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# Language socialisation and *muda*: The case of two transnational migrants in Emmaus Barcelona

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**Abstract:** This article investigates the relationship between socialisation and the concept of linguistic *muda* in a community of practice that belongs to a social movement called Emmaus. Based on a long-term ethnography (2008–2017), the article focuses on two transnational migrants who undergo a linguistic *muda* into functionally bilingual Catalan through participation in communal activities at Emmaus Barcelona. The analysis firstly traces the tensions arising in linguistic negotiation during a migrant novice’s initial participation in assemblies as a “socialising routine”. Although established participants of all origins projected a preferred bilingual stance and routinely code-switched, newly-arrived migrants were initially addressed in Spanish, in line with the commonsensical sociolinguistic behaviour routinely adopted with migrants in Catalonia. Analysis of the two migrants’ socialisation trajectories in Emmaus illuminates the changing sociolinguistic norms in Catalonia that legitimise transnational migrants’ linguistic *mudes* in this community. In conclusion, acceptance as a legitimate speaker of Catalan at Emmaus Barcelona can be viewed as a means to an end: that of becoming a legitimate member, capable of participating in joint (inter) actions such as assemblies.

**Keywords:** linguistic socialisation, migration, Catalonia, ethnography, linguistic *muda*

## 1 Introduction

The goal of this article is to articulate socialisation through/into language (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002) with the concept of linguistic *muda* (Pujolar and González 2013) in the context of a community of practice (Wenger 1998) that belongs to a social movement called Emmaus. Novices in an Emmaus community are socialised into ways of behaving and talking by means of mutual engagement in collective activities performed through verbal and non-verbal

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means. Migrants are socialised into the Emmaus community of practice not only through the medium of language but also into using legitimate language(s) for interaction. On the basis of a *longue durée* ethnography (2008–2017), I examine the process of linguistic *muda*, which has been defined as “the specific biographical juncture where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire” (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013: 139), in relation to socialisation into shared knowledge in a given community of practice. In this article, I focus on assemblies as “socialising routines”. These are recurrent, situated activities that provide opportunities for novices and more experienced members to interact and where background knowledge can be made explicit for novices (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 343). This longitudinal, ethnographic account of two transnational migrants’ socialisation at Emmaus Barcelona shows that a linguistic *muda* is not a voluntary, free-willed process, but one that has an instrumental value. It is the result of a social desire and of pressure to learn and use language as a social tool to engage in talk as a recognised member in the Emmaus community.

This article addresses the question of language choice and negotiation during this socialisation process, an issue that is especially significant in the context of Catalonia and the Barcelona metropolitan area where this Emmaus community is located. Catalonia is officially trilingual, with Catalan and Aranese (spoken in la Vall d’Aran) as *llengües pròpies* ‘own languages’ (see Woolard 2016: Chapter 3) of preferential use and Spanish as the nation-state language. Today Catalonia is de facto multilingual owing to the arrival of transnational migrants<sup>1</sup> since 2001. According to Woolard (1989), there were two main ethnolinguistic groups in Catalonia in the 1980s: the *catalans*, whose native or habitual language was Catalan, and the *castellans*, mainly those who had migrated from Southern Spain and their descendants whose native language was Spanish. The arrival of foreigners to Catalonia, whose registration increased from only 2.9% in 2000 to 15.95% in 2010 (Idescat 2010), transformed the sociolinguistic reality from a bilingual society with two languages linked to ethnic identities to a multilingual society where the model of legitimate speakerhood has shifted towards goal-oriented and performative identity (Woolard 2016). Within the ideological shift towards the anonymity of Catalan as a public language for everybody, the basis for linguistic authority embraced “post-naturalist” visions of authenticity which allowed new migrants to learn and use Catalan (Woolard 2016).

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term “transnational migrants” and “migrants” interchangeably to refer to those arriving from outside the Spanish state. I am aware that “migrant” is also used for people who moved to Catalonia from the South of Spain in the 1960s and 1970s, but this is not the focus of my article.

Legitimate Catalan speakers are no longer defined by origins and L1 but by *ius linguae*, since “somebody who speaks Catalan habitually in daily life is for most purposes taken to be Catalan” (Woolard 2016: 67). In the province of Barcelona, where Spanish language predominates, there is increasing use of Catalan and of bilingual Spanish-Catalan interactions (see Corona et al. 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Woolard 2016). According to Woolard and Frekko,

not only the native Catalan speaker of autochthonous heritage but also ordinary individuals of varying social, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds now routinely mobilise varying forms of Catalan as well as Castilian – Catalan identity as well as language – in varying combinations and for varying purposes in daily life (2013: 2).

In the metropolitan Barcelona area, the “autochthonous” Catalan speakers have nativised features and lexicon that were previously constructed as Spanish interference (Pujolar and González 2013). In addition, new transnational migrants have developed “hybrid repertoires” including local varieties of Spanish and Catalan to interact with the community where they reside (see Corona et al. 2013 on Latinos). In this urban context, a linguistic *muda* into Catalan refers to “functionally bilingual in the sense that they can routinely use both languages [Spanish and Catalan] in daily life” (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015: 168). Nevertheless, many habitual Catalan speakers still address transnational migrants in Spanish using it as the inter-language (Pujolar 2007; Corona et al. 2013). This is a remnant of older models for language and speakerhood in Catalonia in which the monolingual norm required habitual Catalan speakers to switch to Spanish if their interlocutor was perceived to be non-native owing to their accent or even appearance (Woolard 1989).

In this article, I investigate Emmaus, a social movement whose mission is to (re)insert formerly marginalised people now living and working with other people. Emmaus offers an alternative lifestyle in local groups called “communities”, which articulate a communal lifestyle in a shared household, collective work in a recycling cooperative, and voluntary work in social projects, both locally and abroad (see Section 3 below). Thus, Emmaus Barcelona, the focus of this analysis, provides a context for socialisation into a community of practice (Wenger 1998), brought about by mutual engagement in social and interactional practices involving people from different geographical, linguistic and generational backgrounds. My ethnographic observations show that full participation in communal activities such as meals and assemblies requires at least passive competence in Catalan and Spanish. Migrant newcomers to Emmaus are socialised into Catalan with code-switching into Spanish in communal activities, a marked choice in this urban environment.

This article is organised as follows. In the next section, I briefly outline the main theoretical concepts and ethnographic methods used for this analysis. The third section introduces Emmaus Barcelona as a diverse and stratified community of practice. The fourth section is devoted to analysis and is divided into two sub-sections, the first concerning a newcomer's participation in assemblies and the second concerning the socialisation trajectories of two migrant participants. Finally, some conclusions are drawn on the links between linguistic socialisation and linguistic *muda* in a social movement.

## 2 Conceptual framework and ethnographic methods

Transnational migrants who join an Emmaus community are socialised into language to participate in a *community of practice* (Wenger 1998). Emmaus brings diverse people together (in terms of nationality, religion, age, linguistic background and socioeconomic class) by collective engagement in a shared enterprise, the Emmaus mission (see Section 3 below). A community of practice acts as a locally-negotiated regime of competence based on situated practices that differentiate a competent participant from a marginal one or an outsider. In fact, “a community of practice is a node of mutual engagement that becomes progressively looser at the periphery, with layers going from core membership to extreme peripherality” (Wenger 1998: 118). How does one become a competent participant and speaker in a community of practice such as Emmaus Barcelona? Social interaction is of crucial importance in socialising newcomers into language, that is, the relevant communicative and linguistic practices which mediate knowledge, orientations and values for participation in a community (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002).

Socialization, broadly defined, is the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community. This process – really a set of interrelated processes – is realized to a great extent through the use of language, the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed. (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 339).

Language is the central dimension of socialisation. For migrants, as well as young children, this socialisation entails learning and adopting the new language(s) needed to function and be regarded as a competent member in a particular community, however broadly or narrowly defined.

Linguistic *muda* typically requires a process of socialisation through and into language, given that it is triggered by major changes in speakers' everyday routines and in their linguistic behaviour, in a setting where they engage in novel activities and interact with new acquaintances in an intensive, routine way (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015). The analytical concept of linguistic *muda* was coined to describe the adoption of Catalan in Catalonia by speakers whose primary socialisation language was Spanish, but it has since been applied to incorporate the expansion of multilingual repertoires among transnational migrants to Catalonia (Caglituncigil 2014) and other contexts (Martín-Rojo and Rodríguez 2016). Migrants may adopt a linguistic *muda* in a specific setting and later extrapolate it to other settings as *new speakers*, that is, "individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalisation projects or as adult language learners" (O'Rourke et al. 2015: 1). Unlike Spanish-dominant speakers who may choose to speak Catalan in certain settings, allophone migrants feel social pressure to comply with customary ways of speaking and behaving in the receiving society. This linguistic *muda* among migrants is the result of socialisation into language, that is, the longitudinal process of learning and using a new language in a given social space for the purposes of daily communication and acceptance in the community.

*Longue durée* ethnography is particularly suitable as a means of investigating language socialisation (Duff 2008). As observed by Duff (2008: 116), "socio/linguistic norms, language/literacy practices, participants, and political conditions, like the identities and roles of speakers, normally change over time". Participant observation and recordings of situated interactions reveal the ongoing, interactional construction of (non-)legitimate identities. Nevertheless, observation alone does not suffice, since *overt* participation cannot be the only measure; people who are competent in a language might nevertheless not participate in the same way as others, for diverse reasons (e.g. power relations). Interview data can explain observed behaviour, providing categorisations of participants and information on their trajectories. Moreover, follow-up research with communities and participants is needed to determine socialisation trajectories and the transformations of a particular community of practice. The data analysed in this article are composed of field notes on community activities, assembly transcriptions and semi-structured and informal interviews with novice and established members at Emmaus Barcelona. The data were collected at different times from 2008 to 2017 but mainly in 2011 and 2012 as part of a larger ethnography of Emmaus (Garrido 2014).

### 3 Emmaus Barcelona as a community of practice

Emmaus<sup>2</sup> is “an international solidarity movement” founded by the Abbé Pierre in post-war Paris. It is a holistic movement that provides unconditional shelter in live-in communities for people from different backgrounds, combining this with cooperative work, typically consisting of waste recovery and recycling, and social projects and activism in solidarity with those who suffer most, both locally and abroad. Initiatives in each locality vary according to the sociopolitical context, institutional connections and group size. Today, it is present in 37 countries, forming a network of over 400 heterogeneous local groups. As a transnational social movement, Emmaus is based on a pluri-local frame of reference which structures and is structured by everyday practices, subject positions and collective narratives, existing above, beyond and in tension with nation-states (Pries 2001). Oral interaction is at the heart of the articulation and (re)production of this imagined community (Anderson 1983) made up of geographically-dispersed groups of people who work within the same mission but who do not usually meet each other face-to-face.

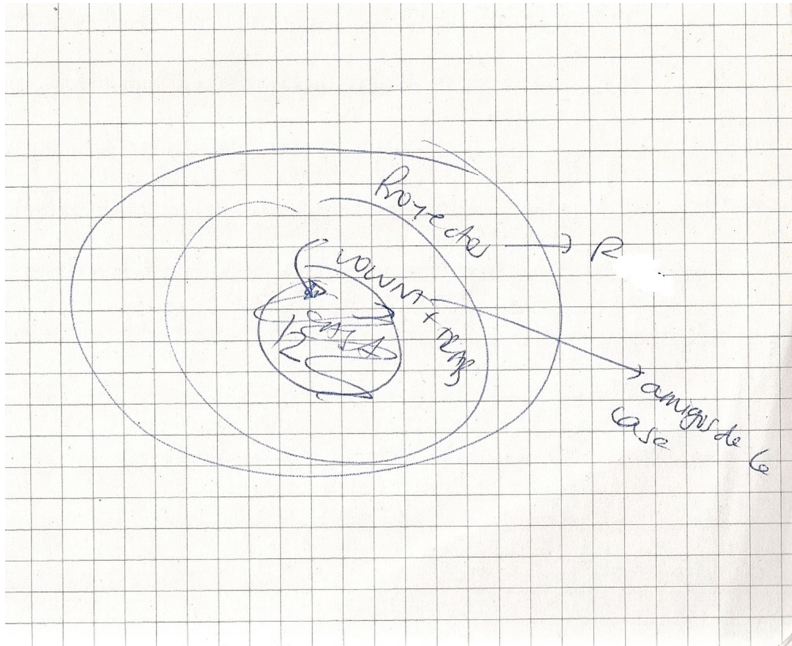
This article focuses on Emmaus Barcelona, a local community in a post-industrial city near Barcelona, with over 200,000 inhabitants of whom around 12% were foreign nationals in 2008–2012, although this figure had fallen to 10% by 2016. The majority of these migrants are from the EU, South America and North Africa. Emmaus Barcelona is an independent, grassroots community founded in 1980 by some youth connected to the movement’s founder. In 2012, it had around 13 residents, known as *companys/compañer@s* (translated as “companions” in British communities) in the Emmaus movement, and over 20 *voluntaris/voluntari@s* (called “volunteers” in British communities). I believe an Emmaus community is an appropriate site for an analysis of the socialisation process that takes place within a community of practice that forms part of a broader social movement. It is often described by members as “a community of life and work” based on communal practices such as assemblies and meals, and on running a cooperative operating two shops and a warehouse. The community leads an alternative, austere lifestyle – exemplified by their collective household and use of second-hand clothes – financed by the recycling cooperative and, in 2012, by a collaboration agreement with some local administrations to collect clothes and recyclable waste, although this came to an end shortly afterwards.

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<sup>2</sup> The local communities that I investigated agreed to disclose the name of the movement. To protect informants’ anonymity, I have used pseudonyms for people, and I have kept exact geographical locations confidential.

The financial surplus from these activities was employed in development projects, mainly in Central and South America, and in a three-month residential project for homeless migrants (2003–2011). These migrants became temporary, peripheral members of the local community; they lived in the same house but did not participate in companions' meetings or collective work. From 2008 to 2012, the community ran a self-funded housing project for ten former participants in external social housing, run by a committee of volunteers and companions. In 2012, five migrants who were living temporarily in this external housing worked as volunteers alongside companions in the recycling cooperative. Within these housing projects, a group of volunteers organised Spanish and Catalan classes and linguistic partnerships for newcomers, taking place in a local migrant-support NGO until 2011 and in community centres since then.

Emmaus Barcelona is a face-to-face community with direct engagement and relationships between members occupying different positions. The metaphor of the layered onion employed in my interviews (see Figure 1) reflects the stratification of this community: a first layer of established companions and long-standing volunteers is at the core of the “home”, with a buffer of newer



**Figure 1:** Emmaus Barcelona as a stratified “onion”. Drawing by companion Esther during our interview, March 1, 2012.

companions – which include transnational migrants like Massin and Victor (see below); a second layer of external – often more recent – volunteers with whom companions interact in the workplace; and a third, outer heterogeneous layer of people involved in the community's solidarity projects, both in local migrant-support initiatives and in development projects in Central and South America. In Figure 1, “R” is Rita, the founder of this community, who connects all the layers. According to the informants, there is mobility across layers and different participation statuses within them. Newcomers to the community, and in particular migrants (the focus of this article), start out as peripheral participants or even as outsiders in the “onion”. However, through participation they are socialised into new ways of communicating and, crucially, into the use of Catalan in order to follow and participate in collective activities such as meals and assemblies.

Emmaus Barcelona is a community of practice with fuzzy boundaries that defines itself as a “community”, in keeping with the Emmaus movement's terminology for local live-in groups. It is a community of practice based on a shared enterprise, namely the Emmaus mission of international solidarity, which is (re)produced locally through daily activities for communal living, recycling work and social activism (see above). These activities (e.g. sorting clothes, communal meals and assemblies with other associations) require both socio-cultural and linguistic means for full participation, the latter being the research focus of this article. The (re)production and transformation of this local community of practice hinges on the meetings held to make decisions, discuss and plan actions and projects, and distribute tasks among the members. These encounters, which serve as “socialising routines” for novices, enhance cohesion among members and enable them to interactively construct a consensus, sometimes with open support and sometimes with acquiescence or silence. It is mainly the competent members who express their opinions and argue for them, highlighting the social stratification present within the community.

One of the main settings for newcomers' socialisation (see Section 2 for a definition) within the community is the official “volunteer meeting”, held after lunch on the first Tuesday of each month. These internal assemblies are busy and diverse, attended by at least 25 external volunteers and in-house companions. All participants are socially included and, at the same time, stratified on the basis of sociocultural, communicative and linguistic resources that shape legitimate identities in this community of practice. Newcomers to Emmaus Barcelona need to become new speakers of Catalan (see Sections 1 and 2 above) in order to navigate this community. In order to fully participate in assemblies, migrant novices must learn the main norms of code-switching, in order to understand the mixed form of Catalan used at Emmaus Barcelona (see Section 1), and individual linguistic preferences among the regular members.



The ethnographic analysis presented below focuses on the linguistic socialisation and *muda* of two migrant companions: Victor from Eastern Europe and Massin from the Moroccan Sahara. When they joined Emmaus, neither spoke any Catalan but both had engaged in Spanish language self-study. Victor was in his early thirties when he joined Emmaus Barcelona as a new companion in February 2012. Brought up in Russian-speaking territories, he had been an arts student and had developed an interest in Spanish in his twenties owing to his Spanish surname. With help from the Spanish centre in Moscow, he had arrived in Spain in search of his family origins, his grandfather having been exiled during the Spanish civil war. When he joined the community some months later, he was “almost in the streets” and it was mainly out of need that he asked to enter the community. He claimed to speak Russian only and in fact, he did not understand much Spanish, as we shall see. In Emmaus, he took one-to-one Spanish lessons with a volunteer for a short time, and then continued self-study for at least two years. He mostly learned Catalan informally through communal activities and recycling work. At the time of writing (August 2017), he had left the community, after five years, and spoke both Spanish and Catalan fluently.

I first met Massin in July 2008, when he was in his early thirties. He had arrived in Barcelona metropolitan area in late 2007 and had found accommodation with relatives. In 2007, he had no prior competences in Spanish or Catalan but had learned Arabic, French and English at school. During that period, he spoke his native Tamazight at home and studied Spanish through books. In the summer of 2008, he participated in the three-month residential project and took Catalan lessons with volunteer teachers. He could speak a little Spanish and Catalan, sufficient to hold a short conversation. In the same year, he was transferred to the Emmaus self-funded housing project and continued to volunteer for this community, as well as for other local NGOs. He started speaking Catalan through this voluntary work. He was an Emmaus companion from 2009 to 2015, when he left the community with his new family. In 2012, we were able to conduct the interview entirely in Catalan and he could also speak Spanish.

## 4 Learning to participate in Emmaus Barcelona

In this section, I analyse the situated and longitudinal socialisation of Emmaus novices into new communicative practices and linguistic norms from the viewpoint of two transnational migrants, Victor and Massin (see Section 3 for their trajectories). The first sub-section focuses on Victor and looks into one of the established companion’s marked request for Spanish, owing to his newcomer

identity at his first volunteer assembly, which he opposes in the second one, unsuccessfully. The second sub-section explores the trajectories of these two companions at Emmaus Barcelona to gauge how their socialisation through mutual activities led to their linguistic *muda* into Catalan.

#### 4.1 Negotiating language choice in assemblies

The following analysis shows that the interactional construction of a legitimate Emmaus identity is based on (passive) bilingual competence in Catalan and Spanish, and insider knowledge, both of Emmaus activities and values and of the communicative norms to participate in communal events such as assemblies. I will analyse excerpts from the first two volunteer assemblies that Victor attended as a newly-arrived companion in February and March 2012. Both meetings were held in the common dining room after lunch, with the participants sitting in a circle. The first assembly lasted 70 minutes and had 26 participants: 12 companions, 13 volunteers and the researcher. The main topics dealt with were Victor's introduction to the community (the focus of my analysis here), a letter concerning the evolution of a new initiative called "Emmaus in the countryside" and information about an upcoming exhibition in the community's gallery, followed by a longstanding volunteer's narrative of his anti-Francoist fight on the occasion of a decoration awarded by the Catalan Parliament, and concluded with my request for the participants' informed consent. The second assembly, in March 2012, lasted 64 minutes. There were 23 participants, of whom 9 were companions. The first half of the assembly was devoted to "information", i.e. organising voluntary shifts for an upcoming used book sale, work performed in the larger of the second-hand shops, and short announcements, while the second half was devoted to a "theme", a joint reflection on "Why do we do it?" about engagement with Emmaus.

In bilingual and multilingual contexts, language choice is a stance resource for speakers. The significance of this choice is grounded in a political economy of language, simultaneously positioning the two languages in the Emmaus community, proposing models of bilingual identity and attributing stances to the interactants (Jaffe 2009a). Emmaus Barcelona collectively projects a preferred bilingual stance, i.e. a model of being, learning and communicating in two languages, which privileges communication and cooperation over individual choices or codes. The now-widespread bilingual norm (Corona et al. 2013; but see Woolard 1989) is taken for granted, with Spanish-Catalan bilingual conversations typically heard in table talk, at assemblies and even between one of the couples, Miquel Àngel and Dolo, with the husband routinely speaking

Catalan and his wife, Spanish, to each other and everyone else. The bilingual norm also applied to the researcher. During table talk, for instance, on several occasions I switched between Catalan and Spanish with the same interlocutor or in the same group conversation. At the meetings, informants did not generally regard convergence to the interlocutor's language as an affiliative strategy. The participants also used ambivalent forms and many spoke Catalan "with an accent". For instance, some Basque members used it with a typical Euskara intonation and Spanish borrowings.

Most public communication in the Emmaus community takes place in Catalan, with extensive code-switching into Spanish. In order to become fully-fledged members, migrant newcomers undergo socialisation into these bilingual practices in Catalan and Spanish, languages of which they have little or no knowledge when they join. However, habitual Catalan speakers initially address these migrants in Spanish, as an inter-language of communication, as they are assumed to know "more Spanish" than Catalan. Migrant novices are initially constructed as Spanish speakers who lack access to this legitimate bilingual voice, and thus longstanding members reproduce *commonsensical sociolinguistic behaviour* and address foreigners in Spanish (Pujolar 2007), based on ideologies of linguistic authenticity for Catalan (Woolard 2016). With respect to migrants who are newly arrived in Emmaus, these traditional social values of Catalan and Spanish seem to permeate the group, among whom a majority are local people of an older generation.

Although established participants (who had participated in the community for many years) code-switched between the two local languages or used ambivalent forms as a routinised practice, newly-arrived migrants were excluded from their conversations because they were not equipped linguistically. According to Rita, the migrants sat at one end of the shared table and companions from the "home" sat at the other, as I observed during my ethnography. Therefore, there was a physical and linguistic division between migrants as temporary participants, on the one hand, and companions as established members, on the other.

- (1) Physical and symbolic division at the table between companions and residential project participants. Interview with Rita, 27 February 2008. My translation from Catalan.

la comunicació està clar que és difícil perquè, aquí som bilingües català i castellà per lo tant, compartirem menjar i ja ho veuràs, d'entrada, els de la casa es posen en un cantó i els immigrants en un altre vale? això ja ho fem molt malament, nosaltres ens parlem perquè és clar és l'únic moment de trobada de tots al migdia.

[Communication is obviously difficult because here we are Catalan-Spanish bilinguals and so we will share food and you will see that, straight away, the people from the house sit at one end and the immigrants at the other, right? It's wrong for us to do this, we speak to each other because of course it's the only time we all get together, at lunchtime.]

In the following assembly excerpts, positioning is analysed as an interactional phenomenon with a focus on a new companion, Victor, who is categorised as a Spanish speaker/non-Catalan speaker and also as a novice, at this sociocommunicative event in particular and at Emmaus Barcelona in general. This interaction shows that the social inclusion of newcomers and the social stratification of members are two sides of the same coin in a community of practice. The first volunteer meeting that Victor attended, three days after joining the community, was his introduction to the volunteers (February 7, 2012). On meeting him, some people were interested in saying “welcome” in Russian, his native language. Rita introduces the new companion by saying that he speaks Spanish but not Catalan *yet* (line 1), foregrounding his language competence, and adds that she is “unsure” because he used an expression in Catalan at lunchtime (line 2). Then, Rita suggests holding the meeting in Spanish so that Victor can understand the proceedings “a bit more” (lines 5 and 7), which in this context is a marked choice as evidenced by the insertion of discourse markers and side remarks in Catalan.

(2a) Negotiating language use for welcoming Victor. Volunteers' Assembly. 07-02-2012.

@Begin

@Participants: RIT (Rita, *responsable* and founder), LAU (Laura, volunteer psychologist and committee member), VIC (Victor, newly-arrived companion), JOS (Josep, longstanding volunteer), UNK (unknown participant) and PAQ (Paqui, longstanding volunteer).

@Languages: Spanish (plain), *Catalan* (italics)

1 \*RIT: +<sup>^</sup>*allavors* eh #0\_2 él habla: castellano pero catalán todavía  
2 no # *oi-?* o *sí-?* porque me has dicho *bon profit* <ahora yo ya estoy desconcertada # *clar*>.

%tra: +<sup>^</sup>then eh # he speaks Spanish but Catalan not yet # right-? or do you-? because you said *have a nice meal* <now I am unsure # of course>.

%act: Scope symbols mark overlap with laughter from some members, including VIC.

- 3 \*VIC: este una palabra que: +...  
%tra: it is a word that: +...
- 4 \*RIT: *val # val.*  
%tra: OK # OK.  
%act: VIC laughs faintly.
- 5 \*RIT: en- entonces quizá estaría bien hacer la reunión en castellano.  
%tra: the- then perhaps it would be nice to have the meeting in Spanish.
- 6 \*PAQ: +^cl:aro.  
%tra: +^ su:re.
- 7 \*RIT: +^ y así entendería un poco más # no-? #0\_1 entonces también  
8 # podríamos presentarnos todos para que él supiera: cómo nos  
9 llamamos y: si somos voluntarios o qué: hacemos o o qué  
10 voluntariado hacemos # o qué voluntariado xx # así en plan  
pequeño eh-?  
%tra: +^ and that way he would understand a bit more # right-? #0\_1  
and also # we could all introduce ourselves so that he knows our  
names a:nd if we are volunteers or wh:at we do or what volun-  
tary work we do # or what voluntary work xx # a little OK-?
- 11 \*JOS: <en plan pequeño> [>].  
%tra: <a little> [>].
- 12 \*RIT: <porque:> [<] él ha:- él vino el domingo por la noche # por lo  
13 tanto está descubriendo nues- nuestro mundo digamos # el de  
14 aquí no-? porque es imposible explicarlo todo # y hemos  
15 hablado un par de veces pero: pero es el día a día eh: el que  
16 le hará ver qué somos y qué hacemos más o menos #0\_1 pues  
bueno ya está presentado Victor pues la presentación para allá.  
%tra: <becau:se> [<] he has- he arrived on Sunday night # so he is  
discovering ou- our world let's say # this one here right-? because  
it's impossible to explain everything xx and we have spoken a  
couple of times bu:t but it is the everyday eh: that's going to let  
him see what we are and what we do more or less #0\_1 so well  
Victor has been introduced so let's introduce ourselves.  
%tim: 1:37  
[...]
- %com: All the participants briefly introduce themselves by name and  
activity. Someone on the phone justifies some volunteers'  
absence today and everyone explains who they are.  
%tim: 6:40

Rita's explicit commentary on language choice stems from a well-meaning intention to include Victor in the assembly, as she had done with Latin American visitors and African migrants in the residential project in my past observations, but widespread language ideologies that exclude him are simultaneously at play. She subconsciously positions Victor as a non-Catalan speaker who lacks ownership of the language as a foreigner in Catalonia and an outsider to this bilingual Emmaus community. Following Jaffe (2009b: 17), Rita produces a *metasociolinguistic stance* towards assumed connections between language (choice) and identity. She maps ways of speaking (in this case, language choice) to participant roles in the assembly, drawing a line between socialised participants, whom she addresses in Catalan (lines 18 and 21) and Victor, who is constructed as a Spanish speaker - in spite of his limited proficiency (line 3) - and is expected to learn Catalan in the future (line 1). Victor's attempt to construct his own identity as a Catalan learner is ignored in this interaction in favour of his (poor) Spanish skills. Rita ignores his incipient use of Catalan at lunchtime as an anomaly that does not fit the categorisation of migrant newcomers as non-Catalan speakers and opts for commonsensical sociolinguistic behaviour (Pujolar 2007) to address him in Spanish despite his poor understanding of this language.

## (2b) Continued

17 \*RIT: pues eh- igual le: podríamos explicar a Victor cómo hacemos  
18 esto de las reuniones # *si algú s'anima!* # *si no sempre estic enraonant jo.*

%tra: so eh- maybe we: could explain to Victor how we do these  
meetings # if anybody is up for it! # if not it's always me  
speaking.

19 \*UNK: xxx

20 \*UNK: *algú vol cafè?*

%tra: Anybody want coffee?

21 \*RIT: *encara no ho sabeu?*

%tra: you still don't know?

22 \*LAU: una vez al mes hay una reunión de voluntarios # después de  
23 comer # hm en general los martes vienen los voluntarios a  
24 comer pero no siempre vienen eh-? #0\_1 y entonces el primer  
25 martes de cada mes se hace una reunión de voluntarios # y ya  
vienen más voluntarios.

%tra: once a month there is a volunteer meeting # after lunch # hm  
in general volunteers come for lunch on Tuesdays but they

- don't always come eh-? # and then on the first Tuesday of every month there is a volunteer meeting # and more volunteers come over.
- 26 \*VIC: eh *clar!* Xx  
%tra: eh sure! xx
- 27 \*RIT: los que pueden vienen a comer.  
%tra: those who can come for lunch.
- 28 \*LAU: +^exacto o si no a tomar el:  
%tra: +^ exactly or otherwise for ha:ving
- 29 \*RIT: si no: +...  
%tra: otherwise: +...
- 30 \*LAU: +^a tomar xx  
%tra: +^for having xx
- 31 \*RIT: pero cada martes vienen muchos voluntarios # muchos de los  
32 que están aquí comen aquí en casa aunque no haya reunión  
33 #0\_3 *i: què més-?* hmm # últimamente eh- dijimos de dar las  
34 informaciones de las diferentes comisiones digamos # informaciones varias # y después hacer un tema # un tema para reflexionarlo todos.  
%tra: but every Tuesday lots of volunteers come # many of those who are here have lunch here in the house even when there's no meeting #0\_3 and what else-? hmm # lately eh- we agreed to give out information from the different committees that is # all sorts of information # and afterwards address a topic # a topic for everyone to reflect on.  
%tim: 8:00
- @End

The second part of this excerpt shows socialisation into shared knowledge *through* language. Rita explicitly claims that Victor is “discovering our world” and that explanations do not suffice; instead, it is the day-to-day experience that will show him who they are and what they do (lines 12–15). This knowledge about the Emmaus community constructs institutional roles, communication practices and power relations within this Emmaus community. Rita, the community founder and *responsable* (“community leader” in the Emmaus UK terminology), is acutely aware of her central positioning as a kind of community manager who chairs these assemblies, a role which requires her active participation (lines 17–18). At Rita’s request, Laura (and later Rita herself) – as core members in the “onion” – explain to Victor the functioning and purpose of

“volunteer meetings” in Spanish. These meetings provide access to information about the different activities and enable reflection on a topic that constructs shared membership and values (lines 31–34). We see that Laura and Rita construct an expert stance that positions Victor as a novice by virtue of “insider knowledge” shared by full members (see line 21 addressing established participants in Catalan as the default language).

In this, Victor’s first assembly, Rita co-constructs a legitimate social persona with certain types of insider knowledge, including the functioning of assemblies as a communicative event requiring bilingual competence in Catalan and Spanish for full participation. Accordingly, Victor is positioned as a novice who needs to learn. Thus, he is addressed in Spanish and explicitly socialised into routine practices, also in Spanish. In the next assembly, however, in March 2012 (see excerpt 3, below), this new companion does not acquiesce to his positioning as a Spanish speaker. In fact, he challenges conventional sociolinguistic norms, namely the commonsensical use of Spanish with foreigners, and discursively constructs his identity as a learner of Catalan with receptive skills. Excerpt (3) shows that socialisation is a bidirectional process in which the novice also conveys his own needs and challenges widespread ideologies of Catalan in order to negotiate his identity in this linguistic order.

(3) Timidly challenging language choice. Volunteers’ Assembly. 6 March 2012.  
@Begin

@Participants: RIT (Rita, *responsable* and founder), VIC (Victor, newly-arrived companion), MIQ (Miquel Àngel, *responsable* and companion), MRG (Maria Rosa, ethnographer) and JST (Josep T., secular monk and volunteer).

@Languages: Spanish (plain), *Catalan* (italics), ambivalent

@Situation: VIC and MRG sit next to each other.

- 1 \*RIT: *pensant en el Victor millor que parlem en castellà.*  
%tra: for Victor it’s best that we speak in Spanish.
- 2 \*MIQ: +<sup>^</sup>ah sí!  
%tra: +<sup>^</sup>oh yes!
- 3 \*VIC: no::!
- 4 \*JST: eso se vivía xx # no tenía que ver también con las facilidades del xx  
%tra: you lived it xx # it had nothing to do with how well xx  
%com: on-going conversation during Assembly.



- 5 \*RIT: <sí sí sí sí>[>]!  
 %tra: <yes yes yes yes> [>]!
- 6 \*VIC: <no hace falta> [<][=!whispering].  
 %tra: <it isn't necessary> [<][=!whispering].  
 %add: MRG.
- 7 \*JST: desde allá también no sólo +...  
 %tra: from there as well not only +...
- 8 \*RIT: +^ <sí porque las veces que lo dijimos> [>]  
 %tra: +^ <yes because we've said that so many times> [>]
- 9 \*VIC: <ahora yo estoy <estudiando> [?] castellano todavía> [<][=!whispering]  
 %tra: <I am already <studying> [?] Spanish> [<][=!whispering]  
 %add: MRG.
- 10 \*MRG: bueno [=!whispering]  
 %tra: well [=!whispering]  
 %add: VIC.

@End

Addressing the other participants in Catalan, Rita proposes speaking in Spanish, for Victor's sake (line 1), because the meeting had been in Catalan with some code-switching into Spanish up to this point. The companion Miquel Àngel readily accepts this (line 2), even though he speaks Catalan to everybody including his Spanish-speaking wife Dolo, as discussed above. However, Victor explicitly opposes the language shift into Spanish (lines 3 and 6). Josep automatically continues in Spanish (line 4 onwards) paying no heed to Victor's complaint. Then, Victor whispers to the researcher and tells her that "it isn't necessary" (line 6) and that he is already studying Spanish (line 8), which I interpret as Victor justifying his need for Catalan exposure to learn the language, while not necessarily positioning himself as a speaker of Catalan.

In our recent interview, Victor recalled his lack of understanding in those first volunteer assemblies. He confirmed my ethnographic observations that he did not fully understand either Spanish or Catalan. In excerpt (4), he recalls his perception of a muddle of people, words and voices because he cannot remember what was discussed. This stands in stark contrast to Rita's (and the other members') willingness to inform him about the functioning of the community, in particular these meetings (excerpt 2), and their commonsensical shift to Spanish as the language that would facilitate Victor's understanding (excerpts 2 and 3), which were both unsuccessful.

- (4) Victor's lack of understanding in his first volunteer assemblies. Interview with Victor, 21 April 2017. My translation from Spanish.

la sensación que de cualquier cosa, porque, no no no me puedo acordar, me acuerdo de de las cosas de las cosas que se hablaban, ni de las personas con las que estaba, a mí en aquel entonces, se me se me mezclaban las personas las voces las palabras, todo todo una mezcla y, sí, sí, y poca cosa que entendía.

[The feeling that it could be anything, because, I can't can't can't remember what was said or the people I was with, at that time, I would muddle up the people, the voices, the words, it was all all mixed up and, yes, yes, I didn't understand very much.]

In 2017, Victor had become a fully-fledged new speaker of Catalan who could function bilingually in the community. He routinely communicated in Catalan during meals and assemblies, and he also interacted with others in Spanish and bilingually (field notes, April 18, 2017). In our research interview, Victor spent the first 15 minutes telling me about his own life history and his family's mobilities across Europe, in monolingual Catalan. Apart from this fluency, he had a native-like pronunciation of phonemes that could pose problems for Spanish speakers (like schwa or voiced consonants), which in his opinion was due to his Russian-language background. Victor claimed to find Catalan easier to pronounce than Spanish even though he had studied Spanish formally, rather than Catalan. As a former student of linguistics, Victor claimed that he enjoyed himself when learning Spanish and Catalan and in particular, "*catalán disfruto por la pronunciación*" [Catalan I enjoy because of its pronunciation] (interview, April 21, 2017). In fact, Victor added that many habitual Catalan speakers thought that his level of Catalan was higher than it really was, thanks to his pronunciation. In the next section, we explore the novices' longitudinal socialisation into these linguistic competences needed in the Emmaus community.

## 4.2 Developing a legitimate *muda* over time

By contrast with migrant newcomers, the more established non-Catalan members – both transnational migrants and from the rest of Spain – were largely recognised as fully-fledged Catalan/Spanish bilinguals after some years of affiliation to Emmaus. In particular, many transnational migrants had initially participated in the three-month residential project for homeless migrants and

had then maintained their affiliation to Emmaus, as volunteers in recycling work, participants in the language partnership scheme and/or residents in Emmaus social housing (see Section 2 above). Their years of affiliation with Emmaus had socialised them into the community's preferred bilingual stance and into the Emmaus mission through language.

In my longitudinal fieldwork since 2008, the fixed constructs of language previously documented in the three-month residential project for migrants (see Garrido 2010) had become more flexible with respect to former project participants who had remained in the orbit of Emmaus. In the short-term project, formal classes were based on the separate learning of local languages, and everyday interactions had a monolingual Spanish bias that did not equip these migrant newcomers for bilingual interactions with the community members (see excerpt 1). In 2011, the established migrant participants were no longer routinely addressed in Spanish as they had been as newcomers in the residential project, mirrored by Victor's case above. These migrants who had become accepted members were familiar with mixed conversations, and thus had become new speakers of Catalan, as defined by Pujolar and Puigdevall (see Section 1). As an illustration of this, the social housing project meetings were held in Catalan – with some code-switching into Spanish – for the first time in February 2012; up until then they had been conducted in (monolingual) Spanish. There seemed to be different linguistic expectations for migrant members according to their length of participation in the Emmaus community. The longer they had been involved in Emmaus Barcelona, the more socialised they became into mixed practices between Catalan and Spanish (see Section 1), and the further away they moved from monolingual standards.

Let us now focus on Massin's trajectory to explore socialisation within this community of practice. In our interview (15-02-2012), I asked Massin which languages he had used at Emmaus and he answered "*primer castellà, després català*" [at first Spanish, later on Catalan] in Catalan. Regarding this language shift, he explained that he had started studying Catalan when he learned about official bilingualism through the Emmaus community. Massin narrated the reversal of the commonsensical choice of Spanish with migrants over time, which is a process that other migrants, including Victor, have also experienced (see below). As a fully-fledged Emmaus companion, Massin claimed that "*es nota que parlo més català i escriure escric millor el català que el castellà*" [you notice that I speak more Catalan and in writing I write Catalan better than Spanish]. He also made it clear that he used Tamazight with "our people" within the residential project, which I observed throughout my ethnography. During this period as a companion, he took Catalan-language courses up to level C1, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

This young companion regarded transnational mobility as a unique chance to learn from diverse people, different work experiences and new educational opportunities (field notes, January 21, 2012). Of course, this learning process included language at its heart. Let us recall that Massin had arrived in Catalonia without any competences in either of the two official languages and that when he entered the Emmaus residential project, he had only engaged in self-study of Spanish for a few months. In Emmaus Barcelona, he became a new speaker of Catalan over time, which implies a bilingual (actually multilingual) stance as defined by Jaffe. He did not claim ethnolinguistic ascription as a Catalan but engaged in a performative change in his everyday routines within Emmaus. This also shows that this Emmaus community is fairly open to the increasing urban diversity that has resulted from recent migration.

Victor, too, underwent a socialisation process, resulting in a linguistic *muda* into Catalan that now allows him to fully participate in the community, including assemblies, as I observed in 2016 and 2017. He entered the community in February 2012 after only two months in Spain. During his first few weeks at this Emmaus, his lack of linguistic competence relegated him to manual work behind the scenes at the second-hand store, where he related to other male companions – including Massin – and to me mainly in Spanish. After five weeks in the community, Victor was taking weekly one-to-one Spanish lessons with a volunteer teacher from a local migrant-support NGO. He and the community opted for consecutive, monolingual learning, i.e. first Spanish and later on, Catalan. In practice, he was not included in multi-party conversations, often in Catalan, and instead he spent a considerable amount of time reading. This was the case during the morning break at the second-hand shop one morning (field notes, March 15, 2012). I invited him to join us at the cafeteria and tried to include him linguistically. When I explained things to Victor, the community's driver said that he needed to “get a move on” in the language because he did not understand anything yet. He did not want me to explain things to him. In the end, Victor did not order anything at the café. While everybody else was conversing in Catalan, Victor was not addressed, and he read a Spanish-Russian pocket grammar. Sometimes he asked me for a short explanation.

In our recent interview (April 21, 2017), Victor recalled that for at least two years he had always carried a Spanish-Russian bilingual dictionary and a conversation guide. He emphasised that it was necessary to study foreign languages and that, unlike other foreigners around him, he did not believe that residence in the receiving society would lend him fluency. He was against the widespread idea that “*vives aquí un año y hablas*” [you live here for a year and you can speak (the language)]. He claimed to have learned Spanish not only thanks to these reference books but also because of his love of reading, since he started reading in Spanish, and his fondness of proverbs in Spanish, which also helped him learn them in Russian. However, he

did not learn Catalan through self-study. Interestingly, he was aware of his quest for accuracy in learning languages, but he suspended this in his socialisation into Catalan at Emmaus Barcelona. Learning Catalan showed him that “*la tranquilidad es más importante que, que certeza (...) que si lo digas correctamente*” [Being calm is more important than certainty (...) that you are saying it correctly] since more than learning Catalan, he had picked it up through social interaction: “*cuando aprendí catalán, eh digamos un poco a lo tonto*” [when I learned Catalan, it was, let’s say, a bit rough-and-ready]. When asked how he learned Catalan, Victor replied that it was “by ear” in the dominant Catalan-speaking Emmaus Barcelona and even singled out assemblies as the locus for linguistic socialisation.

- (5) Learning Catalan “by ear” in Emmaus Barcelona. Interview with Victor, 21 April 2017. My translation from Spanish (Catalan indicated in italics).

Y catalán, y catalán pues, que mucha gente en la comunidad habla *català* y muchas veces hablamos catalán, y en las reuniones también catalán, y la mayoría de la gente son catalana hablan catalán. De oído.

[and Catalan, and Catalan well, many people in the community speak *català* and we often speak Catalan, and in the meetings Catalan too, and most people are Catalan they speak Catalan. By ear.]

Therefore, commonsensical sociolinguistic behaviour was suspended with the transnational migrants who had become socialised into Catalan in classrooms (e.g. Massin) and/or through participation in the community’s activities (e.g. Victor and Massin). Nevertheless, it was still strongly present not only with migrant newcomers (like Victor, see section 4.1. above) but also with Spaniards who were categorised as “*castellans*”, i.e. those whose first language of socialisation is Spanish (Woolard 1989). Esther, a young Galician companion resident from 2010 to 2012, rightly pointed out that a number of non-Spanish nationals (e.g. Cameroonian, French or Gambian) who had become more established Emmaus members were routinely spoken to in Catalan, not monolingual Spanish. In the excerpt below, she claims that communication in Emmaus Barcelona is usually in Catalan including with Massin who is “a Moor” (lines 2–3), but others subconsciously (line 4) apply this old sociolinguistic norm to address Dolo and Esther in Spanish despite their (passive) bilingual competences.

- (6) Commonsensical sociolinguistic comportment with “Spaniards”. Interview with Esther, a Galician companion at Emmaus Barcelona. 01-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1 \*MRG: y aquí en la casa suele ser la comunicación en catalán?

%tra: and here in the house, do people usually communicate in Catalan?

- 2 \*EST: sí # conmigo no # no sé por qué a mi me hablan castellano #  
 3 con Massin que es moro<sup>3</sup> habla todo el mundo catalán # la  
 4 única que habla castellano es la Dolo # y  
 es un autoreflejo al dirigirse a nosotros hablan castellano pero  
 entre ellos catalán.
- %tra: yes # not with me # I don't know why they speak Spanish to me  
 # with Massin who is a Moor everybody speaks Catalan # the  
 only one who speaks Spanish is Dolo # and it's an unconscious  
 thing when they address us they speak Spanish but Catalan  
 among themselves.

In line with other contemporary studies (Pujolar and González 2013; Woolard 2016), I find that Catalan is slowly becoming detached from ideologies of authenticity and ethnic identity. Nevertheless, those who are categorised as “*castellans*” (Woolard 1989) are often addressed in Spanish by an older generation of Emmaus members. Indeed, they might actually speak other languages, such as Galician or Basque, and have become socialised into (passive) Catalan competences as in Esther’s case, who had incorporated into her Spanish the definite article before proper names that is typical of Catalan (see line 3 above).

In this Emmaus community, transnational migrants adopt Catalan into their linguistic repertoires as a social need (not necessarily a personal choice) at a specific juncture in their lives: becoming socialised into a local community of life, work and solidarity. Their linguistic *muda* is legitimised and taken up by habitual Catalan speakers in this community of practice. Over time, Massin and Victor learned how to perform a bilingual stance in the community. This was initially hampered by the commonsensical choice of Spanish with those who are outsiders to the bilingual community and the ideological erasure of their attempts to use or learn Catalan, as we saw in Victor’s case above. Desire to learn the two local languages underwrites their personal agency in self-study and in legitimising a new linguistic repertoire those they interact with on daily basis. This, in turn, would allow them to reverse the categorisation as “others” that subconsciously underpins the marked choice of Spanish-only. Let us not forget that their investment was motivated by a social need and pressure to learn how to engage with the bilingual norm in order to fully participate in collective (inter)actions.

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3 In Catalonia, *moro* is commonly used as a pejorative term for persons from North Africa or for Arabs. Massin reappropriates and revalorises this stigmatised term by self-consciously referring to himself and Imazighen using this label. Companions like Esther follow suit.

## 5 Exploring linguistic *muda* in socialisation processes

Entering social movements and local civic associations can constitute a biographical juncture for migrants in order to adopt a new (minority) language in their multilingual repertoires. These spaces allow them to produce a new social persona in interaction with new people in activities other than those of the family, education and workplace. Emmaus Barcelona is a special community of practice which forms part of a holistic social movement with three interrelated components: co-residence and daily coexistence, cooperative work with others, and social projects, all organised through assemblies. Newly arrived migrants joining this local community find themselves in an all-encompassing community that allows them access to habitual speakers of Catalan and creates a social need to undergo a linguistic *muda* in order to participate as recognised members and legitimate speakers. This article explores the process of socialisation into a bilingual stance in Emmaus Barcelona from the viewpoint of two migrant newcomers. The ethnographic/discursive analysis of two volunteer meetings as a window onto their early socialisation is complemented by my longitudinal follow-up of two migrant companions. My analysis illuminates the changing state of sociolinguistic norms in this Catalan association, in which habitual Catalan speakers – who are bilingual in Spanish – interact with migrants who struggle to be recognised as legitimate speakers and Emmaus participants through the reversal of language choice: from a monolingual norm in Spanish for outsiders to the preferred bilingual norm for insiders.

This study shows that linguistic *muda* is a social requirement to complete the socialisation process in a specific community of practice for transnational migrants who do not speak local languages. Language is the vehicle for a much broader socialisation process into a community of practice that is (re)created through shared engagement in activities. At the same time, novices' participation and socialisation in a new setting does not necessarily imply a linguistic *muda*. I believe that *mudes* are the result of a socialisation process that generates both an individual desire and a social pressure to learn particular ways of talking (not just of behaving) in order to fully participate in a given community of practice such as Emmaus Barcelona. Language, thus, becomes both the vehicle and the object of this socialisation process within a new community. A linguistic *muda* is not an individual process, since it must also be taken up by habitual speakers of the language in question, who could find it at odds with the new speaker's assumed identity. At Emmaus Barcelona, this was the case of some (passive) bilinguals who had come from other parts of Spain and were categorised as "*castellans*", e.g. Dolo and Esther.

Novice transnational migrants were initially assumed to be non-Catalans and spoken to in Spanish, as the inter-language used with outsiders (see excerpts 2 and 3 above). However, they were gradually accepted as emergent and new speakers of Catalan. Policing language choice in assemblies in favour of monolingual Spanish for collective communication stems from a well-meaning desire to include newcomers in the activity at hand, since they are imagined to understand more Spanish upon arrival, in keeping with traditional ideologies of Catalan. Nonetheless, this attitude simultaneously marks them as outsiders or, at best, as peripheral participants in the community of practice, since they lack the necessary resources for full participation. This exceptional linguistic regime does not initially equip newcomers to learn the necessary linguistic resources to function as fully-fledged members (see excerpt 1 above) and some migrant novices such as Victor and Massin resist this linguistic regime and demand that Catalan be used as the default language (see excerpt 3).

A strong instrumental need in companions' everyday lives, for co-residence, cooperative work and social activism, is the main reason for Massin's and Victor's linguistic *muda* into Catalan. Formal language study, both in monolingual Spanish and/or Catalan, seems to precede the newcomers' *muda* into Catalan. However, self study does not enable them to learn the principles of code-switching, interlocutors' preferred languages, and ambivalent forms in both Spanish and Catalan, which they have to learn through prolonged participation in "socialising routines" like assemblies. The acceptance of their linguistic *muda* into Catalan overcomes older linguistic ideologies deployed with newcomers, which temporarily make monolingual Spanish the inter-language for the group. Today, both transnational migrants are new speakers of Catalan, and have adopted a preferred bilingual stance, in Jaffe's terms (2009a), that makes them "functionally bilingual" in Spanish, as defined by Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015) for those whose primary language of socialisation was Spanish. This has allowed both of them to move on from this local Emmaus community into the mainstream labour market in the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

Socialisation into a community of practice entails learning new linguistic competences which, for these transnational migrants at Emmaus Barcelona, culminated in a linguistic *muda* into functionally-bilingual Catalan. In this article, I have hopefully shown that a linguistic *muda* is not the product of free individual will but the outcome of a necessary process of socialisation into a holistic communal space: the Emmaus community, which provided these migrants with collective housing, cooperative work and opportunities to collaborate with social projects. In short, becoming a new speaker of Catalan is viewed as a means to an end: that of becoming a legitimate member of Emmaus, as a legitimate speaker



who is capable of fully participating in joint (inter)actions such as assemblies. The concept of *muda* is used here to grasp the trajectories of two transnational migrants in Catalonia whose linguistic repertoires are transformed in their encounter with a local group belonging to the social movement Emmaus. Their individual adoption of new ways of speaking and behaving in a “new” community offer a window onto the transforming models of who counts as a legitimate speaker in this community in Catalonia. Massin and Victor’s *mudes* show the social desire and pressure to adapt to an unfamiliar multilingual reality where Catalan struggles to occupy a position as a public language alongside Spanish. The now widespread bilingual norm and the post-naturalist view of authenticity allows, and even compels, new migrants to become speakers of Catalan, which was previously an ethnic marker for *catalans*. Personal agency and social need intersect in the quest for recognition as legitimate speakers in this local Emmaus community and in Catalan society at large.

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## Appendix: Transcription conventions

The spoken data extracts have been transcribed following a slightly adapted version of LIDES (Language Interaction Data Exchange System) which was proposed by Codó (2008: xi–xiii).

Transcription conventions used

+^	quick uptake or latching
+ ...	trailing off
xxx	unintelligible material
#	pause
#0_1	length of pause in seconds (minimum 1 sec)
[=! text]	paralinguistics, prosodics

[>]	overlap follows
[<]	overlap precedes
<>	scope symbols
:	lengthened vowel
::	longer lengthening of vowel
-	abrupt cutoff

#### Dependent tiers

%act:	relevant actions during the exchange
%com:	researcher's comments about the main tier
%tra:	free English translation of the main tier
%tim:	timing in audio recording

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