<TITLE>Plurilingual identities of young women of Moroccan descent in Zaragoza (Spain)

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<A>Abstract

This paper aims to describe how language and identity intertwine in the discourse of eight women of Moroccan descent living in Zaragoza (Spain) through the analysis of individual semi-structured interviews and a focus group. Considering the intersection of their gender, their origin, and their "descendant" status, as well as their bond to religion, the analysis will focus on their conception of their plural linguistic repertoire as a mirror of their plural identity, especially regarding their attitudes toward their heritage language and the dominant language in the context they live in. Some tensions will also be presented between their identity expression and the categorizations which they are subjected to, and focus will be placed on their adherence to what can be called a *bi/plurilingual identity*, as well as on the influence of their gendered identity in these feelings of belonging and their expression.

Keywords: diaspora, heritage language, language attitudes, ideologies, bilingualism, gender

<A>1 Introduction

Immigration entails a strong process of identity (re-)shaping. Immigrants' experience is marked by tensions between their desire to be part of the host community and that of maintaining their bond to their community of origin, two attitudes that are sometimes presented as incompatible. Although their descendants cannot—and should not—be referred to as *immigrants*,[1] it is undeniable that the post-migration context they live in implies a constant reassessment of their familial heritage and its potential transmission (Barontini 2014: 89).

Language knowledge and habits, as well as linguistic ideologies, constitute a fundamental part of this heritage and are, as will be seen later, intimately connected to the perception and expression of identity. In a context where identity is constructed through processes of (dis-)identification to different communities, showing a certain language knowledge and/or linguistic habits entails displaying one's plural sense of belonging—a plural identity—that can be more or less heterogeneous, complex, and conflicted depending on the person and their background.

This paper aims to describe how language and identity intertwine in the discourse of women of Moroccan descent, considering the intersection of their gender, their origin, and their "descendant" status, as well as their bond to religion. With this purpose, their conception of their plural linguistic repertoire will be first analyzed as a mirror of their plural identity, especially regarding their attitudes[2] toward their heritage language (Moroccan Arabic) and the dominant language in the context they live in (Spanish). Then, some tensions will be presented between their identity expression and the categorizations which they are subjected to. Finally, an analysis will be conducted on their attitude toward the categorical association between language use and cultural belonging, their adherence to what can be called *bi/plurilingual identity*, and the influence of their gendered identity in these feelings of belonging and their expression.

<A>2 Theoretical background

As the previous literature has shown, language has two main functions: one related to communication, the other related to identity. Sometimes these two functions have a conflicted relationship (Blanchet 2012: 130). The representative functions[3] of languages have been thoroughly analyzed by Billiez et al. (2000) among the discourses of immigrants and their descendants in Grenoble (France). As it is stated in the mentioned work, the representative function of language is constituted by "integration/exclusion" functions and "emblematic/stigmatizing" ones. The first coupling of functions refers to the value and capacity of languages to serve as an integration tool to a certain community, as well as to show non-membership and stand out from a certain group (Billiez et al. 2000: 51–52). The second coupling, partly

related to the former one, reflects the acknowledgment of positive or negative reactions toward the use of a certain language depending on the context (intra-community or extra-community). The notion of "linguistic identity" has been used to refer to the displaying of these functions. According to Mufwene's (1997) definition, linguistic identity is indivisible from the context where it is experienced or expressed:

> <EXT>La notion d'identité linguistique est liée de prime abord à celle de communauté linguistique. Comme cette dernière, elle est fluide dans ce sens qu'elle change selon le discours dans lequel le locuteur est engagé. En termes ethnographiques, l'identité sociolinguistique d'un locuteur est associée à son appartenance sociale, notamment sa classe socio-économique, son ethnie dans certaines sociétés multi-ethniques, son âge, son sexe, son niveau d'éducation, sa profession, etc. Dans le contexte spécifique d'un discours, l'identité est aussi déterminée par le rapport du locuteur avec son interlocuteur.[4] (Mufwene 1997: 160–161) </EXT>

<NP>Jacqueline Billiez has claimed the importance of paying attention to the "bilingual identity" of immigrant descendants (Billiez 2002: 88). According to Fabienne Leconte, who analyzed the situation of African immigrants' descendants, legitimizing bilingual speech can enable legitimizing a bicultural identity: "La légitimation du parler bilingue représente une possible légitimation de cette identité biculturelle que les enfants sont en train de construire, qui n'est ni celle de leurs parents ni celle des enfants autochtones de leur âge"[5] (Leconte 1997: 254). This legitimization (or its absence) refers to the degree of acceptance of the plurilingual human nature that contradicts the so-called *ethnolinguistic assumption* that "aligns language use and ethnic or cultural group identity in a linear and one-on-one relationship and in which the modern subject is defined as monolingual and monocultural" (Blommaert et al. 2012: 2–3). This concept has mainly been applied to Nordic contexts such as Finland, although it can easily be applied to the Spanish one, where the monolingual and monocultural ideology is still dominant (despite the presence, development, and revendication of regional languages and identities). The

ethnolinguistic assumption thus reflects a widespread ideology in the Western society that implies that every individual is naturally connected to a certain language, a certain culture, and a certain identity.

These beliefs are the source of processes of identity labeling that link, from outside, individuals to social categories such as ethnic groups (Duvoux 2021: 56) and that force immigrants and their descendants to identify themselves following a preestablished dichotomy between the culture/identity of origin and the host one (García Borrego 2003). Also, it produces categorizations of linguistic practices which entail "perceive[ing] bilingualism as the addition of two monolingualisms or dichotomizations such as those between native speakers and non-native speakers or between a language of origin and a target language" (Busch 2012: 4). These categories can become particularly problematic in the immigration context, as Trimaille observed concerning the notion of "mother tongue" (Trimaille & Millet 2000: 21). Given the rich debate concerning the notion of identity and its plurality,[6] it is not surprising that some authors have suggested the existence of a "plurilingual identity", marked by instability and ambivalence (Moore & Brohy, 2012).

Finally, several authors have applied a gender perspective to the study of immigrant descendants' identity and linguistic practices and attitudes. This is the case for Lacoste-Dujardin's (1992) sociological study among families of Maghrebi descent in Nanterre (France), Deprez's (1994) work on bilingual families in the same country, or Cognigni & Santoni's (2016) study of family migration in Italy. More recently, Farah Ali (2022) analyzed what she called "gendered immigrant identity" among Muslim immigrant women in Catalonia (Spain) and their descendants. In all these works, the identity experience is shaped to some extent by their gender identification, partly due to the importance given to women with respect to language and culture transmission.

<A>3 Methods

The results presented in this paper have been drawn from the qualitative analysis of eight semidirected interviews conducted in Zaragoza (Spain) as well as from the analysis of a focus group conducted with three participants who had already been

individually interviewed.[7] In these interviews, conducted by the author within the framework of a larger research in process, different aspects of the participants' relationship to their linguistic repertoire were tackled, as well as their identity and feelings of belonging and their perceptions of external attitudes toward their heritage language and their linguistic practices. Even though a guide was employed containing hierarchically structured sets of questions, the author tried to follow the participants' flow of speech, leaving room for the narration of experiences apparently off-topic which could make them feel at ease. The technique used was based on the comprehensive interview (Kaufmann 1996), in which the interviewer is actively engaged in the questions, provoking the interviewee's engagement. Therefore, the author assumed the impossibility of staying completely neutral to the participants' speech and made use to some extent of her own experiences and opinions to engage the conversation, integrating interaction as part of the method (Calvet & Dumont 1999: 70). During the focus group, the same principles were followed, although mainly the interaction between the participants was promoted (Reed & Payton 1997) and the interviewer held a moderator's role (Nyumba et al. 2018). Individual interviews took place in public places (two of them at university and the rest of them in coffee shops), while the focus group took part at the interviewer's home. One of the participants (ES_01, Bahija) was already known by the researcher, while the rest were searched ad hoc. The first contact with them always took place through common acquaintances, although no third parties were present during the interviews.

Both the interviews and the focus group (10.5 hours in total) have been entirely transcribed, then analyzed through the CAQDAS Maxqda, which allowed a thematical categorization of the content and a later comparison among the participants' discourses regarding a particular topic. Transcription conventions will be included in Appendix A.

Table 1 shows the participants' profile regarding their age at the time of the interview, their country of birth, and age of arrival to Spain where appropriate, as well as their educational level and professional situation. All of them are considered as immigrant descendants since they were either born in the hosting country or arrived there at a very young age as a consequence of their parents' migration process. Their names have been changed in order to ensure their anonymity.[8]

Table 1: Participants' profiles

Code	Fictional name	Age	Country of birth	Age of arrival	Educational level[9]	Professional activity	Duration
ES_01	Bahija	21	Morocco	2	College	University student	1h31
ES_02	Zineb	19	Spain	Born	College	Apprenticeship student	0h53
ES_03	Aziza	23	Spain	Born	Apprenticeship (Advanced Level)	High apprenticeship student	1h03
ES_04	Hiba	22	Morocco	2	Bachelor's Degree	Opposition candidate	1h05
ES_05	Arwa	22	Spain	Born	College	University student	1h11
ES_06	Housna	22	Spain	Born	Bachelor's Degree	University student	1h07
ES_07	Aicha	23	Spain	Born	Apprenticeship (Advanced Level)	Leisure activities instructor	1h58
ES_08	Soukaina	34	Spain	Born	Apprenticeship	Shop assistant	1h41

Table 2 presents the characteristics of the focus group in which three of the individually interviewed participants took part. Since there was a significant time lapse between the individual interviews and the focus group (between one and two years depending on the participant), some of the profile details displayed on the previous chart had changed. Therefore, this chart also indicates the participants' profile at the time of the focus group. The duration of the focus group was 2 hours 26 minutes.

Table 2: Participants in the focus group

	Code	Fictional name	Age	Country of birth	Age of arrival	Educational level[10]	Professional activity
ES_Group1	ES_01	Bahija	22	Morocco	2	College	University student
	ES_04	Hiba	23	Morocco	2	Bachelor's Degree	Opposition candidate and shop assistant

	ES_06	Housna	23	Spain	Born	Master's Degree	English teacher

<A>4 Data analysis

<B>4.1 Attitudes toward their linguistic repertoire[11]

All the participants in the study share certain similarities concerning their linguistic repertoire, since they all have a complete mastery in Spanish (their main language of socialization outside their family and the language used during the interviews) and declare themselves proficient in Moroccan Arabic (their heritage language[12]), although some of them admit experiencing more difficulties than others in this language. Apart from these languages, all of them except for Housna have some knowledge of Standard Arabic and all of them except for Soukaina also include English and/or French in their linguistic repertoire.

This section will analyze the participants' attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic and Spanish as the main languages that compose their linguistic repertoire, as well as toward the plurality of their repertoire itself.

<C>4.1.1 Processes of (dis-)identification with the heritage language

Talking about their heritage language (Moroccan Arabic) arouses strong feelings among the participants that go from a deep attachment to a certain rejection, sometimes combined in the same discourse.

Attachment is mainly expressed through an identity bond and a sense of possession of the language:

<EXT>(1) […] yo les decía a mis padres *no tengo que desperdiciar el árabe* / o sea quiero tener un buen nivel del árabe […] porque es parte de mí también y quiero que el día de mañana en idiomas que habla Arwa sea árabe / el primero o el segundo / ¿entiendes? porque para mí era / no quiero renunciar / a algo

que es mío / por la aceptación de... si no / no me estoy integrando ¿sabes? es como / lo típico de *tienes que quitarte el velo / porque si no*

'[…] I used to tell my parents *I don't want to waste my Arabic /* I mean / I want to have a good level of Arabic […] because it's also part of me / and I want that one day / when people talk about the languages Arwa speaks / Arabic will be the first or second one / you know? because for me / it was like / I don't want to give up something that is mine / just for acceptance… like otherwise / I'm not integrating / you know? it's like the typical thing of *you have to take off the veil* / because if not…' [ES_05, Arwa, Pos. 256] </EXT>

<NP>Arwa states her desire to master Arabic[13] despite the apparent risk of non-acceptance that it implies. Using a dialogic style, she mentions other people's attitude toward the wearing of the veil and the need of taking it off to be integrated, comparing this to the linguistic situation. She thus implies that renouncing her heritage language would ensure her integration and her decision to maintain it constitutes a certain sign of rebellion.

In the following fragment, Zineb affirms that she experiences a feeling of pride when she speaks Moroccan in public:

<EXT>(2) por ejemplo cuando... cuando estoy... hablando con mis amigas o tal por la calle hablamos marroquí / me siento orgullosa de / ostras que hay gente que solo habla un idioma / en plan yo he tenido pues... no sé no sé si ha sido la suerte o… el destino de hablar dos idiomas y... queramos o no eso es importante porque... nos podemos comunicar con mucha gente gracias a... al marroquí / que los marroquís somos muchos

'for example when... when I'm... talking with my friends or something on the street / we speak Moroccan / I feel proud because / wow there are people who only speak one language / like I've had the... I don't know if it's been luck or... destiny to speak two languages and… whether we like it or not that's important because... we can communicate with a lot of people thanks to...

Moroccan / since there are many of us Moroccans' [ES_02, Zineb, Pos. 337]</EXT>

<NP>She claims to be proud of publicly speaking two languages while other people are only able to speak one. Also, Zineb argues that speaking Moroccan Arabic is important to communicate with the Moroccan community, which she considers herself part of. What could be analyzed in depth from this fragment is the connection between her identification to her heritage language and her identification as bilingual, which suggests that the feeling of pride could be principally caused by the latter. This fragment can be related to the following exchange, where the same participant explains (previously to the fragment above) the reason why she sometimes tries to speak more Spanish than Moroccan in the street:

<EXT>(3) […] a veces por ejemplo cuando voy con mi amiga hablando marroquí / como que la gente... se piensa que solo hablamos marroquí / y... te empiezan a mirar así extraño / y... cambiam- cambiamos le digo *cambia tía de idioma de no sé qué porque la gente como que se está pensando* me dice *que me da igual que me dejes en paz que yo hablo lo que me de la gana*

'[…] sometimes for example when I'm with my friend speaking Moroccan / people... think that we only speak Moroccan / and... they start looking at you strangely / and... we chan- change I tell her *hey / change the language or something because people are thinking* she says *I don't care leave me alone I'll speak whatever I want*' [ES_02, Zineb, Pos. 165]</EXT>

<NP>Considering both fragments, it can be concluded that being identified with her heritage language is experienced as a positive thing as long as it does not cast doubts on her bilingualism and her mastery of Spanish. She states a feeling of judgment when she mentions others' looks and thoughts ("they start looking at you strangely," "people are thinking") that can be understood as a fear of being associated

to a certain category of people who only speak Moroccan—probably newly arrived immigrants. In a study conducted with women immigrated in France, Killian & Johnson (2006) analyzed the process of *disidentification* to the immigrant identity as a form of reaction to the other's representation of who they are. Here, we can talk about *disidentification* to the heritage language as a way of avoiding being labeled as immigrants.

Another participant compared her deliberate disidentification with Moroccan Arabic (as well as Moroccan culture) as a child to her current acceptance of it:

<EXT>(4) […] de pequeña me daba vergüenza hablar en árabe sí / comer comida árabe todo eso me daba vergüenza / sí / ahora ya no / ahora ya es algo normal pero que es que / si lo oculto más se nota / ¿no? en plan... a ver / si te llamas Housna Alaoui mm... de Murcia no eres / entonces / no lo voy a ocultar porque la gente no es tonta […]

'[…] when I was little I was embarrassed to speak Arabic yes / and to eat Arabic food all of that made me feel embarrassed / yes / but not anymore / now it's something normal / but it's like / if I hide it it stands out even more / right? I mean... if your name is Housna Alaoui you're not from Murcia[14] / so I'm not going to hide it because people aren't stupid' [ES_06, Housna, Pos. 358]</EXT>

<T>In order to avoid a feeling of otherness, she started a clear process of disidentification—by not speaking Moroccan Arabic and not eating Moroccan food—that she later abandoned, assuming that it is impossible to hide her origin.

Finally, Bahija clearly evinced her rejection of her heritage language, arguing that watching videos in Arabic brings her a feeling of anxiety:

<EXT>(5) I: vale / ¿escuchas... eh... alguna vez radio / ves la tele o algo / en árabe?

‘okay / do you ever listen to the radio / watch TV / or anything in Arabic?’

Bahija: no / nada / de hecho cada vez que me aparecen vídeos en el móvil o así en árabe / no sé por qué pero los paso / y no me gusta escucharlos […] es simplemente un sentimiento que de repente me llega como así negativo una ansiedad / un tipo de ansiedad o algo así / y los paso // o cuando mi madre me envía vídeos / que normalmente son con mensajes religiosos / no los veo

‘no / not at all / in fact / whenever videos in Arabic pop up on my phone or something I don’t know why but I skip them / and I don’t like listening to them […] It’s just a feeling that suddenly comes over me like something negative / a type of anxiety or something like that / so I skip them // or when my mom sends me videos / which are usually religious messages / I don’t watch them’ [ES_01, Bahija, Pos. 187-192]</EXT>

<NP>From the reference to religion at the end of the excerpt, it can be deduced that part of the unease that she experiences when she comes across these videos can be caused by her conflictual relationship with religious traditions. However, it is also important to consider that this participant experiences a strong feeling of linguistic insecurity in Moroccan Arabic, particularly when interacting with her family, as she stated during the focus group:

<EXT>(6) Bahija: yo siento muchísima vergüenza cuando hablo con mis padres // ahora sobre todo / llevo tanto tiempo fuera de casa que cuando hablo por teléfono con mi madre / me pongo a temblar [laughter] // lo paso muy mal hablando marroquí con ella […]

‘I feel a lot of embarrassment when I talk to my parents // especially now / I’ve been away from home for so long that when I talk on the phone with my

mom / I start shaking [laughter] // I have a really hard time speaking Moroccan with her […]' [ES_Group1, Pos. 90]</EXT>

This feeling of linguistic insecurity is also mentioned by Housna, who avoids speaking it in Morocco to avoid the feeling of otherness provoked by her accent and her lack of mastery:

<EXT>(7) por ejemplo cuando me hacen ir a comprar // y si es en el barrio / intento hablar [en árabe] lo mínimo / lo mínimo mínimo / para que no se note que soy de otro país / o... si voy al zoco / también / intento / intento que... no se note / que soy / que tengo acento / y... con mi familia ya como ya lo saben que soy de fuera / entonces lo tienen que entender / no me da tanta vergüenza […] te restringes / porque... sabes que no... que no eres capaz de hablar como los demás / entonces intentas decir lo mínimo / ¿sabes? no te explayas / no desarrollas tus ideas […]

'for example / when they make me go shopping // and if it's in the neighborhood / I try to speak [in Arabic] as little as possible / really the bare minimum / so it doesn't show that I'm from another country / or... if I go to the market / too / I try / I try to... not let it show / that I have an accent / and... with my family as they already know I'm from abroad / so they have to understand / I don't feel as embarrassed […] you hold back / because... you know that... you're not able to speak like the others / so you try to say the bare minimum / you know? you don't go into detail / you don't develop your ideas […]' [ES_06, Housna, Pos. 27-29]</EXT>

<NP>Considering that these two participants happen to have the most conflictual relationship toward their heritage language, the feeling of non-mastery of the language (and the shame it causes) can be presumed to have a great influence on the process of (dis-)identification.

<C>4.1.2 Spanish as a tool for social recognition

Contrary to Moroccan Arabic, Spanish is mainly presented in the participants' discourses as a means of communication. Housna, for instance, insisted on this communicative function during the focus group:

<EXT>(8) Housna: o sea / yo / mi relación con el español es que yo realmente no me siento alejada de él ni... simplemente lo uso pa comunicarme o sea / cada idioma que utilizo lo utilizo con una función […] pero mi relación pues eso la veo como igual que con los otros idiomas […]

'I mean / me / my relationship with Spanish actually I don't really feel distant from it nor... I just use it to communicate I mean / each language I use I use it with a function […] but my relationship I see it the same as with the other languages […]' [ES_Group1, Pos. 47]</EXT>

<NP>However, an emblematic function of Spanish is also identified in the collected discourses, as can be appreciated in the following fragment of the individual interview with the same participant, who tried to analyze the reasons why her mother has been reprimanded for speaking Arabic at work while this has never happened to her:

<EXT>(9) […] *aquí se habla español /* porque mi madre sí que ha recibido ese tipo de comentarios / SIENdo que yo / no los he recibido / también porque // yo no tengo la necesidad a veces de hablar en ÁRABE / porque puedo cambiar al español / mi madre a veces si no puede expresarse en español tiene que hacerlo / en árabe solo […]

'[…] *here we speak Spanish* / because my mother has received that kind of comments / whereas me / I haven't received them / also because // I don't have the need sometimes to speak in ARABIC / because I can switch to Spanish /

my mother sometimes if she can't express herself in Spanish / she has to do it / in Arabic only […]' [ES_06, Housna, Pos. 396]</EXT>

<NP>Housna visibly considers that her mother is sometimes stigmatized because she is not able to speak in Spanish in some contexts. Therefore, she perceives her own ability to switch as a shield against stigmatization. The same phenomenon has been observed in Example (3), where having the choice to speak Spanish was also presented as a socially accepted feature as opposed to speaking "in Arabic only."

In the same way, another participant associates being proficient in Spanish with a sign of women empowerment:

<EXT>(10) […] cuando // veo a mis amigas hablar español / en sus trabajos / en... mi hermana hablando español pues... perfectamente son- veo como… como unas m- marroquís en plan... mujeres marroquíes empoderadas / en plan de... hostia pues... sabemos hablar sabemos defendernos sabemos comunicarnos

'[…] when // I see my friends speaking Spanish / at their jobs / in… my sister speaking Spanish well… perfectly they are- I see them like… like some M- Moroccan women like... empowered Moroccan women / like... damn… we know how to speak / we know how to stand up for ourselves / we know how to communicate' [ES_02, Zineb, Pos. 351]</EXT>

<NP>This conception of Spanish as an asset and as a means of achieving social recognition implies high pressure to speak it flawlessly. Consequently, feelings of linguistic insecurity arise and reveal a fear of not being proficient enough to be considered as Spanish, as can be observed in the following excerpt:

<EXT>(11) […] sientes que es como representar bien a tu comunidad y todo eso / pues te exiges demasiado tanto a la hora de hablarlo como a la hora de... de

tener / de de las notas / de todo / como sí que es un poco de miedo de que te vea la gente como que no eres... como que vale / te consideras española pero no hablas bien español ¿entiendes?

'[…] you feel like it's about representing your community and all that / so you demand too much of yourself both when speaking it and when… you know / in grades / in everything / like there's this little bit of fear that people might see you as if you're not… like / okay / you consider yourself Spanish but you don't speak Spanish well / you know?' [ES_05, Arwa, Pos. 252]</EXT>

<C>4.1.3 Attitudes toward bilingualism

As has already been seen in the previous paragraphs, the participants' attitudes toward their linguistic repertoire concern not only their relationship to the languages they speak (mainly Moroccan Arabic and Spanish), but also their conception of their plural repertoire itself.

Most of them, when they were asked if they considered themselves as bilingual, confirmed their identification with this label and presented bilingualism as an important characteristic of their identity which they are proud of.

<EXT>(12) […] estoy super orgullosa de saber / desde muy pequeña / dos idiomas / y... y siempre que yo qué sé veo a padres que no son... aquí en España veo a padres que no son españoles y que hablan a sus hijos solamente en español y no les enseñan su lengua.. de origen / me pone... o sea no lo entiendo y digo mira qué pérdida podrían aprovechar esa oportunidad porque no todo el mundo la tiene y ser bilingües desde pequeños // y es un privilegio // yo me siento muy orgullosa / sí

'[…] I'm super proud of knowing / from a very young age / two languages / and... and whenever I see / I don't know / parents who are not… here in Spain I see parents who are not Spanish and who speak to their children only in Spanish and don't teach them their native language... it makes me... I mean I

don’t get it and I think what a loss they could take advantage of that opportunity because not everyone has it and being bilingual from a young age // it’s a privilege // I feel very proud / yes’ [ES_01, Bahija, Pos. 71]</EXT>

<NP>Bahija’s testimony is particularly explicit about this pride. She refers to the “privilege” of being early bilingual as opposed to the situation of some immigrant descendants who are not transmitted their heritage language. Visibly, her conception of bilingualism matches her representation of her own linguistic repertoire, leaving no doubt about her identification as bilingual. This is not the case for other participants who hesitated and nuanced when they were asked about their self-representation as bilinguals, as in the following example:

<EXT>(13) I: […] ¿te consideras bilingüe? […]

‘[…] do you consider yourself bilingual? […]’

Zineb: // bilingüe pero en marroquí / con el árabe no me considero bilingüe / con el marroquí y el español sí me considero bilingüe / y con el inglés bueno mi inglés... de defenderme también / pero con el árabe no / porque yo creo que pa ser bilingüe hay que saber... leer un idioma / y entenderlo pues 100%

‘// bilingual but with Moroccan / with Arabic I don’t consider myself bilingual / with Moroccan and Spanish yes I consider myself bilingual / and with English well my English... I can defend myself too / but not with Arabic / because I think to be bilingual you must know… how to read a language and understand it 100%’ [ES_02, Zineb, Pos. 324-325]</EXT>

<NP>This example shows different linguistic ideologies held by some participants. On the one hand, there is the idea that bilingualism is defined as a state of complete mastery of two languages (“understand it 100%”) and equal in all their competences (“you must know… how to read a language”). On the other hand, there is the idea that not all languages have the same weight on the linguistic market. Thus,

a distinction is established between vernacular Arabic (Moroccan) and standard Arabic (designated in this testimony as "Arabic").[15] Mastering the first one does not seem to be enough for some participants to consider themselves unhesitatingly as bilinguals.[16]

In the following example, Aziza seems to attach importance to bilingualism only when it is achieved with effort and sacrifice, which was not her case since she was already "born with" both languages:

<EXT>(14) a ver para mí es poco porque // yo no he tenido que tener mucho sacrificio para hablar […] ni árabe ni español / porque es como que has nacido con ello y ya está no has tenido mayor sacrificio […]

'for me it's not much because / I haven't had to make a big sacrifice to speak […] neither Arabic nor Spanish / because it's like you were born with it and that's it you haven't had to make a big sacrifice […]' [ES_03, Aziza, Pos. 70]</EXT>

<NP>This act of speech can also be interpreted as the assimilation of a widespread ideology in Europe that considers bilingualism of linguistic minorities as a "mass" one, entailing its strong undervaluation (Deprez 1994: 32).

<B>4.2 Identity expression and perception

The participants show, to a greater or lesser extent, a certain conflict when expressing their identity, partly provoked by a tension between the others' perception and their own experience and feeling of belonging. The following excerpt is revealing of Bahija's conflict:

<EXT>(15) I: y... m... entonces cuando tú tienes que decir si tú eres... eh... española / marroquí / magrebí... ¿qué dirías?

‘and... m... so when you have to say if you’re… uh... Spanish / Moroccan / Maghrebi… what would you say?’

Bahija: pues yo tengo problemas con esa pregunta [laughter] / porque... eh... no sé / a veces intento evitar decir que / a ver / físicamente se ve que no soy española / pero... siempre que me preguntan / soy de España // pero / y luego las típicas preguntas / *no / ¿de dónde eres?* de España […] eh... si te estoy diciendo que soy española / que soy de España / soy de España y punto / no hace falta que... insistas / si... // si quisiese decirte de dónde son mis orígenes ya te lo hubiese dicho

‘well, I have problems with that question [laughter] / because... uh... I don’t know / sometimes I try to avoid saying that / I mean / physically it’s obvious I’m not Spanish / but... whenever they ask me / I’m from Spain // but / and then the typical questions / *no / where are you from?* from Spain […] uh... if I’m telling you that I’m Spanish / that I’m from Spain / I’m from Spain, period / no need to... insist / if... // if I wanted to tell you about my origins I would have told you already’ [ES_01, Bahija, Pos. 35-40]</EXT>

<NP>As is the case for other participants, Bahija is presumed to have a foreign origin due to her physical appearance and is thus questioned about her Spanish identity. She seems to have integrated this physical label, since she affirms that “physically, it’s obvious [she’s] not Spanish” while she defends her right to identify herself with this community and not be insistently questioned about it.

While Bahija identifies herself as “Spanish of Moroccan descent” (she uses this label later in the interview), a frequent reaction among the participants to the same question consists of claiming a “fifty-fifty” identity:

(16) ¿yo? yo me siento mitad mitad // aunque en ningún lao te aceptan que seas mitad mitad / lo que comenté que aquí cuando estás aquí te tachan como la marroquí y cuando vas a Marruecos te tachan como la española / así que estás ahí en un punto... que no sabes ya... ni de dónde eres

‘me? I feel half and half // although nowhere do they accept that you are half and half, like I said, when you’re here you’re labeled as the Moroccan and when you go to Morocco, you’re labeled as the Spanish one / so you’re in this place… where you don’t even know… where you’re from anymore’ [ES_02, Zineb, Pos. 75]</EXT>

<NP>Zineb regrets not being accepted as “fifty-fifty” and being subjected to the dichotomic ideology that was mentioned before. According to this ideology, the Spanish identity and the Moroccan one are considered as incompatible and hermetic and are thus presented as a choice to make. Paradoxically, identifying herself as “fifty-fifty” does not completely avoid this conception, since it presents identity as an entity composed of two distinct elements that are not naturally mixed.

This dichotomic choice is explicitly questioned by Aicha, who interrupted the flow of the interview to clarify her lack of identification with any cultural identity, maybe anticipating a question that she did not want to be asked:

<EXT>(17) I: ¿en tu caso soléis comer todo platos marroquís...?

‘in your case, do you usually eat only Moroccan dishes...?’

Aicha: sí o sea árabes / árabes o español […] sí // es una mezcla ah / una cosa muy importante que te quería decir / yo no me siento ni de aquí ni de allá / eso es algo que... muchos tenemos […]

‘yes, I mean Arabic / Arabic or Spanish […] yes // it’s a mix oh / something very important I wanted to tell you / I don’t feel from here or there / that’s something that… many of us have […]’ [ES_07, Aicha, Pos. 60-63]</EXT>

<NP>Later, she stated that she strongly identifies herself as Muslim, a category that did not seem to arouse any conflicts in her. Hiba also experiences being questioned about her identity as a conflict:

<EXT>(18) Hiba: […] muchas veces el hecho de que nos pregunten es como... hostia / es verdad ¿yo qué soy? es como que te hace replantearte cosas que a lo mejor tú ni siquiera te has replanteado […]

'many times the fact that they ask us it's like… damn / it's true, what am I? it's like it makes you question things that maybe you hadn't even thought about' [ES_Group1, Pos. 625]</EXT>

<T>She also openly criticized this dichotomic identification during the individual interview, citing the heterogeneous and chaotic nature of every human being:

<EXT>(19) […] a ver que no es o eres esto o eres esto / sino que puede haber un montón de cosas en una persona / entonces eso / no sé / así un poco... todo desequilibrado [laughter]

'[…] it's not like you are either this or that / but there can be a lot of things in one person / I don't know / like a bit… everything's kind of off balance [laughter]' [ES_04, Hiba, Pos. 65]</EXT>

<NP>This idea of "imbalance" is also suggested by Soukaina in the following interaction:

<EXT>(20) I: bueno y ¿cómo te defines tú a ti misma / normalmente?

'well, and how do you define yourself / normally?'

Soukaina: pff un torbellino / una locura // me defino un torbellino // sí […] porque eh... al mezclarlo todo todo es como un bbbff / entonces es... // (laugher) una tormenta / pa que me entiendas

‘pff a whirlwind / crazy // I define myself as a whirlwind / yes […] because uh... mixing it all up it’s like a bbbff / so it’s... // [laughter] a storm / so you understand me’ [ES_08, Soukaina, Pos. 143-146]</EXT>

<NP>Finally, the identity conflict is presented by Arwa as the result of another labeling process, this time provoked by the wearing of the veil as well as by other cultural differences such as celebrations.

<EXT>(21) […] me han dicho / es que no / eh... la imagen de una- mujer española no es de una mujer con velo // entonces / claro / yo ahí muchas veces lo que entraba lo de la crisis de identidad / *¿realmente soy española?* es que no me visto como ellos / *¿realmente soy española?* es que ellos celebran esto / es que *¿realmente soy española?* vale hablo bien el español pero quizás eh… […]

‘[…] I’ve been told / no / uh... the image of a Spanish woman is not that of a woman with a veil // so / of course / that's where the identity crisis often comes in // *am I really Spanish?* I don’t really dress like them / *am I really Spanish?* It’s just that they celebrate this / *am I really Spanish?* Okay I speak Spanish well but maybe uh… […]’ [ES_05, Arwa, Pos. 258]</EXT>

<NP>After asking herself three times whether she is “truly Spanish” because of the reasons mentioned above, she refers to her mastery of Spanish as an argument that supports her identification as “truly Spanish” although it seems to not be enough (“but maybe…”).

The process of labeling induced by the wearing of the veil also entails linguistic associations, as Hiba explained during the focus group, referring to her mother’s experience:

<EXT>(22) Hiba: […] o sea / por ejemplo / si le llaman por teléfono y dice prefiero no contestar a hablar en árabe / porque claro / me va a mirar // pero es lo que digo / ella se siente discriminada / claro / es que lleva el hijab / es como mucho más identificable que nosotras / por ejemplo // que a lo mejor hablas dos idiomas y saben que hablas dos idiomas / pero ella va a decir / pues mira esta / que solo habla su idioma / viene aquí / lo típico / viene aquí a conquistarnos […]

'[…] I mean / for example / if they call her on the phone and she says she prefers not to answer to speak in Arabic / because of course / they'll look at me // but that's what I'm saying / she feels discriminated / of course / she wears the hijab / it's much more identifiable than us / for example // maybe you speak two languages and they know you speak two languages / but she's going to say / look at this one / she only speaks her language / she comes here / the typical thing / she comes here to conquer us […]' [ES_Group1, Pos. 265]</EXT>

<NP>As has been noted in this and other fragments, being bilingual (and being identified as such) is perceived by the participants as essential to avoid negative associations and experiences of discrimination. According to Hiba's and Arwa's discourses, this identification as bilingual is compromised by the wearing of the veil.

<B>4.3 Claiming a bi/plurilingual identity

<EXT>(23) I: […] ¿cuáles son las lenguas que... que hablas?

'[…] what languages… do you speak?'

Aicha: vale / la nativa / o sea... es… árabe y español […]

'okay / the native one / I mean... it's… Arabic and Spanish […]' [ES_07, Aicha, Pos. 7-8]</EXT>

<T>In this brief exchange, Aicha is visibly confronted with a choice that she subjects herself to. Although the question did not imply choosing a native language, but only listing the languages that she speaks, she tried to answer by stating which language was her native one. However, after a small hesitation, she mentioned both Arabic and Spanish as attributes to the singular "the native one." Her reaction suggests that she is frequently confronted with this linguistic choice (deciding which one is *her* language), which she experiences as problematic. As has been seen in the previous section, this participant explicitly refused being categorized in a sole cultural identity ("I don't feel from here or there"). This refusal is here applied to her linguistic identity and shows a request for a bilingual legitimization that implies not only speaking two languages but also having a bilingual identity.

Arwa also made her bilingual identity explicit by naming the languages that she places in her heart:[17]

<EXT>(24) en mi corazón / está eh... el árabe y el español // ¿por qué? pues porque... // es como... parte de mí / es algo que quiero / y son mis dos idiomas que que... // o sea que son míos ¿vale? que forman parte de lo que sería... Arwa

'in my heart / there's uh... Arabic and Spanish // why? because… // it's like... part of me / it's something I want / and they are my two languages that... // I mean they are mine right? they are part of what would be... Arwa.' [ES_05, Arwa, Pos. 157]</EXT>

<T>By using the possessive "mine," she indicates not only her sense of possession of those languages, but also the correlation that she establishes between those languages and her identity ("they are part of what would be... Arwa").

Later in the interview, Arwa presents the connection between language and identity as a constraint:

<EXT>(25) […] si yo te estoy diciendo que he nacido aquí / que me considero parte española o a veces española pues no tiene sentido que no hables bien el idioma / porque el idioma tiene que ver mucho con la... identidad ¿sabes? // entonces / para mí una persona / hay gente que cree que por ejemplo tú no puedes decir que eres español / si no sabes español / entonces claro ahí es como ¿hasta qué punto / un idioma representa un país al cien por cien?

'[…] if I'm telling you that I was born here / that I consider myself partly Spanish or sometimes Spanish then it doesn't make sense that you don't speak the language well / because language has a lot to do with... identity, you know? // so / for me, a person / there are people who think that for example you can't say you're Spanish / if you don't know Spanish / so then it's like, to what extent does a language represent a country one hundred percent?' [ES_05, Arwa, Pos. 252]</EXT>

<T>She questions in this excerpt the ethnolinguistic assumption ("to what extent does a language represent a country one hundred percent?"), which leads to identity constraints ("there are people who think that for example you can't say you're Spanish / if you don't know Spanish"). Since her own opinion is here mixed with others' discourses, it is difficult to determine whether she suggests that language knowledge and identity should be kept distanced.

Aziza is explicit about this necessity to distinguish between identification with a language and cultural identification:

<EXT>(26) […] tú puedes hablar en español porque o te sientes más segura o más identificada / pero que eso no te hace ser ni menos marroquí / ni que estés dejando tu esto de lado / sino… es un idioma / no tiene nada que ver / es como si me pongo a hablar francés no me voy a sentir francesa

'[…] you can speak in Spanish because you either feel more comfortable or more identified / but that doesn't make you any less Moroccan / nor that you're abandoning your roots / it's just... a language / it has nothing to do with it / it's like if I start speaking French I'm not going to feel French' [ES_03, Aziza, Pos. 195]</EXT>

<T>We consider that both Arwa and Aziza see themselves constrained by the ethnolinguistic assumption and its implicit consequences: speaking a language is seen as a sign of belonging to a certain cultural group and, vice versa, every member of a cultural group is supposed to speak (proficiently) a certain language. Although fragments (25) and (26) do not directly claim a bi/plurilingual identity, they clearly refuse the notion of linguistic identity as the expression of a monolingual and monocultural ideology.

Finally, it is interesting to analyze Housna's remark about how she reacts to other people's judgments on her accent in Arabic when she is in Morocco:

<EXT>(27) Housna: […] es verdad que al principio me daba como mucha vergüenza / pero ahora ya no tanto / porque al final / pues es un indicio de que hablo más idiomas // entonces yo cuando voy a Marruecos y si a alguien le molesta / pues mi acento o mi forma de hablar / al final pues es que yo hablo otros idiomas […]

'[…] it's true that at first I was really embarrassed / but not so much now / because in the end / it's a sign that I speak more languages // so when I go to Morocco and if someone is bothered by my accent or the way I speak / in the end, well, it's because I speak other languages […]' [ES_Group1, Pos. 114]</EXT>

<T>She now considers her accent in Moroccan Arabic, which she was once ashamed of, as a proof of her bi/plurilingualism ("it's a sign that I speak more languages"), which she is visibly proud of.

Bahija also defended her plurilingualism as a shield against her aunt's critiques about her performance in Moroccan:

<EXT>(28) cuando voy allá a Marruecos / una de mis tías me dijo que no sabía hablar / y que... balbuceamos allí como tontos como... // pero es que tiene razón [laughter] / porque no hablo como ella habla / pero bueno ella tampoco habla español solo habla un idioma / entonces yo pienso bueno / hablo unos cuantos idiomas tú solo hablas uno […]

'when I go there to Morocco / one of my aunts told me that I didn't know how to speak / and that... we babble there like idiots like... // but she's right [laughter] / because I don't speak the way she does / but she doesn't speak Spanish either she only speaks one language / so I think well I speak a few languages and you only speak one […]' [ES_01, Bahija, Pos. 275]</EXT>

<T>Both examples show that having a bilingual or a plurilingual repertoire can mean not only speaking different languages, but also featuring them differently from monolingual speakers[18] and identifying with this bi/plurilingualism over individual identification with distinct languages.

<B>4.4 The influence of their gendered identity

In some of the fragments that have been analyzed, gendered identity is evoked by the wearing of the veil. As Farah Ali already observed in her study on Muslim women in Catalonia, "Wearing a *hijab* […] can play a significant role in how members of the TL [Target Language] community position Muslim women as outsiders, even those who consider themselves members of the TL community, such as the second-generation informants" (Ali 2022: 94). Although not all participants wear it (five out of eight),

the question of its influence on their perception as outsiders was present in almost all interviews, exemplified either through their own experience or through their mothers', sisters', or friends' experiences.

<EXT>(29) a ver ahora que tengo el hijab sí que saben que no soy española pero eso es una tontería porque ahora hay muchos españoles conversos / pero cuando no tenía el hijab no lo notaban en absolutamente nada […]

'now that I wear the hijab they know I'm not Spanish but that's silly because now there are many Spanish converts / but when I didn't wear the hijab they didn't notice anything at all […]' [ES_08, Soukaina, Pos. 177][19]</EXT>

<NP>During the focus group, the participants were asked whether they felt that their gender had an impact on their experience with languages and identity. Although, at first, they did not seem to be aware of any differences, the conversation led to several realizations.

Regarding behavioral differences between genders, they mentioned women's desire for integration and acceptance in every community, whereas, according to them, men do not strive to fit in.

<EXT>(30) Housna: […] yo cuando estoy en Marruecos quiero ser aceptada por los marroquíes y haré cosas como vestirme más modesta / intentaré hablar mejor / cuando esté aquí intentaré encajar aquí cuando esté allá intentaré encajar allá / o sea yo creo que las mujeres queremos encajar siempre y los hombres pues que encajen los demás conmigo si hace falta

'[…] when I'm in Morocco I want to be accepted by Moroccans and I'll do things like dress more modestly / I'll try to speak better / when I'm here I'll try to fit in here when I'm there I'll try to fit in there / I mean I think women always want to fit in and men, well, they expect others to fit in with them if necessary' [ES_Group1, Pos. 548]</EXT>

<T>Concerning the construction of their identity, they agreed in saying that men are subjected to higher pressure coming from the Moroccan community to preserve their identification with this cultural group and not be assimilated to the Spanish one.

<EXT>(31) Hiba: yo lo tengo muy claro eh / lo de un hombre o sea como hombre yo creo que... sería el triple de presión […] porque eres... la auto- no la autoridad pero vamos a decirlo el papel de un hombre... por ejemplo en nuestra cultura / en una cultura marroquí obviamente (laugther) / eh... tiene que tenerlo muy claro o sea qué eres / te tienes que identificar como algo / sabes que si tú te identificas como español vas a perder una serie de privilegios

'I'm sure about it uh / about men I mean as a man I think it would be three times more pressure […] because you are… the autho- not the authority but let's say the role of a man... for example in our culture / in a Moroccan culture obviously [laughter] / uh... he has to be sure about it I mean what you are / you have to identify as something / you know that if you identify as Spanish you're going to lose some privileges'

Bahija: totalmente

'absolutely'

Hiba: y vas a perder una serie de respeto // y si eliges ser marroquí que es lo que va a hacer el 95% de la gente / te van a dar ese respeto / incluso en tu familia / incluso en tus amigos ¿sabes?

'and you're going to lose a certain amount of respect // and if you choose to be Moroccan which is what 95% of people will do / they'll give you that respect / even in your family / even among your friends you know?' [ES_Group1, Pos. 437-443]</EXT>

<NP>Reacting to the interviewer's surprise at this statement, Housna explained their belief while the other two participants expressed their agreement with her analysis:

<EXT>(32) Housna: pero también yo creo que a lo mejor nosotras tenemos el privilegio para elegir porque se entiende que no queramos estar en el bando / que es nuestro ¿no? o sea digamos yo soy marroquí / y se puede entender por qué yo me quisiera españolizar / quizás ser española me da unos privilegios que en mi cultura no tengo / y que el hombre se aferre a su cultura a lo mejor es porque ahí es donde gana ese poderío que a lo mejor no tiene en otro contexto / entonces no lo vería como un privilegio el poder elegir / es simplemente que no te sientes m... protegida en una ni en la otra entonces estás como que no sabes cuál ¿sabes? o sea si yo voy a la española a lo mejor sufro de racismo o sufro de lo que sea y si voy a la marroquí pues sufriré de otras [...]

'but I also think that maybe we have the privilege to choose because people understand that we may not want to be on the side / that is ours right? I mean let's say I'm Moroccan / and it can be understood why I'd want to become more Spanish / maybe being Spanish gives me privileges that I don't have in my culture / and the man clings to his culture maybe because that's where he gains that power that he might not have in another context / so I wouldn't see it as a privilege to choose / it's just that you don't feel... protected in one or the other so you're kind of lost you know? I mean if I go to the Spanish side I might suffer racism or whatever and if I go to the Moroccan side I'll suffer from something else […]' [ES_Group1, Pos. 471]</EXT>

<NP>According to Housna, women's "privilege to choose" does not stem from a greater freedom, but rather from a search for security and protection that is nowhere to be completely found. This search can be "understood" (meaning socially accepted) by a certain entity that is not specified in her discourse.

5 Discussion and conclusion

The data have shown different tensions on the participants' self-representations and perceptions of their own linguistic repertoire. Regarding cultural identity, they constantly face processes of labeling from outside at the same time as they try to identify themselves through pre-established identity labels (mainly "Moroccan" and "Spanish") that might not correspond to their plural and complex sense of belonging. Furthermore, regarding their linguistic identity, they are required to identify themselves in linguistic categories (like *mother tongue* or *native language*) that might also not correspond to their actual repertoire.

Special attention should be given to their identification as bilinguals, which, although sometimes compromised by their ignorance or little knowledge of Standard Arabic, seems to constitute an important part of their identity and their socialization experience. In fact, as has been seen through several fragments of the interviews, they frequently oppose the positive social impact of being identified as bilinguals to the difficulties experienced by people "only" speaking Arabic.

Their strong adherence to this category is considered significative of their search for legitimation of a bi/plurilingual identity that is a sheer reflection of their plural sense of belonging. This legitimation would imply, in their inner circle as well as in societal discourses, understanding the nonsense of certain choices that they are frequently subjected to, causing them unease because of the impossibility of fitting into them.

Paradoxically, the context of the interview itself implies a confrontation to these categories, which might have caused a certain attitude of defensiveness in some participants, as was probably the case for Aicha, who anticipated the choice by refusing to be categorized following a dichotomic identity scheme.

Further research on the notion of *bi/plurilingual identity* is thus needed, as well as on its application to the immigration context, especially to the experience of immigrant descendants, who are the most often confronted with constraining choices regarding their cultural and linguistic identity.

Finally, it is necessary to look deeper into the influence of gender in cultural and linguistic identity construction. The data seem to cast doubt on the important role that immigrant women and their descendants traditionally had in maintaining familial heritage and suggest that new generations of descendants could be more inclined to look for social acceptance in the dominant community as a means of escaping traditional gendered roles.

<A>Appendix A: Transcription conventions

Convention	Comments
I:	Interviewer's speech
/	Short pause
//	Long pause
(¿)?	Intonation corresponding to a question
pero…	Final lengthening of the word
SIENdo / ÁRABE	Emphasis on a syllable / Emphasis on a word
cambiam-	Interrupted, unfinished word
no	Reported speech
[comment]	Transcriber's comment or clarification about the content
[…]	Fragment omitted

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<A>Notes

[1] The author refuses the use of the expression “2nd generation of immigrants,” which would imply that they have been active participants in the process of immigration.

[2] Following Danièle Moore (2001: 36), a *linguistic attitude* can be defined as a predisposition to respond consistently toward a given object and thus precedes behaviors toward this object. In this paper, it is assumed that the participants’ attitudes are the result of certain *linguistic ideologies*, understood as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255).

[3] The author’s translation of the French “fonctions identitaires.”

[4] “The notion of linguistic identity is firstly linked to that of linguistic community. As the latter, it is fluid, meaning that it changes depending on the speech act where the speaker is engaged. In ethnographic terms, a speaker’s sociolinguistic identity is associated with their social belonging, especially their socioeconomic status, their ethnic group in certain multiethnic societies, their age, their sex, their educational level, their profession, etc. In the specific context of a speech act, identity is also shaped by the speaker’s relationship to their interlocutor.” [The translation is ours].

[5] “Bilingual speech legitimation represents a possible legitimation of a bicultural identity that children [of immigrants] are shaping, and which is neither that of their parents nor that of native children of their age.” [The translation is ours].

[6] Contrary to the belief in a shared and homogeneous identity, Amin Maalouf defended the idea of a “dosage” where different elements are combined to shape a particular identity that can never be the same for two individuals (Maalouf 1998: 10). This idea, also supported by the anthropologist Jean-Loup Amselle, implies that the different elements of one’s identity can be (deliberately or instinctively) accentuated depending on the situation. Particularly, the sense of belonging to a certain group or

element will be stronger the more this belonging is felt as being challenged or attacked (Maalouf 1998: 35).

[7] All the data were collected between May 2022 and January 2024.

[8] The transcriptions have also been anonymized (any details that could reveal the participants' identity have been erased or changed).

[9] The equivalents in the British system have been used.

[10] The equivalents in the British system have been used.

[11] The concept of "linguistic repertoire" originates from John Gumperz, who initially named it "verbal repertoire" in the 1960s. A broad discussion of this notion can be found in a detailed article by Brigitta Busch (2012).

[12] None of the participants of this study is a speaker of Berber (the other vernacular language present in certain regions of Morocco).

[13] It is unsure whether she refers here to Moroccan Arabic or Standard Arabic, since, as in many cases in this and other interviews, both languages are designated with the term "Arabic."

[14] Region in Spain.

[15] It is important to clarify that these are not two different languages, but two varieties of a macrolanguage.

[16] This idea is partially connected to the one previously mentioned, since vernacular Arabic is a spoken language and, by referring to the ability to read the language, participants refer to the knowledge of standard Arabic.

[17] This fragment corresponds to her description of her "linguistic portrait." This activity consists of drawing one's verbal repertoire inside a human silhouette that represents one's body. This technique, which was used in all the interviews to elicit the participants' relationship and attitudes to the languages they speak, is described by Brigitta Busch (2018).

[18] Housna's remark refuses the conception of bilingualism as two independent monolingualisms, an idea that has already been contested by Grosjean (1989), among other authors.

[19] Regarding her identification as "Moroccan" in this fragment, it must be noted that she was hesitant about it at other moments of the interview. For instance, in Example (20), she avoided identifying herself with a cultural label.