and everyday interactional networks further shape these decisions. Observing these factors jointly thus allows

to account for how different configurations of social positioning and ideological orientation make engagement with Catalan more or less imaginable across groups.

This research shows that place of birth and gender intersect to produce differentiated patterns of gendered divisions of labour, which are more strongly structured by traditional gender roles among Moroccan participants than among Argentinian and German ones. These divisions of labour, in turn, give rise to distinct linguistic divisions of domains and, consequently, to different pressures and rationales for learning Catalan. Among Moroccan participants in particular, women's everyday responsibilities are more closely aligned with domestic and reproductive labour, even when they hold formal educational qualifications. Questionnaire data show that Moroccan women are disproportionately employed in elementary (60%)—household and cleaning tasks—and service (40%) occupations, often below their educational level, as only half of those holding higher education qualifications (83.3%) are employed (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.). This contrasts with the occupational distribution of Argentinian and German women, more closely aligned with their educational background: Argentinian women are more evenly distributed across professional and semi-professional roles, while German women predominantly employed in highly skilled and managerial positions. By contrast, men from any origin tend to be employed regardless of their educational background. For example, although 83.3% of Moroccan women hold higher education qualifications, only half are employed, in contrast to Argentinian men, whose employment rate reaches 93.8% despite only 56.3% having completed higher education. These figures indicate that men's employment is generally less sensitive to educational attainment and place of birth. By contrast, women's employment—particularly among Moroccans—appears more strongly structured by traditional gender roles and the gendered division of labour. These divisions, in turn, influence women's engagement with Catalan, as different linguistic domains are allocated according to such labour and social roles.

The use of Catalan in contexts such as children's schooling or building meaningful relationships with neighbours can be associated with the domestic sphere and reproductive labour, traditionally linked to women (Eckert, 1989; Takahashi, 2012). By contrast, the use of Spanish for work as the practical and appropriate language for interacting with immigrants is more closely tied to the public sphere and productive labour, generally associated with men (Eckert, 1989; Takahashi, 2012). Catalan, framed as the local and identitarian language, thus aligns with traditional gendered expectations of care and community, while Spanish, as the utilitarian lingua franca, reflects broader economic and social functions. This pattern is exemplified in Extract 39, first introduced in Section 5.2.1.4.1. and partially reproduced here for clarity. In this extract, Btissame, a Moroccan woman, explicitly links her decision to learn Catalan to her children's school-related interactions and the need to establish meaningful connections with neighbours in the local environment. Catalan is experienced as non-optional in these institutional and community settings and learning it is ultimately framed as a necessary investment in fulfilling her role as a mother and community member.

Extract 39

Catalina (*Spanish*): Vale, entonces, la pregunta es: en ese momento, vale, ¿cuál fue el principal motivo que te va motivar a aprendre català?	**Catalina**: Okay, so the question is: at that moment, okay, what was the main reason that motivated you to learn Catalan?
Btissame (*Spanish*): Bueno, y convivir, a ver, convivir. Convivir. […] Y por los niños también, y maestras. Es que en la escuela también las maestras siempre en mallorquí. […] Que la maestra, la directora, dicen que:	**Btissame**: Well, to live together, I mean, to live together. To live together. […] And because of the children too, and the teachers. It's just that at school the teachers always speak in Mallorcan. […] The teacher, the

"Vais a clase, vais a clase. Espabiliza". Eso sí que me… […] es obligatorio eso. No es voluntario, a ver. No me quedo así estatua y… No.	headteacher, says: "Go to class, go to class. Wake up". That really made me… […] It's obligatory, that. It's not voluntary, you see. I don't just stay there like a statue and... No.

A complementary dynamic emerges in Extract 40, also presented in Section 5.2.1.4.1 and partially reproduced here, where Btissame contrasts her own linguistic trajectory with that of her husband. While Catalan is central to her participation in school and neighbourhood life, her husband's linguistic practices remain anchored in the workplace, where Spanish is enough and where Catalan carries limited immediate instrumental value. This contrast is not framed in terms of interest or disposition, but rather as the outcome of a gendered division of labour that differentially exposes women and men to domains where Catalan is institutionally expected or socially sanctioned.

Extract 40

Btissame (*Spanish*): Ah, y, a ver, los hombres, a ver, trabajan y no necesitan mallorquín... No dan el peso a la lengua. A mi experiencia, a mi marido también. Es que lo importante para él es que trabaja y se entiende y nada más. El valor del catalán no le da...	**Btissame**: Ah, well, let's see… men, well, they work and don't need Mallorquín… They don't give importance to the language. In my experience, my husband too. What matters to him is that he works and is understood, and that's it. He doesn't give value to Catalan…

As discussed in Section 6.1.2., participants who decide to learn Catalan tend to be more strongly appealed by the language's socio-affective dimensions than by its utilitarian value.

When these tendencies are examined through the gendered patterns of division of labour outlined above, they offer a clearer understanding of the factors shaping the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca. If women are often responsible for caring for children, supporting their schooling and maintaining neighbourhood ties, the socio-affective aspects of Catalan are especially relevant and motivating, as they are constantly enacted and reinforced through these everyday social and domestic activities. This provides an initial explanation for why women are more likely than men to make this decision, reflecting the differentiated ways in which gendered subjects relate to the social world, shaped by historically embedded gendered roles, expectations and access to symbolic resources (Eckert, 1989).

When considered alongside findings from sociolinguistic research such as Gal (1978), this gendered division of linguistic domains can be more precisely interpreted. Gal's work, situated in contexts of linguistic stratification and social change, shows that women are often more oriented towards linguistic forms associated with social legitimacy and upward mobility, particularly when access to economic resources is limited. In the Mallorcan context, Catalan does not necessarily carry overt instrumental power but does hold a form of local and moral value linked to belonging and legitimate participation in community life. In this sense, and following Woolard's (2016) discussion of covert prestige, Catalan may acquire symbolic value within the social spaces more frequently inhabited by women—such as schools, neighbourhood networks and local institutions—even if it is not the societal dominant language. The investment in Catalan can thus be understood not as a search for prestige in a conventional hierarchical sense, but as a strategy for accruing symbolic legitimacy and social recognition as residents of the island. This aligns with Eckert's (1989) observation that, in contexts of gendered inequality, women have historically relied more on symbolic resources, including language, to negotiate their social positioning.

Taken together, while immigrant women generally face greater social pressure to learn Catalan, as examples above show, this pressure is not evenly distributed across the three groups considered in this research (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.). German and Argentinian participants tend to perceive Catalan learning as optional, whereas Moroccan women tend to experience it as an externally imposed demand. The higher symbolic value attributed to the assumed economic resources of German women and the linguistic capital often associated with Argentinian women—namely Spanish, the dominant language of the host society—positions Moroccan women in a comparatively disadvantaged social location. These dynamics also account for men in this research. For instance, a Moroccan man like Moha may still experience more external pressure than a German woman like Nele, due to the differing symbolic relationships each holds with the host society: while Nele is perceived as possessing valued economic and social resources, Moha is more likely to be positioned through racialised and classed expectations that frame his linguistic adaptation as an obligation rather than a choice.

While gender, place of birth and the host society's habitus—particularly the symbolic value attributed to immigrants' resources—are key to understanding who and why someone decides to learn Catalan, they are not sufficient to explain who ultimately gains access to learning opportunities and is able to use the language in socially recognised ways distributed (De Costa, 2016; Norton Peirce, 1995). The symbolic dynamics entailing unequal distributions of power must be considered alongside other immaterial and material conditions which shape learners' ability to act on their predispositions and attitudes. These additional immaterial and material conditions have been enumerated in Chapter 5 and will be discussed below, including the dominant sociolinguistic dynamics surrounding participants, their social capital, individual agency and the infrastructural and socioeconomic conditions under which they operate. The unevenly distributed symbolic power between immigrant and local Catalan speakers, combined with the infrastructural and socioeconomic factors below, offer a more complete picture of why

participants with a higher predisposition and more favourable attitudes—particularly women and Moroccan participants—may ultimately report the lowest rates of Catalan learning and use. This occurs, for example, when caregiving responsibilities, limited course availability or workplace linguistic dynamics restrict their opportunities to invest in the language.

Particularly relevant among Moroccan participants, the perceived predominance of Catalan within their immediate socialisation contexts emerges as a key factor in their decision to learn and use the language. Ayoub in Extract 41 exemplifies this pattern, as he frames language learning as driven more by exposure than by individual choice.

Extract 41

Ayoub (*Spanish*): Es que hay zonas que se habla mucho catalán o depende de dónde cae y dónde trabaja.	**Ayoub**: It's just that there are areas where Catalan is spoken a lot or it depends on where you end up and where you work.
Catalina (*Spanish*): Claro, eso es.	**Catalina**: Right, exactly.
Ayoub: Si te encuentras con el jefe que habla catalán, vas a aprender perfectamente. Yo conozco un marroquí, que hablan en catalán mejor que yo y castellano, poco.	**Ayoub**: If you have a boss who speaks Catalan, you're going to learn perfectly. I know a Moroccan who speaks Catalan better than I do and Spanish, not so much.

This is unsurprising when considering that Moroccan participants report experiencing greater external pressure to acquire Catalan. Once again, these dynamics reflect a set of symbolic relationships shaped by Mallorca's habitus, where language use is closely tied to broader sociocultural expectations and perceived legitimacy within the host society.

The factor that appears to be most influential across all participants, regardless of their place of origin or the degree of Catalan presence in their daily environment, is the type and the

closeness of their relationships with linguistically aware Mallorcan Catalan speakers (see also Section 6.1.1.). For instance, Btissame, Germán and Nele describe how particular friendships played a decisive role in transmitting to them an interest in, and commitment to, learning Catalan. The presence of a socially encouraging and linguistically sensitive network, characterised by patience, active listening and a refusal to switch to Spanish, creates a safe space in which participants feel comfortable learning or practising Catalan without fear of judgement (Fukuda, 2017; González-Riaño et al., 2019; Hristova, 2021; Kircher et al., 2023; Ortega et al., 2014). The importance of establishing safe spaces for learning and practising minority languages not only aligns with the emphasis placed on them in previous research (Fishman, 1991, 2001; O'Rourke, 2019, 2024; Puigdevall et al., 2022), but also underscores the affective and agentive dimensions of language learning.

The positive influence of low pressure to learn and especially to use Catalan in Mallorca aligns with the longstanding emphasis on the affective dimension in early social-psychological research on language attitudes, particularly through the study of variables such as language anxiety and self-confidence (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993) as well as with more recent calls for deeper engagement with affective factors in SLA (Alonso, 2017; Dabrowska, 2010; Flynn, 2020; Pavlenko, 2013). This affective focus has been further developed and included in contemporary approaches stemming from social theory, such as those proposed by The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 36), which conceptualise language learning not as a purely cognitive endeavour but as one deeply shaped by emotional, social and contextual factors. Moreover, the affective dimension of language learning, primarily referring to individual emotional states related to language learning, such as anxiety or self-confidence, is reinforced by the predominant socio-affective appeal of Catalan among participants who have chosen to learn it (see Section 6.1.2.). Such socio-affective dimension emphasised in the present study

foregrounds emotions as socially situated, emerging through interaction, belonging and relational experiences with others (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

The agentic dimension of language learning, understood as capacity of learners to act within and upon social structures, has long been emphasised in research on minority language speakers (Belmar et al., 2019; Linn & Dayán-Fernández, 2024; O'Rourke, 2024; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017) and is also clearly signalled by participants in this study as a key factor in their decision to learn and use Catalan. Participants describe how reflecting on the potential benefits of Catalan already constitutes an agentic response within a sociolinguistic context shaped by dominant discourses of homogenisation and legitimisation that privilege Spanish over Catalan. This awareness becomes even more pronounced when participants decide to actively use Catalan, as many explain that doing so requires heightened consciousness and deliberate agency, often involving a political positioning in favour of minoritised languages, as highlighted in previous research (Byrne et al., 2022; Casesnoves & Mas, 2017). They often find themselves in situations where they must actively request that local Mallorcan Catalan speakers address them in Catalan to facilitate learning or where they take responsibility for maintaining the use of Catalan in interactions (see Wilhelm example in Section 6.1.1.). This underscores the significance of actively seeking out safe spaces as a crucial strategy for exercising agency and sustaining linguistic investment.

Continuing to add layers of complexity to the factors shaping participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan, it becomes clear that the intersection of gender, place of birth, participants' symbolic capital, the sociolinguistic dynamics of their immediate socialisation, the presence of encouraging social capital, the availability of safe spaces for learning and using Catalan and heightened individual agency still does not offer a complete picture. In addition to those factors, the infrastructural and socioeconomic circumstances under which participants operate help to achieve a fuller image of the factors shaping their decision to learn and use Catalan. This

constitutes one of the main contributions of this study: rather than focusing on isolated traits, it advances a holistic and multidimensional approach to language learning and use.

Drawing on the interview data analysed in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4, a range of infrastructural and socioeconomic conditions emerges as central in shaping participants' ability to translate positive predispositions towards Catalan into actual learning and use. These include the availability of frequent and flexible language classes, adequate transport connections, prior educational trajectories, stable income, flexible work schedules and access to free or affordable courses. As participants repeatedly report, such conditions function not only as contextual factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan, but also as practical enablers that determine whether this decision can be realised in everyday life. Nevertheless, considering all the complex layers examined in this section and the previous two regarding the factors shaping the decision to learn and use Catalan, it is clear that these infrastructural and socioeconomic factors do not have an equal impact on participants from the three selected groups in this research.

The integration of quantitative descriptives with interview narratives position again Moroccan participants as those with higher socioeconomic constraints when comparing employment, working hours per week and rent affordability among Moroccan, Argentinian and German participants. Moroccan participants are more likely to be concentrated in less skilled roles, while German and Argentinian participants tend to occupy intellectual or managerial positions. Moroccan men are most likely to work over 31 hours per week (60.9%), followed by German men (50%) and Argentinian women (48.5%). Rent affordability further illustrates inequality: over half of Argentinian men and German participants report not paying rent, possibly indicating home ownership, while 73.9% of Moroccan male participants spend more than 41% of their monthly salary on rent. These data highlight the uneven distribution of material resources and the intersectional impact of gender and place of birth on participants' capacity to invest in Catalan language learning and use. Studies focusing on linguistic revitalisation in

other territories, such as Ireland (Ó Ceallaigh, 2022; Ó Giollagáin, 2014), are beginning to highlight the need to consider language policy and planning alongside broader public policies addressing labour precarity and the housing crisis, serving as necessary scaffolding for fostering minority language learning and use among (potential) speakers (Gazzola, 2023; see Section 6.2.).

A further socioeconomic constraint identified in previous research which deserves special attention is education, understood here as the level of formal education and schooling (Pujolar, 2007; Sanvicén, 2016; Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022). The necessity of holding basic levels of education to be able to invest in Catalan learning and use is strongly emphasised by Moroccan participants. Similarly to Pavlenko's (2001) suggestion that the gender category is more salient among less privileged members, education also appears more prominently among Moroccan participants, as Argentinian and German participants do not raise education as a key factor in their decision to learn and use Catalan (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.).

Thus, all in all, the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca is shaped by a complex interplay of (symbolic) aspirations (see Section 6.1.1.), ideological dispositions (see Section 6.1.2.) and a set of individual and societal resources acting as both enablers and constraints for these aspirations to become facts. While women and Moroccan participants often express more favourable attitudes towards the language, they face greater socioeconomic barriers, such as occupational segregation, precarious employment, housing difficulties and limited educational capital, that hinder their ability to act on these predispositions. These findings highlight how symbolic capital alone is insufficient without material access and supportive infrastructures. Therefore, it is necessary to consider language learning as a socially situated practice, deeply mediated by unequal power relations, where symbolic capital is negotiated and entangled with material realities, access to resources and the ability to mobilise them according to

sociodemographic characteristics and the value that society attributes to them (Darvin & Norton, 2023; De Costa, 2016; Pavlenko et al., 2001).

6.2. Informing Language Policy and Planning

Section 6.1. has highlighted that the decision to learn and use Catalan among immigrant adults in Mallorca emerges from a complex web of interrelated factors that extend well beyond favourable attitudinal and ideological predispositions or individual agency. Rather than being solely personal choices, these decisions are profoundly shaped by the interplay between individuals' sociodemographic characteristics and the social structures within which they navigate and through which they, in turn, shape their own trajectories. This dynamic of mutual shaping between individuals and social structures also occurs in relation to the resources available to them, their capacity to mobilise those resources and the nature of their individual aspirations for symbolic capital.

The complexity of factors influencing the decision to learn a language becomes even more pronounced when the language in question is minoritised, such as Catalan. In such contexts, an additional layer of complexity emerges, as perceived by participants in this study. Immigrant adults in Mallorca often recognise that, despite Catalan's co-official status alongside Spanish and the efforts of local and regional government to promote its use, it does not hold a truly dominant position. Instead, Spanish, widely promoted and institutionally supported by the central state, retains a more mainstream and hegemonic role. This discrepancy generates ambivalence and resistance, particularly among those who decide not to learn Catalan, for whom its promotion is perceived as an imposition by local authorities (Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes, 2016). Luciana's example in Section 5.2.1.2. is illustrative here, as she advocates for the predominance of Spanish and delegitimises Catalan as a language in its own right, portraying it instead as imposed and unable to appear independently without the presence of

the majority language, Spanish (Extract 14). This structural imbalance also demands a greater degree of individual agency from those who do decide to learn and use Catalan.

Among those who decide to learn Catalan, their engagement in the language's revitalisation is often mediated by strong socio-affective dimensions, not only through Integrative Orientations and ideologies of linguistic authenticity, but also via emotional responses such as empathy or, at minimum, conformism (see Section 6.1.2.). Participants who demonstrate a favourable attitudinal and ideological predisposition, despite structural constraints that may limit their access to learning and using Catalan, frequently develop an emotional connection to the language's revitalisation (Massaguer, 2022). Facilitated by meaningful interactions with linguistically aware Mallorcan Catalan speakers (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1. and Sections 6.1.1. and 6.1.2.), these individuals tend to position themselves as key agents in the revitalisation process, which is, once again, driven by a desire for recognition within the host society (see Section 6.1.). By contrast, those whose attitudes and ideologies are more homogenising and efficiency-driven often disengage from such processes, delegitimise them and seek to preserve their privileges, frequently expressing resentment or hostility (see Section 6.1.).

Within this context of inherent tensions surrounding the promotion of Catalan in Mallorca as a minoritised language, participants who choose to learn Catalan and are aware of the social discourses advocating its use tend to emphasise the need for mutually supportive efforts between immigrants and public institutions of the host society (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.4.1.). Btissame, for instance, insists that while immigrants need to engage with and use Catalan, public institutions should take responsibility in facilitating access to the language and promoting it among newcomers upon their arrival. These efforts should involve learners themselves, local institutions and Mallorcan Catalan speakers. While learners invest their resources in acquiring the language, institutions should ensure that all possible infrastructural

support is made available to them, such as sufficient, flexible and varied opportunities for Catalan courses, as well as workplace support for language learning. Additionally, Mallorcan Catalan speakers may contribute by becoming more aware of the challenges involved in learning a language under such adverse conditions. This awareness is crucial to preventing a habitual shift to Spanish in interactions.

These necessities expressed by participants of greater symbiotic efforts need to be put into conversation with the efforts by the local and regional government to promote Catalan within the four islands of the Balearic Islands (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.). The government of the Balearic Islands has implemented a multifaceted strategy to promote the Catalan language among adult immigrants. Key initiatives include the development of intercultural policy documents, the provision of Catalan language courses for adults—often in collaboration with immigrant associations—and the integration of basic Catalan instruction into mandatory civic integration programmes. Informal learning opportunities, such as the *Parelles Lingüístiques* programme and culturally oriented campaigns like *El català, una llengua per a tothom* and *Històries del català*, have further supported linguistic inclusion. Educational materials tailored to immigrant learners and leisure-based activities have also played a role in fostering immigrant adult Catalan learning.

Some of these initiatives have been sustained over time, such as language courses and the *Parelles Lingüístiques* programme, as well as *Històries del català*, which evolved from the earlier campaign *Gent d'aquí*. The continuity of these resources, despite governmental shifts and fluctuating levels of institutional funding for Catalan promotion, highlights a critical gap that warrants further investigation: why do existing resources fail to reach potential users in ways that enable meaningful access and use? While a lack of resources may offer an initial explanation, the next line of inquiry must go beyond advocacy to evaluate which resources are offered, how they are delivered, to whom and what sustained impact they have (Bruguera et

al., 2022). It is essential to assess whether these policies are effective and to undertake a broader evaluation of language promotion strategies in Mallorca and across the Balearic Islands. Furthermore, following scholars such as Gazzola (2023), it is worth reconsidering whether a more integrated approach might prove more effective and realistic. This would involve embedding language policies within broader public policy frameworks designed to reduce inequalities in access to essential services, employment, education and housing. Such frameworks should also address structural conditions highlighted by participants, including childcare responsibilities, flexible work schedules, transport to classes and the availability of varied and affordable language courses. By considering these factors, policymakers could ensure that efforts to promote Catalan are supported by concrete measures. These measures would facilitate meaningful access to the language and enable sustained use.

6.3. Implications for Research, Theory and Practice

The contribution of this research unfolds along four main lines, which are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs. First, it brings Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model into dialogue with the context of a minoritised language—Catalan—offering a perspective on how this framework operates beyond dominant language settings. Second, it sheds light on the intricate web of interrelated factors that shape immigrant adults' decisions to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca, revealing just how complex and situated these processes are. Third, by making visible these intersections, the study offers valuable insights for designing language policies that are more aligned with the lived realities and needs of immigrant communities on the island. Fourth, these contributions have been made possible through the use of an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, consisting of an initial quantitative phase, a survey, followed by a qualitative phase of individual semi-structured

interviews that build upon the survey findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). The following paragraphs expand on each of these contributions.

First, this present research applies Norton Peirce's (1995) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model beyond the contexts in which it has traditionally been used, namely, research examining immigrant adults' access to the dominant language of the host society (Norton, 2013; Soltanian et al., 2018; Sung, 2023; see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.). By extending the model to minoritised languages, such as Catalan in Mallorca, the study not only demonstrates the suitability of the investment framework across different sociolinguistic settings and power dynamics, whether involving dominant or minoritised languages, but also contributes to the first applications of the investment model in the study of minoritised languages (Orcasitas-Vicandi et al., 2024; O'Rourke, 2019; Sastre-Roig de Lluís et al., 2022).

Moreover, and secondly, the application of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model in this research has underscored the need to consider a broader range of factors that go beyond the learners' individual willingness, ideological alignment or positive attitudes (Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021). It has helped to frame the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca not merely as a matter of acquiring linguistic skills, but as a socially charged decision, one that involves the potential to accumulate symbolic capital in order to challenge and resist the assumed and predetermined value attributed by the host society to immigrants' resources and, ultimately, to their identities (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kalocsányiová, 2020; Kroskrity, 2015; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). The investment model thus contributes to ongoing debates about the need to understand language not in isolation, but as deeply entangled with other social issues, such as striving for legitimisation as an immigrant (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; Costa, 2015; O'Rourke, 2011; O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017; Ortega et al., 2014). It reveals that the decision to learn a language, especially a minoritised one, is an imbricated process shaped by the interplay between three main factors. First, the discourses of both the host society and

immigrant communities. Second, the degree of access provided by public institutions and local speakers to the language and its symbolic resources. Finally, the structural disadvantage faced by individuals whose gender identities or places of origin are traditionally assigned lower symbolic value within the host society, constraining their ability to mobilise resources and transform their intention to invest in the language into a tangible reality (Bourdieu, 1991; Schieffelin et al., 1998).

Thirdly, in this regard, special emphasis has been placed on gender and place of birth as two key sociodemographic characteristics mediating the decision to learn and use Catalan in Mallorca (Block, 2014; Pavlenko et al., 2001). The importance that this research places on amplifying the voices of immigrant individuals is particularly relevant for studies aiming to improve language revitalisation strategies. By offering a platform for immigrants to articulate their concerns, struggles and desires in relation to Catalan, the study enables a dialogue between their expressed needs and the broader revitalisation efforts. Crucially, it does so from their perspective, not solely from the viewpoint of Mallorcan Catalan speakers seeking to normalise their language. This research helps to understand what immigrant individuals in Mallorca feel, experience and think about Catalan, and to explore how revitalisation efforts can respond to their needs, rather than expecting them to reshape their needs to fit within a predetermined revitalisation agenda.

Therefore, the integrated analysis of the two main datasets, the survey and the interviews (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.) has revealed that individuals who show a favourable disposition towards learning Catalan but ultimately do not make a full investment in the language tend to be those facing greater structural constraints, such as heightened pressure of traditional gender roles, limited access to stable housing and non-precarious employment. This finding is crucial for reorienting language revitalisation strategies within a framework that seeks to invest efforts and resources in ways that are meaningful and responsive to the realities of these individuals.

Despite their positive attitudes, the current offers of access to Catalan appear misaligned with their lived needs, suggesting that revitalisation efforts must be rethought to better accommodate and engage those whose structural conditions hinder their ability to act on their willingness to learn the language. While it is important to acknowledge the limited availability of public resources, there are still feasible measures that could be implemented. For instance, language revitalisation strategies could include more flexible and varied courses, community-based initiatives such as language cafés or local tutoring programmes, workplace language support or the allocation of resources that directly address barriers such as childcare, transport and scheduling constraints.

Taking a step further to gain a broader understanding of the research findings, the interplay between individual and structural factors has underscored the crucial role of local Catalan-speaking individuals in shaping immigrants' disposition to learn and use Catalan. This influence is exercised not only through the establishment of meaningful social connections, but also by actively encouraging immigrants to speak the language—by waiting for them, listening to them, and offering a safe space to practise Catalan without pressure or judgement. This dynamic not only serves as a source of encouragement for those Mallorcan Catalan linguistic activists who already embody these supportive behaviours, but also has the potential to inspire others to recognise the importance of every individual contribution, however small, in welcoming newcomers into the Catalan-speaking community on the island.

For this reason, linguistic policies aimed at fostering language awareness among the wider population, initiated and sustained by local government throughout more than forty years of Catalan revitalisation in the Balearic Islands (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.), are of vital importance. These policies are especially crucial in countering neogonella segregationist discourses—an ideological position that treats Catalan and Mallorcan Spanish as entirely separate languages—that further complicate the experience of immigrant individuals

(Calaforra & Moranta, 2005; Duane, 2018; Solivellas, 2021). Already navigating multiple layers of complexity, these individuals often face identity and political disputes among local Mallorcan Catalan speakers. For example, Luciana experiences conflicting views: her Catalan teacher emphasises the unity of Catalan and Mallorcan Catalan, while her Mallorcan Catalan friends stress their difference, adding yet another barrier to her integration and linguistic investment.

Just as it is essential to invest efforts in reorienting language revitalisation policies as part of broader public strategies aimed at reducing the structural constraints faced by individuals who are highly predisposed to learn Catalan but struggle to access it, it is equally important to develop approaches that address the needs of those less inclined to learn or use Catalan in Mallorca. These individuals are often anchored in discourses of homogenisation and efficiency that prioritise the maintenance of their privileges as speakers of internationally dominant and socially valued languages, such as Spanish and English. Efforts have been made by the autonomous government on several occasions to address this issue—both by reinforcing Catalan language requirements for access to public sector jobs, such as in administration and healthcare, and by establishing agreements with private companies to allow employees to learn Catalan during working hours (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.). However, in Mallorca, such initiatives often face strong political and public opposition. This is evidenced by current measures under the PP government, in coalition with Vox in the Balearic Islands, which have cut subsidies to organisations supporting Catalan, as well as by parents initiating legal action against the government for requiring their children to study subjects, other than Catalan language and literature, in Catalan (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1.). These measures are typically among the first to be reversed by governments less committed to promoting Catalan, resulting in a lack of continuity and institutional protection (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.). This inconsistency allows newly arrived populations to easily find ways to bypass Catalan language

requirements to access public jobs or education, ultimately undermining the perceived instrumental value of the language.

Fourthly and finally, all of the insights generated by this research have been made possible through the use of an explanatory sequential mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). This approach has proven to be highly appropriate and valuable for social science studies aiming to uncover both observable and unobservable causal mechanisms underlying the phenomenon under scrutiny (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2002; Maxwell, 2012). Moreover, it complements the mainstream qualitative methodologies typically used when applying Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model— except for a few notable cases that have attempted to quantify the model, such as Soltanian et al. (2018)—by integrating a quantitative phase that enriches and deepens the subsequent qualitative analysis.

In sum, together, these contributions offer a nuanced and socially grounded understanding of language learning and revitalisation in minoritised contexts, with direct relevance for future policy, practice and research.

6.4. Limitations

As with any research project, this study is not without its limitations. First, the sample has only been able to include a very small number of individuals who are illiterate or who lack proficiency in Catalan, Spanish or English. Their participation in the survey was made possible thanks to the support of two community members (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.4.), who read the questionnaire aloud and recorded their responses. Nevertheless, this inevitably excludes a segment of the immigrant population whose experiences and perspectives may differ from those represented in the data.

Second, the fact that the researcher has not resided in Mallorca for the past five years presents both strengths and challenges. On the one hand, this distance has allowed me to approach the research with a degree of analytical detachment, particularly important given the emotional resonance the topic holds for me personally. On the other hand, it carries the risk of overlooking more recent discourses or subtle shifts in local dynamics. Nevertheless, the researcher has sought to mitigate this limitation through regular visits to the island and by maintaining close ties with family and friends who continue to live there.

Third, the questionnaire relied on self-reported data, which may be subject to social desirability bias or inaccuracies in recall. While the mixed methods design has enriched the analysis, the number of survey participants was relatively limited, although the study successfully included 154 survey respondents and 19 interview participants, with a balanced distribution in terms of gender and place of origin. This is partly due to the inherent challenges of conducting both quantitative and qualitative research within the scope of a single-author doctoral project. A more extensive and interdisciplinary team, with greater methodological expertise, would likely have enabled a broader and deeper data collection process. Furthermore, participants' discourses and their actual linguistic practices may not always align. This divergence between discourse and action could have been examined through an observational follow-up data collection phase, which fell beyond the scope of this doctoral project.

Finally, while the study does acknowledge participants' own understandings of integration, it does not examine these in depth, as integration was not treated as an isolated explanatory factor but considered alongside other elements, such as instrumental orientations towards language learning. Nevertheless, this dimension could have offered powerful insights into how language learning intersects with broader processes of belonging, identity and social participation. It therefore remains a valuable avenue for future research.

7. Conclusion

The overarching aim of this thesis has been to shed light on the factors shaping the decision to learn and use a minoritised language. More specifically, it aims to explain the interplay between material and immaterial conditions that structure access to Catalan among adult immigrants born in Morocco, Argentina and Germany who are currently residing in Mallorca. This has been undertaken within the broader tradition of language revitalisation frameworks (Fishman, 1991, 2001), which in the Mallorcan context have been present for more than forty years (Ballester, 2023b). In line with this tradition, the study underscores the long-standing recognition that the adoption of a minoritised language by outgroup members is essential for its survival, maintenance and intergenerational transmission (Marí, 2005). Such language continuity becomes even more imperative in the case of Mallorca, where nearly half of the population was born outside the island. This is evidenced by the extensive scholarship on the strategies through which outgroup speakers adopt such languages and seek legitimacy as speakers (Bermingham & Higham, 2018; Costa, 2015; O'Rourke, 2011; Puigdevall et al., 2018).

From the perspective of critical sociolinguistics (Heller et al., 2017), and situated within broader economicist approaches to language (Heller & McElhinny, 2017), this research centres on amplifying the voices of those individuals deemed essential in revitalisation processes. It explores what they have to say, how they experience social pressures to learn and use Catalan and how these external demands intersect—or fail to intersect—with their own personal, professional and integrative needs. Anchored in a critical realist lens (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2002) and articulated through mixed methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Maxwell, 2012), the study investigates both observable and unobservable causal mechanisms that explain different forms of engagement with Catalan.

Traditionally emphasised factors in revitalisation movements—particularly language ideologies, attitudes and orientations towards the minoritised language (Ager, 2005; Dołowy & Hornsby, 2021; Hammarberg, 2010)—proved significant in participants' decisions to learn Catalan. Certain discourses tend to appear more prominently in the narratives of participants who decided not to learn Catalan, whereas others are more characteristic of those who did decide to do so. Among the former, discourses legitimising Spanish as the language of everyone, the language of common sense, tend to predominate (Woolard, 2016). These participants also frequently reproduce homogenising narratives, such as linguistic nationalism, which typically rest on efficiency-based arguments, namely, the claim that the coexistence of more than one language within a single nation-state is inherently inefficient (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Heller & McElhinny, 2017).

Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan speakers and towards the public presence of the language tend to be less favourable among participants who chose not to learn Catalan than among those who did. Similarly, both their integrative and instrumental orientations towards Catalan are generally weaker, as they often feel that Spanish is sufficient for everyday life in Mallorca and that Catalan serves no purpose beyond being the language of Mallorcans. By contrast, participants who decided to learn Catalan not only display more favourable attitudes towards the language and its speakers but also tend to conceive its social functions as extending well beyond its association with Mallorcan identity. They commonly legitimise Catalan as the appropriate language of public education and the administration. Among participants who decided to learn Catalan, the prevailing discourses tend to frame Catalan as the authentic language of Mallorca. As such, it is perceived as granting direct access to socio-affective connections with Mallorcan Catalan speakers and contributing to a strengthened sense of belonging (Woolard, 2016).

Yet additional mediating factors emerged, such as language proficiency and self-confidence (Alonso, 2017; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993), which shaped the reported use of Catalan among outgroup members. These factors revealed tendencies that varied by gender and place of birth, patterns that became visible precisely through the integration of quantitative and qualitative data from the first and second phases of data collection. The information obtained in the quantitative phase provided an overview of participants' profiles, orientations and attitudes towards Catalan, among others. Complementarily, the in-depth qualitative analysis of the interviews offered a more nuanced understanding of how sociodemographic variables shaped participants' access to, and approaches towards, the language. By engaging with the three dimensions of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model—capital, ideology and identity—the study examines immigrant adults' struggles between structural constraints on accessing Catalan and their own agentic strategies to be recognised as legitimate residents of the island. These struggles extend beyond favourable or unfavourable attitudinal profiles, revealing deeper negotiations of legitimacy.

Gendered social roles emerged as particularly salient. Women reported stronger external demands to learn Catalan than men, largely because it is the language of their children's schooling and they continue to be positioned as primary caregivers, while men are framed as principal economic providers (Eckert, 1989; Pavlenko et al., 2001). Women thus often face tensions in their pursuit of symbolic capital, seeking social prestige and recognition as legitimate immigrants and Mallorcan residents, while simultaneously striving to create meaningful ties with a host society that values Catalan's cultural role.

Place of birth also indexed affordances within the host society's habitus, generating higher pressures on those with low-valued resources, particularly Moroccan participants (Block, 2014). Argentinians can draw on Spanish—a highly valued linguistic capital in Mallorca—as justification for not learning Catalan, positioning themselves as already legitimate citizens of

the host society. Germans, meanwhile, are generally conceptualised as economically resourceful residents whose capitals afford them the possibility to disengage from Catalan-speaking domains if they wish. For Moroccans, however, Catalan offers tangible benefits: enhancing competitiveness, providing symbolic capital and granting access to recognition otherwise denied.

Beyond these intersections of gender and place of birth, material conditions also shape access to Catalan learning opportunities. Flexible, frequent, affordable and locally available classes are crucial infrastructural affordances. Equally important are the roles played by local Mallorcan Catalan speakers, who can either promote or hinder learning by encouraging immigrants to continue, offering safe spaces for practice and refraining from judgment when mistakes or misunderstandings occur (Kircher et al., 2022, 2023; Puigdevall et al., 2022).

The interplay between these sociodemographic, infrastructural and socioeconomic factors and participants' language ideologies and attitudes reveals that the types of discourses they reproduce are closely related to the forms of access they have to Catalan (Massaguer, 2022). Participants who face the greatest barriers to accessing Catalan in Mallorca, that is, those with the least capacity to mobilise their own resources to engage with the language, for instance, Moroccan women, are often those who express the most favourable attitudes and discourses towards Catalan and its speakers. Conversely, participants with greater socioeconomic and infrastructural advantages and with more opportunities to mobilise their own resources to access the language, for example some German men, tend to display comparatively little interest in Catalan. While the former perceive learning Catalan as offering potential socioeconomic benefits, the latter do not consider these benefits to be as meaningful or applicable to their own social positioning (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Taken together, this analysis demonstrates that a fuller understanding of language learning emerges from examining the intersection of ideological, attitudinal, identity-related and capital-based dynamics, rather than from favourable or unfavourable predispositions alone. Contrary to the popular saying "Where there's a will, there's a way", this research shows that "Where there's a will, there's no necessary a way": as demonstrated by the intersections of gender and place of birth, the desire to learn Catalan is necessary but insufficient. Access is ultimately mediated by individuals' capacity to imagine and enact strategies to overcome structural constraints (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). This study thus contributes to a deeper understanding of how immigrant adults negotiate legitimacy, belonging and symbolic capital in a context where Catalan's revitalisation depends not only on favourable ideologies but on the lived struggles of those who are expected to adopt it.

The findings in this research offer concrete insights for language policy and planning in Mallorca and the wider Balearic Islands. They highlight the need for policies that move beyond the promotion of Catalan as an abstract civic duty and instead address the structural conditions that shape immigrants' capacity to access, learn and use the language. The results suggest that neighbourhood associations, grassroots language-activist groups and community organisations could play a key role in creating locally embedded, low-threshold opportunities for meaningful interaction in Catalan. At the same time, policymakers and public institutions may benefit from designing initiatives that explicitly recognise the differentiated pressures experienced by immigrant groups, particularly those with low-valued resources, and from ensuring that language learning provision is flexible, affordable and geographically accessible. Finally, the study underscores the importance of involving Mallorcan Catalan speakers themselves in revitalisation efforts, not only as interlocutors but as agents capable of fostering supportive environments for practice. In this sense, the research contributes to ongoing debates in language policy and planning by demonstrating that revitalisation depends not only on institutional

promotion but also on the everyday relational work that enables newcomers to imagine themselves as legitimate speakers.

A key contribution of this thesis lies in demonstrating the robustness of Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model, not only in terms of its applicability across diverse sociolinguistic contexts but also in relation to its methodological versatility. The findings show that the model remains analytically powerful in settings where migrants learn a minoritised language, just as it has in contexts involving the acquisition of dominant languages (Norton, 2013; Soltanian et al., 2018; Sung, 2023). The results of this research reinforce the impossibility of interpreting any dimension in isolation, as each becomes meaningful only through its relationship with the others. This holistic perspective highlights the inherently sociopolitical nature of linguistic practices and strengthens the explanatory capacity of the model. Moreover, this thesis demonstrates that Darvin and Norton's (2015) framework is not limited to qualitative inquiry, as traditionally applied (Soltanian et al., 2018), but can be effectively operationalised through mixed-methods designs. In doing so, it expands the methodological reach of the model and underscores its suitability for capturing the complexity of language learning and use in contemporary migration contexts. In addition, this thesis addresses a significant gap in research on Catalan and immigrant population in the Balearic Islands. By providing evidence on a such group that has long been positioned as central to language-revitalisation efforts in the islands, yet whose linguistic experiences, ideologies, needs and struggles have remained largely unexplored beyond broad assumptions.

Future research should extend this analysis to other immigrant groups and contexts, exploring how hierarchies of origin, gendered roles and socio-economic positioning shape access to Catalan and its perceived legitimacy. Comparative studies between foreign-born immigrants and Spanish nationals from non-Catalan regions, as well as investigations into the perspectives of local Mallorcan speakers, would further illuminate the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

Equally, examining the intersections of language with class privilege, ecological and anti-tourism movements and broader discourses of integration and belonging will deepen understanding of how Catalan functions as both a resource and a site of contestation. In this way, the thesis opens pathways for a more nuanced account of immigrant language learning in peripheral territories, where revitalisation depends on the interplay of structural constraints, ideological struggles and lived experiences.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical Approval

A.1. Confirmation of Research Ethics Approval



Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences
DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY

15 December 2023

CONFIRMATION OF RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL FOR A PROJECT

Application Reference: **DCU-FHSS-2024-015**

Project Title: **Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca**

Project contact(s): **catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie**

Let this letter certify that the proposed project identified above has been reviewed by the *Humanities & Social Sciences Faculty Research Ethics Committee* (F-REC) and has been approved as a low-risk project. The application was found to that comply with university requirements and best practices for research ethics, and with GDPR guidelines and requirements where personal data is processed in the project.

A copy of the application, including appended documents related to participant consent, is archived under the reference above. Queries about this project's approval may be directed to the F-REC Chair.

Sincerely,

Dr Dónal Mulligan
donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Chair, Faculty Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences
Dublin City University

Dámh na nDaonnachtaí agus na nEolaíochtaí Sóisialta
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath

A.2. Survey Plain Language Statement

Catalan

¡Bon dia!

El meu nom és **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del **Irish Research Council** en la categoria de Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears. El títol del meu doctorat és Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els **motius per aprendre o no aprendre català** per part de persones que van immigrar a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. El motiu d'aquest projecte és el **desconeixement de les necessitats lingüístiques** de les persones immigrades a Mallorca.

La teva participació en aquest projecte implica completar un **qüestionari** que no et portarà més de **20 minuts** del teu temps. Respectaré en tot moment la teva **privacitat,** d'acord amb la política de gestió de dades de Dublin City University; emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una **carpeta encriptada** al meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University, amb accés limitat només per a mi i els meus supervisors. A més, t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir el teu anonimat, com per exemple C26LLO. En cap moment et deman dades de contacte, llevat que manifestis interès en una entrevista addicional o en la participació en un sorteig, casos en els quals aquestes dades s'utilitzaran exclusivament amb aquest propòsit.

La teva participació és completament **voluntària** i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificació i sense cap conseqüència.

Utilitzaré els resultats en **esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques** sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, garantint la protecció de la teva privacitat.

El 2036 **esborraré i trituraré** tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Sr. Martin Ward, correu electrònic: data.protection@dcu.ie, telèfon: +353 01 700 7476.

Participar en aquest estudi no només t'ofereix l'oportunitat de reflexionar sobre temes sociolingüístics, sinó també d'expressar les teves opinions i necessitats. A més, al final de l'entrevista rebràs, si així ho desitges, una infografia amb recursos per aprendre i practicar el català.

Esper concloure l'estudi al setembre de 2026, i els resultats estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si desitges rebre els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final de l'entrevista.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

Spanish

¡Muy buenos días!

Mi nombre es **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** y estoy cursando mis estudios de doctorado en la Dublin City University, en Dublín, Irlanda, con una beca del **Irish Research Council** en la categoría de Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023. Mis supervisores, y por tanto las otras dos personas implicadas en este proyecto son el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), en la Universitat de les Illes Balears. El título de mi doctorado es *Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca* [Ideologías Lingüísticas y la Decisión de Aprender y Usar una Lengua Minorizada: el Caso de Adultos Migrantes y el Catalán en Mallorca].

Mi investigación se centra en entender cuáles son los **motivos para aprender o no aprender catalán** por parte de personas que inmigraron a Mallorca después de los 18 años. El motivo de este proyecto es el **desconocimiento de las necesidades lingüísticas** de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca.

Tu participación en este proyecto implica completar un **cuestionario** que no te llevará más de **20 minutos** de tu tiempo. Respetaré en todo momento tu **privacidad**; almacenaré todas las respuestas en una **carpeta encriptada** en mi cuenta de Google Drive de la Dublin City University, con acceso limitado solo para mi y sus supervisores. Además, te asignaré un código de identificación para mantener tu **anonimato**, como por ejemplo C26LLO. En ningún momento te solicito datos de contacto, a menos que expreses interés en una entrevista adicional o en la participación en un sorteo, en cuyo caso, dichos datos se usarán exclusivamente con ese propósito.

Tu participación es completamente **voluntaria** y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin necesidad de justificación y sin consecuencia alguna.

Utilizaré los resultados en **eventos y publicaciones académicas** siempre de manera pseudoanonimizada, garantizando la protección de tu privacidad.

En 2036 **borraré y trituraré** toda la información y datos recopilados, de acuerdo con la Política de Retención de Datos de Dublin City University. Si tienes más preguntas sobre el trato de los datos de este proyecto puedes contactar al director de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de Dublin City University: Mr. Martin Ward, email: data.protection@dcu.ie, tel.: +353 01 700 7476.

Participar en este estudio no solo te brinda la oportunidad de **reflexionar sobre temas sociolingüísticos**, sino también de expresar tus opiniones y necesidades. Además, al final del cuestionario, encontrarás **recursos para aprender y practicar el catalán**.

Espero concluir el estudio en septiembre de 2026, y los **resultados** estarán disponibles en el repositorio en línea de Dublin City University, **DORAS**. Si deseas recibir los resultados, puedes indicarlo al final del cuestionario.

Si tienes preguntas o necesitas más información sobre el proyecto no dudes en ponerte en contacto conmigo: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Quiero agradecerte muchísimo tu tiempo y el esfuerzo de leer estas líneas y considerar tu participación.

English

Dear participant,

My name is Catalina Amengual Ripoll, and I am studying my PhD at Dublin City University in Dublin, Ireland, with a scholarship from the Irish Research Council under the category of Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023. My supervisors, and therefore the other two individuals involved in this project, are Dr. Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie) at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat) at the Universitat de les Illes Balears. The title of my doctoral research is Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca.

My research focuses on understanding the reasons for learning or not learning Catalan among individuals who immigrated to Mallorca after the age of 18. The purpose of this project is to address the lack of knowledge about the linguistic needs of immigrants in Mallorca.

Your participation in this project involves completing a questionnaire that will take no more than 20 minutes of your time. I will always respect your privacy; I will store all responses in an encrypted folder in my Google Drive account at Dublin City University, with limited access only for me and my supervisors. Additionally, I will assign you an identification code to maintain your anonymity, such as C26LLO. At no point will I request your contact information, unless you express interest in additional interviews or participating in a lottery, in which case, this data will be used exclusively for those purposes.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time without the need for justification and without any consequences.

I will use the results in events and academic publications, always in a pseudonymized manner, ensuring the protection of your privacy.

In 2036, I will delete and shred all the information and data collected, following Dublin City University's Data Retention Policy. If you have further questions about how the data in this project is handled, you can contact the Dublin City University Data Protection Officer, Mr. Martin Ward, email: data.protection@dcu.ie, tel.: +353 01 700 7476.

Participating in this study not only provides you with the opportunity to reflect on sociolinguistic issues but also to express your opinions and needs. Furthermore, at the end of the questionnaire, you will find resources to learn and practise Catalan.

I expect to conclude the study in September 2026, and the results will be available in Dublin City University's online repository, DORAS. If you wish to receive the results, you can indicate so at the end of the questionnaire.

If you have questions or need more information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

I sincerely thank you for your time and effort in reading these lines and considering your participation.

A.3. Interview Plain Language Statement

Catalan

¡Bon dia!

El meu nom és **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del **Irish Research Council** en la categoria de Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears. El títol del meu doctorat és Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els **motius per aprendre o no aprendre català** per part de persones que van immigrar a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. El motiu d'aquest projecte és el **desconeixement de les necessitats lingüístiques** de les persones immigrades a Mallorca.

La teva participació en aquest projecte implica respondre les preguntes que et plantejaré sobre el tema en una **entrevista individual** que durarà aproximadament **una hora**. Respectaré en tot moment la teva **privacitat**, d'acord amb la política de la gestió de dades de Dublin City University; emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una **carpeta encriptada** en el meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University, amb accés limitat només per a mi i els meus supervisors. A més, t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir l'anonimat, com per exemple C26LLO.

La teva participació és completament **voluntària** i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificació i sense cap conseqüència.

Utilitzaré els resultats en **esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques** sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, garantint la protecció de la teva privacitat.

El 2036 **esborraré i trituraré** tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Sr. Martin Ward, correu electrònic: data.protection@dcu.ie, telèfon: +353 01 700 7476.

Participar en aquest estudi no només t'ofereix l'oportunitat de reflexionar sobre temes sociolingüístics, sinó també d'expressar les teves opinions i necessitats. A més, al final de l'entrevista rebràs, si així ho desitges, una infografia amb recursos per aprendre i practicar el català.

Esper concloure l'estudi al setembre de 2026, i els resultats estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si desitges rebre els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final de l'entrevista.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

Spanish

¡Muy buenos días!

Mi nombre es **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** y estoy cursando mis estudios de doctorado en la Dublin City University, en Dublín, Irlanda, con una beca del **Irish Research Council** en la categoría de Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023. Mis supervisores, y por tanto las otras dos personas implicadas en este proyecto son el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), en la Universitat de les Illes Balears. El título de mi doctorado es *Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca* [Ideologías Lingüísticas y la Decisión de Aprender y Usar una Lengua Minorizada: el Caso de Adultos Migrantes y el Catalán en Mallorca].

Mi investigación se centra en entender cuáles son los **motivos para aprender o no aprender catalán** por parte de personas que inmigraron a Mallorca después de los 18 años. El motivo de este proyecto es el **desconocimiento de las necesidades lingüísticas** de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca.

Tu participación en este proyecto implica responder las preguntas que te iré planteando sobre el tema en una **entrevista individual** que durará aproximadamente **una hora**. Respetaré en todo momento tu **privacidad**; almacenaré todas las respuestas en una **carpeta encriptada** en mi cuenta de Google Drive de la Dublin City University, con acceso limitado solo para mi y sus supervisores. Además, te asignaré un código de identificación para mantener tu **anonimato**, como por ejemplo C26LLO.

Tu participación es completamente **voluntaria** y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin necesidad de justificación y sin consecuencia alguna.

Utilizaré los resultados en **eventos y publicaciones académicas** siempre de manera pseudoanonimizada, garantizando la protección de tu privacidad.

En 2036 **borraré y trituraré** toda la información y datos recopilados, de acuerdo con la Política de Retención de Datos de Dublin City University. Si tienes más preguntas sobre el trato de los datos de este proyecto puedes contactar al director de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de Dublin City University: Mr. Martin Ward, email: data.protection@dcu.ie, tel.: +353 01 700 7476.

Participar en este estudio no solo te brinda la oportunidad de **reflexionar sobre temas sociolingüísticos**, sino también de expresar tus opiniones y necesidades. Además, al final de la entrevista recibirás, si así lo deseas, una infografía con **recursos para aprender y practicar el catalán**.

Espero concluir el estudio en septiembre de 2026, y los **resultados** estarán disponibles en el repositorio en línea de Dublin City University, **DORAS**. Si deseas recibir los resultados, puedes indicarlo al final de la entrevista.

Si tienes preguntas o necesitas más información sobre el proyecto no dudes en ponerte en contacto conmigo: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Quiero agradecerte muchísimo tu tiempo y el esfuerzo de leer estas líneas y considerar tu participación.

English

Dear participant,

My name is **Catalina Amengual Ripoll**, and I am pursuing my doctoral studies at Dublin City University in Dublin, Ireland, with a scholarship from the **Irish Research Council** under the Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023 category. My supervisors, and therefore the other two individuals involved in this project, are Dr. Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie) at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat) at the Universitat de les Illes Balears. The title of my doctoral research is "Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca."

My research focuses on understanding the **reasons for learning or not learning Catalan** among individuals who immigrated to Mallorca after the age of 18. The motivation for this project is the lack of understanding of **the linguistic needs of immigrants** in Mallorca.

Your participation in this project involves answering the questions I will ask you about the topic in an **individual interview** that will last approximately **one hour**. I will always respect your **privacy**; I will store all responses in an **encrypted folder** on my Google Drive account at Dublin City University, with limited access only for myself and my supervisors. Additionally, I will assign you an identification code to maintain your **anonymity**, such as C26LLO.

Your participation is entirely **voluntary**, and you can withdraw at any time without the need for justification and without any consequences.

I will use the results in **events and academic publications**, always in a pseudonymized manner, ensuring the protection of your privacy.

In 2036, I will **delete and shred** all collected information and data, following Dublin City University's Data Retention Policy. If you have more questions about how this project handles data, you can contact the Director of the Data Protection Office at Dublin City University: Mr. Martin Ward, email: data.protection@dcu.ie, tel.: +353 01 700 7476.

Participating in this study not only provides you with the opportunity to **reflect on sociolinguistic issues** but also to **express your opinions and needs**. Additionally, at the end of the interview, you will receive, if you wish, **resources for learning and practicing Catalan**.

I expect to conclude the study in September 2026, and the **results** will be available in Dublin City University's online repository, **DORAS**. If you wish to receive the results, you can indicate it at the end of the interview.

If you have questions or need more information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

I want to sincerely thank you for your time and effort in reading these lines and considering your participation.

A.4. Survey Informed Consent

Catalan

L'entrevista

Aquesta entrevista sobre els motius per aprendre català i la recerca de maneres d'incloure les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones adultes immigrants a Mallorca en les estratègies lingüístiques, és part de la recerca doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix a respondre preguntes sobre el tema en una entrevista individual que durarà aproximadament una hora.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recopilades s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia en l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll a Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En qualsevol cas, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants

Fes un cercle a SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas..

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.	Sí/No
He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He entès la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.	Sí/No
He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.	Sí/No
Entenc que les meves respostes seran enregistrades, transcrites i analitzades.	Sí/No
Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.	Sí/No
Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.	Sí/No
Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.	Sí/No
Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades a la carta informativa inicial.	Sí/No
Confirm que NO he nascut a Mallorca.	Sí/No
Confirm que vaig arribar a Mallorca devers els meus 18 anys d'edat o més.	Sí/No
Estic d'acord que s'enregistri la veu d'aquesta entrevista per a les finalitats expressades a la carta inicial.	Sí/No

Signatura

Data:_____

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el comitè ètic de la Facultat d'humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: hss.frec@dcu.ie

Spanish

La entrevista

La presente entrevista sobre los motivos para aprender catalán y la búsqueda de maneras de incluir las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas adultas inmigradas en Mallorca, es parte de la investigación doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

Tu participación consiste en responder preguntas sobre el tema en una entrevista individual que durará aproximadamente una hora.

Los investigadores

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departamento de Filología Catalana y Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tratamiento de los datos

- Los datos recogidos se almacenarán en una carpeta encriptada en línea en el usuario de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Solo los investigadores mencionados en este formulario tendrán acceso a los datos.
- Toda la información recogida será pseudoanonimizada mediante la asignación de un código (por ejemplo, C26LLO).
- En cualquier caso se seguirán las directrices de la ley irlandesa de protección de datos (Regulación General de Protección de Datos, GDPR, y el Acto de Protección de Datos 2018).

Confirmación de los requisitos de los participantes

Haz un círculo en SÍ o No según corresponda en cada caso.

Confirmo que tengo 18 años o más de edad.	Sí/No
He leído (o me han leído) la información inicial.	Sí/No
He entendido la información inicial.	Sí/No
He tenido la oportunidad de preguntar mis dudas sobre el estudio.	Sí/No
He recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mis respuestas serán grabadas, transcritas y analizadas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.	Sí/No
Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento, sin dar explicaciones.	Sí/No
Entiendo que retirar mi participación no me conllevará ninguna repercusión.	Sí/No
Consiento el uso de mis datos para las finalidades explicadas en la carta informativa inicial.	Sí/No
Confirmo que NO he nacido en Mallorca.	Sí/No
Confirmo que llegué a Mallorca alrededor de mis 18 años de edad o más.	Sí/No
Estoy de acuerdo con que se grabe la voz de esta entrevista para los fines indicados en la información inicial.	Sí/No

Firma

Fecha:_____

Si quieres contactar una persona independiente del proyecto para más información puedes contactar al comitè ético de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Dublin City University Research: hss.frec@dcu.ie

English

The Interview

This interview about the reasons for learning Catalan and the search for ways to address the language needs of adult immigrants in Mallorca is part of Catalina Amengual Ripoll's doctoral research.

Your participation involves answering questions about the topic in an individual interview that will last approximately one hour.

Researchers involved

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	University of the Balearic Islands

Data Management and Protection

- The collected data will be stored in an encrypted folder online under Catalina Amengual Ripoll's Google Drive user account at Dublin City University.
- Only the researchers mentioned in this form will have access to the data.
- All collected information will be pseudonymized by assigning a code (for example, C26LLO).
- In any case, the guidelines of the Irish Data Protection law (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR, and the Data Protection Act 2018) will be followed.

Confirmation of Participant Informed Consent

Circle YES or No as appropriate in each case.

I confirm that I am 18 years of age or older.	Yes/No
I have read (or had read to me) the initial information.	Yes/No
I have understood the initial information.	Yes/No
I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	Yes/No
I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions.	Yes/No
I understand that my responses will be recorded, transcribed and analysed.	Yes/No
I understand that my participation is voluntary.	Yes/No
I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving explanations.	Yes/No
I understand that withdrawing my participation will not have any consequences.	Yes/No
I consent to the use of my data for the purposes explained in the initial informational letter.	Yes/No
I confirm that I was NOT born in Mallorca.	Yes/No
I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday or older.	Yes/No
I agree to the voice recording of this interview for the purposes stated in the initial information.	Yes/No

Signature

Date:_____

Should you wish to contact an independent person, you may also contact the ethics committee of the Faculty of humanities and Social Sciences of Dublin City University: hss.frec@dcu.ie

A.5. Interview Informed Consent

Catalan

L'entrevista

Aquesta entrevista sobre els motius per aprendre català i la recerca de maneres d'incloure les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones adultes immigrants a Mallorca en les estratègies lingüístiques, és part de la recerca doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix a respondre preguntes sobre el tema en una entrevista individual que durarà aproximadament una hora.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recopilades s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia en l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll a Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En qualsevol cas, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants

Fes un cercle a SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas..

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.	Sí/No
He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He entès la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.	Sí/No
He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.	Sí/No
Entenc que les meves respostes seran enregistrades, transcrites i analitzades.	Sí/No
Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.	Sí/No
Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.	Sí/No
Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.	Sí/No
Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades a la carta informativa inicial.	Sí/No
Confirm que NO he nascut a Mallorca.	Sí/No
Confirm que vaig arribar a Mallorca devers els meus 18 anys d'edat o més.	Sí/No
Estic d'acord que s'enregistri la veu d'aquesta entrevista per a les finalitats expressades a la carta inicial.	Sí/No

Signatura

Data:_____

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el comitè ètic de la Facultat d'humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: hss.frec@dcu.ie

Spanish

La entrevista

La presente entrevista sobre los motivos para aprender catalán y la búsqueda de maneras de incluir las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas adultas inmigradas en Mallorca, es parte de la investigación doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

Tu participación consiste en responder preguntas sobre el tema en una entrevista individual que durará aproximadamente una hora.

Los investigadores

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departamento de Filología Catalana y Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tratamiento de los datos

- Los datos recogidos se almacenarán en una carpeta encriptada en línea en el usuario de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Solo los investigadores mencionados en este formulario tendrán acceso a los datos.
- Toda la información recogida será pseudoanonimizada mediante la asignación de un código (por ejemplo, C26LLO).
- En cualquier caso se seguirán las directrices de la ley irlandesa de protección de datos (Regulación General de Protección de Datos, GDPR, y el Acto de Protección de Datos 2018).

Confirmación de los requisitos de los participantes

Haz un círculo en SÍ o No según corresponda en cada caso.

Confirmo que tengo 18 años o más de edad.	Sí/No
He leído (o me han leído) la información inicial.	Sí/No
He entendido la información inicial.	Sí/No
He tenido la oportunidad de preguntar mis dudas sobre el estudio.	Sí/No
He recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mis respuestas serán grabadas, transcritas y analizadas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.	Sí/No
Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento, sin dar explicaciones.	Sí/No
Entiendo que retirar mi participación no me conllevará ninguna repercusión.	Sí/No
Consiento el uso de mis datos para las finalidades explicadas en la carta informativa inicial.	Sí/No
Confirmo que NO he nacido en Mallorca.	Sí/No
Confirmo que llegué a Mallorca alrededor de mis 18 años de edad o más.	Sí/No
Estoy de acuerdo con que se grabe la voz de esta entrevista para los fines indicados en la información inicial.	Sí/No

Firma

Fecha:_____

Si quieres contactar una persona independiente del proyecto para más información puedes contactar al comitè ético de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Dublin City University Research: hss.frec@dcu.ie

English

The Interview

This interview about the reasons for learning Catalan and the search for ways to address the language needs of adult immigrants in Mallorca is part of Catalina Amengual Ripoll's doctoral research.

Your participation involves answering questions about the topic in an individual interview that will last approximately one hour.

Researchers involved

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	University of the Balearic Islands

Data Management and Protection

- The collected data will be stored in an encrypted folder online under Catalina Amengual Ripoll's Google Drive user account at Dublin City University.
- Only the researchers mentioned in this form will have access to the data.
- All collected information will be pseudonymized by assigning a code (for example, C26LLO).
- In any case, the guidelines of the Irish Data Protection law (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR, and the Data Protection Act 2018) will be followed.

Confirmation of Participant Informed Consent

Circle YES or No as appropriate in each case.

I confirm that I am 18 years of age or older.	Yes/No
I have read (or had read to me) the initial information.	Yes/No
I have understood the initial information.	Yes/No
I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	Yes/No
I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions.	Yes/No
I understand that my responses will be recorded, transcribed and analysed.	Yes/No
I understand that my participation is voluntary.	Yes/No
I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving explanations.	Yes/No
I understand that withdrawing my participation will not have any consequences.	Yes/No
I consent to the use of my data for the purposes explained in the initial informational letter.	Yes/No
I confirm that I was NOT born in Mallorca.	Yes/No
I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday or older.	Yes/No
I agree to the voice recording of this interview for the purposes stated in the initial information.	Yes/No

Signature

Date:_____

Should you wish to contact an independent person, you may also contact the ethics committee of the Faculty of humanities and Social Sciences of Dublin City University: hss.frec@dcu.ie

Appendix B: Pre-tests on Survey

B.1. Pilot Test

Catalan

Català

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(Pots triar l'idioma en què t'agradaria fer el qüestionari entre català, castellà i anglès. Pots seleccionar l'idioma que t'estimis més a dalt a la dreta).

Bon dia!

El meu nom és Catalina Amengual Ripoll i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del Irish Research Council. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els motius per aprendre i emprar (o no) català/mallorquí per part de persones immigrades a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. Hi ha molt pocs estudis amb aquest focus a Mallorca i és molt important que es coneguin les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones immigrades a Mallorca en relació amb una de les seves llengües oficials. El projecte es titula Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.



La teva participació en aquest projecte implica completar un qüestionari d'uns 20 minuts. Emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una carpeta encriptada al meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University i t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir el teu anonimat, com per exemple C26LLO. La teva participació és completament voluntària i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificar-te i sense cap conseqüència.

Empraré els resultats en esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, i garantiré la protecció de la teva privacitat. En cap moment et deman dades de contacte, llevat que manifestis interès en una entrevista addicional o

en la participació en un sorteig, casos en els quals aquestes dades s'utilitzaran exclusivament amb aquest propòsit.

L'any 2036 esborraré i trituraré tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en aquest estudi no només t'ofereix l'oportunitat de reflexionar sobre temes sociolingüístics, sinó que també et permet expressar les teves opinions i necessitats. A més, al final del qüestionari trobaràs recursos per aprendre i practicar el català/mallorquí.

Esper concloure l'estudi per setembre de l'any 2026, i els resultats estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si desitges rebre'n els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final del qüestionari.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

El qüestionari
Aquest qüestionari sobre els motius per aprendre i emprar català/mallorquí i la recerca de maneres d'incloure les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones adultes immigrades a Mallorca, és part de la investigació doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix a respondre les preguntes que trobaràs, cosa que no et durà més de 20 minuts. Les preguntes estan dividides en cinc seccions:
SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí.
SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.
SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.
SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.
SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recollides s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia a l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
  - Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En tot moment, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el president del comitè ètic de la Facultat d'Humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants
Marca SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas.

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.

○ Sí ○
No

He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

He entès la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.

○ Sí ○
No

He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que les meves respostes del qüestionari seran recollides i analitzades.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.

○ Sí ○
No

Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades en la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

Confirm que NO he nascut a Mallorca.

○ Sí ○
No

Confirm que vaig arribar a Mallorca quan tenia aproximadament 18 anys o més.

○ Sí ○
No

Si has acceptat totes les premisses anteriors, pots començar el qüestionari.

En aquest qüestionari ens agradaria saber la teva opinió sobre les diferents preguntes amb què et trobaràs. No hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes. El que ens importa són les teves opinions i experiències. Per aquesta raó, t'animam a respondre de la manera més sincera possible sense pensar en excés les teves respostes i intenta evitar tant com puguis les opcions de “No ho sé” o indecisió.

SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí a Mallorca.

I. T’has plantejat qualque vegada aprendre català/mallorquí?

○ No, i de moment no m’interessa.
○ Sí, però encara no ho he fet.
○ Sí, i ja ho he fet.

II. Quines creus que són les teves habilitats amb el català/mallorquí? Pots marcar en cada cas la resposta que es correspongui amb les teves habilitats amb la llengua catalana/mallorquina, com en el següent exemple

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
M'agrada menjar xocolata.	○	○	○	○	○

Ara pots marcar les opcions que es corresponguin amb el teu cas.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Tenc dificultats per entendre i participar en conversacions bàsiques.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc (com a mínim) entendre instruccions bàsiques o participar en una conversació bàsica d'un tema previsible.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc aconsellar o parlar sobre temes complexos o sensibles, entendre referències col·loquials i tractar amb confiança diferents matisos de significats.	○	○	○	○	○

III. A continuació, independentment de si saps o no català/mallorquí o de si t'has plantejat mai aprendre'l o no, ens agradaria que marcassis com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions.

Aprendre català/mallorquí és important per a mi perquè…

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Em permet parlar amb gent diferent.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet participar en activitats socials i culturals (per exemple, festes populars).	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet sentir-me més a gust amb gent que el parla a Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet llegir llibres i entendre cançons, la televisió i la ràdio.	○	○	○	○	○
M'ajudarà a aconseguir feina o una promoció/ascens en la meva feina actual.	○	○	○	○	○
Em convertirà en una persona amb més aptituds.	○	○	○	○	○
La gent em tendrà més respecte.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet o em permetria ajudar els meus fills amb els deures de l'escola.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.

IV. En aquesta secció ens interessa saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions sobre el caràcter i estatus dels mallorquins en general. Pots marcar les opcions que es corresponguin a la teva opinió. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Molta de la gent que parla català/mallorquí a Mallorca és amigable i és fàcil dur-se bé amb ella.	○	○	○	○	○

Com més gent conec que parla català/mallorquí, més ganes em fa parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan parlen català/mallorquí perquè això significa que volen fer-me sentir part de Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan em parlen en català/mallorquí, encara que els hagi dit que no el parl, perquè m'estan oferint l'oportunitat d'aprendre'l.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins que parlen més català/mallorquí que castellà són de famílies amb recursos econòmics alts.	○	○	○	○	○
A Mallorca, la gent que viu a àrees en les quals es parla més català/mallorquí està més econòmicament acomodada que la que viu en àrees on no es parla tant el català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.

V. En aquesta secció ens agradaria conèixer quines llengües utilitzes en diferents àmbits i amb diferents persones. Pots marcar en cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

	Mai	Gairebé mai	Algunes vegades	La majoria de vegades	Sempre	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Cada dia parl català/mallorquí com a mínim amb una persona.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Contest en català/mallorquí si algú em parla en català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Parl en català/mallorquí quan vaig a una oficina de l'Administració (ajuntament, serveis socials, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

Fes el mateix que a les preguntes anteriors

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
M'agradaria que em parlassin en català/mallorquí quan ho deman.	○	○	○	○	○

Amb quina freqüència mescles paraules o estructures en català/mallorquí i altres en castellà o altres idiomes?

○ Mai o gairebé mai.

○ En una o dues conversacions per setmana.

○ En una o dues conversacions per dia.

○ En tres o cinc conversacions per dia.

○ En més de cinc conversacions per dia.

VI. Confiança en un/a mateix/a.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Parlar català/mallorquí en públic em fa sentir incòmode/a.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sent que se'n riuen de mi quan parl català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sent que no tenc un domini suficient del català/mallorquí i per això em fa vergonya parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Em sent més còmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent que té un nivell semblant al meu.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Em sent incòmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent mallorquina que parla català/mallorquí com a llengua materna.	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En aquesta secció ens agradaria saber quina és la teva opinió sobre la gestió de les llengües a Mallorca. Pots marcar a cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas i afegir informació quan sigui necessari.

Quina llengua preferiries que fos la llengua que s'empri majoritàriament a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Castellà.
- ○ Català/mallorquí.
- ○ Anglès.
- ○ Alemany.
- ○ Francès.
- ○ Una altra. Quina?

Quines llengües preferiries que es poguessin aprendre com a llengües addicionals a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Pots seleccionar-ne tantes opcions com consideris.

- ☐ Castellà.
- ☐ Català/mallorquí.
- ☐ Anglès.
- ☐ Alemany.
- ☐ Francès.
- ☐ Altres. Quines?

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a l'administració local a Mallorca (ajuntaments, serveis socials, etc.)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la salut pública a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.

- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la policia local a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la televisió local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com a les preguntes anteriors, ens agradaria saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions. Pots marcar el número que s'adeqüi a la teva opinió.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber català/mallorquí. ○	○	○	○	○
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber castellà. ○	○	○	○	○
Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el future haurà d'entendre el català/mallorquí ○	○	○	○	○

.

Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà de saber parlar el català/mallorquí.	○				
A Mallorca, d'aquí a cinc anys es parlarà menys català/mallorquí que ara.	○	○	○	○	○

Per acabar aquesta secció, ens agradaria que marcassis, segons la teva opinió, quina de les opcions utilitzaries per completar la frase següent:

A Mallorca el català/mallorquí es parla

- ○ Gens
- ○ Poc
- ○ Bastant
- ○ Molt

SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

VIII. Ja estam a punt d'acabar. Només ens queden algunes preguntes sobre tu.

Ciutat i país de naixement

- ○ Indica-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Població de residència actual

- ○ Indica-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quina llengua sents més a la teva zona de residència actual? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Castellà.
- ○ Català/mallorquí.
- ○ Alemany.
- ○ Anglès.
- ○ Àrab marroquí. ○ Amazic/berber.
- ○ Una altra. Quina? _____

Any de naixement

- ○ Indica-ho aquí _____
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no respondre

Gènere amb què t'identifiques.

- ○ Femení.
- ○ Masculí.
- ○ Altres.

- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

Any d'arribada a Mallorca

- ○ Indica-ho aquí _____
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quina/es llengua/ües parlaves a casa de petit/a? Pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.

- [ ] Àrab marroquí.
- [ ] Castellà.
- [ ] Alemany estàndard (Hochdeutsch).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades a l'Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (Plattdeutsch, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?

Amb quina llengua/ües t'identifiques? També pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.

- [ ] Àrab marroquí.
- [ ] Castellà.
- [ ] Alemany estàndard (Hochdeutsch).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades a l'Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (Plattdeutsch, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?

IX. Estatus socioeconòmic.

Quina/quines és/son la/es teva/es nacionalitat/s?

- ○ Indica-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quin és el nivell d'estudis més alt que has assolit?

- ○ Estudis primaris no finalitzats.

- ○ Estudis primaris (educació primària o equivalent).
- ○ Estudis secundaris primera etapa (ESO i similars).
- ○ Estudis secundaris segona etapa (Batxillerat i similars, FP Bàsica o grau mitjà, ensenyaments professionals de música i dansa, etc.).
- ○ Ensenyaments de formació professional (FP superior i títols propis universitaris).
- ○ Estudis universitaris (grau, màster i doctorat).
- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

X. Condicions d'habitatge.

Quantes vegades has canviat de domicili a Mallorca?

Quants dels següents problemes té el teu domicili? Indica un número, per exemple, 3. Escriu 0 si no tens cap dels següents problemes al teu domicili

Sorolls exteriors. Males olors provocades per la indústria, el trànsit. Humitats o goteres. Deficiències en la construcció. Poca neteja als carrers. Delinqüència o vandalisme a la zona. Mala comunicació. Problemes amb el servei postal. Massa petit.

Si el teu habitatge és de lloguer, quina part del teu sou destines a pagar el lloguer del mes?

- ○ Menys del 20% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ Entre el 21% i el 40% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ Més del 41% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ No aplicable (si el teu habitatge no és llogat, marca aquesta opció).
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

XI. Motius del trasllat a Mallorca.

Per quin motiu principal et vares traslladar a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Per jubilació.
- ○ Per canvi de destinació laboral.
- ○ Per falta de feina.
- ○ Per cercar una millor feina.
- ○ Per motius polítics.
- ○ Per motius religiosos.
- ○ Per raons formatives o educatives.
- ○ Per la qualitat de vida.
- ○ Per raons familiars (reagrupament familiar, etc.).
- ○ Pel cost de vida.
- ○ Pel clima.
- ○ Per estada temporal en país de trànsit.
- ○ Per altres raons. Quines? _____

XII. Condicions laborals a Mallorca actualment.

En aquests moments, a Mallorca, en quina situació de les següents et trobes?

- ○ Treball.
- ○ Cerc feina.
- ○ Estudii.
- ○ Jubilat/pensionista.
- ○ Dedicat a les tasques de la llar.
- ○ Incapacitat permanentment.
- ○ Altres situacions. Quina? _____

Quina és la teva professió a Mallorca ara mateix?

- ○ Indica-la aquí _____
- ○ No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).

- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

Quantes hores treballes a la setmana ara mateix a Mallorca?

- ○ Menys de 10 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 10 i 19 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 20 i 30 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 31 i 40 hores setmanals.
- ○ Més de 40 hores setmanals.
- ○ És molt irregular i no encaixa en cap de les opcions.
- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.
- ○ No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).

SECCIÓ F: Moltes gràcies!

Ja hem acabat! Moltíssimes, moltíssimes gràcies per invertir el teu temps i la teva energia per arribar fins a aquí.

Voldries ajudar-me una mica més i fer una entrevista individual d'una hora? Jo m'adapt al dia, lloc i hora que a tu et vagi millor entre setembre i desembre de 2024.

- ○ Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i llinatges, telèfon de contacte i correu electrònic, per favor? _____
- ○ No

T'agradaria rebre els resultats de la investigació?

- ○ Sí. Pots deixar-me el teu nom i llinatges i correu electrònic, per favor? _____
- ○ No

Deixa'm el teu correu si t'agradaria entrar al sorteig de productes de la Dublín City University.

XIII. Alguns recursos per aprendre català/mallorquí.

Finalment, per agrair-te el temps que has invertit en fer aquest qüestionari, et deix un codi QR on pots descarregar-te un document amb recursos per aprendre i practicar català/mallorquí.

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Moltíssimes gràcies pel teu temps, energia i esforç!

No t'oblidis de clicar aquesta darrera fletxa de la dreta perquè el qüestionari s'enviï correctament.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

Spanish

Español (América Latina)

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(Puedes escoger el idioma en el que te gustaría hacer el cuestionario entre catalán, castellano e inglés. Puedes seleccionar el idioma que prefieras arriba a la derecha).

¡Muy buenos días!

Mi nombre es Catalina Amengual Ripoll y estoy cursando mis estudios de doctorado en la Dublin City University, en Dublín, Irlanda, con una beca del Irish Research Council. Mis supervisores, y por tanto las otras dos personas implicadas en este proyecto son el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), en la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Mi investigación se centra en entender cuáles son los motivos para aprender y usar (o no) catalán/mallorquín por parte de personas que inmigraron a Mallorca después de los 18 años. Hay muy pocos estudios con este enfoque en Mallorca y es muy importante que se conozcan las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca en relación con una de sus lenguas oficiales. El proyecto se titula Ideologías Lingüísticas y la Decisión de Aprender y Usar una Lengua Minorizada: el Caso de Adultos Migrantes y el Catalán en Mallorca.



Tu participación en este proyecto implica completar un cuestionario que no te llevará más de 20 minutos. Almacenaré todas las respuestas en una carpeta encriptada en mi cuenta de Google Drive de la Dublin City University y te asignaré un código de identificación para mantener tu anonimato, como por ejemplo C26LLO. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin necesidad de justificación y sin consecuencia alguna.

Utilizaré los resultados en eventos y publicaciones académicas siempre de manera pseudoanonimizada, garantizando la protección de tu privacidad. En ningún momento te solicito datos de contacto, a menos que expreses interés en una entrevista adicional o

en la participación en un sorteo, en cuyo caso, dichos datos se usarán exclusivamente con ese propósito.

En 2036 borraré y me desharé de toda la información y datos recopilados, de acuerdo con la Política de Retención de Datos de Dublin City University. Si tienes más preguntas sobre el trato de los datos de este proyecto puedes contactar al director de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en este estudio no solo te brinda la oportunidad de reflexionar sobre temas sociolingüísticos, sino también de expresar tus opiniones y necesidades. Además, al final del cuestionario, encontrarás recursos para aprender y practicar el catalán/mallorquín.

Espero concluir el estudio en septiembre de 2026, y los resultados estarán disponibles en el repositorio en línea de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si deseas recibir los resultados, puedes indicarlo al final del cuestionario.

Si tienes preguntas o necesitas más información sobre el proyecto no dudes en ponerte en contacto conmigo: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Quiero agradecerte muchísimo tu tiempo, el esfuerzo de leer estas líneas y considerar tu participación.

El cuestionario
El presente cuestionario sobre los motivos para aprender catalán/mallorquín y la búsqueda de maneras de incluir las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas adultas inmigradas en Mallorca, es parte de la investigación doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

Tu participación consiste en responder las preguntas que vayas encontrando y eso te llevará no más de 20 minutos. Las preguntas están divididas en cinco secciones:
SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín.
SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.
SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.
SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situacióin sociolingüística de Mallorca.
SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

Los investigadores

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Dr Iker Erdocia, iker.erdocia@dcu.ie, School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University.
Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell, mm.vanrell@uib.cat, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Tratamiento de los datos

- Los datos recogidos se almacenarán en una carpeta encriptada en línea en el usuario de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Solo los investigadores mencionados en este formulario tendrán acceso a los datos.
- Toda la información recogida será pseudoanonimizada mediante la asignación de un código (por ejemplo, C26LLO).
- En cualquier caso se seguirán las directrices de la ley irlandesa de protección de datos (Regulación General de Protección de Datos, GDPR, y el Acto de Protección de Datos 2018).

Si quieres contactar una persona independiente del proyecto para más información puedes contactar al presidente del comité ético de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmación de los requisitos de los participantes
Marca SÍ o No según corresponda en cada caso.

Confirmo que tengo 18 años o más de edad.

○ Sí ○
No

He leído (o me han leído) la información inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

He entendido la información inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

He tenido la oportunidad de preguntar mis dudas sobre el estudio.

○ Sí ○
No

He recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas.

○ Sí ○
No

Entiendo que mis respuestas del cuestionario serán recogidas y analizadas.

○ Sí ○
No

Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.

○ Sí ○
No

Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento, sin dar explicaciones.

○ Sí ○
No

Entiendo que retirar mi participación no me conllevará ninguna repercusión.

○ Sí ○
No

Consiento el uso de mis datos para las finalidades explicadas en la información inicial.

○ Sí ○
No

Confirmo que NO he nacido en Mallorca.

○ Sí ○
No

Confirmo que llegué a Mallorca alrededor de mis 18 años o más.

○ Sí ○
No

Si has aceptado todo lo anterior, puedes empezar el cuestionario.

En este cuestionario queremos saber tu opinión sobre las diferentes preguntas que irás encontrando. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Lo que nos importa son tus opiniones y experiencias. Por esta razón, te animamos a responder de la manera más sincera posible sin pensar demasiado en tu respuesta y evitando tanto como puedas las opciones de “no lo sé” o indecisión.

SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca.

I. ¿Te has planteado alguna vez aprender catalán/mallorquín?

○ No, y de momento no me interesa.
○ Sí, pero todavía no lo he hecho.
○ Sí, y lo he hecho.

II. ¿Cuáles crees que son tus habilidades con el catalán/mallorquín? Puedes marcar en cada caso la respuesta que se corresponda con tus habilidades con la lengua catalana/mallorquina, como en el siguiente ejemplo:

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me gusta comer chocolate.	○	○	○	○	○

Ahora puedes marcar las opciones que se correspondan con tu caso.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Tengo dificultades para entender y participar en conversaciones básicas.	○	○	○	○	○
Puedo (como mínimo) entender instrucciones básicas o participar en una conversación básica de un tema predecible.	○	○	○	○	○
Puedo aconsejar o hablar sobre temas complejos o sensibles, entender referencias coloquiales y tratar con confianza diferentes matices de significados.	○	○	○	○	○

III. A continuación, independientemente de si sabes o no catalán/mallorquín o de si te has planteado alguna vez aprenderlo o no, nos gustaría que marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones.

Aprender catalán/mallorquín es importante para mí porque...

Muy en desacuerdo		En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me permite hablar con gente diferente.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite participar en actividades sociales y culturales (por ejemplo, fiestas populares).	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite sentirme más a gusto con gente que lo habla en Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite leer libros y entender canciones, la televisión y la radio.	○	○	○	○	○
Me ayudará a conseguir trabajo o una promoción/ascenso en mi empleo actual.	○	○	○	○	○
Me convertirá en una persona con más aptitudes.	○	○	○	○	○
La gente me tendrá más respeto.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite o me permitiría ayudar a mis hijos con los deberes del colegio.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.

IV. En esta sección nos gustaría que marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones sobre el carácter y estatus de los mallorquines en general. Puedes marcar las opciones que se correspondan con tu opinión. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Mucha de la gente que habla catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca es amigable y es fácil llevarse bien con ella.	○	○	○	○	○

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Cuánta más gente conozco que habla catalán/mallorquín, más ganas me da hablarlo.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín porque eso significa que quieren hacerme sentir parte de Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín, aunque les haya dicho que no lo hablo, porque me están brindando la oportunidad de aprenderlo.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines que hablan más catalán/mallorquín que castellano son de familia con recursos económicos altos.	○	○	○	○	○
En Mallorca, la gente que vive en áreas en las que se habla más catalán/mallorquín está más económicamente acomodada que la que vive en áreas donde no se habla tanto el catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.

V. En esta sección nos gustaría conocer qué lenguas utilizas en diferentes ámbitos y con diferentes personas. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

	Nunca	Casi nunca	Algunas veces	La mayoría de veces	Siempre	No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)
Cada día hablo catalán/mallorquín al menos con una persona.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Respondo en catalán/mallorquín si alguien me habla en catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hablo en catalán/mallorquín cuando voy a una oficina de la Administración (ayuntamiento, servicios sociales, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

Haz lo mismo que en las preguntas anteriores

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me gustaría que me hablaran en mallorquín/catalán cuando lo pido.	○	○	○	○	○

¿Con qué frecuencia mezclas palabras o estructuras en catalán/mallorquín y otras en castellano u otros idiomas?

○ Nunca o casi nunca.

○ En una o dos conversaciones por semana.

○ En una o dos conversaciones por día.

○ En tres o cinco conversaciones por día. ○

En más de cinco conversaciones por día.

VI. Confianza en uno/a mismo/a

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo	No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)
Hablar catalán/mallorquín en público me hace sentir incómodo/a.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Siento que se ríen de mí cuando hablo catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Siento que no tengo un dominio suficiente del catalán/mallorquín y por eso me da vergüenza hablarlo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Me siento más cómodo/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente que tiene un nivel parecido al mío.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Me siento incómoda/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente mallorquina que habla catalán/mallorquín como lengua materna	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situación sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En esta sección nos gustaría saber qué opinas sobre la gestión de las lenguas en Mallorca. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso y añadir información cuando sea necesario.

¿Qué lengua preferirías que fuera la lengua que se utilizara mayoritariamente en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Castellano
- ○ Catalán/mallorquín
- ○ Inglés
- ○ Alemán
- ○ Francés
- ○ Otra. ¿Cuál? _____

¿Qué lenguas preferirías que se pudieran aprender como lenguas adicionales en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca? Puedes seleccionar tantas opciones como consideres.

- ☐ Castellano.
- ☐ Catalán/mallorquín.
- ☐ Inglés.
- ☐ Alemán.
- ☐ Francés.
- ☐ Otras. ¿Cuáles? _____

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la administración local en Mallorca (ayuntamientos, servicios sociales, etc.)?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la salud pública en Mallorca?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la policía local en Mallorca?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la televisión local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano

- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

Tal y como lo has hecho en preguntas anteriores, nos gustaría saber cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones. Puedes marcar la opción que se adecúe a tu opinión.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber castellano.	○	○	○	○	○
Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá entender el catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá saber hablar catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
En Mallorca, dentro de cinco años el catalán/mallorquín se hablará menos que ahora.	○	○	○	○	○

Para terminar esta sección, nos gustaría que marcaras, según tu opinión, la opción que utilizarías para completar la frase siguiente:

En Mallorca el catalán/mallorquín se habla

- ○ Nada
- ○ Poco

- ○ Bastante
- ○ Mucho

SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

VIII. Ya estamos a punto de acabar. Solo nos quedan unas cuantas preguntas sobre ti.

Ciudad y país de nacimiento

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Población de residencia actual

- ○ Indícala aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Qué lengua oyes más en tu zona de residencia actual? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Castellano.
- ○ Catalán/mallorquín.
- ○ Alemán.
- ○ Inglés.
- ○ Árabe marroquí.
- ○ Amazic/berber.
- ○ Otra. ¿Cuál? _____

Año de nacimiento

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____

- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Género con el que te identificas.

- ○ Femenino.
- ○ Masculino.
- ○ Otro.
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Año de llegada a Mallorca

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Qué lengua/s hablabas en casa de pequeño/a? Puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

- ☐ Árabe marroquí.
- ☐ Castellano.
- ☐ Alemán estándar (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (Plattdeutsch, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es? _____

¿Con qué lengua/s te identificas? También puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

☐ Árabe marroquí.

☐ Castellano.

☐ Alemán estándar (Hochdeutsch).

☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (Plattdeutsch, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es?

IX. Estatus socioeconómico.

¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s nacionalidad/es?

○ Indícalo aquí.

○ No lo sé.

○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Cuál es el nivel de estudios más alto que has alcanzado?

○ Estudios primarios no finalizados.

○ Estudios primarios (educación primaria o equivalente).

○ Estudios secundarios primera etapa (ESO y similares).

○ Estudios secundarios segunda etapa (Bachillerato y similares, FP Básica o grado medio, enseñanzas profesionales de música y danza, etc.).

○ Enseñanzas de formación profesional (FP superior y títulos propios universitarios).

○ Estudios universitarios (grado, máster y doctorado).

○ No lo sé.

○ Prefiero no responder.

X. Condiciones de vivienda.

¿Cuántas veces has cambiado de domicilio en Mallorca?

¿Cúantos de los siguientes problemas tienes en tu domicilio? Indica un número, por ejemplo, 3. Escribe 0 si no tienes ninguno de los siguientes problemas en tu domicilio.

Ruidos exteriores. Malos olores provocados por la industria, el tráfico. Humedades o goteras. Deficiencias en la construcción. Poca limpieza en las calles. Delincuencia o vandalismo en la zona. Mal comunicada. Problemas con el servicio postal. Demasiado pequeña.

Si tu vivienda es alquilada, ¿qué parte de tu sueldo destinas a pagar el alquiler del mes?

- ○ Menos del 20% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ Entre el 21% y el 40% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ Más del 41% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ No aplicable (si tu vivienda no es alquilada, marca esta opción).
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

XI. Motivos de traslado a Mallorca.

¿Por qué motivo principal te trasladaste a Mallorca? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Por jubilación.
- ○ Por cambio de destino laboral.
- ○ Por falta de empleo.
- ○ Para buscar un empleo mejor.
- ○ Por motivos políticos.
- ○ Por motivos religiosos.
- ○ Por razones formativas o educativas.
- ○ Por calidad de vida.
- ○ Por razones familiares (reagrupación familiar, etc.).
- ○ Por el coste de vida.

- ○ Por el clima.
- ○ Por estancia temporal en país de tránsito.
- ○ Por otras razones. ¿Cuáles? _____

XII. Condiciones laborales en Mallorca actualmente.

Ahora mismo, en Mallorca, ¿en qué situación de las siguientes te encuentras?

- ○ Trabajando
- ○ Buscando trabajo
- ○ Estudiando
- ○ Jubilado/pensionista
- ○ Dedicado a las labores de la casa
- ○ Incapacitado permanentemente
- ○ Otras situaciones. ¿Cuál? _____

¿Cuál es tu profesión en Mallorca ahora mismo?

- ○ Indícala aquí. _____
- ○ No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Cuántas horas trabajas a la semana ahora mismo en Mallorca?

- ○ Menos de 10 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 10 y 19 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 20 y 30 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 31 y 40 horas semanales.
- ○ Más de 40 horas semanales.
- ○ Es muy irregular y no encaja en ninguna de las opciones.
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

○ No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).

SECCIÓN F: ¡Muchas gracias!

¡Ya hemos acabado! Muchísimas, muchísimas gracias por tomarte el tiempo y la energía de llegar hasta aquí.

¿Te gustaría ayudarme un poco más y hacer una entrevista individual de una horita? Yo me adapto al día, lugar y hora que a ti te vaya mejor de septiembre a diciembre de 2024.

○ Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y apellidos, teléfono de contacto y correo electrónico, por favor?

○ No

¿Te gustaría recibir los resultados de la investigación?

○ Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y apellidos y correo electrónico, por favor?

○ No

Déjame tu correo electrónico si te gustaría entrar en el sorteo de productos de Dublin City University

XIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán/mallorquín.

Finalmente, a modo de agradecimiento por tu tiempo, te dejo aquí un enlace en el que puedes descargarte un documento con recursos para aprender y practicar catalán/mallorquín.

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Muchísimas gracias por tu tiempo, energía y esfuerzo!

No te olvides de clicar esta última flecha de la derecha para que el cuestionario se envíe correctamente.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

English

English (United Kingdom)

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(You can choose the language in which you want to undertake this survey between Catalan, Spanish and English. You can do so by selecting the preferred language at the top right of this page).

Dear participant,

My name is Catalina Amengual Ripoll and I am studying my PhD at Dublin City University in Dublin, Ireland, with a scholarship from the Irish Research Council. My supervisors, and therefore the other two individuals involved in this project, are Dr. Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@ dcu.ie) at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat) at the Universitat de les Illes Balears.

My research focuses on understanding the reasons for learning and using (or not learning nor using) Mallorcan Catalan among individuals who immigrated to Mallorca after the age of 18. There are few studies on this topic and it is really important to know immigrated people's linguistic necessities regarding one of the official languages in Mallorca. The title of my doctoral research is Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca.



Your participation in this project involves completing a questionnaire that will take no more than 20 minutes of your time. I will store all responses in an encrypted folder in my Google Drive account at Dublin City University and I will assign you an identification code to maintain your anonymity, such as C26LLO. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without the need for justification and without any consequences.

I will use the results in academic events and publications, always in a pseudonymized manner, ensuring the protection of your privacy. I do not request your contact information, unless you express interest in an additional interview or in the case that you want to take part in a lottery. In these cases, the data provided will be used exclusively

for those purposes.

In 2036, I will delete and shred all the information and data collected, following Dublin City University's Data Retention Policy. If you have further questions about how the data in this project is handled, you can contact the Dublin City University Data Protection Officer, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participating in this study not only provides you with the opportunity to reflect on sociolinguistic issues but also to express your opinions and needs. Furthermore, at the end of the questionnaire, you will find resources to learn and practise Catalan.

I expect to conclude the study in September 2026, and the results will be available in Dublin City University's online repository, DORAS. If you wish to receive the results, you can indicate so at the end of the questionnaire.

If you have questions or need more information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

I sincerely thank you for your time and effort in reading these lines and considering your participation.

The questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of Catalina Amengual Ripoll's doctoral research. It is about the reasons for learning and using Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca as the ways to meet the linguistic needs of immigrated adults in the island.

Your participation involves answering the questions you will be encountered with. It will take no more than 20 minutes. The questions are organised into five sections:

SECTION A: Reasons for learning or not learning Mallorcan Catalan.
SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcans who speak Mallorcan Catalan.
SECTION C: Linguistic uses.
SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.
SECTION E: Sociodemographic information.

Researchers involved

Catalina Amengual Ripoll Dr Iker Erdocia Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell

catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	University of the Balearic Islands

Data Management and Protection

- The collected data will be stored in an encrypted folder online under Catalina Amengual Ripoll's Google Drive user account at Dublin City University.
- Only the researchers mentioned in this form will have access to the data.
- All collected information will be pseudonymized by assigning a code (for example, C26LLO).
- In any case, the guidelines of the Irish Data Protection law (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR, and the Data Protection Act 2018) will be followed.

Should you wish to contact an independent person, you may also contact:

The president of the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Dublin City University, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmation of participant requirements
Mark YES or No as appropriate in each case.

I confirm that I am 18 years or older.

○ Yes ○
No

I have read (or had read to me) the initial information.

○ Yes ○
No

I have understood the initial information.

○ Yes ○
No

I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

○ Yes ○
No

I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions.

○ Yes ○
No

I understand that my answers in the questionnaire will be collected and analysed.

○ Yes ○
No

I understand that my participation is voluntary.

○ Yes ○
No

I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving explanations.

○ Yes ○
No

I understand that withdrawing my participation will not have any consequences for me.

○ Yes ○
No

I consent to the use of my data for the purposes explained in the initial information.

○ Yes ○
No

I confirm that I was NOT born in Mallorca.

○ Yes ○
No

I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday or older.

○ Yes ○
No

If you have accepted all of the above, you can start the questionnaire.

In this survey we would like to know your opinion about the different topics that you will be encountered with. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinions and experiences. For this reason, we encourage you to answer as honestly as possible without overthinking your responses and trying to avoid as much as you can the “I don’t know” or “Neutral” options.

SECTION A: Reasons for Learning or Not Learning Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca.

I. Have you ever thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan?

○ No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan.

○ Yes, but I still did not do it.

○ Yes, and I have done it.

II. What do you think your abilities in Mallorcan Catalan are?

You can select the answer that corresponds to your skills in Mallorcan Catalan in each case like in the following example:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I like eating chocolate.	○	○	○	○	○

Now you can select the options corresponding to your situation.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have difficulty understanding and participating in basic conversations.	○	○	○	○	○
I can (at least) understand basic instructions or participate in a basic conversation on a predictable topic.	○	○	○	○	○
I can advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions.	○	○	○	○	○

III. Below, regardless of whether you know Mallorcan Catalan or not, or whether you have thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan or not, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Learning Mallorcan Catalan is important to me because…

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
It allows me to speak to different people.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to take part in social and cultural activities (for example, popular festivals).	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to feel more comfortable with people who speak it in Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to read books and understand songs, television, and radio.	○	○	○	○	○
It will help me get a job or a promotion in my current employment.	○	○	○	○	○
It will make me a person with more aptitudes.	○	○	○	○	○
People will respect me more.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows myself or it would allow myself to help my children with their schoolwork.	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcan Catalan Speakers.

IV. In this section, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about the character and status of Mallorcans in general. You can select the options that correspond to your opinion. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with	○	○	○	○	○

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.	○	○	○	○	○
In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well-off than those who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION C: Linguistic Usages.

V. In this section, we would like to know which languages you use in different contexts and with different people. Please select the answer that applies to you for each

question. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always	Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)
I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

You can do the same here.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would like people to speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan when I request it.	○	○	○	○	○

How often do you mix words or structures in Mallorcan Catalan and those in Spanish or other languages?

○ (Almost) never.

○ In one or two conversations per week.

○ In one or two conversations per day.

○ In three or five conversations per day.

○ In more than five conversations per day.

VI. Self-confidence.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	No aplicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)
Speaking Mallorcan Catalan in public makes me uncomfortable.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that people mock me when I speak Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that I do not have a sufficient command of Mallorcan Catalan and that is why I feel embarrassed of speaking it.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am more comfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with people who are at the same level as I am.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncomfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with Mallorcan people who speak Mallorcan Catalan as native language.	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.

VII. In this section, we would like to know your opinion about language management in Mallorca. Please select the answer that applies to you for each question and provide additional information when necessary.

What language would you prefer to be mainly used in compulsory public education in Mallorca? Select only one option.

- ○ Spanish.
- ○ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ English.
- ○ German.
- ○ French.
- ○ Other. Which one? _____

What languages would you prefer to be available as additional languages to learn in compulsory public education in Mallorca? You can select as many options as you like.

- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ☐ English.
- ☐ German.
- ☐ French.
- ☐ Other. Which ones? _____

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local administration in Mallorca (town halls, social services, etc.)?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in public healthcare in Mallorca?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local police in Mallorca?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which should be the presence of Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in the local television of Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Now, as you did in previous questions, we would like to know how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please select the option that best represents your opinion.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Everyone living in Mallorca should know Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone living in Mallorca should know Spanish.	○	○	○	○	○
A newcomer to Mallorca should understand Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	○	○	○	○	○
A newcomer to Mallorca should be able to speak Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	○	○	○	○	○
In Mallorca, in five years, Mallorcan Catalan will be spoken less than it is now spoken.	○	○	○	○	○

To conclude this section, please indicate which option you would choose to complete the following sentence:

In Mallorca, Mallorcan Catalan is spoken

- ○ Nothing
- ○ A little
- ○ Quite a bit
- ○ A lot

SECTION E: Sociodemographic Information.

We are almost done. We just have a few more questions about you.

City and country of birth

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Current place of residence

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Which language do you hear the most in your current residential area? Select only one option.

- ○ Spanish.
- ○ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ German.
- ○ English.
- ○ Moroccan Arabic.
- ○ Amazigh/Berber.
- ○ Other. Which one?

Year of birth

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Gender identity

- ○ Female
- ○ Male
- ○ Other
- ○ I do not know. ○ I prefer not to answer.

Year of arrival in Mallorca

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Which language(s) did you speak at home when you were a child? You can select several options if you need to.

- ☐ Moroccan Arabic.
- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Standard German (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (Plattdeutsch, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages. Which one/s?

With which language(s) do you identify yourself? You can select several options if you need to.

- ☐ Moroccan Arabic.
- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Standard German (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (Plattdeutsch, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages. Which one/s?

IX. Socioeconomic status.

What is/are your nationality/nationalities?

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ○ Unfinished primary education.
- ○ Primary education (elementary school or equivalent).
- ○ First stage of secondary education (Compulsory Secondary Education - ESO or similar).
- ○ Second stage of secondary education (Baccalaureate or similar, Vocational training - Basic or medium grade, professional studies in music and dance, etc.).
- ○ Higher Vocational training (Higher vocational training and university degrees).
- ○ University studies (bachelor's degree, master's degree, and PhD).
- ○ I do not know.
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

X. Housing Conditions.

How many times have you moved within Mallorca?

How many of the following problems does your home have? Indicate a number, for example, 3. Write 0 if you do not have any of the following problems at your home.

External noises. Bad odors caused by industry, traffic, etc. Dampness or leaks. Construction deficiencies. Lack of cleanliness in the streets. Crime or vandalism in the area. Poor transportation connectivity. Problems with postal services. Too small.

If the house where you live now is rented, what percentage of your salary do you spend on the rent each month?

- ○ Less than 20% of my monthly salary.
- ○ Between 21% and 40% of my monthly salary.
- ○ More than 41% of my monthly salary.
- ○ Not applicable (select this option if you do not live in a rented house).
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

XI. Reasons for moving to Mallorca.

What is the main reason why you moved to Mallorca? Select only one option.

- ○ Due to retirement.
- ○ Due to a change in job placement.
- ○ Due to lack of employment.
- ○ To find a better job.
- ○ Due to political reasons.
- ○ Due to religious reasons.
- ○ For educational or training purposes.
- ○ For quality of life.
- ○ Due to family reasons (family reunification, etc.).
- ○ Due to the cost of living.
- ○ Due to the climate.
- ○ Temporarily staying in a transit country.
- ○ Other reasons. Please specify: _____

XII. Current labour Conditions in Mallorca.

Currently, in Mallorca, what is your situation among the following?

- ○ Working.
- ○ Looking for a job.
- ○ Studying.

- ○ Retired/pensioner.
- ○ Household worker.
- ○ Permanently incapacitated.
- ○ Other situations. Please specify: _____

What is your job in Mallorca currently?

- ○ You can indicate it here _____
- ○ Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

How many hours do you work per week currently in Mallorca?

- ○ Less than 10 hours per week.
- ○ Between 10 and 19 hours per week.
- ○ Between 20 and 30 hours per week.
- ○ Between 31 and 40 hours per week.
- ○ More than 40 hours per week.
- ○ It is irregular and does not fit into any of the options.
- ○ I do not know.
- ○ I prefer not to answer.
- ○ Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).

SECTION F: Thank you very much!
We are done! Thank you very, very much for taking the time and energy to get here.

Would you like to help me a little more and participate in an individual interview for an hour? I can adapt myself to the day, place, and time that suits you best between September and December 2024.

- ○ Yes. Can you please leave here your name, surname, email and phone number? _____
- ○ No

Would you like to receive the research results?

○ Yes. Can you please leave here your name, surname and email address?

○ No

Leave here your email if you would like to enter in a lottery of Dublin City University products.

XIII. Some resources for learning Mallorcan Catalan.

Finally, to thank you for your time, I leave you with a QR code where you can download some resources to learn and practise Mallorcan Catalan.

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Thank you very much for yout time, energy and effort!

Do not forget to click the last arrow at the bottom right of this page so that the questionnaire can be successfully submitted.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

B.2. Content Validity

Catalan

Català

(Pots triar l'idioma en què t'agradaria fer el qüestionari entre català i castellà. Pots seleccionar l'idioma que t'estimis més a dalt a la dreta).

Bon dia!

El meu nom és Catalina Amengual Ripoll i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del Irish Research Council. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els motius per aprendre i emprar (o no) català/mallorquí per part de persones immigrades a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. Hi ha molt pocs estudis amb aquest focus a Mallorca i és molt important que es coneguin les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones immigrades a Mallorca en relació amb una de les seves llengües oficials. El projecte es titula Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.



La teva participació en aquest projecte implica completar un qüestionari d'uns 10 minuts. L'objectiu és validar-ne el contingut abans de començar a distribuir-lo massivament. Per poder validar-ne el contingut necessitam l'opinió d'experts i per això ens encantaria comptar amb la teva col·laboració

Emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una carpeta encriptada al meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University i t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir el teu anonimat, com per exemple C26LLO. La teva participació és completament voluntària i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificar-te i sense cap conseqüència.

Empraré els resultats en esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, i garantiré la protecció de la teva privacitat.

L'any 2036 esborraré i trituraré tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Esper concloure l'estudi per setembre de l'any 2026, i els resultats estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si desitges rebre'n els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final del qüestionari.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

El qüestionari

Aquest qüestionari pretén validar el contingut del qüestionari que forma part dels mètodes de recol·lecció de dades per a la tesi doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix en llegir les preguntes que se't presentaran als participants i avaluar-ne l'adequació en una escala de Likert. Hauràs de considerar la correspondència entre el tipus de preguntes (per exemple, la seva formulació, entre altres aspectes) i l'objectiu de cada pregunta, el qual serà explicat al final de cada secció.

Això et durà uns 10 minuts. **Només has de respondre les preguntes que trobis en negreta**.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat

School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recollides s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia a l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
  - Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En tot moment, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el president del comitè ètic de la Facultat d'Humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants
Marca SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas.

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.

○ Sí ○ No

He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○ No

He entès la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○ No

He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.

○ Sí ○
No

He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que les meves respostes del qüestionari seran recollides i analitzades.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.

○ Sí ○
No

Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.

○ Sí ○
No

Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades en la informació inicial.

○ Sí ○

No

Si has acceptat totes les premisses anteriors, pots començar el qüestionari.

SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí a Mallorca.

I. T'has plantejat qualque vegada aprendre català/mallorquí?

○ No, i de moment no m'interessa.

○ Sí, però encara no ho he fet.

○ Sí, i ja ho he fet.

II. Quines creus que són les teves habilitats amb el català/mallorquí? Pots marcar en cada cas la resposta que es correspongui amb les teves habilitats amb la llengua catalana/mallorquina.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
No puc entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc (com a mínim) entendre instruccions bàsiques o participar en una conversació bàsica d'un tema previsible.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc aconsellar o parlar sobre temes complexos o sensibles, entendre referències col·loquials i tractar amb confiança diferents matisos de significats.	○	○	○	○	○

Estàs d'acord amb les següents afirmacions?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
La pregunta I avalua la decisió d'aprendre català per part del o de la participant.	○	○	○	○	○
La pegunta II avalua la competència lingüística que el/la participant declara tenir amb el català.	○	○	○	○	○

III. Aprendre català/mallorquí és important per a mi perquè…

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Em permet parlar amb gent diferent.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet participar en activitats socials i culturals.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet sentir-me més a gust amb gent que el parla a Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet llegir llibres i entendre cançons, la televisió i la ràdio.	○	○	○	○	○
M'ajudarà a aconseguir feina o una promoció/ascens en la meva feina actual.	○	○	○	○	○
Em convertirà en una persona amb més aptituds.	○	○	○	○	○
La gent em tendrà més respecte.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet o em permetria ajudar els meus fills amb els deures de l'escola					

○	○	○	○	○

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
La pregunta III avalua les orientacions integratives i instrumentals dels o de les participants.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.

IV. Com d'acord o desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions sobre el caràcter i estatus dels mallorquins en general.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Molta de la gent que parla català/mallorquí a Mallorca és amigable i és fàcil dur-se bé amb ella.	○	○	○	○	○
Com més gent conec que parla català/mallorquí, més ganes em fa parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan parlen català/mallorquí perquè això significa que volen fer-me sentir part de Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan em parlen en català/mallorquí, encara que els hagi dit que no el parl, perquè m'estan oferint l'oportunitat d'aprendre'l	○	○	○	○	○

Els mallorquins que parlen més català/mallorquí que castellà són de famílies amb recursos econòmics alts.	○	○	○	○	
A Mallorca, la gent que viu a àrees en les quals es parla més català/mallorquí està més econòmicament acomodada que la que viu en àrees on no es parla tant el català/mallorquí	○	○	○	○	

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
La pregunta IV avalua les actituds que tenen els/les participants cap a les persones que parlen català a Mallorca. En consideren el caràcter, d'aquests parlants, l'hospitalitat i l'estatus socioeconòmic.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.

V. En aquesta secció ens agradaria conèixer quines llengües utilitzes en diferents àmbits i amb diferents persones. Pots marcar en cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Cada dia parl català/mallorquí com a mínim amb una persona.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Contest en català/mallorquí si algú em parla en català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Parl en català/mallorquí quan vaig a una oficina del govern (ajuntament, serveis socials, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

V.a. Fes el mateix que a les preguntes anteriors

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
M'agradaria que em parlassin en català/mallorquí quan ho deman.	○	○	○	○	○

V.b. Amb quina freqüència mescles paraules o estructures en català/mallorquí amb altres en castellà o altres idiomes?

- ○ (Gairebé) mai.
- ○ En una o dues conversacions per setmana.
- ○ En una o dues conversacions per dia.
- ○ En tres o cinc conversacions per dia.
- ○ En més de cinc conversacions per dia.

Estàs d'acord amb les següents afirmacions?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Les preguntes V i V.a. avaluen la presència del català en els usos interpersonals dels o de les participants així com en les seves interaccions amb institucions públiques.	○	○	○	○	○
La pregunta V.b. avalua l'existència i freqüència de l'alternància dels recursos lingüístics dels participants.	○	○	○	○	○

VI. Confiança en un/a mateix/a.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Parlar català/mallorquí en públic em fa sentir incòmode/a.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sent que se'n riuen de mi quan parl català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
No sé pronunciar els sons del català/mallorquí i per això em fa vergonya parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Em sent més còmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent que té un nivell semblant al meu	○	○	○	○	○	○

Em sent incòmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent mallorquina que parla català/mallorquí com a llengua materna	○	○	○	○	○	○

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
La pregunta VI avalua la confiança que tenen els/les participants en ells/es mateixos/es a l'hora de parlar català.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. Quina llengua preferiries que fos la llengua vehicular per defecte a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Una llengua vehicular és la que s'empra com a principal vehicle de comunicació, és a dir, la que s'empra majoritàriament. Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Castellà.
- ○ Català/mallorquí.
- ○ Anglès.
- ○ Alemany.
- ○ Francès.
- ○ Una altra.

Quina? _____

VII.a. Quines llengües preferiries que es poguessin aprendre com a llengües addicionals a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Pots seleccionar-ne tantes opcions com consideris.

- ☐ Castellà.
- ☐ Català/mallorquí.
- ☐ Anglès.
- ☐ Alemany.
- ☐ Francès.
- ☐ Altres. Quines? _____

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Les preguntes VII i VII.a. avaluen les actituds dels o de les participants cap a les polítiques lingüístiques d'educació a Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○

VII.b. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a l'administració local a Mallorca (ajuntaments, serveis socials, etc.)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí

VII.c. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la salut pública a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

VII.d. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la policia local a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.

- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

VII.e. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la televisió local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Les preguntes VII.b - VII.e. avaluen les opinions dels o de les participants sobre la presència del català i castellà a l'administració pública local, la sanitat, la policia local i la ràdio i televisió locals	○	○	○	○	○

VII.f. Com a les preguntes anteriors, ens agradaria saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions. Pots marcar el número que s'adeqüi a la teva opinió.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber castellà.	○	○	○	○	○
Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà d'entendre el català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○
Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà de saber parlar el català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○
A Mallorca, d'aquí a cinc anys es parlarà menys català/mallorquí que ara.	○	○	○	○	○

VII.g. Per acabar aquesta secció, ens agradaria que marcassis, segons la teva opinió, quina de les opcions utilitzaries per completar la frase següent:

A Mallorca el català/mallorquí es parla

○ Gens
○ Poc
○
Bastant
○ Molt

Estàs d'acord amb la següent afirmació?

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
La pregunta VII.f. avalua la percepció del o de la participant sobre els usos esperats del català i del castellà per part de la població general resident a Mallorca, així com el grau de competència futura en català que aquest/a participant espera que tengui un/a nouvingut/da a l'illa. A més, la pregunta recull la percepció del o de la participant sobre l'ús del català a Mallorca, tant en el present com en el futur.	○	○	○	○	○

Pots deixar aquí els teus comentaris i suggerències.

Moltíssimes gràcies per la teva ajuda!

T'agradaria rebre els resultats de la investigació?

○ Sí. Pots deixar-me el teu nom i llinatges i correu electrònic, per favor?

○ No

Moltíssimes gràcies pel teu temps, energia i esforç!

No t'oblidis de clicar aquesta darrera fletxa de la dreta perquè el qüestionari s'enviï correctament.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

Appendix C: Final Survey

C.1. Paper Version

Catalan

Bon dia!

El meu nom és **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del **Irish Research Council**. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els **motius per aprendre i emprar (o no) català/mallorquí** per part de persones immigrades a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. Hi ha molt pocs estudis amb aquest focus a Mallorca i és molt important que es coneguin les **necessitats lingüístiques** de les persones immigrades a Mallorca en relació amb una de les seves llengües oficials. El projecte es titula Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.

La teva participació en aquest projecte implica completar un **qüestionari** d'uns **20 minuts**. Emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una **carpeta encriptada** al meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University i t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir el teu **anonimat**, com per exemple C26LLO. La teva participació és completament **voluntària** i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificar-te i sense cap conseqüència.

Empraré els resultats en **esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques** sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, i garantiré la protecció de la teva privacitat. En cap moment et deman dades de contacte, llevat que manifestis interès en una entrevista addicional o en la participació en un sorteig, casos en els quals aquestes dades s'utilitzaran exclusivament amb aquest propòsit.

L'any 2036 **esborraré i trituraré** tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en aquest estudi no només t'ofereix l'oportunitat de **reflexionar sobre temes sociolingüístics**, sinó que també et permet expressar les teves opinions i necessitats. A més, al final del qüestionari trobaràs **recursos per aprendre i practicar el català/mallorquí.**

Esper concloure l'estudi per setembre de l'any 2026, i els **resultats** estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, **DORAS**. Si desitges rebre'n els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final del qüestionari.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

El qüestionari

Aquest qüestionari sobre els motius per aprendre i emprar català/mallorquí i la recerca de maneres d'incloure les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones adultes immigrades a Mallorca, és part de la investigació doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix a respondre les preguntes que trobaràs, cosa que no et durà més de 20 minuts. Les preguntes estan dividides en cinc seccions:

SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí.

SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.

SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.

SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.

SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recollides s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia a l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
- Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En tot moment, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el president del comitè ètic de la Facultat d'Humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants

Marca SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas.

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.	Sí/No
He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He entès la informació inicial.	Sí/No
He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.	Sí/No
He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.	Sí/No
Entenc que les meves respostes del qüestionari seran recollides i analitzades.	Sí/No
Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.	Sí/No
Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.	Sí/No

Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.	Sí/No
Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades en la informació inicial.	Sí/No
Confirm que NO he nascut a Mallorca.	Sí/No
Confirm que vaig arribar a Mallorca quan tenia aproximadament 18 anys o més.	Sí/No

Si has acceptat totes les premisses anteriors, pots començar el qüestionari.

Instruccions per retornar-me el qüestionari emplenat

Quan hagis acabat el qüestionari, pots enviar-me fotografies de totes les pàgines al següent correu: catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o al Whatsapp: ---.

També puc venir a recollir-lo on et vagi bé.

Pots contactar-me a aquestes dues adreces de més amunt per a qualsevol consulta o per concertar el dia i hora de recollida.

Si has agafat una còpia del qüestionari a una botiga, pots retornar-me'l mitjançant qualsevol de les opcions anteriors o el pots deixar a la botiga. Jo l'aniré a recollir a la botiga.

Moltes gràcies!

En aquest qüestionari ens agradaria saber la teva opinió sobre les diferents preguntes amb què et trobaràs. No hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes. El que ens importa són les teves opinions i experiències. Per aquesta raó, t'animam a respondre de la manera més sincera possible sense pensar en excés les teves respostes i intenta evitar tant com puguis les opcions de "No ho sé" o indecisió.

SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí a Mallorca.

I. T'has plantejat qualque vegada aprendre català/mallorquí?

- No, i de moment no m'interessa.
- Sí, però encara no ho he fet.
- Sí, i ja ho he fet.

II. Quines creus que són les teves habilitats amb el català/mallorquí?

Pots marcar en cada cas la resposta que es correspongui amb les teves habilitats amb la llengua catalana/mallorquina. Tingues en compte la següent puntuació:

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

1. Tenc dificultats per entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

2. Puc (com a mínim) entendre instruccions bàsiques o participar en una conversació bàsica d'un tema previsible.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

3. Puc aconsellar o parlar sobre temes complexos o sensibles, entendre referències col·loquials i tractar amb confiança diferents matisos de significats.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

III. A continuació, independentment de si saps o no català/mallorquí o de si t'has plantejat mai aprendre'l o no, ens agradaria que marcassis com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions.

Aprendre català/mallorquí és important per a mi perquè...

4. Em permet parlar amb gent diferent.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

5. Em permet participar en activitats socials i culturals (per exemple, festes populars).

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

6. Em permet sentir-me més a gust amb gent que el parla a Mallorca.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

7. Em permet llegir llibres i entendre cançons, la televisió i la ràdio.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

8. M'ajudarà a aconseguir feina o una promoció/ascens en la meva feina actual.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

9. Em convertirà en una persona amb més aptituds.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

10. La gent em tendrà més respecte.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

11. Em permet o em permetria ajudar els meus fills amb els deures de l'escola.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.

IV. En aquesta secció ens interessa saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions sobre el caràcter i estatus dels mallorquins en general. Pots marcar les opcions que es corresponguin a la teva opinió. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

12. Molta de la gent que parla català/mallorquí a Mallorca és amigable i és fàcil dur-se bé amb ella.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

13. Com més gent conec que parla català/mallorquí, més ganes em fa parlar-lo.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

14. Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan parlen català/mallorquí perquè això significa que volen fer-me sentir part de Mallorca.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

15. Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan em parlen en català/mallorquí, encara que els hagi dit que no el parl, perquè m'estan oferint l'oportunitat d'aprendre'l.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

16. Els mallorquins que parlen més català/mallorquí que castellà són de famílies amb recursos econòmics alts.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

17. A Mallorca, la gent que viu a àrees en les quals es parla més català/mallorquí està més econòmicament acomodada que la que viu en àrees on no es parla tant el català/mallorquí.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.

V. En aquesta secció ens agradaria conèixer quines llengües utilitzes en diferents àmbits i amb diferents persones. Pots marcar en cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas. Si no hi ha cap resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas, pots marcar "No aplicable" quan existesqui aquesta opció. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

18. Cada dia parl català/mallorquí com a mínim amb una persona.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Mai	Gairebé mai	Algunes vegades	La majoria de vegades	Sempre
1	2	3	4	5

19. Contest en català/mallorquí si algú em parla en català/mallorquí.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Mai	Gairebé mai	Algunes vegades	La majoria de vegades	Sempre
1	2	3	4	5

20. Parl en català/mallorquí quan vaig a una oficina de l'Administració (ajuntament, serveis socials, etc.).

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Mai	Gairebé mai	Algunes vegades	La majoria de vegades	Sempre
1	2	3	4	5

21. M'agradaria que em parlassin en català/mallorquí quan ho deman.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

22. Amb quina freqüència mescles paraules o estructures en català/mallorquí i altres en castellà o altres idiomes?

- Mai o gairebé mai.
- En una o dues conversacions per setmana.
- En una o dues conversacions per dia.
- En tres o cinc conversacions per dia.
- En més de cinc conversacions per dia.

VI. Confiança en un/a mateix/a.

23. Parlar català/mallorquí en públic em fa sentir incòmode/a.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

24. Sent que se'n riuen de mi quan parl català/mallorquí.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

25. Sent que no tenc un domini suficient del català/mallorquí i per això em fa vergonya parlar-lo.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

26. Em sent més còmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent que té un nivell semblant al meu.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

27. Em sent incòmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent mallorquina que parla català/mallorquí com a llengua materna.

- No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En aquesta secció ens agradaria saber quina és la teva opinió sobre la gestió de les llengües a Mallorca. Pots marcar a cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas i afegir informació quan sigui necessari.

28. Quina llengua preferiries que fos la llengua que s'empri majoritàriament a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- Castellà.
- Català/mallorquí.
- Anglès.
- Alemany.
- Francès.
- Una altra. Quina?_____

29. **Quines llengües preferiries que es poguessin aprendre com a llengües addicionals a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca?** Pots seleccionar tantes opcions com consideris.

- Castellà.
- Català/mallorquí.
- Anglès.
- Alemany.
- Francès.
- Altres. Quines?_____

30. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a l'administració local a Mallorca (ajuntaments, serveis socials, etc.)?

- Tot en castellà.
- Majoritàriament en castellà.
- En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- Tot en català/mallorquí.

31. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la salut pública a Mallorca?

- Tot en castellà.
- Majoritàriament en castellà.
- En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- Tot en català/mallorquí.

32. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la policia local a Mallorca?

- Tot en castellà.
- Majoritàriament en castellà.
- En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- Tot en català/mallorquí.

33. Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la televisió local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- Tot en castellà.
- Majoritàriament en castellà.
- En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com a les preguntes anteriors, ens agradaria saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions. Pots marcar el número que s'adeqüi a la teva opinió.

34. Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber català/mallorquí.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

35. Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber castellà.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

36. Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà d'entendre el català/mallorquí.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

37. Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà de saber parlar el català/mallorquí.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

38. A Mallorca, d'aquí a cinc anys es parlarà menys català/mallorquí que ara.

Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1	2	3	4	5

Per acabar aquesta secció, ens agradaria que marcassis, segons la teva opinió, quina de les opcions utilitzaries per completar la frase següent:

39. A Mallorca el català/mallorquí es parla

- Gens
- Poc
- Bastant
- Molt

SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

VIII. Ja estam a punt d'acabar. Només ens queden algunes preguntes sobre tu.

40. **Ciutat i país de naixement**:_____
    - No ho sé.
    - M'estim més no contestar.
41. **Població de residència actual:** _____
    - No ho sé.
    - M'estim més no contestar.
42. **Quina llengua sents més a la teva zona de residència actual?** Selecciona només una opció.
    - Castellà.
    - Català/mallorquí.
    - Alemany.
    - Anglès.
    - Àrab marroquí.
    - Amazic/berber.
    - Una altra. Quina?_____
43. **Any de naixement**: _____
    - No ho sé.
    - M'estim més no contestar.
44. **Gènere amb què t'identifiques.**
    - Femení.
    - Masculí.
    - Altres.
    - No ho sé.

- M’estim més no contestar.

45. **Any d'arribada a Mallorca**: _____
    - No ho sé.
    - M’estim més no contestar.

46. Quina/es llengua/ües parlaves a casa de petit/a? Pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.
- Àrab marroquí.
- Castellà.
- Alemany estàndard (*Hochdeutsch*).
- Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- Altres llengües parlades a l’Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (*Plattdeutsch*, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?_____

47. Amb quina llengua/ües t’identifiques? També pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.
- Àrab marroquí.
- Castellà.
- Alemany estàndard (*Hochdeutsch*).
- Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- Altres llengües parlades a l’Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (*Plattdeutsch*, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?_____

IX. Estatus socioeconòmic.

48. **Quina/quines és/son la/es teva/es nacionalitat/s?**_____
    - No ho sé.
    - M’estim més no contestar.

49. Quin és el nivell d'estudis més alt que has assolit?
- Estudis primaris no finalitzats.
- Estudis primaris (educació primària o equivalent).
- Estudis secundaris primera etapa (ESO i similars).
- Estudis secundaris segona etapa (Batxillerat i similars, FP Bàsica o grau mitjà, ensenyaments professionals de música i dansa, etc.).
- Ensenyaments de formació professional (FP superior i títols propis universitaris).
- Estudis universitaris (grau, màster i doctorat).
- No ho sé.
- M’estim més no contestar.

X. Condicions d'habitatge.

50. **Quantes vegades has canviat de domicili a Mallorca?**_____

51. **Quants dels següents problemes té el teu domicili?** Indica un número, per exemple, 3. Escriu 0 si no tens cap dels següents problemes al teu domicili:_____

Sorolls exteriors.
Males olors provocades per la indústria, el trànsit.
Humitats o goteres.
Deficiències en la construcció.
Poca neteja als carrers.
Delinqüència o vandalisme a la zona.
Mala comunicació.
Problemes amb el servei postal.
Massa petit.

52. Si el teu habitatge és de lloguer, **quina part del teu sou destines a pagar el lloguer del mes?**

- Menys del 20% del meu sou mensual.
- Entre el 21% i el 40% del meu sou mensual.
- Més del 41% del meu sou mensual.
- No aplicable (si el teu habitatge no és llogat, marca aquesta opció).
- M'estim més no contestar.

XI. Motius del trasllat a Mallorca.

53. Per quin motiu principal et vas traslladar a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- Per jubilació.
- Per canvi de destinació laboral.
- Per falta de feina.
- Per cercar una millor feina.
- Per motius polítics.
- Per motius religiosos.
- Per raons formatives o educatives.
- Per la qualitat de vida.
- Per raons familiars (reagrupament familiar, etc.).
- Pel cost de vida.
- Pel clima.
- Per estada temporal en país de trànsit.
- Per altres raons. Quines?_____

XII. Condicions laborals a Mallorca actualment.

54. En aquests moments, a Mallorca, en quina situació de les següents et trobes?

- Treball.
- Cerc feina.
- Estudii.
- Jubilat/pensionista.
- Dedicat a les tasques de la llar.
- Incapacitat permanentment.
- Altres situacions. Quina?_____

55. **Quina és la teva professió a Mallorca ara mateix?**_____

- No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).
- M'estim més no contestar.

56. Quantes hores treballes a la setmana ara mateix a Mallorca?

- Menys de 10 hores setmanals.
- Entre 10 i 19 hores setmanals.
- Entre 20 i 30 hores setmanals.
- Entre 31 i 40 hores setmanals.
- Més de 40 hores setmanals.
- És molt irregular i no encaixa en cap de les opcions.
- No ho sé.
- M'estim més no contestar.
- No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).

SECCIÓ F: Moltes gràcies!

Ja hem acabat! Moltíssimes, moltíssimes gràcies per invertir el teu temps i la teva energia per arribar fins a aquí.

57. Voldries ajudar-me una mica més i fer una entrevista individual d'una hora? Jo m'adapt al dia, lloc i hora que a tu et vagi millor entre setembre i desembre de 2024.
    - Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i dades de contacte, per favor?
        1. Nom i llinatge(s):_____
        2. Telèfon de contacte:_____
        3. Correu electrònic:_____
    - No.
58. Estaries disposat/da a tornar a emplenar el qüestionari d'aquí un mes?
    - Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i correu electrònic, per favor?
        1. Nom i llinatge(s):_____
        2. Correu electrònic:_____
    - No.
59. T'agradaria rebre els resultats de la investigació?
    - Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i correu electrònic, per favor?
        3. Nom i llinatge(s):_____

4. Correu electrònic:_____

- No.

60. Deixa'm el teu correu si t'agradaria entrar al sorteig de productes de la Dublín City University._____

XIII. Alguns recursos per aprendre català/mallorquí.

Finalment, per agrair-te el temps que has invertit en fer aquest qüestionari, et deix un codi QR on pots descarregar-te un document amb recursos per aprendre i practicar català/mallorquí.

Moltes gràcies!

Spanish

¡Muy buenos días!

Mi nombre es **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** y estoy cursando mis estudios de doctorado en la Dublin City University, en Dublín, Irlanda, con una beca del **Irish Research Council**. Mis supervisores, y por tanto las otras dos personas implicadas en este proyecto son el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), en la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Mi investigación se centra en entender cuáles son los **motivos para aprender y usar (o no) catalán/mallorquín** por parte de personas que inmigraron a Mallorca después de los 18 años. Hay muy pocos estudios con este enfoque en Mallorca y es muy importante que se conozcan las **necesidades lingüísticas** de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca en relación con una de sus lenguas oficiales. El proyecto se titula Ideologías Lingüísticas y la Decisión de Aprender y Usar una Lengua Minorizada: el Caso de Adultos Migrantes y el Catalán en Mallorca.

Tu participación en este proyecto implica completar un **cuestionario** que no te llevará más de **20 minutos**. Almacenaré todas las respuestas en una **carpeta encriptada** en mi cuenta de Google Drive de la Dublin City University y te asignaré un código de identificación para mantener tu **anonimato**, como por ejemplo C26LLO. Tu participación es completamente **voluntaria** y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin necesidad de justificación y sin consecuencia alguna.

Utilizaré los resultados en **eventos y publicaciones académicas** siempre de manera pseudoanonimizada, garantizando la protección de tu privacidad. En ningún momento te solicito datos de contacto, a menos que

expreses interés en una entrevista adicional o en la participación en un sorteo, en cuyo caso, dichos datos se usarán exclusivamente con ese propósito.

En 2036 **borraré y me desharé de** toda la información y datos recopilados, de acuerdo con la Política de Retención de Datos de Dublin City University. Si tienes más preguntas sobre el trato de los datos de este proyecto puedes contactar al director de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en este estudio no solo te brinda la oportunidad de **reflexionar sobre temas sociolingüísticos**, sino también de expresar tus opiniones y necesidades. Además, al final del cuestionario, encontrarás **recursos para aprender y practicar el catalán/mallorquín**.

Espero concluir el estudio en septiembre de 2026, y los **resultados** estarán disponibles en el repositorio en línea de Dublin City University, **DORAS**. Si deseas recibir los resultados, puedes indicarlo al final del cuestionario.

Si tienes preguntas o necesitas más información sobre el proyecto no dudes en ponerte en contacto conmigo: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Quiero agradecerte muchísimo tu tiempo, el esfuerzo de leer estas líneas y considerar tu participación.

El cuestionario

El presente cuestionario sobre los motivos para aprender y usar catalán/mallorquín y la búsqueda de maneras de incluir las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas adultas inmigradas en Mallorca, es parte de la investigación doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

Tu participación consiste en responder las preguntas que vayas encontrando y eso te llevará no más de 20 minutos. Las preguntas están divididas en cinco secciones:

SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín.

SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.

SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.

SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situación sociolingüística de Mallorca.

SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

Los investigadores

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
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School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tratamiento de los datos

- Los datos recogidos se almacenarán en una carpeta encriptada en línea en el usuario de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.

- Solo los investigadores mencionados en este formulario tendrán acceso a los datos.
- Toda la información recogida será pseudoanonimizada mediante la asignación de un código (por ejemplo, C26LLO).
- En cualquier caso se seguirán las directrices de la ley irlandesa de protección de datos (Regulación General de Protección de Datos, GDPR, y el Acto de Protección de Datos 2018).

Si quieres contactar una persona independiente del proyecto para más información puedes contactar al presidente del comitè ético de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmación de los requisitos de los participantes

Marca SÍ o No según corresponda en cada caso.

Confirmo que tengo 18 años o más de edad.	Sí/No
He leído (o me han leído) la información inicial.	Sí/No
He entendido la información inicial.	Sí/No
He tenido la oportunidad de preguntar mis dudas sobre el estudio.	Sí/No
He recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mis respuestas del cuestionario serán recogidas y analizadas.	Sí/No
Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.	Sí/No
Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento, sin dar explicaciones.	Sí/No
Entiendo que retirar mi participación no me conllevará ninguna repercusión.	Sí/No
Consiento el uso de mis datos para las finalidades explicadas en la información inicial.	Sí/No
Confirmo que NO he nacido en Mallorca.	Sí/No

Confirmo que llegué a Mallorca alrededor de mis 18 años o más.	Sí/No

Si has aceptado todo lo anterior, puedes empezar el cuestionario.

Instrucciones para enviarme el cuestionario finalizado

Cuando hayas finalizado el cuestionario, puedes enviarme fotos de todas las páginas al siguiente correo: catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o al Whatsapp: ---.

También puedo venir a recogerlo donde te vaya bien.

Puedes contactarme a estas dos direcciones anteriores para cualquier consulta o para concertar el día y hora de recogida.

Si agarraste una copia del cuestionario en una tienda, puedes hacer cualquier de las opciones anteriores o devolvérselo al o a la comerciante. Yo lo recogeré en la tienda.

¡Muchas gracias!

En este cuestionario queremos saber tu opinión sobre las diferentes preguntas que irás encontrando. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Lo que nos importa son tus opiniones y experiencias. Por esta razón, te animamos a responder de la manera más sincera posible sin invertir demasiado tiempo en tu respuesta y evitando tanto como puedas las opciones de "no lo sé" o indecisión.

SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca.

I. ¿Te has planteado alguna vez aprender catalán/mallorquín?

- No, y de momento no me interesa.
- Sí, pero todavía no lo he hecho.
- Sí, y lo he hecho.

II. ¿Cuáles crees que son tus habilidades con el catalán/mallorquín?

Puedes marcar en cada caso la respuesta que se corresponda con tus habilidades con la lengua catalana/mallorquina, teniendo en cuenta la siguiente puntuación:

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

1. **Tengo dificultades para entender y participar en conversaciones básicas.**

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

2. **Puedo (como mínimo) entender instrucciones básicas o participar en una conversación básica de un tema predecible.**

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

3. Puedo aconsejar o hablar sobre temas complejos o sensibles, entender referencias coloquiales y tratar con confianza diferentes matices de significados.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

III. A continuación, independientemente de si sabes o no catalán/mallorquín o de si te has planteado alguna vez aprenderlo o no, nos gustaría que

marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones.

Aprender catalán/mallorquín es importante para mí porque...

4. Me permite hablar con gente diferente.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

5. Me permite participar en actividades sociales y culturales (por ejemplo, fiestas populares).

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

6. Me permite sentirme más a gusto con gente que lo habla en Mallorca.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

7. Me permite leer libros y entender canciones, la televisión y la radio.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

8. Me ayudará a conseguir trabajo o una promoción/ascenso en mi empleo actual.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

9. Me convertirá en una persona con más aptitudes.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

10. La gente me tendrá más respeto.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

11. Me permite o me permitiría ayudar a mis hijos con los deberes del colegio.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.

IV. En esta sección nos gustaría que marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones sobre el carácter y estatus de los mallorquines en general. Puedes marcar las opciones que se correspondan con tu opinión. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

12. Mucha de la gente que habla catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca es amigable y es fácil llevarse bien con ella.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

13. Cuanta más gente conozco que habla catalán/mallorquín, más ganas me da hablarlo.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

14. Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín porque eso significa que quieren hacerme sentir parte de Mallorca.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

15. Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín, aunque les haya dicho que no lo hablo, porque me están brindando la oportunidad de aprenderlo.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

16. Los mallorquines que hablan más catalán/mallorquín que castellano son de familia con recursos económicos altos.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

17. En Mallorca, la gente que vive en áreas en las que se habla más catalán/mallorquín está más económicamente acomodada que la que vive en áreas donde no se habla tanto el catalán/mallorquín.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.

V. En esta sección nos gustaría conocer qué lenguas utilizas en diferentes ámbitos y con diferentes personas. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso. Si no hay ninguna respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso, puedes marcar "No aplicable" cuando exista la opción. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

18. Cada día hablo catalán/mallorquín al menos con una persona.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Nunca	Casi nunca	Algunas veces	La mayoría de veces	Siempre
1	2	3	4	5

19. Respondo en catalán/mallorquín si alguien me habla en catalán/mallorquín.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Nunca	Casi nunca	Algunas veces	La mayoría de veces	Siempre
1	2	3	4	5

20. Hablo en catalán/mallorquín cuando voy a una oficina de la Administración (ayuntamiento, servicios sociales, etc.).

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Nunca	Casi nunca	Algunas veces	La mayoría de veces	Siempre
1	2	3	4	5

21. **Me gustaría que me hablaran en mallorquín/catalán cuando lo pido**.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

22. ¿Con qué frecuencia mezclas palabras o estructuras en catalán/mallorquín y otras en castellano u otros idiomas?

- Nunca o casi nunca.
- En una o dos conversaciones por semana.
- En una o dos conversaciones por día.
- En tres o cinco conversaciones por día.
- En más de cinco conversaciones por día.

VI. Confianza en uno/a mismo/a

23. Hablar catalán/mallorquín en público me hace sentir incómodo/a.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

24. Siento que se ríen de mí cuando hablo catalán/mallorquín.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

25. Siento que no tengo un dominio suficiente del catalán/mallorquín y por eso me da vergüenza hablarlo.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

26. Me siento más cómodo/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente que tiene un nivel parecido al mío.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

27. Me siento incómoda/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente mallorquina que habla catalán/mallorquín como lengua materna.

- No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situación sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En esta sección nos gustaría saber qué opinas sobre la gestión de las lenguas en Mallorca. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso y añadir información cuando sea necesario.

28. **¿Qué lengua preferirías que fuera la lengua que se utilizara mayoritariamente en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca?** Selecciona solo una opción.
    - Castellano.
    - Catalán/mallorquín.
    - Inglés.
    - Alemán.
    - Francés.
    - Otra. ¿Cuál?_____

29. **¿Qué lenguas preferirías que se pudieran aprender como lenguas adicionales en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca?** Puedes seleccionar tantas opciones como consideres.
    - Castellano.
    - Catalán/mallorquín.
    - Inglés.
    - Alemán.
    - Francés.
    - Otras. ¿Cuáles?_____

30. ¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la administración local en Mallorca (ayuntamientos, servicios sociales, etc.)?
    - Todo en castellano.
    - Mayoritariamente en castellano.
    - En castellano y catalán/mallorquín al 50%.
    - Mayoritariamente en catalán/mallorquín.
    - Todo en catalán/mallorquín.

31. ¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la salud pública en Mallorca?

- Todo en castellano.
- Mayoritariamente en castellano.
- En castellano y catalán/mallorquín al 50%.
- Mayoritariamente en catalán/mallorquín.
- Todo en catalán/mallorquín.

32. ¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la policía local en Mallorca?

- Todo en castellano.
- Mayoritariamente en castellano.
- En castellano y catalán/mallorquín al 50%.
- Mayoritariamente en catalán/mallorquín.
- Todo en catalán/mallorquín.

33. ¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la televisión local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- Todo en castellano.
- Mayoritariamente en castellano.
- En castellano y catalán/mallorquín al 50%.
- Mayoritariamente en catalán/mallorquín.
- Todo en catalán/mallorquín.

Tal y como lo has hecho en preguntas anteriores, nos gustaría saber cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones. Puedes marcar la opción que se adecúe a tu opinión.

34. Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber catalán/mallorquín.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

35. Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber castellano.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

36. Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá entender el catalán/mallorquín.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

37. Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá saber hablar catalán/mallorquín.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

38. En Mallorca, dentro de cinco años el catalán/mallorquín se hablará menos que ahora.

Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5

Para terminar esta sección, nos gustaría que marcaras, según tu opinión, la opción que utilizarías para completar la frase siguiente:

39. En Mallorca el catalán/mallorquín se habla

- Nada
- Poco
- Bastante
- Mucho

SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

VIII. Ya estamos a punto de acabar. Solo nos quedan unas cuantas preguntas sobre ti.

40. **Ciudad y país de nacimiento**:_____
    - No lo sé.
    - Prefiero no responder.
41. **Población de residencia actual**: _____
    - No lo sé.
    - Prefiero no responder.
42. **¿Qué lengua oyes más en tu zona de residencia actual?** Selecciona solo una opción.
    - Castellano.
    - Catalán/mallorquín.
    - Alemán.
    - Inglés.
    - Árabe marroquí.
    - Amazic/berber.
    - Otra. ¿Cuál?_____
43. **Año de nacimiento**: _____
    - No lo sé.

- Prefiero no responder.

44. Género con el que te identificas.

- Femenino.
- Masculino.
- Otro.
- No lo sé.
- Prefiero no responder.

45. **Año de llegada a Mallorca**: _____

- No lo sé.
- Prefiero no responder.

46. **¿Qué lengua/s hablabas en casa de pequeño/a?** Puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

- Árabe marroquí.
- Castellano.
- Alemán estándar (*Hochdeutsch*).
- Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).
- Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).
- Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (*Plattdeutsch*, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).
- Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es?_____

47. ¿Con qué lengua/s te identificas? También puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

- Árabe marroquí.
- Castellano.
- Alemán estándar (*Hochdeutsch*).
- Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).
- Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).
- Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (*Plattdeutsch*, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).
- Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es?_____

IX. Estatus socioeconómico.

48. **¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s nacionalidad/es?**_____

- No lo sé.
- Prefiero no responder.

49. ¿Cuál es el nivel de estudios más alto que has alcanzado?

- Estudios primarios no finalizados.
- Estudios primarios (educación primaria o equivalente).
- Estudios secundarios primera etapa (ESO y similares).
- Estudios secundarios segunda etapa (Bachillerato y similares, FP Básica o grado medio, enseñanzas profesionales de música y danza, etc.).
- Enseñanzas de formación profesional (FP superior y títulos propios universitarios).

- Estudios universitarios (grado, máster y doctorado).
- No lo sé.
- Prefiero no responder.

X. Condiciones de vivienda.

50. **¿Cuántas veces has cambiado de domicilio en Mallorca?**_____

51. **¿Cúantos de los siguientes problemas tienes en tu domicilio?** Indica un número, por ejemplo, 3. Escribe 0 si no tienes ninguno de los siguientes problemas en tu domicilio: _____

Ruidos exteriores.
Malos olores provocados por la industria, el tráfico.
Humedades o goteras.
Deficiencias en la construcción.
Poca limpieza en las calles.
Delincuencia o vandalismo en la zona.
Mal comunicada.
Problemas con el servicio postal.
Demasiado pequeña.

52. Si tu vivienda es alquilada, **¿qué parte de tu sueldo destinas a pagar el alquiler del mes?**
    - Menos del 20% de mi sueldo mensual.
    - Entre el 21% y el 40% de mi sueldo mensual.
    - Más del 41% de mi sueldo mensual.
    - No aplicable (si tu vivienda no es alquilada, marca esta opción).
    - Prefiero no responder.

XI. Motivos de traslado a Mallorca.

53. ¿Por qué motivo principal te trasladaste a Mallorca? Selecciona solo una opción.
    - Por jubilación.
    - Por cambio de destino laboral.
    - Por falta de empleo.
    - Para buscar un empleo mejor.
    - Por motivos políticos.
    - Por motivos religiosos.
    - Por razones formativas o educativas.
    - Por calidad de vida.
    - Por razones familiares (reagrupación familiar, etc.).
    - Por el coste de vida.
    - Por el clima.
    - Por estancia temporal en país de tránsito.
    - Por otras razones. ¿Cuáles?_____

XII. Condiciones laborales en Mallorca actualmente.

54. Ahora mismo, en Mallorca, ¿en qué situación de las siguientes te encuentras?

- Trabajando
- Buscando trabajo
- Estudiando
- Jubilado/pensionista
- Dedicado a las labores de la casa
- Incapacitado permanentemente
- Otras situaciones. ¿Cuál?_____

55. **¿Cuál es tu profesión en Mallorca ahora mismo?**_____

- No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).
- Prefiero no responder.

56. ¿Cuántas horas trabajas a la semana ahora mismo en Mallorca?

- Menos de 10 horas semanales.
- Entre 10 y 19 horas semanales.
- Entre 20 y 30 horas semanales.
- Entre 31 y 40 horas semanales.
- Más de 40 horas semanales.
- Es muy irregular y no encaja en ninguna de las opciones.
- No lo sé.
- Prefiero no responder.
- No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).

SECCIÓN F: ¡Muchas gracias!

¡Ya hemos acabado! Muchísimas, muchísimas gracias por tomarte el tiempo y la energía de llegar hasta aquí.

57. ¿Te gustaría ayudarme un poco más y hacer una entrevista individual de una horita? Yo me adapto al día, lugar y hora que a ti te vaya mejor de septiembre a diciembre de 2024.

- Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y datos de contacto, por favor?
    1. Nombre y apellido(s):_____
    2. Teléfono de contacto:_____
    3. Correo electrónico:_____
- No.

58. ¿Estarías dispuesto/a a volver a hacer el cuestionario dentro de un mes?

- Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y correo electrónico, por favor?
    1. Nombre y apellido(s):_____
    2. Correo electrónico:_____

- No.

59. ¿Te gustaría recibir los resultados de la investigación?
    - Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y correo electrónico, por favor?
        1. Nombre y apellido(s):_____
        2. Correo electrónico:_____
    - No.
60. Comparte conmigo tu correo electrónico si te gustaría entrar en el sorteo de productos de Dublin City University._____

XIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán/mallorquín.

Finalmente, a modo de agradecimiento por tu tiempo, te dejo aquí un código QR en el que puedes descargarte un documento con recursos para aprender y practicar catalán/mallorquín.

¡Muchas gracias!

English

Dear participant,

My name is **Catalina Amengual Ripoll** and I am studying my PhD at Dublin City University in Dublin, Ireland, with a scholarship from the **Irish Research Council**. My supervisors, and therefore the other two individuals involved in this project, are Dr. Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie) at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat) at the Universitat de les Illes Balears.

My research focuses on understanding the **reasons for learning and using (or not learning nor using) Mallorcan Catalan** among individuals who immigrated to Mallorca after the age of 18. There are few studies on this topic and it is really important to know immigrated people's **linguistic necessities** regarding one of the official languages in Mallorca. The title of my doctoral research is Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca.

Your participation in this project involves completing a **questionnaire** that will take no more than **20 minutes** of your time. I will store all responses in an **encrypted folder** in my Google Drive account at Dublin City University and I will assign you an identification code to maintain your **anonymity**, such as C26LLO. Your participation is entirely **voluntary** and you can withdraw at any time without the need for justification and without any consequences.

I will use the results in **academic events and publications**, always in a pseudonymized manner, ensuring the protection of your privacy. I do not request your contact information, unless you express interest in an

additional interview or in the case that you want to take part in a lottery. In these cases, the data provided will be used exclusively for those purposes.

In 2036, I will **delete and shred** all the information and data collected, following Dublin City University's Data Retention Policy. If you have further questions about how the data in this project is handled, you can contact the Dublin City University Data Protection Officer, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participating in this study not only provides you with the opportunity to **reflect on sociolinguistic issues** but also to express your opinions and needs. Furthermore, at the end of the questionnaire, you will find **resources to learn and practise Catalan**.

I expect to conclude the study in September 2026, and the **results** will be available in Dublin City University's online repository, **DORAS.** If you wish to receive the results, you can indicate so at the end of the questionnaire.

If you have questions or need more information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

I sincerely thank you for your time and effort in reading these lines and considering your participation.

The questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of Catalina Amengual Ripoll's doctoral research. It is about the reasons for learning and using Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca as the ways to meet the linguistic needs of immigrated adults in the island.

Your participation involves answering the questions you will be encountered with. It will take no more than 20 minutes. The questions are organised into five sections:

SECTION A: Reasons for learning or not learning Mallorcan Catalan.

SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcans who speak Mallorcan Catalan.

SECTION C: Linguistic uses.

SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.

SECTION E: Sociodemographic information.

Researchers involved

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	University of the Balearic Islands

Data Management and Protection

- The collected data will be stored in an encrypted folder online under Catalina Amengual Ripoll's Google Drive user account at Dublin City University.

- Only the researchers mentioned in this form will have access to the data.
- All collected information will be pseudonymized by assigning a code (for example, C26LLO).
- In any case, the guidelines of the Irish Data Protection law (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR, and the Data Protection Act 2018) will be followed.

Should you wish to contact an independent person, you may also contact:

The president of the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Dublin City University, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmation of Participant Informed Consent

Select YES or No as appropriate in each case.

I confirm that I am 18 years of age or older.	Yes/No
I have read (or had read to me) the initial information.	Yes/No
I have understood the initial information.	Yes/No
I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	Yes/No
I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions.	Yes/No
I understand that my answers in the questionnaire will be collected and analysed.	Yes/No
I understand that my participation is voluntary.	Yes/No
I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving explanations.	Yes/No

I understand that withdrawing my participation will not have any consequences for me.	Yes/No
I consent to the use of my data for the purposes explained in the initial information.	Yes/No
I confirm that I was NOT born in Mallorca.	Yes/No
I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday or older.	Yes/No

If you have accepted all of the above, you can start the questionnaire.

Instructions on how to return the completed survey

Once you have completed the questionnaire, you can send me images of all the pages at: catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie or at Whatsapp: ---.

I can also collect it wherever it suits you.

Should you have any query or want to set up a day and time in which I come to collect the completed questionnaire, you can contact me at the addresses above.

If you took this questionnaire from some shop, alongside with the previous options, you can also give it back to the shop where you took it from. I will collect it there.

Thank you so much!

In this survey we would like to know your opinion about the different topics that you will be encountered with. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinions and experiences. For this reason, we encourage you to answer as honestly as possible without overthinking your responses and trying to avoid as much as you can the "I don't know" or "Neutral" options.

SECTION A: Reasons for Learning or Not Learning Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca.

I. Have you ever thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan?

- No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan.
- Yes, but I still did not do it.
- Yes, and I have done it.

II. What do you think your abilities in Mallorcan Catalan are?

You can select the answer that corresponds to your skills in Mallorcan Catalan in each case, considering the following scores:

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I have difficulty understanding and participating in basic conversations.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

2. **I can (at least) understand basic instructions or participate in a basic conversation on a predictable topic.**

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

3. I can advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

III. Below, regardless of whether you know Mallorcan Catalan or not, or whether you have thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan or not, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Learning Mallorcan Catalan is important to me because…

4. It allows me to speak to different people.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

5. It allows me to take part in social and cultural activities (for example, popular festivals).

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

6. It allows me to feel more comfortable with people who speak it in Mallorca.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

7. It allows me to read books and understand songs, television, and radio.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

8. It will help me get a job or a promotion in my current employment.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

9. It will make me a person with more aptitudes.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

10. People will respect me more.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

11. It allows myself or it would allow myself to help my children with their schoolwork.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcan Catalan Speakers.

IV. In this section, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about the character and status of Mallorcans in general. You can select the options that correspond to your opinion. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

12. Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

13. The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

14. Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

15. Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

16. Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

17. In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well-off than those who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C: Linguistic Uses.

V. In this section, we would like to know which languages you use in different contexts and with different people. Please select the answer that applies to you for each question. If there is no answer corresponding to your situation, you can select 'Not applicable' where this option exists. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

18. I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
1	2	3	4	5

19. I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
1	2	3	4	5

20. I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
1	2	3	4	5

21. I would like people to speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan when I request it.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

22. How often do you mix words or structures in Mallorcan Catalan and those in Spanish or other languages?

- (Almost) never.
- In one or two conversations per week.
- In one or two conversations per day.
- In three or five conversations per day.
- In more than five conversations per day.

VI. Self-confidence.

23. Speaking Mallorcan Catalan in public makes me uncomfortable.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

24. I feel that people mock me when I speak Mallorcan Catalan.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

25. I feel that I do not have a sufficient command of Mallorcan Catalan and that is why I feel embarrassed of speaking it.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

26. I am more comfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with people who are at the same level as I am.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

27. I feel uncomfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with Mallorcan people who speak Mallorcan Catalan as native language.

- Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.

VII. In this section, we would like to know your opinion about language management in Mallorca. Please select the answer that applies to you for each question and provide additional information when necessary.

28. **What language would you prefer to be mainly used in compulsory public education in Mallorca?** Select only one option.

- Spanish.
- Mallorcan Catalan.
- English.
- German.
- French.
- Other. Which one? _____

29. **What languages would you prefer to be available as additional languages to learn in compulsory public education in Mallorca?** You can select as many options as you like
    - Spanish.
    - Mallorcan Catalan.
    - English.
    - German.
    - French.
    - Other. Which ones? _____

30. Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local administration in Mallorca (town halls, social services, etc.)?
    - Entirely in Spanish.
    - Mostly in Spanish.
    - 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

31. **Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in public healthcare in Mallorca?**
    - Entirely in Spanish.
    - Mostly in Spanish.
    - 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

32. **Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local police in Mallorca?**
    - Entirely in Spanish.
    - Mostly in Spanish.
    - 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
    - Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

33. Which should be the presence of Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in the local television of Mallorca (IB3)?

- Entirely in Spanish.
- Mostly in Spanish.
- 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Now, as you did in previous questions, we would like to know how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please select the option that best represents your opinion.

34. Everyone living in Mallorca should know Mallorcan Catalan.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

35. Everyone living in Mallorca should know Spanish.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

36. A newcomer to Mallorca should understand Mallorcan Catalan in the future.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

37. A newcomer to Mallorca should be able to speak Mallorcan Catalan in the future.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

38. In Mallorca, in five years, Mallorcan Catalan will be spoken less than it is now spoken.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

To conclude this section, please indicate which option you would choose to complete the following sentence:

39. In Mallorca, Mallorcan Catalan is spoken

- Nothing
- A little
- Quite a bit

- A lot

SECTION E: Sociodemographic Information.

VIII. We are almost done. We just have a few more questions about you.

40. **City and country of birth**:_____
    - I do not know.
    - I prefer not to answer.
41. **Current place of residence**: _____
    - I do not know.
    - I prefer not to answer.
42. **Which language do you hear the most in your current residential area?** Select only one option.
    - Spanish.
    - Mallorcan Catalan.
    - German.
    - English.
    - Moroccan Arabic.
    - Amazigh/Berber.
    - Other. Which one? _____
43. **Year of birth**: _____
    - I do not know.
    - I prefer not to answer.
44. **Gender identity**.
    - Female
    - Male
    - Other
    - I do not know.
    - I prefer not to answer.
45. **Year of arrival in Mallorca**: _____
    - I do not know.
    - I prefer not to answer.
46. **Which language(s) did you speak at home when you were a child?** You can select several options if you need to.
    - Moroccan Arabic.
    - Spanish.
    - Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*).
    - Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
    - Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
    - Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (*Plattdeutsch*, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).

- Other languages. Which one/s? _____

47. With which language(s) do you identify yourself? You can select several options if you need to.

- Moroccan Arabic.
- Spanish.
- Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*).
- Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
- Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
- Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (*Plattdeutsch*, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).
- Other languages. Which one/s? _____

IX. Socioeconomic status.

48. **What is/are your nationality/nationalities?**_____

- I do not know.
- I prefer not to answer.

49. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Unfinished primary education.
- Primary education (elementary school or equivalent).
- First stage of secondary education (Compulsory Secondary Education - ESO or similar).
- Second stage of secondary education (Baccalaureate or similar, Vocational training - Basic or medium grade, professional studies in music and dance, etc.).
- Higher Vocational training (Higher vocational training and university degrees).
- University studies (bachelor's degree, master's degree, and PhD).
- I do not know.
- I prefer not to answer.

X. Housing Conditions.

50. **How many times have you moved within Mallorca?**_____

51. **How many of the following problems does your home have?** Indicate a number, for example, 3. Write 0 if you do not have any of the following problems at your home:_____

External noises.
Bad odors caused by industry, traffic, etc.
Dampness or leaks.
Construction deficiencies.
Lack of cleanliness in the streets.
Crime or vandalism in the area.
Poor transportation connectivity.
Problems with postal services.

Too small.

52. If the house where you live now is rented, what percentage of your salary do you spend on the rent each month?

- Less than 20% of my monthly salary.
- Between 21% and 40% of my monthly salary.
- More than 41% of my monthly salary.
- Not applicable (select this option if you do not live in a rented house).
- I prefer not to answer.

XI. Reasons for moving to Mallorca.

53. What is the main reason why you moved to Mallorca? Select only one option.

- Due to retirement.
- Due to a change in job placement.
- Due to lack of employment.
- To find a better job.
- Due to political reasons.
- Due to religious reasons.
- For educational or training purposes.
- For quality of life.
- Due to family reasons (family reunification, etc.).
- Due to the cost of living.
- Due to the climate.
- Temporarily staying in a transit country.
- Other reasons. Please specify: _____

XII. Current labour Conditions in Mallorca.

54. Currently, in Mallorca, what is your situation among the following?

- Working.
- Looking for a job.
- Studying.
- Retired/pensioner.
- Household worker.
- Permanently incapacitated.
- Other situations. Please specify: _____

55. **What is your job in Mallorca currently?**_____

- Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).
- I prefer not to answer.

56. How many hours do you work per week currently in Mallorca?

- Less than 10 hours per week.
- Between 10 and 19 hours per week.
- Between 20 and 30 hours per week.
- Between 31 and 40 hours per week.
- More than 40 hours per week.
- It is irregular and does not fit into any of the options.
- I do not know.
- I prefer not to answer.
- Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).

SECTION F: Thank you very much!

We are done! Thank you very, very much for taking the time and energy to get here.

57. Would you like to help me a little more and participate in an individual interview for an hour? I can adapt myself to the day, place, and time that suits you best between September and December 2024.
    - Yes. Can you please leave here your name and contact information?
        1. Full name: _____
        2. Phone number: _____
        3. Email address: _____
    - No.
58. Would you be willing to retake the survey in a month?
    - Yes. Can you please leave here your name and email address?
        4. Full name: _____
        5. Email address: _____
    - No.
59. Would you like to receive the research results?
    - Yes. Can you please leave here your name and email address?
        6. Full name: _____
        7. Email address: _____
    - No.
60. Leave here your email if you would like to enter in a lottery of Dublin City University products._____

XIII. Some resources for learning Mallorcan Catalan.

Finally, to thank you for your time, I leave you with a QR code where you can download some resources to learn and practise Mallorcan Catalan.



Thank you very much!

C.2. Online Qualtrics Version

Catalan

Català

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(Pots triar l'idioma en què t'agradaria fer el qüestionari entre català, castellà i anglès. Pots seleccionar l'idioma que t'estimis més a dalt a la dreta).

Bon dia!

El meu nom és Catalina Amengual Ripoll i som estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University, a Dublín, Irlanda, amb una beca del Irish Research Council. Els meus supervisors, i per tant, les altres dues persones implicades en aquest projecte, són el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), a la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

La meva investigació se centra en entendre quins són els motius per aprendre i emprar (o no) català/mallorquí per part de persones immigrades a Mallorca després dels 18 anys. Hi ha molt pocs estudis amb aquest focus a Mallorca i és molt important que es coneguin les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones immigrades a Mallorca en relació amb una de les seves llengües oficials. El projecte es titula Ideologies Lingüístiques i la Decisió d'Aprendre i Emprar una Llengua Minoritzada: el Cas d'Adults Migrants i el Català a Mallorca.



La teva participació en aquest projecte implica completar un qüestionari d'uns 20 minuts. Emmagatzemaré totes les respostes en una carpeta encriptada al meu compte de Google Drive de la Dublin City University i t'assignaré un codi d'identificació per mantenir el teu anonimat, com per exemple C26LLO. La teva participació és completament voluntària i pots retirar-te'n en qualsevol moment sense necessitat de justificar-te i sense cap conseqüència.

Empraré els resultats en esdeveniments i publicacions acadèmiques sempre de manera pseudoanonimitzada, i garantiré la protecció de la teva privacitat. En cap moment et deman dades de contacte, llevat que manifestis interès en una entrevista addicional o

en la participació en un sorteig, casos en els quals aquestes dades s'utilitzaran exclusivament amb aquest propòsit.

L'any 2036 esborraré i trituraré tota la informació i dades recopilades, d'acord amb la Política de Retenció de Dades de Dublin City University. Si tens més preguntes sobre el tractament de les dades d'aquest projecte pots contactar amb el director de l'Oficina de Protecció de Dades de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en aquest estudi no només t'ofereix l'oportunitat de reflexionar sobre temes sociolingüístics, sinó que també et permet expressar les teves opinions i necessitats. A més, al final del qüestionari trobaràs recursos per aprendre i practicar el català/mallorquí.

Esper concloure l'estudi per setembre de l'any 2026, i els resultats estaran disponibles al repositori en línia de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si desitges rebre'n els resultats, pots indicar-ho al final del qüestionari.

Si tens preguntes o necessites més informació sobre el projecte no dubtis a posar-te en contacte amb mi: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Vull agrair-te moltíssim el teu temps i l'esforç de llegir aquestes línies i considerar la teva participació.

El qüestionari
Aquest qüestionari sobre els motius per aprendre i emprar català/mallorquí i la recerca de maneres d'incloure les necessitats lingüístiques de les persones adultes immigrades a Mallorca, és part de la investigació doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

La teva participació consisteix a respondre les preguntes que trobaràs, cosa que no et durà més de 20 minuts. Les preguntes estan dividides en cinc seccions:
SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí.
SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.
SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.
SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.
SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

Els investigadors

Catalina Amengual Ripoll	Dr Iker Erdocia	Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	Universitat de les Illes Balears

Tractament de les dades

- Les dades recollides s'emmagatzemaran en una carpeta encriptada en línia a l'usuari de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
  - Només els investigadors esmentats en aquest formulari tendran accés a les dades.
- Tota la informació recollida es pseudoanonimitzarà mitjançant l'assignació d'un codi (per exemple, C26LLO).
- En tot moment, se seguiran les directrius de la llei irlandesa de protecció de dades (Regulació General de Protecció de Dades, GDPR, i l'Acte de Protecció de Dades del 2018).

Si desitges contactar una persona independent del projecte per a més informació, pots contactar el president del comitè ètic de la Facultat d'Humanitats i Ciències Socials de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmació dels requisits dels participants
Marca SÍ o No segons correspongui en cada cas.

Confirm que tenc 18 anys o més d'edat.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He llegit (o m'han llegit) la informació inicial.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He entès la informació inicial.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He tengut l'oportunitat de demanar dubtes sobre l'estudi.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He rebut respostes satisfactòries a totes les meves preguntes.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entenc que les meves respostes del qüestionari seran recollides i analitzades.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entenc que la meva participació és voluntària.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entenc que puc retirar-me en qualsevol moment, sense donar explicacions.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entenc que retirar la meva participació no tendrà cap repercussió.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Consent l'ús de les meves dades per a les finalitats explicades en la informació inicial.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Confirm que NO he nascut a Mallorca.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Confirm que vaig arribar a Mallorca quan tenia aproximadament 18 anys o més.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Si has acceptat totes les premisses anteriors, pots començar el qüestionari.

En aquest qüestionari ens agradaria saber la teva opinió sobre les diferents preguntes amb què et trobaràs. No hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes. El que ens importa són les teves opinions i experiències. Per aquesta raó, t'animam a respondre de la manera més sincera possible sense pensar en excés les teves respostes i intenta evitar tant com puguis les opcions de “No ho sé” o indecisió.

SECCIÓ A: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català/mallorquí a Mallorca.

I. T’has plantejat qualque vegada aprendre català/mallorquí?

- ○ No, i de moment no m’interessa.
- ○ Sí, però encara no ho he fet.
- ○ Sí, i ja ho he fet.

II. Quines creus que són les teves habilitats amb el català/mallorquí? Pots marcar en cada cas la resposta que es correspongui amb les teves habilitats amb la llengua catalana/mallorquina, com en el següent exemple

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D’acord	Molt d’acord
M'agrada menjar xocolata.	○	○	○	○	○

Ara pots marcar les opcions que es corresponguin amb el teu cas.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D’acord	Molt d’acord
Tenc dificultats per entendre i participar en conversacions bàsiques.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc (com a mínim) entendre instruccions bàsiques o participar en una conversació bàsica d'un tema previsible.	○	○	○	○	○
Puc aconsellar o parlar sobre temes complexos o sensibles, entendre referències col·loquials i tractar amb confiança diferents matisos de significats.	○	○	○	○	○

III. A continuació, independentment de si saps o no català/mallorquí o de si t’has plantejat mai aprendre’l o no, ens agradaria que marcassis com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions.

Aprendre català/mallorquí és important per a mi perquè…

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Em permet parlar amb gent diferent.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet participar en activitats socials i culturals (per exemple, festes populars).	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet sentir-me més a gust amb gent que el parla a Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet llegir llibres i entendre cançons, la televisió i la ràdio.	○	○	○	○	○
M'ajudarà a aconseguir feina o una promoció/ascens en la meva feina actual.	○	○	○	○	○
Em convertirà en una persona amb més aptituds.	○	○	○	○	○
La gent em tendrà més respecte.	○	○	○	○	○
Em permet o em permetria ajudar els meus fills amb els deures de l'escola.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ B: Avaluació dels mallorquins que parlen català/mallorquí.

IV. En aquesta secció ens interessa saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions sobre el caràcter i estatus dels mallorquins en general. Pots marcar les opcions que es corresponguin a la teva opinió. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord

Molta de la gent que parla català/mallorquí a Mallorca és amigable i és fàcil dur-se bé amb ella.	○	○	○	○	○
Com més gent conec que parla català/mallorquí, més ganes em fa parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan parlen català/mallorquí perquè això significa que volen fer-me sentir part de Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins són hospitalaris quan em parlen en català/mallorquí, encara que els hagi dit que no el parl, perquè m'estan oferint l'oportunitat d'aprendre'l.	○	○	○	○	○
Els mallorquins que parlen més català/mallorquí que castellà són de famílies amb recursos econòmics alts.	○	○	○	○	○
A Mallorca, la gent que viu a àrees en les quals es parla més català/mallorquí està més econòmicament acomodada que la que viu en àrees on no es parla tant el català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ C: Usos lingüístics.

v. En aquesta secció ens agradaria conèixer quines llengües utilitzes en diferents àmbits i amb diferents persones. Pots marcar en cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas. Si no has viscut algunes de les següents situacions, ens agradaria que igualment imaginassis què faries en aquestes situacions.

	Mai	Gairebé mai	Algunes vegades	La majoria de vegades	Sempre	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Cada dia parl català/mallorquí com a mínim amb una persona.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Contest en català/mallorquí si algú em parla en català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Parl en català/mallorquí quan vaig a una oficina de l'Administració (ajuntament, serveis socials, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

Fes el mateix que a les preguntes anteriors

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
M'agradaria que em parlassin en català/mallorquí quan ho deman.	○	○	○	○	○

Amb quina freqüència mescles paraules o estructures en català/mallorquí i altres en castellà o altres idiomes?

○ Mai o gairebé mai.

○ En una o dues conversacions per setmana.

○ En una o dues conversacions per dia.

○ En tres o cinc conversacions per dia.

○ En més de cinc conversacions per dia.

VI. Confiança en un/a mateix/a.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord	No aplicable (marca aquesta opció si no pots entendre ni participar en conversacions bàsiques en català/mallorquí)
Parlar català/mallorquí en públic em fa sentir incòmode/a.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sent que se'n riuen de mi quan parl català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sent que no tenc un domini suficient del català/mallorquí i per això em fa vergonya parlar-lo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Em sent més còmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent que té un nivell semblant al meu.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Em sent incòmode/a si parl català/mallorquí amb gent mallorquina que parla català/mallorquí com a llengua materna.	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓ D: Opinió sobre la situació sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En aquesta secció ens agradaria saber quina és la teva opinió sobre la gestió de les llengües a Mallorca. Pots marcar a cada pregunta la resposta que es correspongui amb el teu cas i afegir informació quan sigui necessari.

Quina llengua preferiries que fos la llengua que s'empri majoritàriament a l'ensenyament

obligatori públic a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Castellà.
- ○ Català/mallorquí.
- ○ Anglès.
- ○ Alemany.
- ○ Francès.
- ○ Una altra. Quina? _____

Quines llengües preferiries que es poguessin aprendre com a llengües addicionals a l'ensenyament obligatori públic a Mallorca? Pots seleccionar-ne tantes opcions com consideris.

- ☐ Castellà.
- ☐ Català/mallorquí.
- ☐ Anglès.
- ☐ Alemany.
- ☐ Francès.
- ☐ Altres. Quines? _____

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a l'administració local a Mallorca (ajuntaments, serveis socials, etc.)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la salut pública a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.

- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la policia local a Mallorca?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com preferiries que fos la presència del català/mallorquí i el castellà a la televisió local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Tot en castellà.
- ○ Majoritàriament en castellà.
- ○ En castellà i català/mallorquí al 50%.
- ○ Majoritàriament en català/mallorquí.
- ○ Tot en català/mallorquí.

Com a les preguntes anteriors, ens agradaria saber com d'acord o en desacord estàs amb les següents afirmacions. Pots marcar el número que s'adeqüi a la teva opinió.

	Molt en desacord	En desacord	Indecís	D'acord	Molt d'acord
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○
Tot el món que viu a Mallorca hauria de saber castellà.	○	○	○	○	○
Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà d'entendre el	○	○	○	○	○

català/mallorquí

Un nouvingut a Mallorca, en el futur haurà de saber parlar el català/mallorquí.	○	○	○	○	○
A Mallorca, d'aquí a cinc anys es parlarà menys català/mallorquí que ara.	○	○	○	○	○

Per acabar aquesta secció, ens agradaria que marcassis, segons la teva opinió, quina de les opcions utilitzaries per completar la frase següent:

A Mallorca el català/mallorquí es parla

- ○ Gens
- ○ Poc
- ○ Bastant
- ○ Molt

SECCIÓ E: Informació sociodemogràfica.

VIII. Ja estam a punt d'acabar. Només ens queden algunes preguntes sobre tu.

Ciutat i país de naixement

- ○ Indica-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Població de residència actual

- ○ Indíca-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quina llengua sents més a la teva zona de residència actual? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Castellà.
- ○ Català/mallorquí.
- ○ Alemany.
- ○ Anglès.
- ○ Àrab marroquí.
- ○ Amazic/berber.
- ○ Una altra. Quina? _____

Any de naixement

- ○ Indica-ho aquí _____
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no respondre

Gènere amb què t'identifiques.

- ○ Femení.
- ○ Masculí.
- ○ Altres.
- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

Any d'arribada a Mallorca

- ○ Indica-ho aquí _____
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quina/es llengua/ües parlaves a casa de petit/a? Pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.

- [ ] Àrab marroquí.
- [ ] Castellà.
- [ ] Alemany estàndard (Hochdeutsch).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades a l'Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (Plattdeutsch, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?

Amb quina llengua/ües t'identifiques? També pots seleccionar diverses opcions si ho necessites.

- [ ] Àrab marroquí.
- [ ] Castellà.
- [ ] Alemany estàndard (Hochdeutsch).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades al Marroc (amazic/berber, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües parlades a l'Argentina (llengües indígenes, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües/dialectes parlats a Alemanya (Plattdeutsch, sòrab, danès, frisó, romaní, bavarès, etc.).
- [ ] Altres llengües. Quina/Quines?

IX. Estatus socioeconòmic.

Quina/quines és/son la/es teva/es nacionalitat/s?

- ○ Indica-ho aquí
- ○ No ho sé
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

Quin és el nivell d'estudis més alt que has assolit?

- ○ Estudis primaris no finalitzats.
- ○ Estudis primaris (educació primària o equivalent).
- ○ Estudis secundaris primera etapa (ESO i similars).
- ○ Estudis secundaris segona etapa (Batxillerat i similars, FP Bàsica o grau mitjà, ensenyaments professionals de música i dansa, etc.).
- ○ Ensenyaments de formació professional (FP superior i títols propis universitaris).
- ○ Estudis universitaris (grau, màster i doctorat).
- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

X. Condicions d'habitatge.

Quantes vegades has canviat de domicili a Mallorca?

Quants dels següents problemes té el teu domicili? Indica un número, per exemple, 3. Escriu 0 si no tens cap dels següents problemes al teu domicili

Sorolls exteriors. Males olors provocades per la indústria, el trànsit. Humitats o goteres. Deficiències en la construcció. Poca neteja als carrers. Delinqüència o vandalisme a la zona. Mala comunicació. Problemes amb el servei postal. Massa petit.

Si el teu habitatge és de lloguer, quina part del teu sou destines a pagar el lloguer del mes?

- ○ Menys del 20% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ Entre el 21% i el 40% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ Més del 41% del meu sou mensual.
- ○ No aplicable (si el teu habitatge no és llogat, marca aquesta opció).
- ○ M'estim més no contestar

XI. Motius del trasllat a Mallorca.

Per quin motiu principal et vares traslladar a Mallorca? Selecciona només una opció.

- ○ Per jubilació.
- ○ Per canvi de destinació laboral.
- ○ Per falta de feina.
- ○ Per cercar una millor feina.
- ○ Per motius polítics.
- ○ Per motius religiosos.
- ○ Per raons formatives o educatives.
- ○ Per la qualitat de vida.
- ○ Per raons familiars (reagrupament familiar, etc.).
- ○ Pel cost de vida.
- ○ Pel clima.
- ○ Per estada temporal en país de trànsit.
- ○ Per altres raons. Quines? _____

XII. Condicions laborals a Mallorca actualment.

En aquests moments, a Mallorca, en quina situació de les següents et trobes?

- ○ Treball.
- ○ Cerc feina.
- ○ Estudii.
- ○ Jubilat/pensionista.
- ○ Dedicat a les tasques de la llar.
- ○ Incapacitat permanentment.
- ○ Altres situacions. Quina? _____

○ Quina és la teva professió a Mallorca ara mateix? Indica-la aquí _____

- ○ No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.

Quantes hores treballes a la setmana ara mateix a Mallorca?

- ○ Menys de 10 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 10 i 19 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 20 i 30 hores setmanals.
- ○ Entre 31 i 40 hores setmanals.
- ○ Més de 40 hores setmanals.
- ○ És molt irregular i no encaixa en cap de les opcions.
- ○ No ho sé.
- ○ M'estim més no contestar.
- ○ No aplicable (si no treballes, marca aquesta opció).

SECCIÓ F: Moltes gràcies!

Ja hem acabat! Moltíssimes, moltíssimes gràcies per invertir el teu temps i la teva energia per arribar fins a aquí.

Voldries ajudar-me una mica més i fer una entrevista individual d'una hora? Jo m'adapt al dia, lloc i hora que a tu et vagi millor entre setembre i desembre de 2024.

- ○ Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i llinatges, telèfon de contacte i correu electrònic, per favor? _____
- ○ No

Estaries disposat/da a tornar a emplenar el qüestionari d'aquí un mes?

- ○ Sí. Em pots deixar el teu nom i llinatges, telèfon de contacte i correu electrònic, per favor? _____
- ○ No

T'agradaria rebre els resultats de la investigació?

○ Sí. Pots deixar-me el teu nom i llinatges i correu electrònic, per favor?

○ No

Deixa'm el teu correu si t'agradaria entrar al sorteig de productes de la Dublín City University.

XIII. Alguns recursos per aprendre català/mallorquí.

Finalment, per agrair-te el temps que has invertit en fer aquest qüestionari, et deix un codi QR on pots descarregar-te un document amb recursos per aprendre i practicar català/mallorquí.

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Moltíssimes gràcies pel teu temps, energia i esforç!

No t'oblidis de clicar aquesta darrera fletxa de la dreta perquè el qüestionari s'enviï correctament.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

Spanish

Español (América Latina)

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(Puedes escoger el idioma en el que te gustaría hacer el cuestionario entre catalán, castellano e inglés. Puedes seleccionar el idioma que prefieras arriba a la derecha).

¡Muy buenos días!

Mi nombre es Catalina Amengual Ripoll y estoy cursando mis estudios de doctorado en la Dublin City University, en Dublín, Irlanda, con una beca del Irish Research Council. Mis supervisores, y por tanto las otras dos personas implicadas en este proyecto son el doctor Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@dcu.ie), en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat), en la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Mi investigación se centra en entender cuáles son los motivos para aprender y usar (o no) catalán/mallorquín por parte de personas que inmigraron a Mallorca después de los 18 años. Hay muy pocos estudios con este enfoque en Mallorca y es muy importante que se conozcan las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca en relación con una de sus lenguas oficiales. El proyecto se titula Ideologías Lingüísticas y la Decisión de Aprender y Usar una Lengua Minorizada: el Caso de Adultos Migrantes y el Catalán en Mallorca.



Tu participación en este proyecto implica completar un cuestionario que no te llevará más de 20 minutos. Almacenaré todas las respuestas en una carpeta encriptada en mi cuenta de Google Drive de la Dublin City University y te asignaré un código de identificación para mantener tu anonimato, como por ejemplo C26LLO. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin necesidad de justificación y sin consecuencia alguna.

Utilizaré los resultados en eventos y publicaciones académicas siempre de manera pseudoanonimizada, garantizando la protección de tu privacidad. En ningún momento te solicito datos de contacto, a menos que expreses interés en una entrevista adicional o en la participación en un sorteo, en cuyo caso, dichos datos se usarán

exclusivamentecon ese propósito.

En 2036 borraré y me desharé de toda la información y datos recopilados, de acuerdo con la Política de Retención de Datos de Dublin City University. Si tienes más preguntas sobre el trato de los datos de este proyecto puedes contactar al director de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participar en este estudio no solo te brinda la oportunidad de reflexionar sobre temas sociolingüísticos, sino también de expresar tus opiniones y necesidades. Además, al final del cuestionario, encontrarás recursos para aprender y practicar el catalán/mallorquín.

Espero concluir el estudio en septiembre de 2026, y los resultados estarán disponibles en el repositorio en línea de Dublin City University, DORAS. Si deseas recibir los resultados, puedes indicarlo al final del cuestionario.

Si tienes preguntas o necesitas más información sobre el proyecto no dudes en ponerte en contacto conmigo: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

Quiero agradecerte muchísimo tu tiempo, el esfuerzo de leer estas líneas y considerar tu participación.

El cuestionario
El presente cuestionario sobre los motivos para aprender catalán/mallorquín y la búsqueda de maneras de incluir las necesidades lingüísticas de las personas adultas inmigradas en Mallorca, es parte de la investigación doctoral de Catalina Amengual Ripoll.

Tu participación consiste en responder las preguntas que vayas encontrando y eso te llevará no más de 20 minutos. Las preguntas están divididas en cinco secciones:
SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín.
SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.
SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.
SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situacióin sociolingüística de Mallorca.
SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

Los investigadores

Catalina Amengual Ripoll, catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie, School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University.
Dr Iker Erdocia, iker.erdocia@dcu.ie, School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University.
Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell, mm.vanrell@uib.cat, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General, Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Tratamiento de los datos

- Los datos recogidos se almacenarán en una carpeta encriptada en línea en el usuario de Catalina Amengual Ripoll de Google Drive de la Dublin City University.
  - Solo los investigadores mencionados en este formulario tendrán acceso a los datos.
- Toda la información recogida será pseudoanonimizada mediante la asignación de un código (por ejemplo, C26LLO).
- En cualquier caso se seguirán las directrices de la ley irlandesa de protección de datos (Regulación General de Protección de Datos, GDPR, y el Acto de Protección de Datos 2018).

Si quieres contactar una persona independiente del proyecto para más información puedes contactar al presidente del comité ético de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Dublin City University: Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmación de los requisitos de los participantes
Marca SÍ o No según corresponda en cada caso.

Confirmo que tengo 18 años o más de edad.

○ Sí

○ No

He leído (o me han leído) la información inicial.

○ Sí

○ No

He entendido la información inicial.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He tenido la oportunidad de preguntar mis dudas sobre el estudio.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

He recibido respuestas satisfactorias a todas mis preguntas.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entiendo que mis respuestas del cuestionario serán recogidas y analizadas.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento, sin dar explicaciones.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Entiendo que retirar mi participación no me conllevará ninguna repercusión.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Consiento el uso de mis datos para las finalidades explicadas en la información inicial.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Confirmo que NO he nacido en Mallorca.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Confirmo que llegué a Mallorca alrededor de mis 18 años o más.

- ○ Sí
- ○ No

Si has aceptado todo lo anterior, puedes empezar el cuestionario.

En este cuestionario queremos saber tu opinión sobre las diferentes preguntas que irás encontrando. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Lo que nos importa son tus opiniones y experiencias. Por esta razón, te animamos a responder de la manera más sincera posible sin pensar demasiado en tu respuesta y evitando tanto como puedas las opciones de “no lo sé” o indecisión.

SECCIÓN A: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca.

I. ¿Te has planteado alguna vez aprender catalán/mallorquín?

- ○ No, y de momento no me interesa.
- ○ Sí, pero todavía no lo he hecho.
- ○ Sí, y lo he hecho.

II. ¿Cuáles crees que son tus habilidades con el catalán/mallorquín? Puedes marcar en cada caso la respuesta que se corresponda con tus habilidades con la lengua catalana/mallorquina, como en el siguiente ejemplo:

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me gusta comer chocolate.	○	○	○	○	○

Ahora puedes marcar las opciones que se correspondan con tu caso.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Tengo dificultades para entender y participar en conversaciones básicas.	○	○	○	○	○
Puedo (como mínimo) entender instrucciones básicas o participar en una conversación básica de un tema predecible.	○	○	○	○	○
Puedo aconsejar o hablar sobre temas complejos o sensibles, entender referencias coloquiales y tratar con confianza diferentes matices de significados.	○	○	○	○	○

III. A continuación, independientemente de si sabes o no catalán/mallorquín o de si te has planteado alguna vez aprenderlo o no, nos gustaría que marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones.

Aprender catalán/mallorquín es importante para mí porque...

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me permite hablar con gente diferente.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite participar en actividades sociales y culturales (por ejemplo, fiestas populares).	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite sentirme más a gusto con gente que lo habla en Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite leer libros y entender canciones, la televisión y la radio.	○	○	○	○	○
Me ayudará a conseguir trabajo o una promoción/ascenso en mi empleo actual.	○	○	○	○	○
Me convertirá en una persona con más aptitudes.	○	○	○	○	○
La gente me tendrá más respeto.	○	○	○	○	○
Me permite o me permitiría ayudar a mis hijos con los deberes del colegio.	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN B: Evaluación de los mallorquines que hablan catalán/mallorquín.

IV. En esta sección nos gustaría que marcaras cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones sobre el carácter y estatus de los mallorquines en general. Puedes marcar las opciones que se correspondan con tu opinión. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo

Mucha de la gente que habla catalán/mallorquín en Mallorca es amigable y es fácil llevarse bien con ella	○	○	○	○	○
Cuánta más gente conozco que habla catalán/mallorquín, más ganas me da hablarlo.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín porque eso significa que quieren hacerme sentir parte de Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines son hospitalarios cuando me hablan en catalán/mallorquín, aunque les haya dicho que no lo hablo, porque me están brindando la oportunidad de aprenderlo.	○	○	○	○	○
Los mallorquines que hablan más catalán/mallorquín que castellano son de familia con recursos económicos altos	○	○	○	○	○
En Mallorca, la gente que vive en áreas en las que se habla más catalán/mallorquín está más económicamente acomodada que la que vive en áreas donde no se habla tanto el catalán/mallorquín	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN C: Usos lingüísticos.

V. En esta sección nos gustaría conocer qué lenguas utilizas en diferentes ámbitos y con diferentes personas. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso. Si no has experimentado algunas situaciones de las siguientes, nos gustaría que igualmente imaginaras qué harías en esas situaciones.

	Nunca	Casi nunca	Algunas veces	La mayoría de veces	Siempre	No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)
Cada día hablo catalán/mallorquín al menos con una persona.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Respondo en catalán/mallorquín si alguien me habla en catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hablo en catalán/mallorquín cuando voy a una oficina de la Administración (ayuntamiento, servicios sociales, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

Haz lo mismo que en las preguntas anteriores

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Me gustaría que me hablaran en mallorquín/catalán cuando lo pido.	○	○	○	○	○

¿Con qué frecuencia mezclas palabras o estructuras en catalán/mallorquín y otras en

castellano u otros idiomas?

- ○ Nunca o casi nunca.
- ○ En una o dos conversaciones por semana.
- ○ En una o dos conversaciones por día.
- ○ En tres o cinco conversaciones por día.
- ○ En más de cinco conversaciones por día.

VI. Confianza en uno/a mismo/a

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo	No aplicable (marca esta opción si no puedes entender ni participar en conversaciones básicas en catalán/mallorquín)
Hablar catalán/mallorquín en público me hace sentir incómodo/a.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Siento que se ríen de mí cuando hablo catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Siento que no tengo un dominio suficiente del catalán/mallorquín y por eso me da vergüenza hablarlo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Me siento más cómodo/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente que tiene un nivel parecido al mío.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Me siento incómoda/a hablando catalán/mallorquín con gente mallorquina que habla catalán/mallorquín como lengua materna	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECCIÓN D: Opinión sobre la situación sociolingüística de Mallorca.

VII. En esta sección nos gustaría saber qué opinas sobre la gestión de las lenguas en Mallorca. Puedes marcar en cada pregunta la respuesta que se corresponda con tu caso y añadir información cuando sea necesario.

¿Qué lengua preferirías que fuera la lengua que se utilizara mayoritariamente en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Castellano
- ○ Catalán/mallorquín
- ○ Inglés
- ○ Alemán
- ○ Francés
- ○ Otra. ¿Cuál? _____

¿Qué lenguas preferirías que se pudieran aprender como lenguas adicionales en la enseñanza obligatoria pública en Mallorca? Puedes seleccionar tantas opciones como consideres.

- ☐ Castellano.
- ☐ Catalán/mallorquín.
- ☐ Inglés.
- ☐ Alemán.
- ☐ Francés.
- ☐ Otras. ¿Cuáles? _____

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la administración local en Mallorca (ayuntamientos, servicios sociales, etc.)?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la salud pública en Mallorca?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la policía local en Mallorca?

- ○ Todo en castellano
- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

¿Cuál preferirías que fuera la presencia del catalán/mallorquín y el castellano en la televisión local de Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Todo en castellano

- ○ Mayoritariamente en castellano
- ○ En castellano y catalán al 50%
- ○ Mayoritariamente en catalán
- ○ Todo en catalán

Tal y como lo has hecho en preguntas anteriores, nos gustaría saber cómo de acuerdo o desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones. Puedes marcar la opción que se adecúe a tu opinión.

	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
Todo el mundo que vive en Mallorca debería saber castellano.	○	○	○	○	○
Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá entender el catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
Una persona recién llegada a Mallorca, en el futuro deberá saber hablar catalán/mallorquín.	○	○	○	○	○
En Mallorca, dentro de cinco años el catalán/mallorquín se hablará menos que ahora.	○	○	○	○	○

Para terminar esta sección, nos gustaría que marcaras, según tu opinión, la opción que utilizarías para completar la frase siguiente:

En Mallorca el catalán/mallorquín se habla

- ○ Nada

- ○ Poco
- ○ Bastante
- ○ Mucho

SECCIÓN E: Información sociodemográfica.

VIII. Ya estamos a punto de acabar. Solo nos quedan unas cuantas preguntas sobre ti.

Ciudad y país de nacimiento

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Población de residencia actual

- ○ Indícala aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Qué lengua oyes más en tu zona de residencia actual? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Castellano.
- ○ Catalán/mallorquín.
- ○ Alemán.
- ○ Inglés.
- ○ Árabe marroquí.
- ○ Amazic/berber.
- ○ Otra. ¿Cuál? _____

Año de nacimiento

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____

- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Género con el que te identificas.

- ○ Femenino.
- ○ Masculino.
- ○ Otro.
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

Año de llegada a Mallorca

- ○ Indícalo aquí. _____
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Qué lengua/s hablabas en casa de pequeño/a? Puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

- ☐ Árabe marroquí.
- ☐ Castellano.
- ☐ Alemán estándar (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (Plattdeutsch, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).
- ☐ Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es? _____

¿Con qué lengua/s te identificas? También puedes seleccionar varias opciones si lo necesitas.

☐ Árabe marroquí.

☐ Castellano.

☐ Alemán estándar (Hochdeutsch).

☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Marruecos (amazigh/berber, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas habladas en Argentina (lenguas indígenas, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas/dialectos hablados en Alemania (Plattdeutsch, sórabo, danés, frisón, romaní, bávaro, etc.).

☐ Otras lenguas. ¿Cuál/es?

IX. Estatus socioeconómico.

¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s nacionalidad/es?

○ Indícalo aquí.

○ No lo sé.

○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Cuál es el nivel de estudios más alto que has alcanzado?

○ Estudios primarios no finalizados.

○ Estudios primarios (educación primaria o equivalente).

○ Estudios secundarios primera etapa (ESO y similares).

○ Estudios secundarios segunda etapa (Bachillerato y similares, FP Básica o grado medio, enseñanzas profesionales de música y danza, etc.).

○ Enseñanzas de formación profesional (FP superior y títulos propios universitarios).

○ Estudios universitarios (grado, máster y doctorado).

○ No lo sé.

○ Prefiero no responder.

X. Condiciones de vivienda.

¿Cuántas veces has cambiado de domicilio en Mallorca?

¿Cúantos de los siguientes problemas tienes en tu domicilio? Indica un número, por ejemplo, 3. Escribe 0 si no tienes ninguno de los siguientes problemas en tu domicilio.

Ruidos exteriores. Malos olores provocados por la industria, el tráfico. Humedades o goteras. Deficiencias en la construcción. Poca limpieza en las calles. Delincuencia o vandalismo en la zona. Mal comunicada. Problemas con el servicio postal. Demasiado pequeña.

Si tu vivienda es alquilada, ¿qué parte de tu sueldo destinas a pagar el alquiler del mes?

- ○ Menos del 20% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ Entre el 21% y el 40% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ Más del 41% de mi sueldo mensual.
- ○ No aplicable (si tu vivienda no es alquilada, marca esta opción).
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

XI. Motivos de traslado a Mallorca.

¿Por qué motivo principal te trasladaste a Mallorca? Selecciona solo una opción.

- ○ Por jubilación.
- ○ Por cambio de destino laboral.
- ○ Por falta de empleo.
- ○ Para buscar un empleo mejor.
- ○ Por motivos políticos.
- ○ Por motivos religiosos.
- ○ Por razones formativas o educativas.
- ○ Por calidad de vida.
- ○ Por razones familiares (reagrupación familiar, etc.).
- ○ Por el coste de vida.

- ○ Por el clima.
- ○ Por estancia temporal en país de tránsito.
- ○ Por otras razones. ¿Cuáles? [ ]

XII. Condiciones laborales en Mallorca actualmente.

Ahora mismo, en Mallorca, ¿en qué situación de las siguientes te encuentras?

- ○ Trabajando
- ○ Buscando trabajo
- ○ Estudiando
- ○ Jubilado/pensionista
- ○ Dedicado a las labores de la casa
- ○ Incapacitado permanentemente
- ○ Otras situaciones. ¿Cuál? [ ]

¿Cuál es tu profesión en Mallorca ahora mismo?

- ○ Indícala aquí. [ ]
- ○ No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

¿Cuántas horas trabajas a la semana ahora mismo en Mallorca?

- ○ Menos de 10 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 10 y 19 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 20 y 30 horas semanales.
- ○ Entre 31 y 40 horas semanales.
- ○ Más de 40 horas semanales.
- ○ Es muy irregular y no encaja en ninguna de las opciones.
- ○ No lo sé.
- ○ Prefiero no responder.

○ No aplicable (si no trabajas, marca esta opción).

SECCIÓN F: ¡Muchas gracias!

¡Ya hemos acabado! Muchísimas, muchísimas gracias por tomarte el tiempo y la energía de llegar hasta aquí.

¿Te gustaría ayudarme un poco más y hacer una entrevista individual de una horita? Yo me adapto al día, lugar y hora que a ti te vaya mejor de septiembre a diciembre de 2024.

○ Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y apellidos, teléfono de contacto y correo electrónico, por favor?

○ No

¿Estarías dispuesto/a a volver a hacer el cuestionario dentro de un mes?

○ Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y apellidos, teléfono de contacto y correo electrónico, por favor?

○ No

¿Te gustaría recibir los resultados de la investigación?

○ Sí. ¿Puedes dejarme tu nombre y apellidos y correo electrónico, por favor?

○ No

Déjame tu correo electrónico si te gustaría entrar en el sorteo de productos de Dublin City University

XIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán/mallorquín.

Finalmente, a modo de agradecimiento por tu tiempo, te dejo aquí un enlace en el que puedes descargarte un documento con recursos para aprender y practicar catalán/mallorquín

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Muchísimas gracias por tu tiempo, energía y esfuerzo!

No te olvides de clicar esta última flecha de la derecha para que el cuestionario se envíe correctamente.

Con tecnología de Qualtrics

English

English (United Kingdom)

Qualtrics Surveys Question Demo

(You can choose the language in which you want to undertake this survey between Catalan, Spanish and English. You can do so by selecting the preferred language at the top right of this page).

Dear participant,

My name is Catalina Amengual Ripoll and I am studying my PhD at Dublin City University in Dublin, Ireland, with a scholarship from the Irish Research Council. My supervisors, and therefore the other two individuals involved in this project, are Dr. Iker Erdocia (iker.erdocia@ dcu.ie) at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell (mm.vanrell@uib.cat) at the Universitat de les Illes Balears.

My research focuses on understanding the reasons for learning and using (or not learning nor using) Mallorcan Catalan among individuals who immigrated to Mallorca after the age of 18. There are few studies on this topic and it is really important to know immigrated people's linguistic necessities regarding one of the official languages in Mallorca. The title of my doctoral research is Language Ideologies and the Decision to Learn and Use a Minoritised Language: the Case of Migrant Adults and Catalan in Mallorca.



Your participation in this project involves completing a questionnaire that will take no more than 20 minutes of your time. I will store all responses in an encrypted folder in my Google Drive account at Dublin City University and I will assign you an identification code to maintain your anonymity, such as C26LLO. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without the need for justification and without any consequences.

I will use the results in academic events and publications, always in a pseudonymized manner, ensuring the protection of your privacy. I do not request your contact information, unless you express interest in an additional interview or in the case that you want to take part in a lottery. In these cases, the data provided will be used exclusively

for those purposes.

In 2036, I will delete and shred all the information and data collected, following Dublin City University's Data Retention Policy. If you have further questions about how the data in this project is handled, you can contact the Dublin City University Data Protection Officer, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Participating in this study not only provides you with the opportunity to reflect on sociolinguistic issues but also to express your opinions and needs. Furthermore, at the end of the questionnaire, you will find resources to learn and practise Catalan.

I expect to conclude the study in September 2026, and the results will be available in Dublin City University's online repository, DORAS. If you wish to receive the results, you can indicate so at the end of the questionnaire.

If you have questions or need more information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me: Catalina Amengual Ripoll (catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie).

I sincerely thank you for your time and effort in reading these lines and considering your participation.

The questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of Catalina Amengual Ripoll's doctoral research. It is about the reasons for learning and using Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca as the ways to meet the linguistic needs of immigrated adults in the island.

Your participation involves answering the questions you will be encountered with. It will take no more than 20 minutes. The questions are organised into five sections:

SECTION A: Reasons for learning or not learning Mallorcan Catalan.
SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcans who speak Mallorcan Catalan.
SECTION C: Linguistic uses.
SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.
SECTION E: Sociodemographic information.

Researchers involved

Catalina Amengual Ripoll Dr Iker Erdocia Dr Maria del Mar Vanrell

catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie	iker.erdocia@dcu.ie	mm.vanrell@uib.cat
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies	Department of Catalan Philology and General Linguistics
Dublin City University	Dublin City University	University of the Balearic Islands

Data Management and Protection

- The collected data will be stored in an encrypted folder online under Catalina Amengual Ripoll's Google Drive user account at Dublin City University.
- Only the researchers mentioned in this form will have access to the data.
- All collected information will be pseudonymized by assigning a code (for example, C26LLO).
- In any case, the guidelines of the Irish Data Protection law (General Data Protection Regulation, GDPR, and the Data Protection Act 2018) will be followed.

Should you wish to contact an independent person, you may also contact:

The president of the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Dublin City University, Dr Dónal Mulligan, email: donal.mulligan@dcu.ie

Confirmation of participant requirements
Mark YES or No as appropriate in each case.

I confirm that I am 18 years or older.

○ Yes

○ No

I have read (or had read to me) the initial information.

○ Yes

○ No

I have understood the initial information.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I understand that my answers in the questionnaire will be collected and analysed.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I understand that my participation is voluntary.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving explanations.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

I understand that withdrawing my participation will not have any consequences for me.

○ Yes

○ No

I consent to the use of my data for the purposes explained in the initial information.

○ Yes

○ No

I confirm that I was NOT born in Mallorca.

○ Yes

○ No

I confirm that I arrived in Mallorca around my 18th birthday or older.

○ Yes

○ No

If you have accepted all of the above, you can start the questionnaire.

In this survey we would like to know your opinion about the different topics that you will be encountered with. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinions and experiences. For this reason, we encourage you to answer as honestly as possible without overthinking your responses and trying to avoid as much as you can the “I don’t know” or “Neutral” options.

SECTION A: Reasons for Learning or Not Learning Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca.

I. Have you ever thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan?

- ○ No, and for now I am not interested in learning Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Yes, but I still did not do it.
- ○ Yes, and I have done it.

II. What do you think your abilities in Mallorcan Catalan are?

You can select the answer that corresponds to your skills in Mallorcan Catalan in each case like in the following example:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I like eating chocolate.	○	○	○	○	○

Now you can select the options corresponding to your situation.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have difficulty understanding and participating in basic conversations.	○	○	○	○	○
I can (at least) understand basic instructions or participate in a basic conversation on a predictable topic.	○	○	○	○	○
I can advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions.	○	○	○	○	○

III. Below, regardless of whether you know Mallorcan Catalan or not, or whether you have thought about learning Mallorcan Catalan or not, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Learning Mallorcan Catalan is important to me because…

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
It allows me to speak to different people.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to take part in social and cultural activities (for example, popular festivals).	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to feel more comfortable with people who speak it in Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows me to read books and understand songs, television, and radio.	○	○	○	○	○
It will help me get a job or a promotion in my current employment.	○	○	○	○	○
It will make me a person with more aptitudes.	○	○	○	○	○
People will respect me more.	○	○	○	○	○
It allows myself or it would allow myself to help my children with their schoolwork.	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION B: Evaluation of Mallorcan Catalan Speakers.

IV. In this section, we would like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about the character and status of Mallorcans in general. You can select the options that correspond to your opinion. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with.	○	○	○	○	○
The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.	○	○	○	○	○
Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.	○	○	○	○	○
In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well- off than those who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION C: Linguistic Usages.

V. In this section, we would like to know which languages you use in different contexts and with different people. Please select the answer that applies to you for each

question. If you have not experienced some of the following situations, we would still like you to imagine what you would do in those scenarios.

	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always	Not applicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)
I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).	○	○	○	○	○	○

You can do the same here.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would like people to speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan when I request it.	○	○	○	○	○

How often do you mix words or structures in Mallorcan Catalan and those in Spanish or other languages?

○ (Almost) never.

○ In one or two conversations per week.

○ In one or two conversations per day.

○ In three or five conversations per day.

○ In more than five conversations per day.

VI. Self-confidence.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	No aplicable (select this option if you cannot understand nor participate in basic conversations in Mallorcan Catalan)
Speaking Mallorcan Catalan in public makes me uncomfortable.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that people mock me when I speak Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that I do not have a sufficient command of Mallorcan Catalan and that is why I feel embarrassed of speaking it.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am more comfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with people who are at the same level as I am.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncomfortable speaking Mallorcan Catalan with Mallorcan people who speak Mallorcan Catalan as native language.	○	○	○	○	○	○

SECTION D: Opinion about the sociolinguistic situation in Mallorca.

VII. In this section, we would like to know your opinion about language management in Mallorca. Please select the answer that applies to you for each question and provide additional information when necessary.

What language would you prefer to be mainly used in compulsory public education in Mallorca? Select only one option.

- ○ Spanish.
- ○ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ English.
- ○ German.
- ○ French.
- ○ Other. Which one? _____

What languages would you prefer to be available as additional languages to learn in compulsory public education in Mallorca? You can select as many options as you like.

- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ☐ English.
- ☐ German.
- ☐ French.
- ☐ Other. Which ones? _____

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local administration in Mallorca (town halls, social services, etc.)?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in public healthcare in Mallorca?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which presence would you prefer for Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in local police in Mallorca?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Which should be the presence of Mallorcan Catalan and Spanish in the local television of Mallorca (IB3)?

- ○ Entirely in Spanish.
- ○ Mostly in Spanish.
- ○ 50% Spanish and 50% Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Mostly in Mallorcan Catalan.
- ○ Entirely in Mallorcan Catalan.

Now, as you did in previous questions, we would like to know how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please select the option that best represents your opinion.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Everyone living in Mallorca should know Mallorcan Catalan.	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone living in Mallorca should know Spanish.	○	○	○	○	○
A newcomer to Mallorca should understand Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	○	○	○	○	○
A newcomer to Mallorca should be able to speak Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	○	○	○	○	○
In Mallorca, in five years, Mallorcan Catalan will be spoken less than it is now spoken.	○	○	○	○	○

To conclude this section, please indicate which option you would choose to complete the following sentence:

In Mallorca, Mallorcan Catalan is spoken

- ○ Nothing
- ○ A little
- ○ Quite a bit
- ○ A lot

SECTION E: Sociodemographic Information.

We are almost done. We just have a few more questions about you.

City and country of birth

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Current place of residence

- ◯ You can indicate it here
- ◯ I do not know
- ◯ I prefer not to answer

Which language do you hear the most in your current residential area? Select only one option.

- ◯ Spanish.
- ◯ Mallorcan Catalan.
- ◯ German.
- ◯ English.
- ◯ Moroccan Arabic.
- ◯ Amazigh/Berber.
- ◯ Other. Which one?

Year of birth

- ◯ You can indicate it here
- ◯ I do not know
- ◯ I prefer not to answer

Gender identity

- ◯ Female
- ◯ Male
- ◯ Other
- ◯ I do not know.
- ◯ I prefer not to answer.

Year of arrival in Mallorca

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

Which language(s) did you speak at home when you were a child? You can select several options if you need to.

- ☐ Moroccan Arabic.
- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Standard German (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (Plattdeutsch, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages. Which one/s?

With which language(s) do you identify yourself? You can select several options if you need to.

- ☐ Moroccan Arabic.
- ☐ Spanish.
- ☐ Standard German (Hochdeutsch).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Morocco (Amazigh/Berber, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages spoken in Argentina (indigenous languages, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages/dialects spoken in Germany (Plattdeutsch, Sorbian, Danish, Frisian, Romani, Bavarian, etc.).
- ☐ Other languages. Which one/s?

IX. Socioeconomic status.

What is/are your nationality/nationalities?

- ○ You can indicate it here
- ○ I do not know
- ○ I prefer not to answer

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ○ Unfinished primary education.
- ○ Primary education (elementary school or equivalent).
- ○ First stage of secondary education (Compulsory Secondary Education - ESO or similar).
- ○ Second stage of secondary education (Baccalaureate or similar, Vocational training - Basic or medium grade, professional studies in music and dance, etc.).
- ○ Higher Vocational training (Higher vocational training and university degrees).
- ○ University studies (bachelor's degree, master's degree, and PhD).
- ○ I do not know.
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

X. Housing Conditions.

How many times have you moved within Mallorca?

How many of the following problems does your home have? Indicate a number, for example, 3. Write 0 if you do not have any of the following problems at your home.

External noises. Bad odors caused by industry, traffic, etc. Dampness or leaks. Construction deficiencies. Lack of cleanliness in the streets. Crime or vandalism in the area. Poor transportation connectivity. Problems with postal services. Too small.

If the house where you live now is rented, what percentage of your salary do you spend on the rent each month?

- ○ Less than 20% of my monthly salary.
- ○ Between 21% and 40% of my monthly salary.
- ○ More than 41% of my monthly salary.
- ○ Not applicable (select this option if you do not live in a rented house).
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

XI. Reasons for moving to Mallorca.

What is the main reason why you moved to Mallorca? Select only one option.

- ○ Due to retirement.
- ○ Due to a change in job placement.
- ○ Due to lack of employment.
- ○ To find a better job.
- ○ Due to political reasons.
- ○ Due to religious reasons.
- ○ For educational or training purposes.
- ○ For quality of life.
- ○ Due to family reasons (family reunification, etc.).
- ○ Due to the cost of living.
- ○ Due to the climate.
- ○ Temporarily staying in a transit country.
- ○ Other reasons. Please specify:

XII. Current labour Conditions in Mallorca.

Currently, in Mallorca, what is your situation among the following?

- ○ Working.
- ○ Looking for a job.
- ○ Studying.

- ○ Retired/pensioner.
- ○ Household worker.
- ○ Permanently incapacitated.
- ○ Other situations. Please specify: _____

What is your job in Mallorca currently?

- ○ You can indicate it here _____
- ○ Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).
- ○ I prefer not to answer.

How many hours do you work per week currently in Mallorca?

- ○ Less than 10 hours per week.
- ○ Between 10 and 19 hours per week.
- ○ Between 20 and 30 hours per week.
- ○ Between 31 and 40 hours per week.
- ○ More than 40 hours per week.
- ○ It is irregular and does not fit into any of the options.
- ○ I do not know.
- ○ I prefer not to answer.
- ○ Not applicable (if you are not working, select this option).

SECTION F: Thank you very much!

We are done! Thank you very, very much for taking the time and energy to get here.

Would you like to help me a little more and participate in an individual interview for an hour? I can adapt myself to the day, place, and time that suits you best between September and December 2024.

○ Yes. Can you please leave here your name, surname, email and phone number?

○ No

Would you be willing to retake the survey in a month?

○ Yes. Can you please leave here your name, surname, email and phone number?

○ No

Would you like to receive the research results?

○ Yes. Can you please leave here your name, surname and email address?

○ No

Leave here your email if you would like to enter in a lottery of Dublin City University products.

XIII. Some resources for learning Mallorcan Catalan.

Finally, to thank you for your time, I leave you with a QR code where you can download some resources to learn and practise Mallorcan Catalan.

XVIII. Algunos recursos para aprender catalán.

Thank you very much for yout time, energy and effort!

Do not forget to click the last arrow at the bottom right of this page so that the questionnaire can be successfully submitted.

C.3. Resources to Learn Catalan




RECURSOS PARA APRENDER
catalán
Cursos de catalán
Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics
Escola Balear d'Administració Pública
Escola Municipal de Mallorquí
Escola Oficial d'Idiomes (Calvià, Inca, Manacor y Palma)
Centres d'Educació de Persones Adultes (CEPA)
Servei Lingüístic de la Universitat de les Illes Balears
Paraula. Centre de Serveis Lingüístics
Centres de Català (Calvià, Inca, Manacor i Palma)
Recursos varios
En este enlace encontrarás desde centros donde aprender catalán y herramientas online hasta vocabularios específicos para turistas y medios de comunicación .
Llengua Mallorca
PELC
MATCAT

Appendix D: Recruitment

D.1. Posters

Catalan

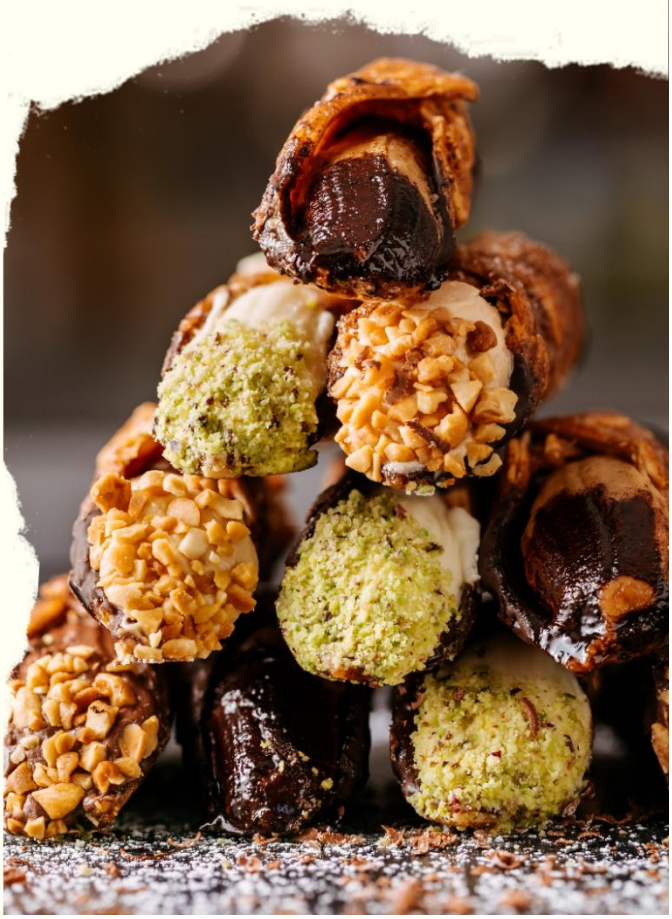


Arab

واش تزادت فالمغرب؟

واش جيتي لمايوركا و عندك
18 عام ولا كتر؟

شارك فالبحث ديالي للدكتوراه على
اللغات فـمايوركا وعمر هاد الاستمارة.



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair
Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University



واش تزادت فالمغرب،
الأرجنتين ولا ألمانيا؟

واش جيتي لمايوركا و عندك 18 عام ولا كتر؟

شارك فالبحث ديالي للدكتوراه
على اللغات فمايوركا وعمر هاد
الاستمارة.





IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair
Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

Spanish


¿Naciste en Alemania?
¿Llegaste a Mallorca con 18 años o más?
Participa en mi investigación doctoral sobre las lenguas en Mallorca rellenando este cuestionario.
IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn
DCU
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

¿Naciste en Argentina?

¿Llegaste a Mallorca con 18 años o más?

Participa en mi investigación doctoral sobre las lenguas en Mallorca rellenando este cuestionario.



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University



¿Naciste en Marruecos, Argentina o Alemania?

¿Llegaste a Mallorca con 18 años o más?

Participa en mi investigación doctoral rellenando este cuestionario sobre las lenguas de Mallorca.





IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

German



Bist du in Marokko, Argentinien oder Deutschland geboren?

Bist du mit 18 Jahren oder älter nach Mallorca gekommen?

Nimm an meiner Doktoratsforschung über die Sprachen auf Mallorca teil, indem du diesen Fragebogen ausfüllst.





IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

Bist du in Deutschland geboren?

Bist du mit 18 Jahren
oder älter nach Mallorca
gekommen?

Nimm an meiner Doktoratsforschung
über die Sprachen auf Mallorca teil,
indem du diesen Fragebogen ausfüllst.



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

DCU
Ollscoil Chathair
Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University

D.2. Emails to Schools, Institutions and Associations

Catalan

(versión en castellano aquí) (English version here)

Benvolguts,

Som na Catalina Amengual Ripoll i estudii el meu doctorat a la Dublin City University sota la supervisió del doctor Iker Erdocia, a la Dublin City University, i la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell, a la Universitat de les Illes Balears. La meva recerca està finançada per l'Irish Research Council en la categoria Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023.

El tema de la meva tesi és els **motius** que tenen les **persones immigrades** per **aprendre i emprar (o no) català** a Mallorca. La meva intenció és comprendre les necessitats lingüístiques reals d'aquestes persones i veure com hi podem donar resposta dins del marc de les polítiques de normalització lingüística del català. Per dur-ho a terme, em centr en aquelles persones nascudes al Marroc, l'Argentina o Alemanya, que arribaren a Mallorca amb 18 anys d'edat o més. La meva recollida de dades consta de dues parts: un qüestionari inicial d'uns 20 minuts, d'una banda, i entrevistes individuals d'una hora, de l'altra.

Us escric per demanar la vostra col·laboració amb la difusió d'aquest estudi entre els pares dels vostres alumnes i entre els vostres treballadors, ja siguin professors o personal tècnic o administratiu. No tenc cap intenció de contactar directament amb els alumnes, només vull demanar-vos ajuda per fer arribar aquesta informació als seus pares i mares i als vostres treballadors. En concret, m'agradaria demanar-vos una mà en la difusió de l'enllaç directe al qüestionari: https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW
El qüestionari consta de preguntes tancades sobre l'opinió dels adults immigrats respecte la importància (o no) d'aprendre i emprar el català o la gestió de les llengües a Mallorca. Cerc adults que sàpiguen català i adults que no en sàpiguen. Per això, el qüestionari es pot contestar en català, castellà o anglès, segons la preferència del participant. Us en deix la versió que tenim preparada en paper en català per si voleu saber més específicament quins tipus de preguntes feim. Les versions castellana i anglesa són idèntiques a aquesta. La vostra col·laboració és fonamental per a l'èxit d'aquesta recerca.

Així doncs, m'agradaria proposar-vos tres maneres de col·laborar:

1. **Difusió entre els pares i mares dels vostres alumnes i entre els vostres treballadors**: Si us hi avenguéssiu, podríeu fer arribar l'enllaç del qüestionari

https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW als pares i mares dels vostres alumnes i als vostres treballadors mitjançant els vostres canals de comunicació habituals. Se m'acuden els següents canals: circulars que els alumnes se'n duguin a casa, correus electrònics als pares i mares i als vostres treballadors o publicacions als vostres llocs web i xarxes socials. No cal que seleccioneu aquelles persones nascudes al Marroc, l'Argentina o Alemanya. Us encoratj a fer un enviament massiu a tota la vostra comunitat educativa. Per a aquesta finalitat, us adjunt un model de circular que podríeu fer servir, si volguéssiu.

2. **Reunió de claustre de professors**: M'agradaria demanar-vos si podria assistir a una reunió de claustre de professors per explicar detalladament la meva investigació i encoratjar la seva participació i/o la difusió d'aquest projecte entre els seus coneguts. Això ens permetrà parlar sobre el projecte i respondre qualsevol pregunta que pugueu tenir.

3. **Reunió de pares i mares**: També estaria molt agraïda si em permeteu participar en una reunió de pares i mares. Allà, podria presentar breument la recerca als pares i mares possiblement interessats, respondre les seves preguntes, encoratjar-los a participar-hi i a difondre l'estudi entre els seus coneguts.

Agraesc de tot cor i per endavant la vostra atenció i col·laboració. La vostra ajuda és essencial per a la meva investigació i contribuirà significativament a augmentar el coneixement de les necessitats lingüístiques reals de les persones immigrades a Mallorca. Valoraré moltíssim la vostra ajuda en algunes de les propostes, en el cas que no pugueu ajudar-me en totes.

Per tal d'aclarir qualsevol dubte que us pugui sorgir o coordinar qualsevol activitat, no dubteu a posar-vos en contacte amb mi mitjançant el correu electrònic catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o el telèfon 659 19 33 16.

Us adjunt també els cartells que hem preparat en diferents llengües per fer-ne difusió perquè els pugueu emprar lliurement. Moltíssimes gràcies!

Gràcies per endavant per la vostra col·laboració i suport.

Cordialment,

Catalina Amengual Ripoll
Dublin City University
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie

Spanish

Estimados,

Mi nombre es Catalina Amengual Ripoll y estoy realizando mi doctorado en la Dublin City University bajo la supervisión del doctor Iker Erdocia, en la Dublin City University, y la doctora Maria del Mar Vanrell, en la Universitat de les Illes Balears. Mi investigación está financiada por el Irish Research Council en la categoría Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023.

El tema de mi tesis es los **motivos** que tienen las **personas inmigradas** para **aprender y usar (o no) catalán** en Mallorca. Mi intención es comprender las necesidades lingüísticas reales de estas personas y ver cómo podemos darles respuesta en el marco de las políticas de normalización lingüística del catalán. Para llevarlo a cabo, me centro en aquellas personas nacidas en Marruecos, Argentina o Alemania, que llegaron a Mallorca con 18 años de edad o más. Mi recogida de datos consta de dos partes: un cuestionario inicial de unos 20 minutos, por un lado, y entrevistas individuales de una hora, por el otro lado.

Les escribo para solicitar su colaboración en la difusión de este estudio entre los padres y madres de sus alumnos y entre sus trabajadores, ya sean profesores o personal técnico o administrativo. No tengo intención de contactar directamente a los alumnos, solo quiero pedirles ayuda para hacer llegar esta información a sus padres y madres y a sus trabajadores. En concreto, me gustaría pedirles su ayuda en la difusión del enlace directo al cuestionario: https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW
El cuestionario consta de preguntas cerradas sobre la opinión de los adultos inmigrados respecto a la importancia (o no) de aprender y usar catalán o la gestión de las lenguas en Mallorca. Busco adultos que sepan catalán y adultos que no sepan catalán. Por eso, el cuestionario se puede responder en catalán, castellano e inglés, a elección del participante. Os dejo la versión que tenemos preparada en papel en castellano por si queréis saber más específicamente el tipo de preguntas que hacemos. Las versiones catalana e inglesa son idénticas a esta. Su colaboración es fundamental para el éxito de esta investigación.

Así pues, me gustaría proponerles tres formas de colaborar:

1. **Difusión entre los padres y madres de sus alumnos y entre sus trabajadores**: Si estuvieran de acuerdo, podrían hacer llegar el enlace del cuestionario: https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZ

WaW a los padres y madres de sus alumnos y entre sus trabajadores mediante sus canales de comunicación habituales. Se me ocurren los siguientes canales: circulares que los alumnos lleven a casa, correos electrónicos a los padres y madres y a sus trabajadores o publicaciones en sus sitios web y redes sociales. No es necesario que seleccionen a las personas nacidas en Marruecos, Argentina o Alemania. Les animo a hacer un envío masivo a toda su comunidad educativa. Para esta finalidad, les adjunto un modelo de circular que podríais utilizar, si queréis.

2. **Reunión de claustro de profesores**: Me gustaría preguntarles si podría asistir a una reunión de claustro de profesores para explicar detalladamente mi investigación e incentivar su participación y/o difusión de este proyecto. Esto nos permitirá hablar sobre el proyecto y responder cualquier pregunta que puedan tener.

3. **Reunión de padres y madres**: También estaría muy agradecida si me permitieran participar en una reunión de padres. Allí, podría presentar brevemente la investigación a los padres y madres posiblemente interesados, responder sus preguntas y animarlos a participar y a difundir el estudio entre sus conocidos.

Les agradezco de corazón su atención y colaboración. Su ayuda es esencial para mi investigación y contribuirá significativamente a aumentar el conocimiento de las necesidades lingüísticas reales de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca. Valoraré muchísimo su ayuda en algunas de las propuestas, en caso de que no puedan ayudarme en todas.

Para aclarar cualquier duda que puedan surgirles o coordinar cualquier actividad, no duden en ponerse en contacto conmigo a través del correo electrónico catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o el teléfono 659 19 33 16.

Os adjuntamos también los carteles que hemos preparado en diferentes lenguas para su difusión para que los podáis usar libremente. ¡Muchísimas gracias!

Gracias de antemano por su colaboración y apoyo.

Atentamente,

Catalina Amengual Ripoll
Dublin City University
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie

English

Dear colleagues,

My name is Catalina Amengual Ripoll, and I am studying my Ph.D. at Dublin City University under the supervision of Dr. Iker Erdocia at Dublin City University, and Dr. Maria del Mar Vanrell at Universitat de les Illes Balears. My research is funded by the Irish Research Council under the Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship 2023 category.

The topic of my thesis is the **reasons** behind **immigrants' decisions to (not) learn and use Catalan** in Mallorca. My aim is to understand the real linguistic needs of these individuals and explore how we can address these necessities within the framework of Catalan linguistic revitalisation policies. To accomplish this, I focus on individuals born in Morocco, Argentina, or Germany, who arrived in Mallorca at the age of 18 or older. My data collection is made of two parts: a questionnaire of 20 minutes, on the one hand, and individual interviews of one hour, on the other hand.

I am writing to request your collaboration in disseminating this study among the parents of your students and among your staff, both teachers and technical or administrative staff. I do not intend to directly contact the students; I simply seek your assistance in sharing this information among their parents and among your staff. More specifically, I would like to ask your help in distributing the questionnaire link https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW The questionnaire is made of closed questions about the opinion of immigrated adults regarding the importance of learning and using (or not) Catalan or the management of languages in Mallorca. I am looking for adults with both null and at least basic knwoledge of Catalan. For this reason, the questionnaire can be answered in Catalan, Spanish or English, depending on the participants' preference. I leave here the English paper version, so that you can have a more concrete idea regarding the questions that participants will be asked. Catalan and Spanish versions are the same. Your collaboration is crucial for the success of this research.

Therefore, I would like to propose three ways in which we could collaborate:

1. **Dissemination among parents and staff**: If you agree, you could distribute the questionnaire link https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW among the parents of your students and among your staff through your usual communication channels. Possible channels include school notes that students take home, emails to parents and staff, or posts on your websites and social media. There is no need

to target people born in Morocco, Argentina, or Germany. I encourage you to send the information to all your educational community. For this reason, I attach here a model of a school note that you can use, if you wish.

2. **Teachers' meeting**: I would like to ask you if I could attend a teachers' meeting to explain my research in detail and enhance their participation and dissemination of the study among acquaintances. This will allow us to discuss the project and address any questions you may have.

3. **Parents' meeting**: I would also be very grateful if you would allow me to participate in a parents' meeting. There, I could briefly present the research to potentially interested parents, answer their questions and encourage them to take part in the study as well as to disseminate the project among their acquaintances.

I sincerely appreciate your attention and collaboration. Your assistance is essential to my research and will significantly contribute to increasing our understanding of the real linguistic needs of immigrants in Mallorca.

To clarify any doubts or coordinate any activities, please do not hesitate to contact me via email at catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie or by phone at 659 19 33 16.

We are also attaching the posters we have prepared in different languages for dissemination so that you can use them freely. Thank you very much!
Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

Warm regards,

Catalina Amengual Ripoll
Dublin City University
catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie

D.3. Notes for Schools' Communities and Members of Associations and Institutions

Catalan

Benvolguts i benvolgudes,

Us escrivim per informar-vos d'un estudi de doctorat en el qual podríeu estar interessats en prendre'n part. La investigadora principal n'és **Catalina Amengual Ripoll**, una estudiant de doctorat a la Dublin City University.

El tema de la seva tesi és els **motius** que tenen les **persones immigrades** per **aprendre i emprar (o no) català** a Mallorca. La seva intenció és comprendre les necessitats lingüístiques reals d'aquestes persones i veure com s'hi pot donar resposta juntament amb la normalització lingüística del català. Per dur-ho a terme, se centra en aquelles persones nascudes al **Marroc, l'Argentina o Alemanya**, que arribaren a Mallorca amb 18 anys d'edat o més. La seva recollida de dades consta de dues parts: un qüestionari inicial, d'una banda, i entrevistes individuals, de l'altra.

Us deixam l'enllaç al qüestionari https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW i un codi QR perquè escolliu la manera que us vagi millor d'accedir a les preguntes del **qüestionari**. El qüestionari dura uns **20 minuts** i es pot fer en català, castellà o anglès, a preferència del participant. Totes les preguntes són tancades i només han de seleccionar l'opció que es correspongui amb la seva opinió sobre la importància (o no) d'aprendre i emprar català o la gestió de les llengües a Mallorca.

Agraïm per endavant la vostra col·laboració. La vostra ajuda és essencial per a la investigació de na Catalina i contribuirà significativament a

augmentar el coneixement de les necessitats lingüístiques reals de les persones immigrades a Mallorca.

Per tal d'aclarir qualsevol dubte que us pugui sorgir, no dubteu a posar-vos en contacte amb ella mitjançant el correu electrònic catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o el telèfon 659 19 33 16. També li podeu demanar **còpies en paper** del qüestionari a les adreces anteriors.

Gràcies per endavant per la vostra col·laboració i suport.

Spanish

Estimados y estimadas,

Os escribimos para informaros de un estudio de doctorado en el cual podríais estar interesados en participar. La investigadora principal es **Catalina Amengual Ripoll**, estudiante de doctorado en la Dublin City University.

El tema de su tesis es los **motivos** que tienen las **personas inmigradas** para **aprender y usar (o no) catalán** en Mallorca. Su intención es comprender las necesidades lingüísticas reales de estas personas y ver cómo se les puede dar respuesta en el marco de las políticas de normalización lingüística del catalán. Para llevarlo a cabo, se centra en aquellas personas nacidas en Marruecos, Argentina o Alemania, que llegaron a Mallorca con 18 años de edad o más. Su recogida de datos consta de dos partes: un cuestionario inicial de unos 20 minutos, por un lado, y entrevistas individuales de una hora, por el otro lado.

Os dejamos el enlace al cuestionario https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW y un código QR para que escojáis la manera que mejor os vaya de acceder a las preguntas del **cuestionario**. El cuestionario dura unos **20 minutos** y se puede realizar en catalán, castellano o inglés, a preferencia del participante. Todas las preguntas son cerradas y solo deben seleccionar la opción que corresponda con su opinión sobre la importancia (o no) de aprender y utilizar catalán o la gestión de las lenguas en Mallorca.



Les agradecemos de corazón su atención y colaboración. Su ayuda es esencial para la investigación de Catalina y contribuirá significativamente a aumentar el conocimiento de las necesidades lingüísticas reales de las personas inmigradas en Mallorca.

Para aclarar cualquier duda que puedan surgirles o coordinar cualquier actividad, no duden en ponerse en contacto conmigo a través del correo electrónico catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie o el teléfono 659 19 33 16. También podéis pedir **copias del cuestionario en papel** a las direcciones anteriores.

Gracias de antemano por su colaboración y apoyo.

English

Dear educational community,

We are sending this note to you in order to inform you about a PhD in which you might be interested in taking part. The main researcher in the project is **Catalina Amengual Ripoll,** a PhD student at Dublin City University.

The topic of my thesis is the **reasons** behind **immigrants' decisions to (not) learn and use Catalan** in Mallorca. My aim is to understand the real linguistic needs of these individuals and explore how we can address these necessities within the framework of Catalan linguistic revitalisation policies. To accomplish this, I focus on individuals born in **Morocco, Argentina, or Germany**, who arrived in Mallorca at the age of 18 or older. My data collection is made of two parts: a questionnaire, on the one hand, and individual interviews, on the other hand.

We are providing you with the link to the questionnaire https://dcueducation.fra1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8i86ZiYhB7KZWaW

and a QR code so that you can choose the most convenient way to access the **questionnaire** questions. The questionnaire takes about **20 minutes** and can be done in Catalan, Spanish, or English, according to the participant's preference. All questions are closed, and you only need to select the option that corresponds to your opinion on the importance of learning and using (or no) Catalan or managing languages in Mallorca.

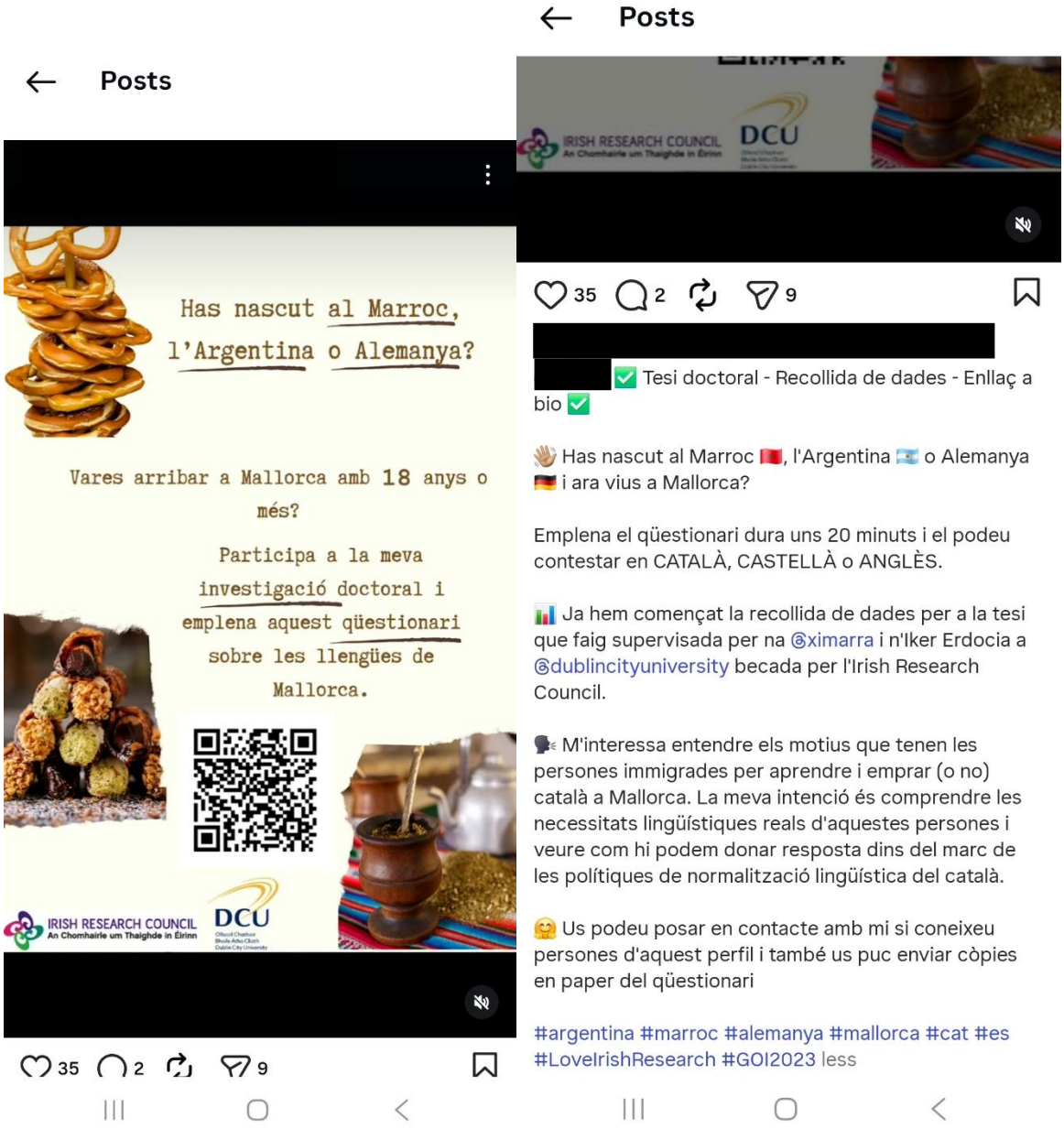


I sincerely appreciate your attention and collaboration. Your assistance is essential to my research and will significantly contribute to increasing our understanding of the real linguistic needs of immigrants in Mallorca. I will greatly appreciate your help with some of the proposals, in case you are unable to assist me with all of them.

To clarify any doubts or coordinate any activities, please do not hesitate to contact me via email at catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie or by phone at 659 19 33 16. You can also request **paper copies** of the survey at the two addresses above.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

D.4. Example of Post in Social Media



Appendix E: Local Media Support

E.1. Hipatia



ENTREVISTA a CATALINA AMENGUAL RIPOLL

RADIO CULTURA MALLORCA - Federico Marotta
340 subscribers

Subscribe

3 | Share | Download | Clip | ...

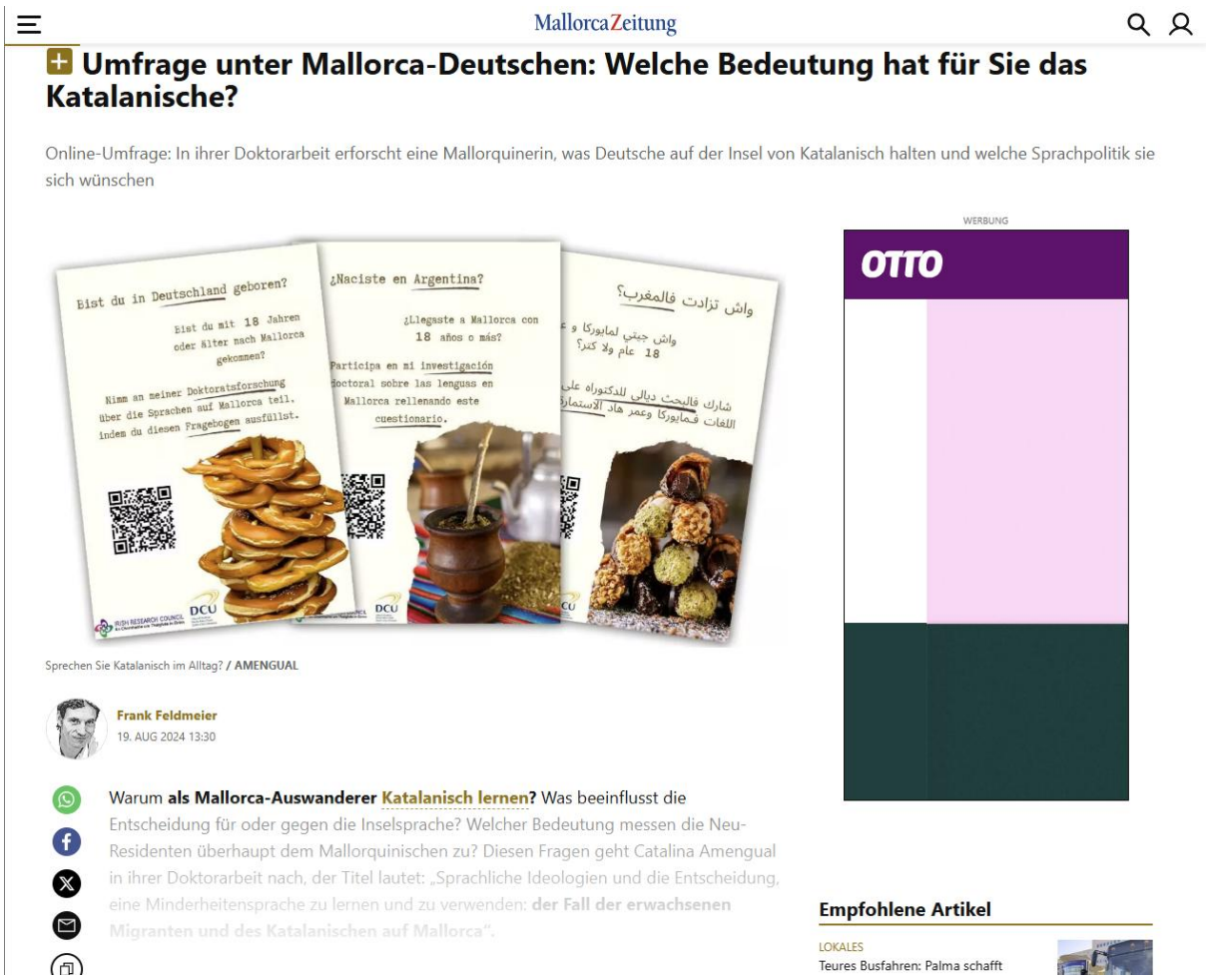
57 views 14 Oct 2024
Entrevista a Catalina Amengual Ripoll, estudiante de doctorado.
Una entrevista de Miquel Palou-Bosch.
Nos escuchas en Radio Cultura 96.9 FM, Radio Cultura online.
Nos sigues en facebook en Radio Cultura Mallorca.
Suscríbete al canal youtube Radio Cultura Mallorca.

RADIO CULTURA MALLORCA - Federico Marotta
340 subscribers

Videos | About

Link to the interview: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mb3Amy7V5ck

E.2. Mallorca Zeitung



Link to the article: https://www.mallorcazeitung.es/sprache/2024/08/19/umfrage-unter-mallorca-deutschen-welche-107019770.html

E.3. Revista de Lloseta

Only available in the print version.



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CATALINA AMENGUAL RIPOLL,ENS PRESENTA LA SEVA INVESTIGACIÓ DOCTORAL

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Com vas arribar a interessar-te en aquest tema?
Des de petita m'havia agradat aprendre llengües i veure què feien persones d'altres cultures diferents de la nostra. Durant la carrera a la UIB vaig interessar-me per l'àrab i l'amazic i va ser així com vaig iniciar la meva investigació sobre el català i les persones immigrades a Mallorca. El meu treball de fi de carrera va ser la primera passa en aquest sentit i em vaig centrar en persones nascudes al Marroc residents a Mallorca. Després el vaig anar ampliant a altres comunitats immigrades a Mallorca, com ara els argentins, i hi vaig anar aprofundint en la meva tesi de màster i ara en la meva recerca doctoral, on em centr en marroquins, argentins i alemanys, a causa de la seva presència elevada a l'illa.

Què et va motivar a triar el tema dels motius per aprendre i fer servir el català entre les persones immigrades a Mallorca per a la teva tesi doctoral?
El que em va motivar, sobretot, va ser la diferència entre el coneixement del català i l'ús del català per part de les persones nascudes fora de l'àrea lingüística catalana residents a les Illes Balears. Aquesta informació és la que reflecteixen les dades de la darrera Enquesta d'Usos Lingüístics a les Illes Balears de l'any 2014, on 91,8% de les persones nascudes fora de Balears, Catalunya, el País Valencià i fora d'Espanya residents a les Illes Balears declaren entendre el català. Emperò, d'aquestes persones, un 81.6% declara emprar el castellà com a llengua habitual a les illes. És per això que em cridava l'atenció entendre per què es tria una llengua i no una altra com a mitjà de comunicació, més enllà del coneixement que se'n tengui. A partir d'aquí vaig començar a aprofundir en les relacions de poder que hi ha entre les llengües i les seves dimensions polítiques i morals, entre d'altres. Això em va dur a investigar les ideologies i les actituds lingüístiques com un dels factors que poden donar forma a les decisions d'aprendre o no i emprar o no català a les Illes Balears, juntament amb altres variables, com ara variables socioeconòmiques.

Per què creus què és important estudiar aquest fenomen en particular?
Crec que aquest fenomen és important perquè contribueix a establir una línia de debat bidireccional entre les persones nascudes a Mallorca i les nascudes a fora.
Entendre per què decideixen una llengua i no una altra una més informació de com funcionen les dinàmiques sociolingüístiques a l'illa i permet cercar alternatives de gestió d'aquestes dinàmiques. Alhora, la meva recerca també pretén entendre quines són les necessitats sociolingüístiques reals d'aquestes persones immigrades i veure com s'hi pot donar resposta dins del marc de les polítiques de normalització lingüística.

Podries descriure breument la metodologia que utilitzes per recollir i analitzar les dades?
Aquesta recerca es realitza sota la perspectiva epistemològica del realisme crític. És a dir, entenc que la realitat social té diverses cares, algunes de les quals no podem veure fàcilment, com les ideologies, i d'altres que sí podem percebre a primera vista, com els fets. Les ideologies i actituds lingüístiques per tant formen part d'aquest domini més ocult de la realitat social.

Quins són els principals mètodes de recol·lecció de dades?
Per a la tesi faig servir mètodes mixtes. D'una banda, realitz un qüestionari d'autoresposta que dura uns 20 minuts on els participants donen la seva opinió sobre el rol de les llengües a Mallorca. D'altra banda, faig entrevistes individuals d'una horeta sobre els motius d'aquestes opinions. Els participants són persones nascudes a l'Argentina, al Marroc o a Alemanya, que ara viuen a Mallorca i que hi vengueren a viure quan tenien més o manco com a mínim 18 anys o més. No cal que sàpiguen gens de català, per això el qüestionari es pot fer en català, castellà o anglès, segons la llengua que triïn els participants, així com també les entrevistes. ***Per tant, m'agradaria també des d'aquí animar la participació a l'estudi o la facilitació de qualsevol tipus d'informació que creieu que pugui ser útil per a la recollida de dades. Podeu escriure'm a catalina.amengualripoll2@mail.dcu.ie.***

Creus que hi ha prou suport institucional per als immigrants que volen aprendre català?
Fins a juliol de 2023, l'ara inexistent Direcció General de Política Lingüística (DGPL) va reprendre i crear iniciatives que cercaven fomentar l'aprenentatge i ús del català entre la població general de les Illes Balears però també entre col·lectius específics, especialment joves i persones immigrades. Per a aquest objectiu, la DGPL col·laborava amb altres entitats tant públiques com privades com per exemple l'Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics o l'Obra Cultural Balear, respectivament.Tot i el constant atac a la normalització lingüística que protagonitza l'actual govern de les Illes Balears, algunes d'aquestes activitats encara continuen, ara principalment a mans de l'Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics i associacions cíviques amb menys pressupost. Per tant, pens que tot i que hi ha esforços des de determinats sectors públics cal que hi hagi una implicació més transversal de tots els agents socials en aquestes activitats de foment i manteniment del català. En aquest sentit, la meva recerca pretén oferir informació per al futur desenvolupament de polítiques públiques que pretenguin adreçar la diferència que hi ha entre el coneixement de català i l'ús d'aquesta llengua per part de la població immigrada.

Quins són els teus plans un cop finalitzis la teva tesi doctoral?
M'agradaria poder continuar investigant sobre el català i les persones immigrades. Miraré de continuar amb estudis postdoctorals per veure si les polítiques públiques a les Illes Balears poden gestionar de manera més efectiva.

Appendix F: Interview Guide

F.1. Participants who Decided to Learn Catalan

Catalan

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.
Si ha decidit aprendre català, comprova en quina fase està:
(a) ENCARA NO HO HA FET.
(b) JA HO HA FET.

DECISIÓ D'APRENDRE CATALÀ

Tipus d'aprenentatge (català) i dificultats per accedir a l'aprenentatge de la llengua. D'acord amb la Secció A de l'enquesta: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català a Mallorca / Subsecció I: Coneixement del català.

M'agradaria saber les facilitats i dificultats que vares tenir o tens per accedir a l'aprenentatge de català. Primer, si et pareix bé, començarem amb les facilitats.

1. Ara podries indicar-me el tipus d'aprenentatge de català que has tengut (formal o informal) i explicar-me les **facilitats** que vares tenir o tens per accedir-hi? Per què?
    1. 1a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal:

i. Cursos gratuïts.
ii. Oferta d'horaris.
iii. Proximitat al lloc de les classes.

    2. 1b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal:

i. Flexibilitat

2. I les **dificultats**? Per què?
    1. 2a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal:

i. Dificultat per trobar on el podies aprendre.
ii. Com vas assabentar-te de les classes a les quals vas assistir?
iii. Quina distància hi ha de casa teva als centres on pots aprendre català?

    2. 2b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal:

i. No saber quins recursos existeixen i pots emprar.

    3. 2c. En ambdós casos

i. Dificultat per practicar-lo.
ii. Temps de qualitat per dedicar-hi.

Raons per aprendre català i percepcions dels factors que influencien aquesta decisió.

A. Perspectiva socioeconòmica. En línia amb la Secció A de l'enquesta: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català a Mallorca, subsecció II: Raons per aprendre català.
Això em du a una altra qüestió que són les teves raons per decidir aprendre català i les teves percepcions de quins factors t'influeixen en més o menys mesura en aquesta decisió.

RAONS

Començarem amb les raons que tens per decidir aprendre català.

3. Quin creus que va ser el motiu que sí o sí et va fer aprendre català?
   → Què va canviar? Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació a la teva decisió d'aprendre català?
   → Per què creus que va tenir èxit allò o aquella persona/grup en influir-te en aprendre català?
   → Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer aprendre català?

Si diuen 'Com a requisit de feina', m'agradaria aprofundir-hi perquè el català ha estat o és un requisit per als treballs públics.

1. Això que proposes és interessant perquè ja fa anys que es demana el català per accedir a determinats llocs de treball, per, en el teu cas, has hagut de presentar un certificat de català, per exemple, per poder fer feina? Aleshores, hi hauria un altre motiu pel qual l'aprendries que no fos aquest?

4. Què podies i no podies fer abans de decidir aprendre català? I després de decidir aprendre'n?

5. Creus que a mesura que t'has fet gran la importància d'aprendre català ha canviat per a tu? Com i per què?

6. Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en [homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa?

7. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc decideixen aprendre més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?

PERCEPCIONS DELS FACTORS QUE INFLUENCIEN LA DECISIÓ D'APRENDRE CATALÀ

III. Accés a l'aprenentatge del català en relació amb l'estatus socioeconòmic de l'entrevistat. D'acord amb la Secció F de l'enquesta: Informació sociodemogràfica / Subseccions XI: Estatus socioeconòmic, XII: Condicions de vida, XV: Condicions laborals a Mallorca actualment. + Perspectiva de posicionament. En línia amb la secció D de l'enquesta: Posicionament, subsecció VI: Presència del català i castellà.

Ara m'agradaria demanar-te la teva opinió sobre els factors que creus que poden influir la teva decisió d'aprendre català i com creus que la influeixien.

8. Quan consideraves la decisió d'aprendre català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió d'aprendre català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què?

Si no contesten els puc proposar aquesta pregunta:

→ Creus que les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què?

→ Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir aprendre català i com són ara?

→ Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat?

Si no mencionen cap dels factors següents demanar-los específicament per ells.

1. Les teves percepcions sobre què pot aportar-te el català (integrar-te, feina).
2. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics).

[Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?]

3. Les dificultats d'accedir al tipus d'aprenentatge de català que comentaves més amunt.
4. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius).
5. El teu entorn (lloc de residència).

[Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].

9. Quines són o serien per a tu les condicions ideals perquè continuïs aprenent català?

→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què?

→ Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què?

→ Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?

USOS LINGÜÍSTICS EN CATALÀ

10. Com és en la teva experiència el fet d'intentar usar català a Mallorca?
    1. 9a. Paral·lela a l'aprenentatge? O passa un temps des que aprens català fins que decideixes emprar-lo?
    2. 9b. Reacció de la gent.
    3. 9c. Llocs on pots emprar-lo.
    4. 9d. Persones amb les quals pots emprar-lo.

11. En el teu cas com vares fer o intentes fer la passa d'aprendre/saber català a emprar-lo?

→ Què va canviar? Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació als teus intents d'emprar català?

→ Per què creus que va tenir èxit (o no) allò o aquella persona/grup en influir-te en emprar català?
→ Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer emprar català?

12. Què podies i no podies fer abans de decidir emprar català? I després de decidir emprar-lo?

Ara, com hem fet abans, m'agradaria demanar-te la teva opinió sobre els factors que creus que poden influir els teus usos de català i com creus que els influeixien.

13. Quan consideraves la decisió d'emprar català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió d'emprar català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què?

Si no contesten els puc proposar aquesta pregunta:

→ Creus que els teus coneixements de català, les teves inseguretats amb el fet d'emprar-lo, les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què?
→ Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir emprar català i com són ara?
→ Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat?

Si no mencionen cap dels factors anteriors demanar-los específicament per ells.

1. Els teus coneixements i habilitats de i en català.
2. Les incomoditats i inseguretats respecte les teves habilitats en català.
   [Per exemple, sentir que se'n riuen de tu quan el parles, sentir-te incòmode/a parlant-lo en públic, etc.]
3. La presència de català i castellà que preferiries que hi hagués en dominis com la salut pública, l'administració, la policia o els mitjans de comunicació locals de Mallorca.
   [Per exemple, independentment de la realitat si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?]
4. Les experiències de quan intentes emprar-lo que m'has explicat abans.
5. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius).
6. El teu entorn (lloc de residència).
   [Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].

14. Creus que els teus usos de català han canviat o canviaran a mesura que et vagis fent més gran?

15. Veus diferències en l'ús de català per part d'[homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa?

16. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora d'emprar català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc empren més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?

17. Quines serien per a tu les condicions ideals per usar el català a Mallorca?
→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què?
→ Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què?
→ Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?

POLÍTICA I PLANIFICACIÓ LINGÜÍSTIQUES

18. Com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, què perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca.

19. Ara, més concretament, com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca en referència al català?

20. Per què creus que tens aquestes necessitats?

21. Veus alguna diferència de quan eres més jove a ara en qüestió de les teves necessitats sociolingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, diferències en el que perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca.

22. Notes qualque diferència en la qüestió de les llengües a Mallorca des que vares arribar [QUAN VARES ARRIBAR?] a ara? En quin sentit? Quina situació preferiries la d'abans o la d'ara?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Podries indicar-me el tipus d'aprenentatge de català que has tengut (formal o informal) i explicar-me les **facilitats** que vares tenir o tens per accedir-hi? Per què? _____ 2. I les **dificultats**? Per què?	1a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal: • Cursos gratuïts. • Oferta d'horaris. • Proximitat al lloc de les classes. 1b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal: • Flexibilitat _____ 2a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal: • Dificultat per trobar on el podies aprendre. • Com vas assabentar-te de les classes a les quals vas assistir? • Quina distància hi ha de casa teva als centres on pots aprendre català? 2b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal: • No saber quins recursos existeixen i pots emprar. 2c. En ambdós casos • Dificultat per practicar-lo. • Temps de qualitat per dedicar-hi.
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. Quin creus que va ser el motiu que sí o sí et va fer aprendre català?	→ Què va canviar? Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació a la teva decisió d'aprendre català? → Per què creus que va tenir èxit allò o aquella persona/grup en influir-te en aprendre català? → Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer aprendre català?

		Si diuen 'Com a requisit de feina', m'agradaria aprofundir-hi perquè el català ha estat o és un requisit per als treballs públics. 1. Això que proposes és interessant perquè ja fa anys que es demana el català per accedir a determinats llocs de treball, per, en el teu cas, has hagut de presentar un certificat de català, per exemple, per poder fer feina? Aleshores, hi hauria un altre motiu pel qual l'aprendries que no fos aquest? _____
	_____ 4. Què podies i no podies fer abans de decidir aprendre català? I després de decidir aprendre'n? 5. Creus que a mesura que t'has fet gran la importància d'aprendre català ha canviat per a tu? Com i per què? 6. Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en [homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa? 7. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc decideixen aprendre més català que les d'alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?	AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. Quan consideraves la decisió d'aprendre català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió d'aprendre català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què? INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING	Si no contesten els puc proposar aquesta pregunta: → Creus que les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què? → Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir aprendre català i com són ara? → Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat? Si no mencionen cap dels factors següents demanar-los específicament per ells. 1. Les teves percepcions sobre què pot aportar-te el català (integrar-te, feina) 2. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics). [Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?] 3. Les dificultats d'accedir al tipus d'aprenentatge de català que comentaves més amunt. 4. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius). 5. El teu entorn (lloc de residència).

	HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	[Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].
Language Policy (I)	9. Quines són o serien per a tu les condicions ideals perquè continuïs aprenent català? Per què?	→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què? → Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què? → Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?
Catalan linguistic uses	10. Com és en la teva experiència el fet d'intentar usar català a Mallorca?	9a. Paral·lela a l'aprenentatge? O passa un temps des que aprens català fins que decideixes emprar-lo? 9b. Reacció de la gent. 9c. Llocs on pots emprar-lo. 9d. Persones amb les quals pots emprar-lo.
Factor promoting change from not using to using Catalan	11. En el teu cas com vares fer o intentes fer la passa d'aprendre/saber català a emprar-lo?	→ Què va canviar? Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació als teus intents d'emprar català? → Per què creus que va tenir èxit (o no) allò o aquella persona/grup en influir-te en emprar català? → Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer emprar català?

	12. Què podies i no podies fer abans de decidir emprar català? I després de decidir emprar-lo?	
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	13. Quan consideraves la decisió d'emprar català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió d'emprar català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY SELF-CONFIDENCE	→ Creus que els teus coneixements de català, les teves inseguretats amb el fet d'emprar-lo, les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què? → Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir emprar català i com són ara? → Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat? Si no mencionen cap dels factors següents demanar-los específicament per ells. 1. Els teus coneixements i habilitats de i en català. 2. Les incomoditats i inseguretats respecte les teves habilitats en català. [Per exemple, sentir que se'n riuen de tu quan el parles, sentir-te incòmode/a parlant-lo en públic, etc.] 3. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics). [Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a

	ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES EXPERIENCES OF USE HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?] 4. Les experiències de quan intentes emprar-lo que m'has explicat abans. 5. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius). 6. El teu entorn (lloc de residència). [Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	14. Creus que els teus usos de català han canviat o canviaran a mesura que et vagis fent més gran? 15. Veus diferències en l'ús de català per part d' [homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa? 16. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora d'emprar català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc empren més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?	
Language Policy (II)	17. Quines serien per a tu les condicions ideals per usar el català a Mallorca?	→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què? → Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què? → Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?
Language Policy (III)	18. Com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, què perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES

	possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca. 19. Ara, més concretament, com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca en referència al català? 20. Per què creus que tens aquestes necessitats? 21. Veus alguna diferència de quan eres més jove a ara en qüestió de les teves necessitats sociolingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, diferències en el que perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca. 22. Notes qualque diferència en la qüestió de les llengües a Mallorca des que vares arribar [QUAN VARES ARRIBAR?] a ara? En quin sentit? Quina situació preferiries la d'abans o la d'ara?	CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

Spanish

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.
Si ha decidit aprendre català, comprova en quina fase està:
(a) ENCARA NO HO HA FET.
(b) JA HO HA FET.

DECISIÓN DE APRENDER CATALÁN

Tipo de aprendizaje (catalán) y dificultades para acceder al aprendizaje de la lengua. De acuerdo con la Sección A de la encuesta: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán en Mallorca / Subsección I: Conocimiento del catalán.

Me gustaría saber las facilidades y dificultades que tuviste o tienes para acceder al aprendizaje de catalán. Primero, si te parece bien, empezaremos con las facilidades.

1. Ahora, ¿podrías indicarme el tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que has tenido (formal o informal) y explicarme las **facilidades** que tuviste o tienes para acceder a él? ¿Por qué?
    1. 1a. En caso de aprendizaje formal:

i. Cursos gratuitos.
ii. Oferta de horarios.
iii. Proximidad al lugar de las clases.

    2. 1b. En caso de aprendizaje informal:

i. Flexibilidad

2. ¿Y las dificultades? ¿Por qué?
    1. 2a. En caso de aprendizaje formal:

i. Dificultad para encontrar dónde podías aprenderlo.
ii. ¿Cómo te enteraste de las clases a las que asististe?
iii. ¿A qué distancia está tu casa de los centros donde puedes aprender catalán?

    2. 2b. En caso de aprendizaje informal:

i. No saber qué recursos existen y puedes utilizar.

    3. 2c. En ambos casos

i. Dificultad para practicarlo.
ii. Tiempo de calidad para dedicarle.

Razones para aprender catalán y percepciones de los factores que influyen en esta decisión.

A. Perspectiva socioeconómica. En línea con la Sección A de la encuesta: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán en Mallorca, Subsección II: Razones para aprender catalán.
Esto me lleva a otra cuestión: tus razones para decidir aprender catalán y tu percepción de los factores que te influyen en mayor o menor medida en esta decisión.

RAZONES

Comenzaremos con las razones que tienes para decidir aprender catalán.

3. ¿Cuál crees que fue el motivo que sí o sí te hizo aprender catalán?
   → ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tu decisión de aprender catalán?
   → ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito esa persona/grupo o evento en influenciarte para aprender catalán?
   → ¿Qué tipo de relación tenías con esa persona o evento que te llevó a aprender catalán?

Si responden "Como requisito de trabajo", me gustaría profundizar en ello, ya que el catalán ha sido o es un requisito para empleos públicos.

1. Esto que propones es interesante porque ya hace años que se exige el catalán para acceder a determinados puestos de trabajo, pero, en tu caso, ¿has tenido que presentar un certificado de catalán, por ejemplo, para poder trabajar? Entonces, ¿habría otro motivo por el cual lo aprenderías que no fuera este?

4. ¿Qué podías y no podías hacer antes de decidir aprender catalán? ¿Y después de decidir aprenderlo?

5. ¿Crees que a medida que has crecido la importancia de aprender catalán ha cambiado para ti? ¿Cómo y por qué?

6. ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

7. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos deciden aprender más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

PERCEPCIONES DE LOS FACTORES QUE INFLUYEN EN LA DECISIÓN DE APRENDER CATALÁN

VI. Acceso al aprendizaje del catalán en relación con el estatus socioeconómico del entrevistado. De acuerdo con la Sección F de la encuesta: Información sociodemográfica / Subsecciones XI: Estatus socioeconómico, XII: Condiciones de vida, XV: Condiciones laborales en Mallorca actualmente. + Perspectiva de posicionamiento. En línea con la Sección D de la encuesta: Posicionamiento, subsección VI: Presencia del catalán y castellano.

Ahora me gustaría pedirte tu opinión sobre los factores que crees que pueden influir en tu decisión de aprender catalán y cómo crees que influyen.

8. Cuando considerabas la decisión de aprender catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de aprender catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué? Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta:

→ ¿Crees que tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué?

→ ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir aprender catalán y cómo son ahora?

→ ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado?

Si no mencionan ninguno de los siguientes factores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos.

1. Tus percepciones sobre qué puede aportarte el catalán (integrarte, empleo).
2. Tus percepciones sobre el lugar que debería ocupar el catalán en la sociedad (presencia del catalán en ámbitos públicos).

   [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?]

3. Las dificultades de acceder al tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que comentabas antes.

4. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos).
5. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia).

   [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].

9. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para seguir aprendiendo catalán?

→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué?

→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué?

→ ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?

USOS LINGÜÍSTICOS EN CATALÁN

10. ¿Cómo es tu experiencia al intentar usar el catalán en Mallorca?
    1. 9a. ¿Paralela al aprendizaje? ¿O pasa un tiempo desde que aprendes catalán hasta que decides usarlo?
    2. 9b. Reacción de la gente.
    3. 9c. Lugares donde puedes usarlo.
    4. 9d. Personas con las que puedes usarlo.

11. En tu caso, ¿cómo hiciste o intentaste hacer el paso de aprender/saber catalán a usarlo?

→ ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tus intentos de usar catalán?
→ ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito (o no) esa persona/grupo en influenciarte para usar catalán?
→ ¿Qué tipo de relación había entre tú y esa persona o el evento que te hizo usar catalán?

12. ¿Qué podías y no podías hacer antes de decidir usar catalán? ¿Y después de decidir usarlo?

Ahora, como hicimos antes, me gustaría pedirte tu opinión sobre los factores que crees que pueden influir en tu uso del catalán y cómo crees que influyen.

13. Cuando considerabas la decisión de usar catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de usar catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué?

Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta:

→ ¿Crees que tus conocimientos de catalán, tus inseguridades al usarlo, tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué?
→ ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir usar catalán y cómo son ahora?
→ ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado?

Si no mencionan ninguno de los factores anteriores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos.

1. Tus conocimientos y habilidades en catalán.
2. Incomodidades e inseguridades respecto a tus habilidades en catalán.
   [Por ejemplo, sentir que se ríen de ti cuando lo hablas, sentirte incómodo/a hablándolo en público, etc.]

3. La presencia de catalán y castellano que preferirías que hubiera en ámbitos como la sanidad pública, la administración, la policía o los medios de comunicación locales de Mallorca.
   [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?]
4. Las experiencias al intentar usarlo que mencionaste antes.
5. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos).
6. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia).
   [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].

14. ¿Crees que tus usos del catalán han cambiado o cambiarán a medida que vayas haciéndote mayor?

15. ¿Ves diferencias en el uso del catalán por parte de [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

16. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de usar el catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos usan más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

17. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para usar el catalán en Mallorca?

→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué?
→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué?
→ ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?

POLÍTICA Y PLANIFICACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICAS

18. ¿Cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿qué percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, por ejemplo, educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también me refiero a necesidades sociolingüísticas en el sentido de cómo ves las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca.

19. Ahora, más concretamente, ¿cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca en relación con el catalán?

20. ¿Por qué crees que tienes estas necesidades?

21. ¿Ves alguna diferencia entre cuando eras más joven y ahora en cuanto a tus necesidades sociolingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿diferencias en lo que percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, como educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también en cuanto a las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca.

22. ¿Notas alguna diferencia en la cuestión de las lenguas en Mallorca desde que llegaste [¿CUÁNDO LLEGASTE?] hasta ahora? ¿En qué sentido? ¿Qué situación preferirías, la de antes o la de ahora?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Ahora, ¿podrías indicarme el tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que has tenido (formal o informal) y explicarme las **facilidades** que tuviste o tienes para acceder a él? ¿Por qué? _____ 2. ¿Y las **dificultades**? ¿Por qué?	1a. En caso de aprendizaje formal: • Cursos gratuitos. • Oferta de horarios. • Proximidad al lugar de las clases. 1b. En caso de aprendizaje informal: • Flexibilidad _____ 2a. En caso de aprendizaje formal: • Dificultad para encontrar dónde podías aprenderlo. • ¿Cómo te enteraste de las clases a las que asististe? • ¿A qué distancia está tu casa de los centros donde puedes aprender catalán? 2b. En caso de aprendizaje informal: • No saber qué recursos existen y puedes utilizar. 2c. En ambos casos • Dificultad para practicarlo. • Tiempo de calidad para dedicarle..
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. ¿Cuál crees que fue el motivo que sí o sí te hizo aprender catalán?	→ ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tu decisión de aprender catalán? → ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito esa persona/grupo o evento en influenciarte para aprender catalán? → ¿Qué tipo de relación tenías con esa persona o evento que te llevó a aprender catalán?

	--- 4. ¿Qué podías y no podías hacer antes de decidir aprender catalán? ¿Y después de decidir aprenderlo? 5. ¿Crees que a medida que has crecido la importancia de aprender catalán ha cambiado para ti? ¿Cómo y por qué? 6. ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre? 7. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos deciden aprender más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?	Si responden "Como requisito de trabajo", me gustaría profundizar en ello, ya que el catalán ha sido o es un requisito para empleos públicos. 1. Esto que propones es interesante porque ya hace años que se exige el catalán para acceder a determinados puestos de trabajo, pero, en tu caso, ¿has tenido que presentar un certificado de catalán, por ejemplo, para poder trabajar? Entonces, ¿habría otro motivo por el cual lo aprenderías que no fuera este? --- AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. Cuando considerabas la decisión de aprender catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de aprender catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué? INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING	Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta: → ¿Crees que tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir aprender catalán y cómo son ahora? → ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado? Si no mencionan ninguno de los siguientes factores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos. 1. Tus percepciones sobre qué puede aportarte el catalán (integrarte, empleo). 2. Tus percepciones sobre el lugar que debería ocupar el catalán en la sociedad (presencia del catalán en ámbitos públicos). [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?] 3. Las dificultades de acceder al tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que comentabas antes. 4. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes

	HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos). 5. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia). [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].
Language Policy (I)	9. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para seguir aprendiendo catalán?	→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?
Catalan linguistic uses	10. ¿Cómo es tu experiencia al intentar usar el catalán en Mallorca?	9a. ¿Paralela al aprendizaje? ¿O pasa un tiempo desde que aprendes catalán hasta que decides usarlo? 9b. Reacción de la gente. 9c. Lugares donde puedes usarlo. 9d. Personas con las que puedes usarlo.
Factor promoting change from not using to using Catalan	11. En tu caso, ¿cómo hiciste o intentaste hacer el paso de aprender/saber catalán a usarlo?	→ ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tus intentos de usar catalán? → ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito (o no) esa persona/grupo en influenciarte para usar catalán? → ¿Qué tipo de relación había entre tú y esa persona o el evento que te hizo usar catalán?

	12. ¿Qué podías y no podías hacer antes de decidir usar catalán? ¿Y después de decidir usarlo?	
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	13. Cuando considerabas la decisión de usar catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de usar catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY SELF-CONFIDENCE	→ ¿Crees que tus conocimientos de catalán, tus inseguridades al usarlo, tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir usar catalán y cómo son ahora? → ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado? Si no mencionan ninguno de los factores anteriores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos. 1. Tus conocimientos y habilidades en catalán. 2. Incomodidades e inseguridades respecto a tus habilidades en catalán. [Por ejemplo, sentir que se ríen de ti cuando lo hablas, sentirte incómodo/a hablándolo en público, etc.] 3. La presencia de catalán y castellano que preferirías que hubiera en ámbitos como la sanidad

	ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES EXPERIENCES OF USE HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	pública, la administración, la policía o los medios de comunicación locales de Mallorca. [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?] 4. Las experiencias al intentar usarlo que mencionaste antes. 5. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos). 6. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia). [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	14. ¿Crees que tus usos del catalán han cambiado o cambiarán a medida que vayas haciéndote mayor? 15. ¿Ves diferencias en el uso del catalán por parte de [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre? 16. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de usar el catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos usan más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?	
Language Policy (II)	17. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para usar el catalán en Mallorca?	→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?
Language Policy (III)	18. ¿Cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿qué percibes que necesitas para poder	

	desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, por ejemplo, educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también me refiero a necesidades sociolingüísticas en el sentido de cómo ves las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca. 19. Ahora, más concretamente, ¿cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca en relación con el catalán? 20. ¿Por qué crees que tienes estas necesidades? 21. ¿Ves alguna diferencia entre cuando eras más joven y ahora en cuanto a tus necesidades sociolingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿diferencias en lo que percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, como educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también en cuanto a las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca. 22. ¿Notas alguna diferencia en la cuestión de las lenguas en Mallorca desde que llegaste [¿CUÁNDO LLEGASTE?] hasta ahora? ¿En qué sentido? ¿Qué situación preferirías, la de antes o la de ahora?	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

English

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.
Si ha decidit aprendre català, comprova en quina fase està:
(a) ENCARA NO HO HA FET.
(b) JA HO HA FET.

DECISION TO LEARN CATALAN

Type of learning (Catalan) and difficulties in accessing language learning. Based on Section A of the survey: Reasons for learning or not learning Catalan in Mallorca / Subsection I: Knowledge of Catalan..

I would like to know about the facilities and difficulties you have encountered or are currently facing when trying to learn Catalan. First, if you don't mind, we will start with the facilities.

1. Now, could you tell me the type of Catalan learning you have had (formal or informal) and explain the **facilities** you encountered or currently have access to? Why?
    1. 1a. In case of formal learning:

i. Free courses.
ii. Availability of class schedules.
iii. Proximity to the location of the classes.

    2. 1b. In case of informal learning:

i. Flexibility

2. And what about the **difficulties**? Why?
    1. 2a. In case of formal learning:

i. Difficulty finding a place where you could learn Catalan.
ii. How did you find out about the classes you attended?
iii. What is the distance between your home and the centers where you can learn Catalan?

    2. 2b. In case of informal learning:

i. Not knowing what resources exist and how to use them..

    3. 2c. In both cases:

i. Difficulty practicing it.
ii. Quality time to dedicate to learning.

Reasons for learning catalan and perceptions of factors influencing this decision.

A. Socioeconomic perspective.Aligned with Section A of the survey: Reasons for learning or not learning Catalan in Mallorca, Subsection II: Reasons for learning Catalan. This leads me to another question about your reasons for deciding to learn Catalan and your perceptions of the factors that influence your decision to a greater or lesser extent.

REASONS

Let's start with the reasons why you decided to learn Catalan.

3. What do you think was the main reason that made you decide to learn Catalan?
   → What changed? What events did you observe in relation to your decision to learn Catalan?
   → Why do you think that person/group or factor successfully influenced your decision?
   → What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that led you to learn Catalan?

If they answer “As a job requirement,” I would like to explore this further since Catalan has been a requirement for public jobs.

1. This is interesting because Catalan has been required for certain jobs for years, but in your case, did you have to present a Catalan certificate to be able to work? So, would there be another reason why you would have learned it besides this one?

4. What could you do and not do before deciding to learn Catalan? And after learning it?

5. Do you think that as you have grown older, the importance of learning Catalan has changed for you? How and why?

6. Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among [men/women/people who identify with a different gender than yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens?

7. (And among people from different origins than yours?) Full question: Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco are more likely to decide to learn Catalan than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?

PERCEPTIONS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION TO LEARN CATALAN

IX. Access to Catalan learning in relation to the interviewee's socioeconomic status. According to Section F of the survey: Sociodemographic Information / Subsections XI: Socioeconomic Status, XII: Living Conditions, XV: Current Working Conditions in Mallorca. Positioning perspective. Aligned with Section D of the survey: Positioning, Subsection VI: Presence of Catalan and Spanish.

Now, I would like to ask for your opinion on the factors you believe may influence your decision to learn Catalan and how they influence it.

8. When considering the decision to learn Catalan, what factors do you think influenced your decision? How and why?
   If they do not answer, I can suggest:
   → Do you think your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your

environment, etc. have affected your decision to learn Catalan? How and why?

→ How were all these factors before deciding to learn Catalan, and how are they now?

→ Why do you think they HAVE/HAVE NOT changed??

If they do not mention the following factors, ask them directly.

1. Your perceptions of what Catalan can offer you (integration, job opportunities).
2. Your perceptions of the role Catalan should have in society (Catalan presence in public domains).

[For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that the local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this influenced your decision to learn Catalan?

3. Difficulties accessing the type of Catalan learning you mentioned earlier].
4. Quality of life (your work schedule, free time, economic and educational resources).
5. Your environment (where you live).

[For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?].

9. What do you think are or would be the ideal conditions for you to continue learning Catalan?

→ Do you think these conditions are very different from those that exist now? How and why?

→ Do you think these ideal conditions would align more closely with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why?

→ Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)

LINGUISTIC USES OF CATALAN

10. What has your experience been like when trying to use Catalan in Mallorca?
    1. 9a. Did it happen in parallel with your learning, or did some time pass between learning Catalan and deciding to use it?
    2. 9b. How do people react?
    3. 9c. Where can you use it?
    4. 9d. With whom can you use it?

11. In your case, how did you, or how are you trying to, transition from learning/knowing Catalan to actually using it?

→ What changed? What events did you observe related to your attempts to use Catalan?

→ Why do you think a particular person/group/event successfully (or unsuccessfully) influenced you to use Catalan?

→ What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that encouraged you to use Catalan?

12. What could you and couldn't you do before deciding to use Catalan? And after deciding to use it?

Now, as we did before, I would like to ask for your opinion on the factors that you think may influence your use of Catalan and how they have influenced it.

13. When you were considering the decision to use Catalan, which factors do you think influenced (or have influenced) YOUR decision to use it, from your point of view? How and why?

If you don't have an immediate answer, I can suggest this question:

→ Do you think your knowledge of Catalan, your insecurities about using it, your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc., have affected your decision to use Catalan? How and why?

→ What were all these factors like before deciding to use Catalan, and what are they like now?

→ Why do you think they have/have not changed?

If none of the above factors are mentioned, ask specifically about them:

1. Your knowledge and skills in Catalan.
2. Any discomfort or insecurities regarding your Catalan skills.
   [For example, feeling that people laugh at you when you speak it, feeling uncomfortable speaking it in public, etc.]

3. The presence of Catalan and Spanish in different domains such as public healthcare, administration, law enforcement, or local media in Mallorca.
   [For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this has influenced your decision to learn Catalan?]
4. Your experiences when trying to use Catalan, as mentioned earlier.
5. Your quality of life (the type of free time you have [number of working hours per week], whether you have a job or not, housing issues, financial and educational resources).
6. Your environment (place of residence).
   [For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?].

14. Do you think your use of Catalan has changed or will change as you get older?

15. Do you see differences in the use of Catalan between [men/women/people who identify with a gender different from yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens?

16. (And among people from different origins than yours? [Have them compare with the other two groups in the study])→ (Full question) Do you see differences in the use of Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco use Catalan more than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?

17. What do you think would be the ideal conditions for using Catalan in Mallorca?
→ Do you think these conditions are very different from the current ones? How and why?
→ Do you think these ideal conditions would align more with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why?
→ Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

18. How would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, what do you think you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, regarding sociolinguistic needs, I mean how you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca.

19. More specifically, how would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca concerning Catalan?

20. Why do you think you have these needs?

21. Do you notice any differences between when you were younger and now regarding your sociolinguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, differences in what you perceive you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, in terms of sociolinguistic needs, how do you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca?

22. Do you notice any differences in the language situation in Mallorca from when you arrived [WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE?] to now? In what sense? Which situation would you prefer—the past or the present?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Now, could you tell me the type of Catalan learning you have had (formal or informal) and explain the **facilities** you encountered or currently have access to? Why? _____ 2. And what about the **difficulties**? Why?	1a. In case of formal learning: • Free courses. • Availability of class schedules. • Proximity to the location of the classes. 1b. In case of informal learning: • Flexibility _____ 2a. In case of formal learning: • Difficulty finding a place where you could learn Catalan. • How did you find out about the classes you attended? • What is the distance between your home and the centers where you can learn Catalan? 2b. In case of informal learning: • Not knowing what resources exist and how to use them.. 2c. In both cases: • Difficulty practicing it. • Quality time to dedicate to learning.
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. What do you think was the main reason that made you decide to learn Catalan?	→ What changed? What events did you observe in relation to your decision to learn Catalan? → Why do you think that person/group or factor successfully influenced your decision? → What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that led you to learn Catalan?

	_____ 4. What could you do and not do before deciding to learn Catalan? And after learning it? 5. Do you think that as you have grown older, the importance of learning Catalan has changed for you? How and why? 6. Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among [men/women/people who identify with a different gender than yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens? 7. (And among people from different origins than yours?) Full question: Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco are more likely to decide to learn Catalan than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?	If they answer “As a job requirement,” I would like to explore this further since Catalan has been a requirement for public jobs. 1. This is interesting because Catalan has been required for certain jobs for years, but in your case, did you have to present a Catalan certificate to be able to work? So, would there be another reason why you would have learned it besides this one? _____ AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. When considering the decision to learn Catalan, what factors do you think influenced your decision? How and why? INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING	→ Do you think your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc. have affected your decision to learn Catalan? How and why? → How were all these factors before deciding to learn Catalan, and how are they now? → Why do you think they HAVE/HAVE NOT changed?? If they do not mention the following factors, ask them directly. 1. Your perceptions of what Catalan can offer you (integration, job opportunities). 2. Your perceptions of the role Catalan should have in society (Catalan presence in public domains). [For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that the local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this influenced your decision to learn Catalan? 3. Difficulties accessing the type of Catalan learning you mentioned earlier]. 4. Quality of life (your work schedule, free time, economic and educational resources). 5. Your environment (where you live).

	HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	[For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?].
Language Policy (I)	9. What do you think are or would be the ideal conditions for you to continue learning Catalan?	→ Do you think these conditions are very different from those that exist now? How and why? → Do you think these ideal conditions would align more closely with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why? → Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)
Catalan linguistic uses	10. What has your experience been like when trying to use Catalan in Mallorca?	9a. Did it happen in parallel with your learning, or did some time pass between learning Catalan and deciding to use it? 9b. How do people react? 9c. Where can you use it? 9d. With whom can you use it?
Factor promoting change from not using to using Catalan	11. In your case, how did you, or how are you trying to, transition from learning/knowing Catalan to actually using it?	→ What changed? What events did you observe related to your attempts to use Catalan? → Why do you think a particular person/group/event successfully (or unsuccessfully) influenced you to use Catalan? → What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that encouraged you to use Catalan?

	12. What could you and couldn't you do before deciding to use Catalan? And after deciding to use it?	
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	13. When you were considering the decision to use Catalan, which factors do you think influenced (or have influenced) YOUR decision to use it, from your point of view? How and why? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY	If you don't have an immediate answer, I can suggest this question: → Do you think your knowledge of Catalan, your insecurities about using it, your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc., have affected your decision to use Catalan? How and why? → What were all these factors like before deciding to use Catalan, and what are they like now? → Why do you think they have/have not changed? If none of the above factors are mentioned, ask specifically about them: 1. Your knowledge and skills in Catalan. 2. Any discomfort or insecurities regarding your Catalan skills. [For example, feeling that people laugh at you when you speak it, feeling uncomfortable speaking it in public, etc.]

	SELF-CONFIDENCE ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES EXPERIENCES OF USE HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	3. The presence of Catalan and Spanish in different domains such as public healthcare, administration, law enforcement, or local media in Mallorca. [For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this has influenced your decision to learn Catalan?] 4. Your experiences when trying to use Catalan, as mentioned earlier. 5. Your quality of life (the type of free time you have [number of working hours per week], whether you have a job or not, housing issues, financial and educational resources). 6. Your environment (place of residence). [For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	14. Do you think your use of Catalan has changed or will change as you get older? 15. Do you see differences in the use of Catalan between [men/women/people who identify with a gender different from yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens? 16. (And among people from different origins than yours? [Have them compare with the other two groups in the study])→ (Full question) Do you see differences in the use of Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco use Catalan more than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?	
Language Policy (II)	17. What do you think would be the ideal conditions for using Catalan in Mallorca?	→ Do you think these conditions are very different from the current ones? How and why? → Do you think these ideal conditions would align more with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why? → Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)

Language Poicy (III)	18. How would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, what do you think you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, regarding sociolinguistic needs, I mean how you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca. 19. More specifically, how would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca concerning Catalan? 20. Why do you think you have these needs? 21. Do you notice any differences between when you were younger and now regarding your sociolinguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, differences in what you perceive you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, in terms of sociolinguistic needs, how do you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca? 22. Do you notice any differences in the language situation in Mallorca from when you arrived [WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE?] to now? In what sense? Which situation would you prefer—the past or the present?	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

F.2. Participants who did not Decide to Learn Catalan

Catalan

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona NO HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.

DECISIÓ D'APRENDRE CATALÀ

Tipus d'aprenentatge (català) i dificultats per accedir a l'aprenentatge de la llengua. D'acord amb la Secció A de l'enquesta: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català a Mallorca / Subsecció I: Coneixement del català.

M'agradaria saber les facilitats i dificultats que creus que tendries per accedir a l'aprenentatge de català. Primer, si et pareix bé, començarem amb les facilitats.

1. Quines **facilitats** creus que tendries per accedir a l'aprenentatge de català a Mallorca? Per què?
    1. 1a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal:

i. Cursos gratuïts.
ii. Oferta d'horaris.
iii. Proximitat al lloc de les classes.

    2. 1b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal:

i. Flexibilitat

2. I **dificultats**? Per què?
    1. 2a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal:

i. Dificultat per trobar on el podies aprendre.
ii. Com vas assabentar-te de les classes a les quals vas assistir?
iii. Quina distància hi ha de casa teva als centres on pots aprendre català?

    2. 2b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal:

i. No saber quins recursos existeixen i pots emprar.

    3. 2c. En ambdós casos

i. Dificultat per practicar-lo.
ii. Temps de qualitat per dedicar-hi.

Raons per aprendre català i percepcions dels factors que influencien aquesta decisió.

A. Perspectiva socioeconòmica. En línia amb la Secció A de l'enquesta: Raons per aprendre o no aprendre català a Mallorca, subsecció II: Raons per aprendre català.

RAONS

Començarem amb les raons que tens per NO decidir aprendre català.

3. Quin creus que és el motiu que fa que no decidesquis aprendre català?

→ Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació a la teva decisió de no aprendre català? Hi ha qualque cosa que canviàs?
→ Per què creus que allò o aquella persona/grup va tenir èxit en no fer-te decidir aprendre català? // O per què creus que no va tenir èxit en fer-te decidir aprendre català?
→ Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer no decidir aprendre català?

4. Què creus que et permet i no et permet fer la teva decisió de no aprendre català?

5. Creus que a mesura que t'has fet gran la importància d'aprendre català ha canviat per a tu? Com i per què?

6. Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català per part [homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa?

7. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc decideixen aprendre més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?

PERCEPCIONS DELS FACTORS QUE INFLUENCIEN LA DECISIÓ D'APRENDRE CATALÀ

III. Accés a l'aprenentatge del català en relació amb l'estatus socioeconòmic de l'entrevistat. D'acord amb la Secció F de l'enquesta: Informació sociodemogràfica / Subseccions XI: Estatus socioeconòmic, XII: Condicions de vida, XV: Condicions laborals a Mallorca actualment. + Perspectiva de posicionament. En línia amb la secció D de l'enquesta: Posicionament, subsecció VI: Presència del català i castellà.

Ara m'agradaria demanar-te la teva opinió sobre els factors que creus que poden influir la teva decisió d'aprendre català i com creus que la influeixien.

8. Quan consideraves la decisió d'aprendre català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió de NO aprendre català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què?
Si no contesten els puc proposar aquesta pregunta:
→ Creus que les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què?
→ Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir NO aprendre català i com són ara?
→ Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat?
Si no mencionen cap dels factors següents demanar-los específicament per ells.

1. Les teves percepcions sobre què pot aportar-te el català (integrar-te, feina).
2. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics).

[Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?]

3. Les dificultats d'accedir al tipus d'aprenentatge de català que comentaves més amunt.
4. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius).
5. El teu entorn (lloc de residència).

[Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].

9. Quines són o serien per a tu les condicions ideals perquè aprenguessis català?

→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què?

→ Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb els teus valors, creences, necessitats? Com i per què?

→ Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?

USOS LINGÜÍSTICS EN CATALÀ

Ara, com hem fet abans, m'agradaria demanar-te la teva opinió sobre els factors que creus que podrien influir els teus usos de català i com creus que els influeixien.

10. Hipotèticament, si decidissis emprar català, quins factors creus que podrien influir la TEVA decisió d'emprar català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què?

Si no contesten els puc proposar aquesta pregunta:

→ Creus que els teus coneixements de català, les teves inseguretats amb el fet d'emprar-lo, les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. podrien infuir la teva decisió d'emprar català? Com i per què?

Si no mencionen cap dels factors anteriors demanar-los específicament per ells.

1. Els teus coneixements i habilitats de i en català.
2. Les incomoditats i inseguretats respecte les teves habilitats en català.

[Per exemple, sentir que se'n riuen de tu quan el parles, sentir-te incòmode/a parlant-lo en públic, etc.]

3. La presència de català i castellà que preferiries que hi hagués en dominis com la salut pública, l'administració, la policia o els mitjans de comunicació locals de Mallorca.

[Per exemple, independentment de la realitat si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un

50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?]

4. Les experiències de quan intentes emprar-lo que m'has explicat abans.
5. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius).
6. El teu entorn (lloc de residència).

[Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].

11. Creus que els teus usos de català han canviat o canviaran a mesura que et vagis fent més gran?

12. Veus diferències en l'ús de català per part d'[homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa?

13. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora d'emprar català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc empren més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?

14. Quines serien per a tu les condicions ideals per usar el català a Mallorca?
    → Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què?
    → Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què?
    → Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?

POLÍTICA I PLANIFICACIÓ LINGÜÍSTIQUES

15. Com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, què perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca.

16. Ara, més concretament, com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca en referència al català?

17. Per què creus que tens aquestes necessitats?

18. Veus alguna diferència de quan eres més jove a ara en qüestió de les teves necessitats sociolingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, diferències en el que perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca.

19. Notes qualque diferència en la qüestió de les llengües a Mallorca des que vares arribar [QUAN VARES ARRIBAR?] a ara? En quin sentit? Quina situació preferiries la d'abans o la d'ara?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Quines **facilitats** creus que tendries per accedir a l'aprenentatge de català a Mallorca? Per què? 2. I **dificultats**? Per què?	1a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal: • Cursos gratuïts. • Oferta d'horaris. • Proximitat al lloc de les classes. 1b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal: • Flexibilitat 2a. En cas d'aprenentatge formal: • Dificultat per trobar on el podies aprendre. • Com vas assabentar-te de les classes a les quals vas assistir? • Quina distància hi ha de casa teva als centres on pots aprendre català? 2b. En cas d'aprenentatge informal: • No saber quins recursos existeixen i pots emprar. 2c. En ambdós casos • Dificultat per practicar-lo. • Temps de qualitat per dedicar-hi.
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. Quin creus que és el motiu que fa que no decidesquis aprendre català?	→ Quins esdeveniments vares observar en relació a la teva decisió de no aprendre català? Hi ha qualque cosa que canviàs? → Per què creus que allò o aquella persona/grup va tenir èxit en no fer-te decidir aprendre català? // O per què creus que no va tenir èxit en fer-te decidir aprendre català? → Quina mena de relació hi havia entre tu i aquella persona o l'esdeveniment que et va fer no decidir aprendre català?

	4. Què creus que et permet i no et permet fer la teva decisió de no aprendre català? 5. Creus que a mesura que t'has fet gran la importància d'aprendre català ha canviat per a tu? Com i per què? 6. Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere diferent del teu? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa? 7. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora de decidir aprendre català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc decideixen aprendre més català que les d'alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?	AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH
Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. Quan consideraves la decisió d'aprendre català, quins factors creus que varen/han influït la TEVA decisió de NO aprendre català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què?	→ Creus que les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. han afectat la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què? → Com eren (tots aquests factors) abans de decidir NO aprendre català i com són ara? → Per què creus que NO/SÍ han canviat?

	INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	Si no mencionen cap dels factors següents demanar-los específicament per ells. 1. Les teves percepcions sobre què pot aportar-te el català (integrar-te, feina) 2. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics). [Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?] 3. Les dificultats d'accedir al tipus d'aprenentatge de català que comentaves més amunt. 4. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius). 5. El teu entorn (lloc de residència). [Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més].
Language Policy (I)	9. Quines són o serien per a tu les condicions ideals perquè continuïs aprenent català?	→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què? → Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb els teus valors, creences, necessitats? Com i per què?

		→ Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	10. Hipotèticament, si decidissis emprar català, quins factors creus que podrien influir la TEVA decisió d'emprar català des del teu punt de vista, com i per què? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY SELF-CONFIDENCE ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES	→ Creus que els teus coneixements de català, les teves inseguretats amb el fet d'emprar-lo, les teves creences/perspectives/ideologies (cap al català, les llengües, la diversitat, la societat, la comuniació, etc.), qualitat de vida, el teu entorn, etc. podrien infuir la teva decisió d'aprendre català? Com i per què? Si no mencionen cap dels factors anteriors demanar-los específicament per ells. 1. Els teus coneixements i habilitats de i en català. 2. Les incomoditats i inseguretats respecte les teves habilitats en català. [Per exemple, sentir que se'n riuen de tu quan el parles, sentir-te incòmode/a parlant-lo en públic, etc.] 3. Les teves percepcions sobre el lloc que hauria d'ocupar el català en la societat (presència del català a dominis públics). [Per exemple, independentment de la realitat, si creus que a l'administració local de Mallorca hi ha d'haver un 50% en català i un 50% en castellà, creus que això ha influït en la teva decisió d'aprendre català?]

	EXPERIENCES OF USE PLACE OF RESIDENCE EMPLOYMENT INITIAL LANGUAGE LIDENTITY 11. Creus que els teus usos de català han canviat o canviaran a mesura que et vagis fent més gran? 12. Veus diferències en l'ús de català per part d'[homes/dones/persones que s'identifiquin amb un gènere	4. Les experiències de quan intentes emprar-lo que m'has explicat abans. 5. La qualitat de vida (el tipus de temps lliure del qual disposes[hores que treballes a la setmana], que tenguis feina o no, problemes a la vivenda, recursos econòmics i educatius). 6. El teu entorn (lloc de residència). [Per exemple, si al lloc on vius s'hi parla molt de català, això et fa que en vulguis aprendre més]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	diferent del teu]? Com? Les pots explicar? Per què creus que passa? 13. (I en persones que són d'orígens diferent al teu? [fes-li comparar amb els altres dos grups d'origen de l'estudi] →(pregunta completa) Veus diferències a l'hora d'emprar català en persones que tenen un origen diferent del teu? Per exemple, creus que les persones del Marroc empren més català que les d'Alemanya? Com? Pots explicar aquestes diferències? Per què creus que passa?	
Language Policy (II)	14. Quines serien per a tu les condicions ideals per usar el català a Mallorca?	→ Creus que aquestes condicions són molt diferents a les que hi ha ara? Com i per què? → Creus que aquestes condicions ideals estarien més en línia amb les teves creences/percepcions/ideologies? I amb les teves necessitats? Com i per què? → Qui i com creus que s'haurien d'establir aquestes condicions (ciutadans, organitzacions, associacions, fundacions, institucions, govern, etc.?
Language Policy (III)	15. Com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, què perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca. 16. Ara, més concretament, com explicaries les teves necessitats (socio)lingüístiques a Mallorca en referència al català? 17. Per què creus que tens aquestes necessitats?	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES

	18. Veus alguna diferència de quan eres més jove a ara en qüestió de les teves necessitats sociolingüístiques a Mallorca? És a dir, diferències en el que perceps que necessites per poder-te moure en els diferents àmbits de la societat mallorquina, per exemple, educació, feina, administració, etc. Però també per necessitats sociolingüístiques em referesc a com veus les possibilitats de mantenir la llengua i cultura del teu lloc d'origen a Mallorca. 19. Notes qualque diferència en la qüestió de les llengües a Mallorca des que vares arribar [QUAN VARES ARRIBAR?] a ara? En quin sentit? Quina situació preferiries la d'abans o la d'ara?	CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

Spanish

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.
Si ha decidit aprendre català, comprova en quina fase està:
(a) ENCARA NO HO HA FET.
(b) JA HO HA FET.

DECISIÓN DE APRENDER CATALÁN

Tipo de aprendizaje (catalán) y dificultades para acceder al aprendizaje de la lengua. De acuerdo con la Sección A de la encuesta: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán en Mallorca / Subsección I: Conocimiento del catalán.

Me gustaría saber las facilidades y dificultades que tuviste o tienes para acceder al aprendizaje de catalán. Primero, si te parece bien, empezaremos con las facilidades.

1. Ahora, ¿podrías indicarme el tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que has tenido (formal o informal) y explicarme las **facilidades** que tuviste o tienes para acceder a él? ¿Por qué?
    1. 1a. En caso de aprendizaje formal:

i. Cursos gratuitos.
ii. Oferta de horarios.
iii. Proximidad al lugar de las clases.

    2. 1b. En caso de aprendizaje informal:

i. Flexibilidad

2. ¿Y las dificultades? ¿Por qué?
    1. 2a. En caso de aprendizaje formal:

i. Dificultad para encontrar dónde podías aprenderlo.
ii. ¿Cómo te enteraste de las clases a las que asististe?
iii. ¿A qué distancia está tu casa de los centros donde puedes aprender catalán?

    2. 2b. En caso de aprendizaje informal:

i. No saber qué recursos existen y puedes utilizar.

    3. 2c. En ambos casos

i. Dificultad para practicarlo.
ii. Tiempo de calidad para dedicarle.

Razones para aprender catalán y percepciones de los factores que influyen en esta decisión.

A. Perspectiva socioeconómica. En línea con la Sección A de la encuesta: Razones para aprender o no aprender catalán en Mallorca, Subsección II: Razones para aprender catalán.
Esto me lleva a otra cuestión: tus razones para decidir aprender catalán y tu percepción de los factores que te influyen en mayor o menor medida en esta decisión.

RAZONES

Comenzaremos con las razones que tienes para NO decidir aprender catalán.

3. ¿Cuál crees que fue el motivo que te hizo no aprender catalán?
   → ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tu decisión de no aprender catalán?
   → ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito esa persona/grupo o evento en influenciarte para no aprender catalán? // O por qué crees que no tuvo éxito en hacerte aprender catalán?
   → ¿Qué tipo de relación tenías con esa persona o evento que te llevó a aprender catalán?

4. ¿Qué crees que te permite y no te permite hacer tu decisión de no aprender catalán?

5. ¿Crees que a medida que has crecido la importancia de aprender catalán ha cambiado para ti? ¿Cómo y por qué?

6. ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

7. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos deciden aprender más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

PERCEPCIONES DE LOS FACTORES QUE INFLUYEN EN LA DECISIÓN DE APRENDER CATALÁN

III. Acceso al aprendizaje del catalán en relación con el estatus socioeconómico del entrevistado. De acuerdo con la Sección F de la encuesta: Información sociodemográfica / Subsecciones XI: Estatus socioeconómico, XII: Condiciones de vida, XV: Condiciones laborales en Mallorca actualmente. + Perspectiva de posicionamiento. En línea con la Sección D de la encuesta: Posicionamiento, subsección VI: Presencia del catalán y castellano.

Ahora me gustaría pedirte tu opinión sobre los factores que crees que pueden influir en tu decisión de aprender catalán y cómo crees que influyen.

8. Cuando considerabas la decisión de aprender catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de NO aprender catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué? Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta:
   → ¿Crees que tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué?

→ ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir NO aprender catalán y cómo son ahora?

→ ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado?

Si no mencionan ninguno de los siguientes factores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos.

1. Tus percepciones sobre qué puede aportarte el catalán (integrarte, empleo).
2. Tus percepciones sobre el lugar que debería ocupar el catalán en la sociedad (presencia del catalán en ámbitos públicos).

   [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?]

3. Las dificultades de acceder al tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que comentabas antes.
4. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos).
5. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia).

   [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].

9. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para que aprendieras catalán?

   → ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué?

   → ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué?

   → ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?

USOS LINGÜÍSTICOS EN CATALÁN

Hipotéticamente, si decidieras usar catalán, ¿qué factores crees que podrían influir en TU decisión de usar catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué?

Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta:

→ ¿Crees que tus conocimientos de catalán, tus inseguridades al usarlo, tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. podrían influir en tu decisión de usar catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué?

Si no mencionan ninguno de los factores anteriores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos.

1. Tus conocimientos y habilidades en catalán.
2. Incomodidades e inseguridades respecto a tus habilidades en catalán.

   [Por ejemplo, sentir que se ríen de ti cuando lo hablas, sentirte incómodo/a hablándolo en público, etc.]

3. La presencia de catalán y castellano que preferirías que hubiera en ámbitos como la sanidad pública, la administración, la policía o los medios de comunicación locales de Mallorca.

[Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?]

4. Las experiencias al intentar usarlo que mencionaste antes.
5. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos).
6. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia).

[Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].

11. ¿Crees que tus usos del catalán han cambiado o cambiarán a medida que vayas haciéndote mayor?

12. ¿Ves diferencias en el uso del catalán por parte de [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

13. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de usar el catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos usan más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?

14. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para usar el catalán en Mallorca?

→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué?
→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué?
→ ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?

POLÍTICA Y PLANIFICACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICAS

15. ¿Cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿qué percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, por ejemplo, educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también me refiero a necesidades sociolingüísticas en el sentido de cómo ves las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca.

16. Ahora, más concretamente, ¿cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca en relación con el catalán?

17. ¿Por qué crees que tienes estas necesidades?

18. ¿Ves alguna diferencia entre cuando eras más joven y ahora en cuanto a tus necesidades sociolingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿diferencias en lo que percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, como educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también en cuanto a las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca.

19. ¿Notas alguna diferencia en la cuestión de las lenguas en Mallorca desde que llegaste [¿CUÁNDO LLEGASTE?] hasta ahora? ¿En qué sentido? ¿Qué situación preferirías, la de antes o la de ahora?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Ahora, ¿podrías indicarme el tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que has tenido (formal o informal) y explicarme las **facilidades** que tuviste o tienes para acceder a él? ¿Por qué? _____ 2. ¿Y las **dificultades**? ¿Por qué?	1a. En caso de aprendizaje formal: • Cursos gratuitos. • Oferta de horarios. • Proximidad al lugar de las clases. 1b. En caso de aprendizaje informal: • Flexibilidad _____ 2a. 2a. En caso de aprendizaje formal: • Dificultad para encontrar dónde podías aprenderlo. • ¿Cómo te enteraste de las clases a las que asististe? • ¿A qué distancia está tu casa de los centros donde puedes aprender catalán? 2b. En caso de aprendizaje informal: • No saber qué recursos existen y puedes utilizar. 2c. En ambos casos • Dificultad para practicarlo. • Tiempo de calidad para dedicarle.
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. ¿Cuál crees que fue el motivo que te hizo no aprender catalán?	→ ¿Qué cambió? ¿Qué eventos observaste en relación con tu decisión de no aprender catalán? → ¿Por qué crees que tuvo éxito esa persona/grupo o evento en influenciarte para no aprender catalán? // O por qué crees que no tuvo éxito en hacerte aprender catalán?

	4. ¿Qué crees que te permite y no te permite hacer tu decisión de no aprender catalán? 5. ¿Crees que a medida que has crecido la importancia de aprender catalán ha cambiado para ti? ¿Cómo y por qué? 6. ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre? 7. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de decidir aprender catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos deciden aprender más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?	→ ¿Qué tipo de relación tenías con esa persona o evento que te llevó a aprender catalán? AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH
Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. Cuando considerabas la decisión de aprender catalán, ¿qué factores crees que influyeron en TU decisión de NO aprender catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué?	Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta: → ¿Crees que tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. han afectado tu decisión de aprender catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Cómo eran (todos estos factores) antes de decidir NO aprender catalán y cómo son ahora? → ¿Por qué crees que NO/SÍ han cambiado?

	INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	Si no mencionan ninguno de los siguientes factores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos. 1. Tus percepciones sobre qué puede aportarte el catalán (integrarte, empleo). 2. Tus percepciones sobre el lugar que debería ocupar el catalán en la sociedad (presencia del catalán en ámbitos públicos). [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?] 3. Las dificultades de acceder al tipo de aprendizaje de catalán que comentabas antes. 4. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos). 5. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia). [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?].
Language Policy (I)	9. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para que aprendieras catalán?	→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué?

		→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	10. Hipotéticamente, si decidieras usar catalán, ¿qué factores crees que podrían influir en TU decisión de usar catalán desde tu punto de vista, cómo y por qué? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY SELF-CONFIDENCE	Si no responden, puedo proponerles esta pregunta: → ¿Crees que tus conocimientos de catalán, tus inseguridades al usarlo, tus creencias/perspectivas/ideologías (hacia el catalán, las lenguas, la diversidad, la sociedad, la comunicación, etc.), calidad de vida, tu entorno, etc. podrían influir en tu decisión de usar catalán? ¿Cómo y por qué? Si no mencionan ninguno de los factores anteriores, preguntarles específicamente por ellos. 1. Tus conocimientos y habilidades en catalán. 2. Incomodidades e inseguridades respecto a tus habilidades en catalán. [Por ejemplo, sentir que se ríen de ti cuando lo hablas, sentirte incómodo/a hablándolo en público, etc.] 3. La presencia de catalán y castellano que preferirías que hubiera en ámbitos como la sanidad pública, la administración, la policía o los medios de comunicación locales de Mallorca. [Por ejemplo, independientemente de la realidad, si crees que en la

	ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES EXPERIENCES OF USE PLACE OF RESIDENCE EMPLOYMENT INITIAL LAGUAGE LIDENTITY	administración local de Mallorca debería haber un 50% en catalán y un 50% en castellano, ¿crees que eso ha influido en tu decisión de aprender catalán?] 4. Las experiencias al intentar usarlo que mencionaste antes. 5. La calidad de vida (el tipo de tiempo libre del que dispones [horas que trabajas a la semana], si tienes trabajo o no, problemas de vivienda, recursos económicos y educativos). 6. Tu entorno (lugar de residencia). [Por ejemplo, si en el lugar donde vives se habla mucho catalán, ¿eso te motiva a querer aprender más?]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	11. Crees que tus usos del catalán han cambiado o cambiarán a medida que vayas haciéndote mayor? 12. ¿Ves diferencias en el uso del catalán por parte de [hombres/mujeres/personas que se identifican con un género diferente al tuyo]? ¿Cómo? ¿Las puedes explicar? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre? 13. (Y en personas que son de origen diferente al tuyo? [hazle comparar con los otros dos grupos de origen del estudio] → (pregunta completa) ¿Ves diferencias a la hora de usar el catalán en personas que tienen un origen diferente al tuyo? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que las personas de Marruecos usan más catalán que las de Alemania? ¿Cómo? ¿Puedes explicar estas diferencias? ¿Por qué crees que ocurre?	
Language Policy (II)	14. ¿Cuáles son o serían para ti las condiciones ideales para usar el catalán en Mallorca?	→ ¿Crees que estas condiciones son muy diferentes a las que hay ahora? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Crees que estas condiciones ideales estarían más en línea con tus creencias/percepciones/ideologías? ¿Y con tus necesidades? ¿Cómo y por qué? → ¿Quién y cómo crees que debería establecer estas condiciones (ciudadanos, organizaciones, asociaciones, fundaciones, instituciones, gobierno, etc.)?
Language Policy (III)	15. ¿Cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿qué percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, por ejemplo, educación, trabajo, administración,	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES

	etc.? Pero también me refiero a necesidades sociolingüísticas en el sentido de cómo ves las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca. 16. Ahora, más concretamente, ¿cómo explicarías tus necesidades (socio)lingüísticas en Mallorca en relación con el catalán? 17. ¿Por qué crees que tienes estas necesidades? 18. ¿Ves alguna diferencia entre cuando eras más joven y ahora en cuanto a tus necesidades sociolingüísticas en Mallorca? Es decir, ¿diferencias en lo que percibes que necesitas para poder desenvolverte en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad mallorquina, como educación, trabajo, administración, etc.? Pero también en cuanto a las posibilidades de mantener la lengua y la cultura de tu lugar de origen en Mallorca. 19. ¿Notas alguna diferencia en la cuestión de las lenguas en Mallorca desde que llegaste [¿CUÁNDO LLEGASTE?] hasta ahora? ¿En qué sentido? ¿Qué situación preferirías, la de antes o la de ahora?	CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

English

Abans de començar l'entrevista comprova que efectivament la persona HA DECIDIT APRENDRE CATALÀ.
Si ha decidit aprendre català, comprova en quina fase està:
(a) ENCARA NO HO HA FET.
(b) JA HO HA FET.

DECISION TO LEARN CATALAN

Type of learning (Catalan) and difficulties in accessing language learning. Based on Section A of the survey: Reasons for learning or not learning Catalan in Mallorca / Subsection I: Knowledge of Catalan..

I would like to know about the facilities and difficulties you have encountered or are currently facing when trying to learn Catalan. First, if you don't mind, we will start with the facilities.

1. Now, could you tell me the type of Catalan learning you have had (formal or informal) and explain the **facilities** you encountered or currently have access to? Why?
    1. 1a. In case of formal learning:

i. Free courses.
ii. Availability of class schedules.
iii. Proximity to the location of the classes.

    2. 1b. In case of informal learning:

i. Flexibility

2. And what about the **difficulties**? Why?
    1. 2a. In case of formal learning:

i. Difficulty finding a place where you could learn Catalan.
ii. How did you find out about the classes you attended?
iii. What is the distance between your home and the centers where you can learn Catalan?

    2. 2b. In case of informal learning:

i. Not knowing what resources exist and how to use them..

    3. 2c. In both cases:

i. Difficulty practicing it.
ii. Quality time to dedicate to learning.

Reasons for learning catalan and perceptions of factors influencing this decision.

A. Socioeconomic perspective. Aligned with Section A of the survey: Reasons for learning or not learning Catalan in Mallorca, Subsection II: Reasons for learning Catalan. This leads me to another question about your reasons for deciding to learn Catalan and your perceptions of the factors that influence your decision to a greater or lesser extent.

REASONS

Let's start with the reasons why you decided to learn Catalan.

3. What do you think was the main reason that made you decide to NOT learn Catalan?

→ What changed? What events did you observe in relation to your decision to not learn Catalan?
→ Why do you think that person/group or factor successfully influenced your decision of not learning Catalan? // Or why do you think that it/they were not successful in making you learn Catalan?
→ What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that led you to learn Catalan?

4. What do you think your decision not to learn Catalan allows you to do and prevents you from doing?

5. Do you think that as you have grown older, the importance of learning Catalan has changed for you? How and why?

6. Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among [men/women/people who identify with a different gender than yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens?

7. (And among people from different origins than yours?) Full question: Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco are more likely to decide to learn Catalan than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?

PERCEPTIONS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION TO LEARN CATALAN

VI. Access to Catalan learning in relation to the interviewee's socioeconomic status. According to Section F of the survey: Sociodemographic Information / Subsections XI: Socioeconomic Status, XII: Living Conditions, XV: Current Working Conditions in Mallorca. Positioning perspective. Aligned with Section D of the survey: Positioning, Subsection VI: Presence of Catalan and Spanish.

Now, I would like to ask for your opinion on the factors you believe may influence your decision to learn Catalan and how they influence it.

8. When considering the decision to learn Catalan, what factors do you think influenced your decision of NOT learning Catalan? How and why?
If they do not answer, I can suggest:
→ Do you think your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc. have affected your decision to learn Catalan? How and why?
→ How were all these factors before deciding to not learn Catalan, and how are they now?
→ Why do you think they HAVE/HAVE NOT changed?
If they do not mention the following factors, ask them directly.

1. Your perceptions of what Catalan can offer you (integration, job opportunities).
2. Your perceptions of the role Catalan should have in society (Catalan presence in public domains).

[For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that the local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this influenced your decision to learn Catalan?

3. Difficulties accessing the type of Catalan learning you mentioned earlier].
4. Quality of life (your work schedule, free time, economic and educational resources).
5. Your environment (where you live).

[For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?].

9. What do you think are or would be the ideal conditions for you to learn Catalan?

→ Do you think these conditions are very different from those that exist now? How and why?

→ Do you think these ideal conditions would align more closely with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why?

→ Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)

LINGUISTIC USES OF CATALAN

10. Hypothetically, if you decided to use Catalan, which factors do you think would influence YOUR decision to use it, from your point of view? How and why?

If you don't have an immediate answer, I can suggest this question:

→ Do you think your knowledge of Catalan, your insecurities about using it, your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc., could affect your decision to use Catalan? How and why?

If none of the above factors are mentioned, ask specifically about them:

1. Your knowledge and skills in Catalan.
2. Any discomfort or insecurities regarding your Catalan skills.

[For example, feeling that people laugh at you when you speak it, feeling uncomfortable speaking it in public, etc.]

3. The presence of Catalan and Spanish in different domains such as public healthcare, administration, law enforcement, or local media in Mallorca.

[For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this has influenced your decision to learn Catalan?]

4. Your experiences when trying to use Catalan, as mentioned earlier.
5. Your quality of life (the type of free time you have [number of working hours per week], whether you have a job or not, housing issues, financial and educational resources).
6. Your environment (place of residence).

[For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?].

11. Do you think your use of Catalan has changed or will change as you get older?

12. Do you see differences in the use of Catalan between [men/women/people who identify with a gender different from yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens?

13. (And among people from different origins than yours? [Have them compare with the other two groups in the study])→ (Full question) Do you see differences in the use of Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco use Catalan more than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?

14. What do you think would be the ideal conditions for using Catalan in Mallorca?
→ Do you think these conditions are very different from the current ones? How and why?
→ Do you think these ideal conditions would align more with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why?
→ Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

15. How would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, what do you think you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, regarding sociolinguistic needs, I mean how you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca.

16. More specifically, how would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca concerning Catalan?

17. Why do you think you have these needs?

18. Do you notice any differences between when you were younger and now regarding your sociolinguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, differences in what you perceive you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, in terms of sociolinguistic needs, how do you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca?

19. Do you notice any differences in the language situation in Mallorca from when you arrived [WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE?] to now? In what sense? Which situation would you prefer—the past or the present?

VARIABLE	QUESTIONS ASKING FOR IT	FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS
Type of learning + facilitators and difficulties in accessing Catalan language learning	1. Now, could you tell me the type of Catalan learning you have had (formal or informal) and explain the **facilities** you encountered or currently have access to? Why? 2. And what about the **difficulties**? Why?	1a. In case of formal learning: • Free courses. • Availability of class schedules. • Proximity to the location of the classes. 1b. In case of informal learning: • Flexibility 2a. In case of formal learning: • Difficulty finding a place where you could learn Catalan. • How did you find out about the classes you attended? • What is the distance between your home and the centers where you can learn Catalan? 2b. In case of informal learning: • Not knowing what resources exist and how to use them. 2c. In both cases: • Difficulty practicing it. • Quality time to dedicate to learning.
Reasons to learn Catalan	3. What do you think was the main reason that made you decide to NOT learn Catalan?	→ What changed? What events did you observe in relation to your decision to not learn Catalan? → Why do you think that person/group or factor successfully influenced your decision of not learning Catalan? // Or why do you think that it/they were not successful in making you learn Catalan? → What kind of relationship did you have with that person or event that led you to learn Catalan?

	4. What do you think your decision not to learn Catalan allows you to do and prevents you from doing? 5. Do you think that as you have grown older, the importance of learning Catalan has changed for you? How and why? 6. Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among [men/women/people who identify with a different gender than yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens? 7. (And among people from different origins than yours?) Full question: Do you see differences in the decision to learn Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco are more likely to decide to learn Catalan than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?	AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH
Perceptions about the factors influencing the decision to learn Catalan	8. When considering the decision to learn Catalan, what factors do you think influenced your decision of NOT learning Catalan? How and why?	→ Do you think your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc. have affected your decision to learn Catalan? How and why? → How were all these factors before deciding to not learn Catalan, and how are they now? → Why do you think they HAVE/HAVE NOT changed?

	INTEGRATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REVITALISATION STRATEGIES DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CATALAN LANGUAGE LEARNING HOURS OF WORK A WEEK, HOUSING PROBLEMS, RENT, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	If they do not mention the following factors, ask them directly. 1. Your perceptions of what Catalan can offer you (integration, job opportunities). 2. Your perceptions of the role Catalan should have in society (Catalan presence in public domains). [For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that the local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this influenced your decision to learn Catalan? 3. Difficulties accessing the type of Catalan learning you mentioned earlier]. 4. Quality of life (your work schedule, free time, economic and educational resources). 5. Your environment (where you live). [For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?]
Language Policy (I)	9. What do you think are or would be the ideal conditions for you to learn Catalan?	→ Do you think these conditions are very different from those that exist now? How and why? → Do you think these ideal conditions would align more closely with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why?

		→ Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)
Perceptions about the factors influencing the use of Catalan	10. Hypothetically, if you decided to use Catalan, which factors do you think would influence YOUR decision to use it, from your point of view? How and why? CATALAN DECLARED ABILITY SELF-CONFIDENCE ATTITUDE GOVERNMENTAL REVITALISATION STRATEGIES	→ Do you think your knowledge of Catalan, your insecurities about using it, your beliefs/perspectives/ideologies (about Catalan, languages, diversity, society, communication, etc.), quality of life, your environment, etc., could affect your decision to use Catalan? How and why? If none of the above factors are mentioned, ask specifically about them: 1. Your knowledge and skills in Catalan. 2. Any discomfort or insecurities regarding your Catalan skills. [For example, feeling that people laugh at you when you speak it, feeling uncomfortable speaking it in public, etc.] 3. The presence of Catalan and Spanish in different domains such as public healthcare, administration, law enforcement, or local media in Mallorca. [For example, regardless of reality, if you believe that local administration in Mallorca should be 50% in Catalan and 50% in Spanish, do you think this has influenced your decision to learn Catalan?]

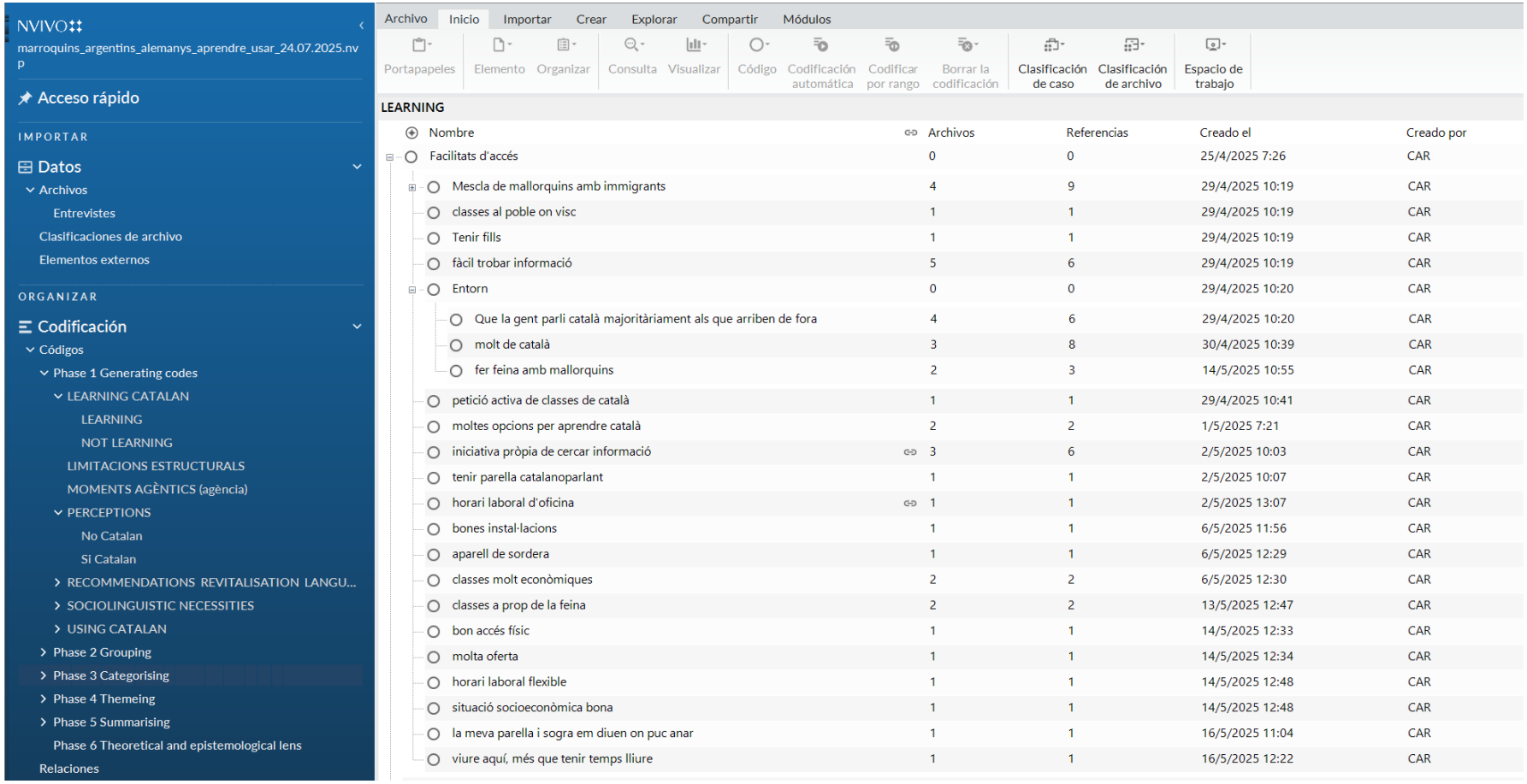
	EXPERIENCES OF USE PLACE OF RESIDENCE EMPLOYMENT INITIAL LANGUAGE LIDENTITY 11. Do you think your use of Catalan has changed or will change as you get older? 12. Do you see differences in the use of Catalan between [men/women/people who identify with a gender different from	4. Your experiences when trying to use Catalan, as mentioned earlier. 5. Your quality of life (the type of free time you have [number of working hours per week], whether you have a job or not, housing issues, financial and educational resources). 6. Your environment (place of residence). [For example, if Catalan is widely spoken where you live, does that make you want to learn it more?]. AGE GENDER PLACE OF BIRTH

	yours]? How? Can you explain them? Why do you think this happens? 13. (And among people from different origins than yours? [Have them compare with the other two groups in the study])→ (Full question) Do you see differences in the use of Catalan among people from a different background than yours? For example, do you think people from Morocco use Catalan more than those from Germany? How? Can you explain these differences? Why do you think this happens?	
Language Policy (II)	14. What do you think would be the ideal conditions for using Catalan in Mallorca?	→ Do you think these conditions are very different from the current ones? How and why? → Do you think these ideal conditions would align more with your beliefs/perceptions/ideologies? And with your needs? How and why? → Who do you think should establish these conditions, and how? (citizens, organisations, associations, foundations, institutions, government, etc.)
Language Policy (III)	15. How would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, what do you think you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, regarding sociolinguistic needs, I mean how you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca. 16. More specifically, how would you describe your (socio)linguistic needs in Mallorca concerning Catalan? 17. Why do you think you have these needs?	SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC NECESSITIES

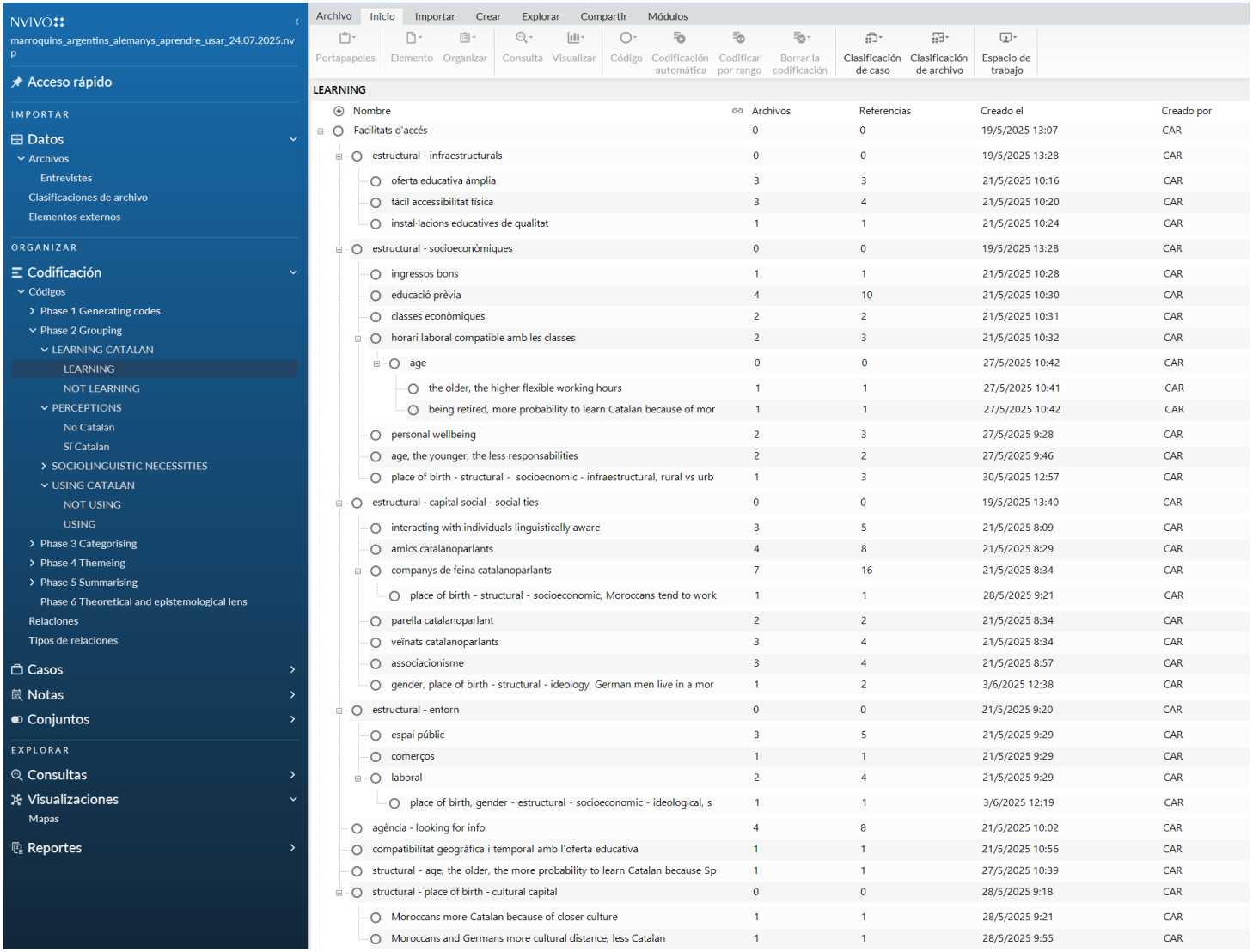
	18. Do you notice any differences between when you were younger and now regarding your sociolinguistic needs in Mallorca? That is, differences in what you perceive you need to navigate different areas of Mallorcan society, such as education, work, administration, etc.? But also, in terms of sociolinguistic needs, how do you see the possibilities of maintaining your language and culture of origin in Mallorca? 19. Do you notice any differences in the language situation in Mallorca from when you arrived [WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE?] to now? In what sense? Which situation would you prefer—the past or the present?	AGE YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO MALLORCA

Appendix G: Visual Example from First Coding Cycle to Third Coding Cycle

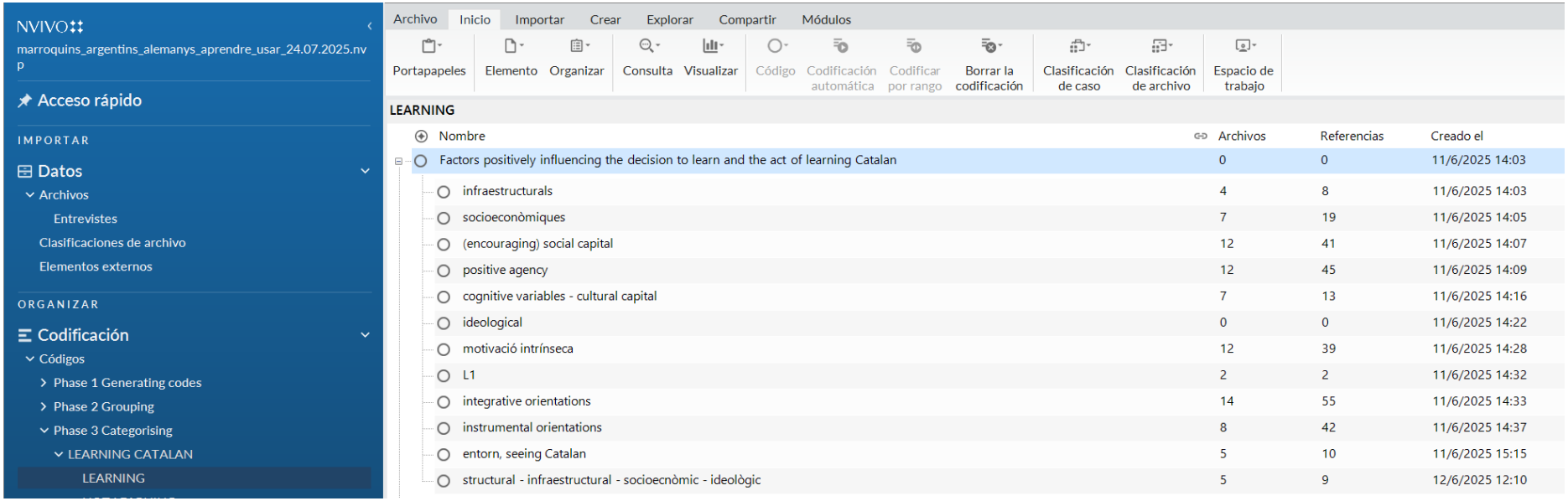
First Coding Cycle



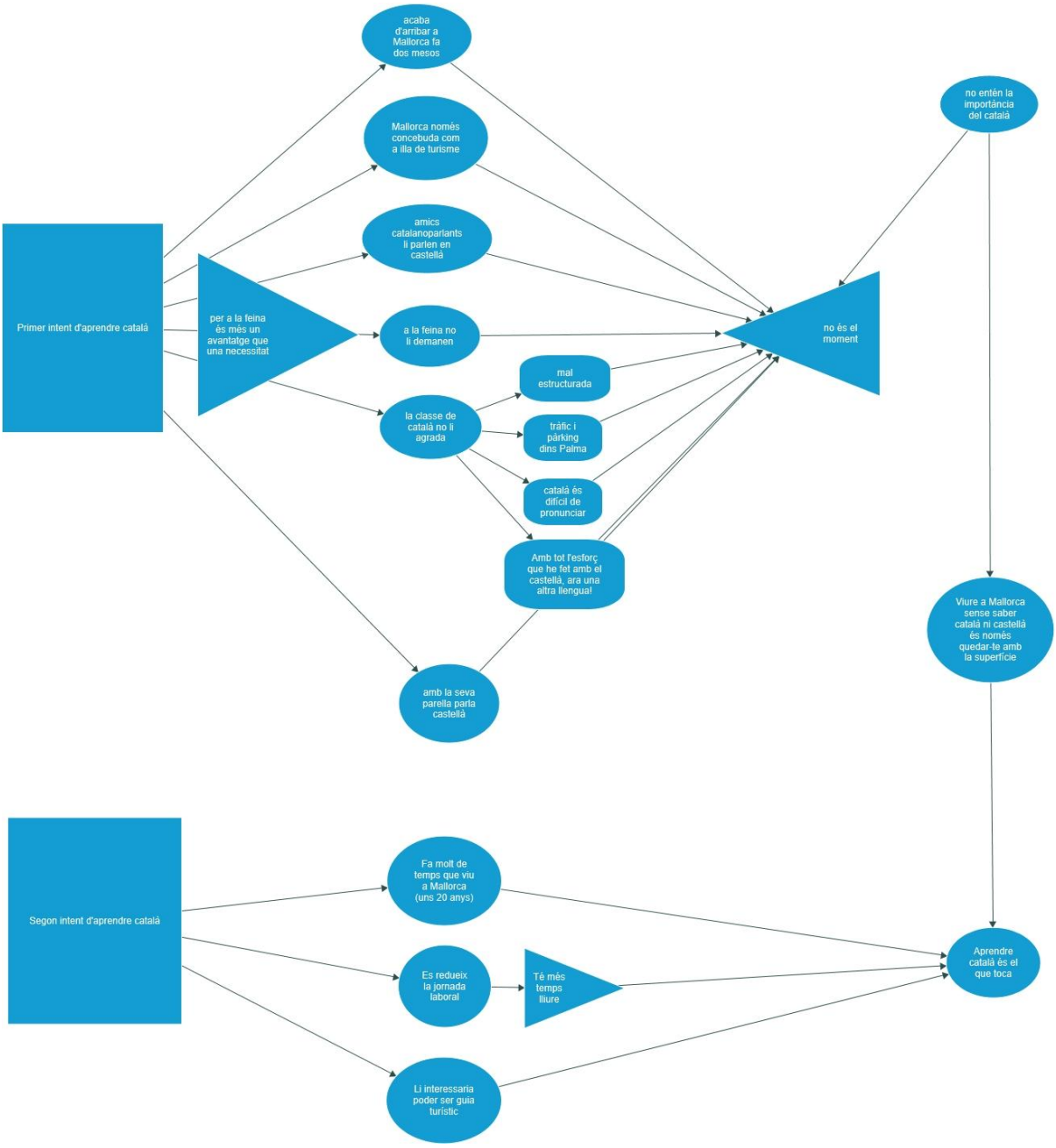
Second Coding Cycle



Third Coding Cycle



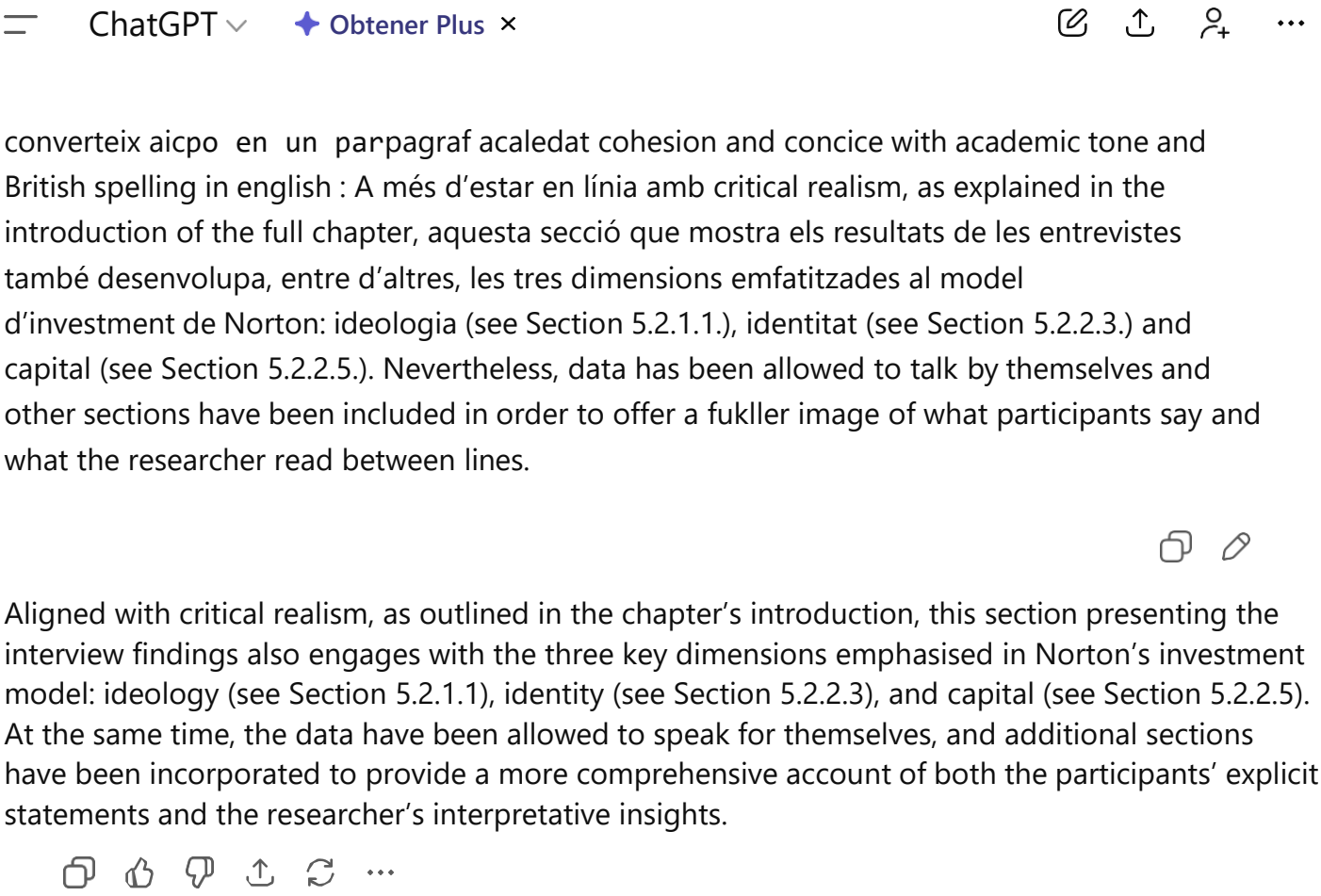
Appendix H: Example of a Visual Map



Appendix I: Examples of AI Prompts and Interactions

The following links document my interactions with Microsoft Copilot. The first link https://copilot.microsoft.com/shares/yM1LVNPTM8CGoe8vE55xJ illustrates the prompts I submitted to Copilot and the responses it generated to enhance clarity and cohesion. The second link https://copilot.microsoft.com/shares/dfubtveMgZQ6sWLYgNZDo shows a subsequent exchange in which I sought a style and level of clarity that more accurately conveyed the meaning and intention I wished to express. The final example https://copilot.microsoft.com/shares/WnqbJCkSxyW3VEfFcLJB8 reflects a prompt in which I requested assistance in formulating a clearer and more academically appropriate explanation of the ideas I aimed to articulate.

The examples above illustrate the types of interactions I engaged in with ChatGPT.



clear This section presenting the interview findings, alongside being aligned with the epistemological lens of the present research, as explained in the current chapter's introduction, engages with the theoretical framework of the present research (see Chapter 3) on two main ways. On the one hand, section 5.2.1.1. uses the structure of Section 3.3.3. of Chapter 3 to display participants' language ideologies and classify them according the typology explained in this section. On the other hand, the findings engage with the three key dimensions in Norton's (1995) investment model: ideology (see Section 5.2.1.1), identity (see Section 5.2.2.3) and capital (see Section 5.2.2.5).

Here is a revised version for improved clarity, cohesion, and academic tone in British English:

This section, which presents the interview findings, is consistent with the epistemological lens outlined in the introduction to this chapter and engages with the theoretical framework established in Chapter 3 in two principal ways. First, Section 5.2.1.1 adopts the structure of Section 3.3.3 to present participants' language ideologies and classify them according to the typology introduced there. Second, the findings are analysed through the three key dimensions of Norton's (1995) investment model: ideology (see Section 5.2.1.1), identity (see Section 5.2.2.3), and capital (see Section 5.2.2.5).



al second,,, ha de quedar clar que aquets enaggement amb norotn és un dels engagement amb theoretical framnework (que for further insights ee Chapter 6) però que hi ha altres engagements

Here is a revised version that makes clear Norton's model is *one* of several engagements with the theoretical framework, while maintaining clarity, cohesion, and academic tone in British English:

This section, which presents the interview findings, is consistent with the epistemological lens outlined in the introduction to this chapter and engages with the theoretical framework established in Chapter 3 in several ways. First, Section 5.2.1.1 adopts the structure of Section 3.3.3 to present participants' language ideologies and classify them according to the typology introduced there. Second, and as only one aspect of this broader engagement with the framework, the findings are examined through the three key dimensions of Norton's (1995) investment model—ideology (see Section 5.2.1.1), identity (see Section 5.2.2.3), and capital (see Section 5.2.2.5)—with further theoretical connections discussed in Chapter 6.



Tables D and W above display participants' sociodemographic information which will be used and referred to in the following sections during the description and analysis of the results

Here is a clearer, more cohesive, and academically toned revision in British English:

Tables D and W present the participants' sociodemographic information, which will be referenced in the following sections to support the description and analysis of the results.



only change whats is 100% necessary Tables D and W above display participants' sociodemographic information which will be used and referred to in the following sections during the description and analysis of the results

Here's a minimal revision, changing only what is strictly necessary for clarity and correctness:

Tables D and W above display participants' sociodemographic information, which will be used and referred to in the following sections during the description and analysis of the results.



As happened in the quantitative data, Table D regarding participants who decided to learn Catalan, include both, those who already did it and those who decided it but still did not do it. This is relevant as participants in Table D , regardless of having already or not yet learned Catalan, share more similarities among them than with participants in Table W, as will be examined in the following sections.

Here is a revised version with only necessary changes for clarity, cohesion, and correctness, while keeping your original meaning:

As with the quantitative data, Table D, which concerns participants who decided to learn Catalan, includes both those who have already done so and those who have decided to but have not yet started. This distinction is relevant, as the participants in Table D—regardless of whether they have already learned Catalan—share more similarities with one another than with those in Table W, as will be examined in the following sections.



please revise for clarity and cohesion with academic tone and british spelling lkeep in mind concicesnesss and only change what os 100% necessary: As happened in the quantitative data, Table D regarding participants who decided to learn Catalan, include both, those who already did it and those who decided it but still did not do it. This is relevant as participants in Table D , regardless of having already or not yet learned Catalan, share more similarities among them than with participants in Table W, as will be examined in the following sections.

Here is a concise revision with only essential changes for clarity, cohesion, and academic tone in British English:

As in the quantitative data, Table D, concerning participants who decided to learn Catalan, includes both those who have already done so and those who have decided to but have not yet done so. This is relevant, as participants in Table D—regardless of having already or not yet learned Catalan—share more similarities with one another than with participants in Table W, as will be examined in the following sections.



Among participants in this research, linguistic authority is both politically and economically grounded.

Here is a slightly refined version for clarity and academic tone, with minimal change:

Among the participants in this research, linguistic authority is grounded in both political and economic factors.



Among the participants in this research, linguistic authority is expressed in both politically and economically grounded discourses which affect both the decision to learn and use Catalan

Here is a concise revision with improved clarity and cohesion, changing only what is necessary:

Among the participants in this research, linguistic authority is expressed through politically and economically grounded discourses that influence both the decision to learn and the use of Catalan.



escriu això en clarity, cohesion and academic btirihs english, keeping in mind trying no nto hcnage them eaning I give it but making it undertsandbale and academic: Els participants solen deploy les seves ideologies inconscientment assumint com a base no marcada discursos que encaixen amb la homogeneització nacional com a la manera racional I de sentit comú legítima per viure. En auqests termes, els participants solen parlar en termes que distingeixen el català del castellà en funció de les funcions diferents que els veuen, aquell més per a la identitat I la cultura, sovint també li atorguen un valor integratiu, I aquell per a qüstions practiques, del dia a dia, sense cap marca identitària, sinó neutral I obert a tothom. I com que el català carrega una marca identitària I cultural s'ha de parlar d'una manera ocncreta I això es veu amb les ideologies standard I de purism linguistic.Els discursos del nacionalisme linguistic apareixen tnat molt explícits com implícits. Luciana, per exemple,

Here is a clear, cohesive, and academically toned version in British English, preserving your original meaning:

Participants often deploy their language ideologies unconsciously, taking for granted

discourses aligned with national homogenisation as the rational and commonsensical way of living. In these terms, they frequently distinguish Catalan from Spanish according to the different functions they attribute to each: Catalan is associated more strongly with identity and culture, and is often granted integrative value, whereas Spanish is viewed as practical, used for everyday matters, and perceived as neutral and open to all, without identity marking. Because Catalan carries a distinct cultural and identity marker, participants believe it should be spoken in a particular way, a perception reflected in ideologies of linguistic standardisation and purism. Discourses of linguistic nationalism thus emerge both explicitly and implicitly. Luciana, for example, ...



quina diferència hi ah entre display i deploy

Les paraules **"display"** i **"deploy"** tenen significats relacionats però diferents, especialment en contextos acadèmics o lingüístics:

1. **Display**

- Significa **mostrar, exposar o fer visible alguna cosa**.
- Té un sentit més passiu: la cosa es fa visible o es manifesta, però no implica acció activa de posada en pràctica.
- Exemple: *The participants display a strong preference for Catalan in cultural contexts.* → Els participants **mostren/exhibeixen** una forta preferència pel català.

2. **Deploy**

- Significa **utilitzar, aplicar o posar en pràctica de manera estratègica**.
- Té un sentit més actiu i intencionat, sovint relacionat amb la posada en funcionament d'idees, recursos o habilitats.

- Exemple: *Participants deploy their language ideologies unconsciously in everyday speech.*
  → Els participants **apliquen/posen en pràctica** les seves ideologies lingüístiques de manera inconscient.

Resum:

- **Display = mostrar / manifestar** (passiu)
- **Deploy = posar en pràctica / aplicar** (actiu i intencionat)

Si vols, puc ajudar-te a decidir quin encaixa millor en la frase del teu text sobre les ideologies lingüístiques. Vols que ho faci?

only change whats 100% necessary but try to make it clear
:Participants' language ideologies are usually displayed unconsciously taking for granted homogenization discourses as the common sense frame for social life.

Here is a minimally revised version for clarity, changing only what is necessary:

Participants' language ideologies are usually displayed unconsciously, taking for granted discourses of homogenisation as the common-sense framework for social life.

vull dir que es dislpay inconscientment taking for granetd és a dir they take for granted diuscoures of homgenisation. unconsciourly

Ah, I see! You want to emphasise that **participants unconsciously take for granted homogenisation discourses**—so the "unconsciously" modifies "take for granted," not "display."
A clearer version would be:

Participants unconsciously take for granted discourses of homogenisation, which shape their language ideologies.

This keeps your meaning, is concise, and reads clearly in academic British English.

If you want to keep “display,” another option is:

Participants’ language ideologies are displayed through their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses.

Do you want me to integrate both “display” and the “unconsciously take for granted” nuance in one sentence?



Participants’ language ideologies are usually displayed within their unconscious acceptance homogenisation discourses as the common sense frame for social life

Here’s a minimally revised version for clarity and correctness while keeping your original meaning:

Participants’ language ideologies are usually displayed through their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses as the common-sense frame for social life.



és a dir els partiicpants diuen les ideologies EN and not through... is within wroing?

Ah, I understand now! You want to convey that participants **express their ideologies directly** in what they say, rather than implying them indirectly “through” something. Using **“within”** isn’t quite idiomatic in this context in English. A clearer, academically appropriate way would be:

Participants’ language ideologies are usually displayed in their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses as the common-sense frame for social life.

Here, **“in”** correctly conveys that the ideologies appear **in their speech or behaviour**, without implying mediation.

If you want, I can offer 2–3 alternative phrasings that are even smoother for academic writing.



yes

Here are three alternative, academically polished ways to express your idea clearly:

1. **Direct and concise:**

Participants' language ideologies are typically expressed through their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses as the common-sense framework for social life.

2. **Emphasising appearance in speech/behaviour:**

Participants' language ideologies are usually evident in their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses as the common-sense frame for social life.

3. **Slightly more formal and analytical:**

Participants' language ideologies are manifested in their unconscious acceptance of homogenisation discourses, which serve as the common-sense framework for social life.

All three keep the meaning intact, avoid "within," and are suitable for British academic English.

If you want, I can suggest a version that **also keeps the nuance of "unconscious" right next to "take for granted"** for maximum precision.



així é smé sclara? Participants' language ideologies are usually manifested within a framework of homogenisation discourses unconsciously accepted as the common sense background for social life.

Your sentence is understandable, but using **"within a framework"** is slightly heavier and less natural in academic English. A clearer, more concise version would be:

Participants' language ideologies are usually manifested in homogenisation discourses, which they unconsciously accept as the common-sense background for social life.

This keeps your meaning intact, emphasises that the ideologies appear **in the discourses themselves**, and reads more smoothly.

If you want, I can suggest an **even more concise version** suitable for high-level academic writing.



Participants' language ideologies are usually manifested
from a usually unconscious framework of homogenisation discourses unconsciously accepted as the common sense background for social life

Your sentence is a bit repetitive with **"usually"** and **"unconsciously"**, which makes it heavy and harder to read. A clearer, academically polished version would be:

Participants' language ideologies are typically manifested through an unconscious framework of homogenisation discourses, which they accept as the common-sense background for social life.

This keeps your meaning intact, removes repetition, and reads smoothly in British academic English.

If you want, I can propose a **slightly more concise and elegant version** that emphasises the unconscious aspect even more.



Participants' language ideologies are usually manifested from an unconscious framework of homogenization discourses which they accept as the common sense background for social life --> vull que quedi clar que els

partiicpants parlen des d'unconcious assumptions of homgenisations discourses as the common ground for osical life

Ah, I see—you want to make it clear that participants **speak from** unconscious assumptions embedded in homogenisation discourses, rather than just being influenced by them. A clearer, academically appropriate version would be:

Participants' language ideologies are usually expressed from unconscious assumptions rooted in homogenisation discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life.

This makes explicit that the **ideologies are spoken/expressed from these assumptions**, keeps the "unconscious" nuance, and reads smoothly in British academic English.

If you like, I can suggest an **even tighter version** that emphasises the "speaking from" aspect without losing formality.



These discourses tend to reach a conscious level in the minds of those participants who decided to learn Catalan and usually show more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and their speakers.only change what's 100% necessary take in mind coherence clarity and conciceness

Here's a minimally revised version for clarity, coherence, and conciseness:

These discourses tend to reach a conscious level among participants who decided to learn Catalan and generally reflect more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers.



Participants' language ideologies are usually expressed from (unconscious) assumptions rooted in

homogenisation and efficiency discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life. These discourses tend to reach a conscious level in the minds of those participants who decided to learn Catalan and usually show more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and their speakers.

Here's a slightly refined version for clarity, cohesion, and conciseness while keeping your meaning intact:

Participants' language ideologies are typically expressed from (largely unconscious) assumptions rooted in discourses of homogenisation and efficiency, which they take as the common-sense background for social life. These discourses tend to become conscious among participants who have decided to learn Catalan and generally correspond with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers.



què eñ´s me´s clar in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses o in homegenisaitona adn eficitainty dominan discourses

The clearer and more natural phrasing in academic English is:

"in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses" ✓

- **Why:** Placing **"dominant"** before the nouns directly modifies the types of discourses, which is standard and concise.
- **Less clear version:** *"in homogenisation and efficiency dominant discourses"* is awkward and unidiomatic in English; it separates the adjective from the nouns it modifies.

So, stick with:

in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses

This reads smoothly and is academically appropriate.



In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses, usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally correspond with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1. and following sections), tend to become conscious and socially marked, according to participants, due to their emotional dimensions.

Here's a clearer, more concise, and academically polished version, keeping your meaning intact:

In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses—typically embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally associated with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1 and following sections)—tend, according to participants, to become conscious and socially marked due to their emotional dimensions.



. In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses, usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally correspond with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1. and following sections), tend to become conscious and socially marked as there are perceived far from rational discourses but close to emotional dimensions.

Here's a clearer, more cohesive, and academically polished version of your sentence, keeping your meaning intact:

In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses—typically embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally associated with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see

Section 5.1 and following sections)—tend to become conscious and socially marked, as they are perceived as less rational and more closely linked to emotional dimensions.



All these aforementioned traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former more directly involving unspoken and unquestionable assumptions, and the latter, commonly explicitly articulated because of their marginalised situatedness, which position them as non- rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

Here's a clearer, more cohesive, and academically polished version while keeping your meaning intact:

All of these traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former more directly involving unspoken and unquestioned assumptions, and the latter commonly articulated explicitly due to their marginalised position, which renders them non-rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).



Participants' language ideologies are usually expressed from (unconscious) assumptions rooted in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life. In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses, usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally correspond with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1. and following sections), tend to become conscious and socially marked, as they are perceived as less rational and more closely linked to emotional dimensions. All these aforementioned traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former more directly involving unspoken and unquestionable

assumptions, and the latter, commonly explicitly articulated because of their marginalised situatedness, which position them as non-rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

Here's a polished version of your full passage for clarity, cohesion, conciseness, and academic tone, while keeping your meaning intact:

Participants' language ideologies are typically expressed from (largely unconscious) assumptions rooted in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life. In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses—usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally associated with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1 and following sections)— tend to become conscious and socially marked, as they are perceived as less rational and more closely linked to emotional dimensions. These traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former involving unspoken and unquestioned assumptions, and the latter commonly articulated explicitly due to their marginalised position, which renders them non- rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

This version:

- Reduces repetition (e.g., "all these aforementioned traits" → "these traits")
- Smooths phrasing for readability
- Keeps all theoretical distinctions intact and academically precise

If you want, I can also make an **even tighter version** suitable for journal-level academic writing without losing nuance.



Participants' language ideologies are usually expressed from (unconscious) assumptions rooted in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life and us to justify the prioritisation of Spanish over Catalan in Mallorca. In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses, usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally correspond with more positive attitudes towards the

public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1. and following sections), tend to become conscious and socially marked, as they are perceived as less rational and more closely linked to emotional dimensions. All these aforementioned traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former more directly involving unspoken and unquestionable assumptions, and the latter, commonly explicitly articulated because of their marginalized situatedness, which position them as non-rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

Here's a polished version of your passage for clarity, cohesion, and academic tone while keeping all your original meaning:

Participants' language ideologies are typically expressed from (largely unconscious) assumptions rooted in dominant homogenisation and efficiency discourses, which they take as the common-sense background for social life and use to justify the prioritisation of Spanish over Catalan in Mallorca. In contrast, counterhegemonic discourses—usually embraced by participants who have decided to learn Catalan (see following sections) and generally associated with more positive attitudes towards the public presence of Catalan and its speakers (see Section 5.1 and following sections)— tend to become conscious and socially marked, as they are perceived as less rational and more closely linked to emotional dimensions. These traits form part of the characteristics of dominant and counterhegemonic ideologies, with the former involving unspoken and unquestioned assumptions, and the latter commonly articulated explicitly due to their marginalised position, which renders them non- rational and unnatural narratives (Hill, 1998).

Key improvements:

- Corrected "**us to justify**" → "**use to justify**"
- Smoothed phrasing for readability and cohesion
- Reduced repetition ("**all these aforementioned traits**" → "**these traits**")
- Adjusted minor wording for concise academic style

If you want, I can also suggest a **slightly tighter version** that reads even more fluently for publication.



The following two subsections focus on these types of discourses either grounded in political or economic justifications regarding participants' decision to learn and use Catalan.

Here's a clearer and more cohesive revision while keeping your meaning intact:

The following two subsections focus on these types of discourses, which are grounded in political or economic justifications for participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan.



The following two subsections focus on these types of discourses and divide them depending on political or economic justifications regarding participants' decision to learn and use Catalan.

Here's a polished version for clarity, cohesion, and academic tone:

The following two subsections focus on these types of discourses, categorising them according to whether they are grounded in political or economic justifications for participants' decisions to learn and use Catalan.



Appendix J: Reliability measures

The reliability measures for scales of three or more items is shown in the table below.

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
Integrative Orientations	.897	.897	4
Instrumental Orientations	.654	.663	4
Attitudes to the Public Presence of Catalan	.907	.917	4
Catalan Linguistic Uses	.930	.932	3
Self-confidence	.507	.556	5

The reliability measures for scales of two items are calculated with Pearson correlation and shown in the tables below.

Catalan Linguistic Uses				
		GeneralLingUses1 I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday**.**	**GeneralLingUses2** I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan.	**GeneralLingUses3** I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).
GeneralLingUses1 I speak Mallorcan Catalan at least with one person everyday.	Pearson Correlation	1	,827**	,812**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001	<,001
	N	145	145	145
GeneralLingUses2 I answer in Mallorcan Catalan if someone speaks to me in Mallorcan Catalan**.**	Pearson Correlation	,827**	1	,820**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001		<,001
	N	145	145	145
GeneralLingUses3 I speak in Mallorcan Catalan when I go to government offices (town hall, social services, etc.).	Pearson Correlation	,812**	,820**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	<,001	
	N	145	145	145
**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**				

Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Character			
		AttitudetoMallSpeakerCharacter1 Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with.	**AttitudetoMallSpeakerCharacter2** The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.
AttitudetoMallSpeakerCharacter1 Many of the people who speak Mallorcan Catalan in Mallorca are friendly and easy to get along with.	Pearson Correlation	1	,552**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001
	N	148	148
AttitudetoMallSpeakerCharacter2 The more I get to know Mallorcan Catalan speakers, the more I want to speak the language.	Pearson Correlation	,552**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	
	N	148	149
**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**			

Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Hospitality		
	AttitudetoMallSpeakerHospitality1 Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan	**AttitudetoMallSpeakerHospitality2** Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if

		because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.	I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.
AttitudetoMallSpeakerHospitality1 Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan because it means that they want to make me feel part of Mallorca.	Pearson Correlation	1	,678**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001
	N	147	147
AttitudetoMallSpeakerHospitality2 Mallorcans are hospitable when they speak to me in Mallorcan Catalan, even if I have told them that I do not speak it, because they are giving me the opportunity to learn it.	Pearson Correlation	,678**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	
	N	147	149
**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**			

Attitudes towards Mallorcan Catalan Speakers' Socioeconomic Status		
	AttitudetoMallSpeakerSocioecStatus1 Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.	**AttitudetoMallSpeakerSocioecStatus2** In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well-off than those who

			live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.
AttitudetoMallSpeakerSocioecStatus1 Mallorcans who speak more Mallorcan Catalan than Spanish belong to economically resourceful families.	Pearson Correlation	1	,707**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001
	N	149	149
AttitudetoMallSpeakerSocioecStatus2 In Mallorca, people who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is more widely spoken are more well-off than those who live in areas where Mallorcan Catalan is not as widely spoken.	Pearson Correlation	,707**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	
	N	149	149

**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

		Expected General Language(s) Knowledge	
		ExpectedGeneralLangKnow1 Everyone living in Mallorca should know Mallorcan Catalan.	**ExpectedGeneralLangKnow2** Everyone living in Mallorca should know Spanish.
ExpectedGeneralLangKnow1	Pearson Correlation	1	,180*

Everyone living in Mallorca should know Mallorcan Catalan.	Sig. (2-tailed)		32
	N	143	143
ExpectedGeneralLangKnow2 Everyone living in Mallorca should know Spanish.	Pearson Correlation	,180*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	32	
	N	143	143
*** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).**			

Expected Catalan Proficiency by Newcomers

		ExpectedNewcomLangKnow1 A newcomer to Mallorca should understand Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	**ExpectedNewcomLangKnow2** A newcomer to Mallorca should be able to speak Mallorcan Catalan in the future.
ExpectedNewcomLangKnow1 A newcomer to Mallorca should understand Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	Pearson Correlation	1	,726**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001
	N	143	142
ExpectedNewcomLangKnow2	Pearson Correlation	,726**	1

A newcomer to Mallorca should be able to speak Mallorcan Catalan in the future.	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	
	N	142	142

**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Appendix K: Correlations between scales

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Integrative Orientation	–	.73**	.61**	.51**	.37**	.35**
2. Instrumental Orientation	.73**	–	.52**	.50**	.40**	.25**
3. Attitudes to Mallorcan Catalan Speakers	.61**	.52**	–	.42**	.31**	.29**
4. Catalan Linguistic Uses	.51**	.50**	.42**	–	.54**	.53**
5. Self-confidence (inverted)	.37**	.40**	.31**	.54**	–	0.09
6. Attitudes to Governmental Language Strategies	.35**	.25**	.29**	.53**	0.09	–
****Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)**						

Appendix L: Transcriptions of the interviews

Transcriptions are available upon request and can be accessed in this folder:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/167qjzaJ3tu20hnnK0O_assveyYHzyNjP?usp=sharing