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When language mixing is the norm: Documenting post-*muda* language choice in a state school in Barcelona

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Abstract

This paper studies the language uses of a group of new speakers of Catalan at a secondary school in a metropolitan working class area of Barcelona, who have experienced their *linguistic mudes* as a consequence of having been schooled in the Catalan education system from an early age. As shown in previous research on children of economic migrants in Catalonia, these students internalize and reproduce the language distribution of Catalan and Spanish that they are exposed to in their immediate environment. This will vary according to the locality in which they find themselves, in our case, a working class neighborhood in which Catalan is reserved as the vehicular language of instruction, while Spanish dominates as the language of social relations. The paper adopts a language socialization perspective to give account of the linguistic competences these multilinguals display when carrying out an academic task. Language mixing, in the form of language alternation and the mixing of languages from the various repertoires that these students have at their disposal, emerges as the norm among them and their teachers in this school. This paper embraces the idea that documenting the linguistic practices of new speakers can shed light on actual linguistic uses and trajectories after the *linguistic muda* has taken place.

Key words: linguistic muda, language socialization, language mixing, language repertoire

1. Introduction

The *New Speakers* approach has captured the attention and imagination of sociolinguists interested in multilingualism across Europe. Since its emergence a few years ago, it has been productive in a number of contexts, including the exploration of the relationship between *new speakers* and the idea of the *linguistic muda*. The term *new speakers* has been coined “to describe individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners” (O’Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo 2015: 1). It has allowed researchers to give account of various multilingual situations in various sites such as the school (see for example, Cioè-Peña, Moore and Martín Rojo 2016, Costa 2016, McLeod

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& O'Rourke. 2015), the workplace and among various social groups (see Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri, Urla, & Uranga 2014, Hornsby 2015, Puigdevall 2014, Ramallo & O'Rourke 2014) across European settings. The notion of the *linguistic muda* (plural: "mudes") has been developed within Catalan sociolinguistics by Pujolar and González (2013) to characterize the specific life moments and the reasons cited by new speakers for their adoption of Catalan.

Most of the studies on when, how and why a *linguistic muda* occurs within the process of becoming a new speaker have been conducted by using the *language biographies* approach. All of these studies report the decisions and reasons given for adopting a new language based on participants' memories, experiences, and perceptions (see Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015). From that perspective, the analyses of data collected in interviews have been successful in documenting new speakers' reported transformations across time and how linguistic identities and attitudes towards their language uses vary, as well as in challenging theoretically accepted ideas about the role of age in linguistic change (see Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015).

This paper aims to look into the long term effects of the *linguistic mudes* of new speakers of Catalan by taking another approach. I aim to document and discuss the language repertoires and language choices in situated communicative practices at school of those who experienced a *linguistic muda* in their childhood as a consequence of being schooled from the early stages of primary education in the receptor society. With this, I will be presenting some of the language socialization processes in which these participants are immersed more than ten years after their first contact with the new language. The communicative performance of a pupil we refer to as Asiz, along with his classmates (Milena, Diana and Yoli), during a task-based activity at school, will be the focus in presenting and discussing my main points. I aim to show how language mixing¹ comes into play as the dominant practice, in contradiction to the official monolingual discourse of the school. I argue that, in this particular context, language mixing can be seen as a commonly employed language choice in its own right that has not been considered among the studies on *linguistic mudes*. In sum, I will be documenting speakerhood (see Márquez-Reiter and Martín-Rojo, in this special issue) as experienced by Asiz and his classmates in their daily life at school.

I will present the complex sociolinguistic context of Catalonia (Section 2). I will characterize language socialization (Schriefferin and Ochs 1986, Duff 2008) as the theoretical framework that I will follow to present and discuss the data and findings (Section 3). I will introduce the site and the main participants of this study (Section 4), before looking at their language

¹ Given the fact that there exists a plethora of terms to refer to similar multilingual practices at school, such as *code-switching* (Gumperz 1997, Merrit et al. 1992), *flexible bilingualism* (Creese and Blackledge 2010), *polylinguaging* (Møller, Jørgensen, and Holmen 2014), *crossing* (Rampton 1995), or more recently *translanguaging* (García and Wei 2014), I will employ the term 'language mixing' to cover both intra-sentential and inter-sentential instances.

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practices during the activity that I captured ethnographically (Section 6). The conclusions will include discussion of my main findings and confirm the results of the linguistic biographies gathered by Pujolar and González (2013) where they assert that "...a *muda* does not mean, say, that an individual changes from speaking always or mostly Castilian in their daily life to using only or mostly Catalan". More importantly, I contend that not only does the *linguistic muda* generally fail to lead to a blanket adoption of the Catalan language as the new speaker's only repertoire for general discourse, but it does not even ensure the exclusive use of the language where it might be expected, e.g. in carrying out an academic exercise at school. Rather, Catalan is adopted as one of the plurilingual resources new speakers have at their disposal, to be thrown into the mix when convenient in the maintenance of a smooth communicative flow.

2. The conditions for *linguistic mudes* within the Catalan education system

As widely explained, the history of the revitalization of the Catalan language goes hand in hand with the transition process from dictatorship to democracy during the 1970s and 1980s in the Spanish state. The Catalan and Spanish languages compete in environments where Spanish had eroded the domains of Catalan as a consequence of Francoist repression and internal migrations to Catalonia from the rest of Spain dating from the 1960s. In the Catalan autonomous region, Catalan became the language of administration and school was seen as a key site for the transmission and conservation of the language. The subsequent arrival of those who would become new speakers of Catalan, through migration flows of international workers and their families since the 1990s, added further complexities to the sociolinguistic situation. Thus, research on school practices in Barcelona and its surroundings over the past 15 years has shown that in areas where the students of migrant backgrounds are concentrated and Spanish is the language of the neighborhood, Catalan is relegated to being the language of school – despite the fact that language mixing is often found in classrooms (see Unamuno 2000, 2005, Cots and Nussbaum 2008) – while Spanish remains the language for social relations amongst speakers of other languages (i.e. Arabic, Chinese, Punjabi speakers etc., as well as Spanish speakers from Latin America). In most cases, school is the only place where Catalan language learners are exposed to the language (Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera 2013). Thus, high school in particular is an important site for new speakers to become socialized in their second (and in many cases third) language, as noted by Gonzalez, et al. (2009).

Broadly speaking, we can read in the statistics covering newcomers to the Catalan education system, an approximate number of potential new speakers of Catalan within the secondary education system. These are mostly from Morocco, Bulgaria, and Latin America (Ecuador, Colombia, etc.). Language uses and language ideologies have been attached to assigned identities amongst students of migrant backgrounds (Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos

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2013). So, groups of students deemed 'academically oriented' have been viewed as easily integrated because they invest in learning Catalan (in the words of the teachers, they "make the effort"), as is often the cases with children of Indian and Pakistani backgrounds. Students from Latin America have been assumed to have a greater chance of rapid integration due to the fact that they speak one of the languages of the region, albeit in their own varieties (i.e. Ecuadorian, Colombian, Peruvian, etc.). However, research in the field has shown that Spanish as an L1 is not necessarily a facilitator, particularly where young Latin Americans with a strong attachment to their ethnic identities do not see any social benefit in learning Catalan, and decide not to invest in academic tasks. (Corona, 2012, Newman 2011, Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera 2013, etc.). In general terms, those students of migrant backgrounds who are labelled as 'academically oriented' learn and use Catalan specifically for academic tasks (Alarcón & Garzón 2013).

Kathryn Woolard (2008) explains that, due to its recent history and disadvantaged situation, Catalan lies between ideologies on anonymity and authenticity, remarking on the need for prescription in order to preserve the language. Regarding the latter concern, norms at schools are officially strict: Catalan should be the language for official communication, the language of the classroom and of academic tasks. Spanish is seen as one of the languages of school, with the status of a subject discipline, on a par with English, and receives two hours per week of study. Teachers have internalized that the norm should be "Only in Catalan", trying to counteract the predominance of Spanish in and outside the classroom. However, when we conduct research in schools located in working class Spanish speaking areas with large migrant and therefore multilingual intakes, linguistic patterns show predominantly that teachers address students in Catalan, but that the students reply in Spanish. Spanish is the language of social relations and of the neighborhood and, in the case of Latin Americans, of home. In such cases, Catalan is often not valued as a useful language and the young people believe that they do not need it, especially if they or their families are planning to relocate in the future (see Patiño-Santos 2018).

3. A situated view of the post-*linguistic muda*

As presented in the introduction, the *linguistic muda* is a concept that has emerged within studies on language biographies where new speakers recall their memories and report the circumstances under which they came to adopt their new language. From this perspective, the new speakers' language uses are reported and subject to the researchers' questions on the individuals' linguistic practices. I want to take a situated perspective in order to present the language socialization processes from which we can give an account of what those who have experienced their initial *linguistic muda* back in early childhood, as a consequence of being schooled from the start in Catalan, are doing linguistically at the end of their compulsory

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secondary education (ESO). Here, the *muda* process becomes more complex since Spanish, as the dominant language in the neighborhood, is normally used by the new speakers of Catalan in all non-academic domains. I wish to observe their linguistic repertoires at school to show how, as it were post-*muda*, these students are able to use and negotiate the repertoires they have at their disposal, based on their interpretations of the communicative situation in which they are participating. In these cases, where young people have been socialized for so long within the Catalan context that they might well be considered to have 'nativized' the language (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2014), the label "foreigner/newcomer" or even *new speaker* should be questioned.

Language socialization "refers to the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group. It is a process that is mediated by language and whose goal is the mastery of linguistic conventions, pragmatics, the adoption of appropriate identities, stances (e.g. epistemic or empathetic) or ideologies and other behaviors associated with the target group and its normative practices" (Duff 2008: 310). Looking at the *linguistic muda* from this perspective entails, then, observing the communicative practices in which these students participate at school. Even though, the definition of the concept of *linguistic muda* does not establish clearly the linguistic parameters it encompasses in terms of the new speakers' skills/competences in the new language, the reality is that at this multicultural school, the young new speakers of Catalan use their second or, in the case of Asiz, third language for multiple purposes. They use Catalan, which is spoken with their various individual accents, when mixing codes/languages, and in some cases, marking spaces symbolically by drawing on one language or another. By observing the language behavior in this school, both within and outside the classroom, we can see that language mixing practices are the norm among these new speakers and the other people with whom they interact (teachers, students of Catalan and Spanish backgrounds, parents, researchers, etc.).

Language mixing has been seen as a dynamic manifestation of language choice that has proven to be a pedagogical resource in multilingual classrooms, as well as an index of identity and relationships among teachers and students. (See Lin 2013 for a historical revision of studies of code switching/language mixing in education over the last three decades.) For that reason, I would claim that language mixing at school is a consequence of the *linguistic mudas* that these students have experienced, and that through language mixing they construct a 'third space' (Babbha 1994) of communication that goes beyond the notion of single languages with clearly defined boundaries to create a communicative resource in its own right, through which hybrid language identities are displayed and expressed. Clearly, through this ethnographic approach, I am only showing a particular instance of a post-*muda* situation: what has been documented at a particular school at a particular moment. In what follows, some interactional tools of analysis, such as turn taking (Sacks, Schegloff and Sacks 1974),

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heteroglossia/double voicing (Bakhtin 1984, Bayley 2007) and some aspects of frame analysis (Goffman 1974, 1981) will be used to address the interactions.

4. New speakers in a secondary school in metropolitan Barcelona

Data from this paper come from a linguistic ethnography carried out in a secondary school that we call *El Parc*², located in a small municipality in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. As with the other municipalities in the region, the demography of this town has been transforming over the last 20 years, mainly because of the arrival of international economic migration flows. Thus, of its nearly 75,000 inhabitants, 28.7%³ are of Moroccan and Latin American backgrounds, the latter being mostly from Colombia and Ecuador and representing 62% of the migrant population. The disposable family income per capita is slightly over 75% of the average household income per inhabitant in Catalonia.

El Parc, built in a working class neighborhood, was founded in the school year 1988/89. The school offers the compulsory secondary education levels (*Educació Secundària Obligatoria - ESO*), the pre-university level (*Batxillerat*), and two vocational training programs. It hosts 600 students, mostly children of Spanish backgrounds, descendants of internal migration flows from the South of Spain to Catalonia during the 1960s and 70s. During the school year 2015/16, 40% of the students were of migrant backgrounds, mainly from Latin America and Morocco. There were also students from Catalan families.

We have visited this school on various occasions since 2011. However, it was within the framework of a research project on multilingual practices⁴ that we conducted a more systematic ethnographic fieldwork during the second term of the school year 2015/16. We aimed to observe and record daily school activities where the students needed to interact within and outside the classroom, in order to capture their multilingual uses. Our observations were triangulated with interviews with some of the students we observed and informal conversations with their teachers and other staff members.

Besides the regular classes, the school organizes various activities throughout the year in order to give the students the opportunity to participate more interactively by bringing together and applying the contents of various subject matters to a hands-on activity. The 'transversal works' (*Treballs Transversals*), taking place between March 9th and April 8th 2016, were the most suitable activities in terms of our ethnographic aims. These tasks are

² All the names of people and places are pseudonyms and consent forms were distributed among participants.

³ Source: National Statistics Institute (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE) 2016)

⁴ TRANSLINGUAM: Procesos translingües y transculturales en jóvenes de origen autóctono y extranjero: Estudio de actitudes lingüísticas y prácticas multilingües en contextos de superdiversidad (ref: FFI2014-52663-P del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad). PI: Mireia Trenchs-Parera. Members who participated in this fieldwork: Mireia Trenchs-Parera, Àngels Oliva, Montse Abella, Celia Esquerra, Vicent Climent and Adriana Patiño-Santos.

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consolidation activities in which the school is organized in a different way for two weeks in order to offer the students the possibility of working in teams and applying what they have learned to real life activities. The following is how such activities are defined on the web page of the school (certain words have been marked in bold in order to highlight the main aspects that I want to address):

“Aquests treballs giren al voltant d'un tema i estan formats per un conjunt d'activitats d'ensenyament i d'aprenentatge que s'han de fer **en equip**, concebudes per **desenvolupar competències complexes** i comprovar si s'ha aconseguit, i fins a quin punt, que l'alumnat sigui capaç de relacionar les competències bàsiques treballades en les diferents matèries per a l'aplicació i la resolució de qüestions i problemes **relacionats amb la vida pràctica**.”

Extract from the web page of the school. The highlighted words are mine.

[“These pieces of work are organized around a topic and are made up of a set of teaching and learning activities that should be carried out in **teams**. They have been designed to **develop complex competences** and to prove that the student has been able to achieve them, and to test the extent to which the students are able to relate the basic competences from the various subjects in order to apply **them to the resolution of questions and problems related to daily life**”.]

Such characteristics led us as a team (five researchers were collecting the data) to choose the transversal tasks for the students of Year 3 and Year 4, who worked on the topic “Planning my future”, based on the subject matter “academic orientation”, as activities that we would like to observe. Year 4 is the final year of compulsory education, so the topic ties in well with an important moment for students in the Catalan compulsory education system. This is when they need to decide whether to follow an academic path and prepare themselves for the pre-university courses, or to move into vocational training programs in order to access the labor market in less than two years.

Even though we gathered data from the three classes of year 4 (4A, 4B and 4C), for the purposes of this paper I will draw on the interactions of a group of four students, Asiz (15), Milena (15), Diana (15) and Yoli (16), collected in 4C at different moments of the transversal work activity. Similar patterns in their communicative interactions predominate in all the various tasks that the students from the three classes observed needed to carry out. The whole transversal work activity lasted two weeks. It was a task based activity where the students had to work in groups and individually to complete the task. “Planning my future” started with a reflection activity where the students had to read and discuss an article called “How we see ourselves in the future”. Then, they started to prepare a role-play exercise around a job interview. The occupations and sites proposed by the teachers were 1) a revision tutor in an afterschool/revision academy (supporting young learners with their homework in various areas such as Maths and Language), 2) a gardener and 3) a baker. The students had to prepare themselves for roles as both employers and as potential employees. These roles were

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allocated by the teachers prior to the activity. As employers, the students had to plan questions to ask the candidates during the job interviews, and as candidates, they needed to prepare their CVs to be presented (and discussed) in the interviews. The teachers prepared examples of questions in Catalan to ask, and some templates to give the students ideas of how to organize the interactions (i.e. Name; has he/she brought their CV?; What do you think of this candidate?; Do you think this candidate meets the requirements for the post that you are offering?; Why?; Did the candidate behave appropriately for a job interview? / Write down some additional comments). "Classes 4A and 4C were mixed and the students were grouped according to certain criteria, as explained by one of the teachers. The teachers wanted to mix more proactive and able students with those who had academic problems or didn't interact or participate well in team work. In these classes there is a lot of truancy. The teachers also separated circles of friends to avoid distractions and to foster new relationships between the students." (field notes, April 5, 2016). Besides the role-playing, the students had to complete certain other tasks, such as identifying some working itineraries and discussing their skills with their classmates.

5. Asiz's language uses post-*muda*

Since my main aim was to look at the language uses of those who have declared themselves to have experienced a *linguistic muda* in their early years of schooling in the Catalan education system, I explored the linguistic repertoires of the students in different areas of the school. As in previous research on multicultural and multilingual schools located in working class neighborhoods (e.g. Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014, Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos, 2013; Unamuno 2000, 2005), Catalan was the language of official public communication, and the language of the teachers within and outside the classroom. Spanish was predominantly used by the students during breaks and in peer interactions within and outside the classroom. I wanted to observe this situation more systematically and I soon realized that the "Only in Catalan" norm was continually challenged by the students and by the teachers themselves. Language mixing, in the form of language alternation Catalan-Spanish, was the normal form of communication. The participants were able to prepare their academic tasks by drawing on multilingual repertoires, whilst still producing the academic results themselves in Catalan. Such linguistic moves effectively created a 'third space' through language uses which allowed the students to produce monolingual results by drawing on multilingual skills, and at the same time to display their multiple identities. By drawing on Goffman's (1981) participation format (later adapted by Heller and Martin-Jones 2001 and Martin-Rojo, 2010 to the study of classroom interaction), I could observe how participants created a frontstage and a backstage with their multilingual performances. The speakers, not only the teachers, but the students within the group activities, ratified (or not) listeners (Goffman 1981) through

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their language uses whilst categorizing themselves, the others and the activities in which they participated. From that point of view, language choice and language mixing was used for academic purposes, as we will observe.

One of the interviewing teams that attracted my attention was in 4C, the class labelled as the poorest performers of Year 4. The students in this class were not expected to go on to higher education, and when organizing the transversal work, the teachers were not expecting much of them. The team I observed was formed by Asiz (L1⁵ Arabic, Spanish and Catalan), Milena, Diana and Yoli (L1 Spanish – Latin American variety). Asiz was established as the team leader. He was labelled by his teachers as one of the Moroccan boys from 4C, “intelligent but unfocussed and lazy”. During the preparation of the task and the activity, he used Catalan besides speaking in Arabic with some other classmates, and he was singing *reguetton* in Latin American Spanish. When I asked him about his linguistic biography, Asiz reported his language uses as follows:

Excerpt 1: Asiz's *linguistic muda*

36. Asiz: *mis padres son árabes pero yo desde que me he criado-/ como nací aquí pues ya siempre he hablado español*
37. Adriana: *tú eres catalán*↑
38. Asiz: *sí bueno he nacido aquí / sí / y hablo catalán bien / perfecto*
39. Adriana: *naciste en Barcelona o en Rubí?*
40. Asiz: *e:h //no en Terrassa*
41. Adriana: *ah! / naciste en Terrassa*
42. Pablo: *en el hospital*
43. Adriana: *en el hospital muy bien // y tus padres me dices / son de?*
44. Asiz: *de Marruecos*
45. Adriana: *de Marruecos*
46. Asiz: *o sea / sé hablar árabe pero con mis hermanos hablo más castellano*
47. Adriana: *claro // ¿y tienes hermanos que todos nacieron aquí en=?*
48. Asiz: *[so-/ sólo] uno pequeñito que nació aquí los demás nacieron allí*
49. Adriana: *=ya vale y entre-/ entre en tu casa hablas más árabe*
50. Asiz: *uf! / depende /sí / con mis hermanos siempre es español*
51. Adriana: *claro // y vuestros padres / hablan español?*
52. Asiz: *poquito solo*
53. Adriana: *y entonces / qué hacéis? / les hacéis pegas vuestros padres les hacéis-// usáis el castellano para?=-*
54. Asiz: *con mi padre a veces poquito pero con mi madre sólo-/ sólo árabe*
55. Adriana: *sólo árabe / muy bien*
-

⁵ I will assume the language of parents as the L1 for these students, even though; they had all been socialized within the Catalan education system, since pre-school in the cases of Asiz and Milena, and since primary school in the cases of Diana and Yoli.

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36. **Asiz: my parents are Arabs but I since I was born / I've been raised- / as I was born here so I've always spoken Spanish**
37. **Adriana: are you Catalan**↑
38. **Asiz: yes /weel/ I was born here/ yes / and I speak Catalan well / perfectly**
39. **Adriana: Were you born in Barcelona or in Rubí?**
40. **Asiz: e:h //no in Terrassa**
41. **Adriana: ah!/ you were born in Terrassa**
42. **Pablo: at the hospital**
43. **Adriana: at the hospital / well done // and your parents you tell me / are from?**
44. **Asiz: from Morocco**
45. **Adriana: from Morocco**
46. **Asiz: that is / I know Arabic but with my siblings I speak more Spanish**
47. **Adriana: sure // and do you have siblings born [here in=?]**
48. **Asiz:** [on-/ only] a younger one who was born here / the rest were born there
49. **Adriana: =OK and among-/ at home you speak more Arabic**
50. **Asiz: uf! / it depends /yes / with my siblings always Spanish**
51. **Adriana: sure // and your parents / do they speak Spanish?**
52. **Asiz: a little bit**
53. **Adriana: so / what do you do? / do you make fun of your parents do you-// use Spanish to?=-**
54. **Asiz: with my dad sometimes a litte but with my mum only-/ only Arabic**
55. **Adriana: only Arabic / OK**

Asiz reports a double *linguistic muda*. The language at home is Arabic, mainly with his parents, but since he was little, he has spoken Spanish and, later on in the interview, he clarifies that he learned Catalan at pre-school. Interestingly, he associates speaking “perfect” Catalan with the fact of ‘having been born here [Catalonia]’ in T. 38. During the interview, Asiz defined himself as a “Spanish person of Arabic origin” even though his teachers referred to him as “the Moroccan boy from 4C”. As a participant who reports his *muda* in Catalan as being at a very early age, we will pay attention to Asiz’s language negotiation in ongoing conversations with classmates and teachers.

5.1 Language mixing in the production of monolingual academic results

In this first example, Asiz and the members of his team (Milena, Diana and Yoli) are preparing the role-play in which they will be the employers and teachers in an afterschool/revision academy (“academia de repàs”). This is the way in which they discuss the first part of the task, in which the roles for the interview are assigned. One of them will be the head of the academy, a second will be the secretary, a third will be one of the teachers from the academy and a fourth member will film the role-play. The interaction is in Catalan, apart from the parts marked in bold, which were spoken in Spanish⁶:

⁶ I recognize that marking language code in the transcription might be seen as contrary to the theory of language repertoire. However, I wanted to indicate the multilingual practices to make my points clearer.

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Excerpt 2: Preparing the role-play

1. **Milena:** (a Asiz) *ahora lees en voz alta!*
2. **Asiz:** (llegint) imagineu-vos que sou d'una-/ pensamos que som d'una acadèmia de repàs // els alumnes de diferents escoles venen a fer deures i repassar/ teneu un parell de professors treballant i vosaltres a l'acadèmia- / i vosaltres a l'acadèmia / però // tras dos mesos un professor de treball a l'acadèmia està de- baixa / de:r-/ ma ter ni dad / per això heu d'encon/ / heu de=
3. **Milena:** =heu posa:t=
4. **Asiz:** =heu posat un anunci per buscar altres professors o professores de repàs
5. **Yoli:** (*qué demanda la oferta?*)°
6. (Silenci)
7. **Milena:** *qué demanda la oferta?*
8. **Diana:** un professor de repàs
9. **Milena:** *sigue*
10. **Diana:** (*que se ha dado de baja*)°
11. **Milena:** la feina consisteix en ajudar a nens i nenes de sisè de primària a fer els deures de les diferents assignatures (interferència d'altres converses) busca una persona amable que sàpiga tractar amb nens diferents assignatures a nivell de de sisè de primària
12. **Diana:** *pues nadie eh:/ nadie*
13. **Yoli:** *nadie@/*
14. **Diana:** *vámonos!*
15. **Milena:** és a partir de les sis de la tarda al principi només vindrà dos dies a la setmana però si els nens quedessin per estudiar poden venir cada dia de la setmana/ el dia de l'entrevista (xxx) continueu al darrere (gira la pàgina) / aquesta presentació (xxx) com si es tractés d'una obra de teatre / heu de fer unes cinc entrevistes als vostres companys / els companys vendrán d'aquí a trenta minuts a fer-/ a fer les entrevistes / cadascú de vosaltres haurà de fer un dels següents papers / dos personatges que poden fer un noi i una noia

-
1. **Milena** *so now read out loud!*
 2. **Asiz:** (reading) imagine that you are all in a-/ let's be in a school for revision // pupils from different schools come to do their homework and to revise/ there are a couple of teachers working at the school plus yourselves- / and yourselves at the school / but // after two months a teacher working in the school is on maternity / lea / leave / and so you need to fi/ /you need to=
 3. **Milena** =you need to place=
 4. **Asiz:** =you need to place an advert to look for other revision teachers
 5. **Yoli:** (*what is the advert asking for?*)°
 6. (Silence)
 7. **Milena:** *what is the advert asking for?*
 8. **Diana:** a revision teacher
 9. **Milena:** *carry on*
 10. **Diana:** (*that she's off work*)°
 11. **Milena:** the work consists in helping children in Year 6 of primary to do their homework in different subject areas (interference from other conversations) looking for someone friendly who knows how to deal with children with different subjects at primary year 6 level

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12. **Diana:** *well no-one really:/ no-one*

13. **Yoli:** *no-one@/*

14. **Diana:** *let's go!*

15. **Milena:** it's from 6pm and initially the person will just do two days a week but if the children stay to study they can come every day of the week/ the day of the interview (xxx) carry on on the back (turns the page) / with this presentation (xxx) as if it were a stage play / you need to do about five interviews with your colleagues / your colleagues will come over the next thirty minutes to do-/ to do their interviews / each of you will have to take one of the following roles / two people who could be a boy and a girl

This example illustrates new speakers' language uses in what represents the backstage of the central activity (the job interview). Spanish predominates during the time for discussion (Diana, turn 12) while Catalan is used by Asiz and Milena when reading from the handout prepared by their teachers. The language distribution is not accomplished in a mechanical way, but reveals heteroglossic uses that index a change in register, but not an obstruction of the communication flow. Turns 11 to 14 present an interesting exchange where Milena reads in Catalan the intellectual skills that the candidate in the role-play needs to fulfil to be hired as a tutor at the academy. Diana and Yoli self-select to interrupt the reading. Diana's "No-one" in T.12 seems to voice the institutional evaluation of this class, since it is in group 4C that students with academic difficulties are grouped, assigning herself and the rest of her classmates the identity of not academic enough to cover the place of a tutor in a revision academy. They use Spanish to mock the class's academic performance. What happens in this interaction echoes what authors who have investigated language mixing in multilingual schools defend, which is that the language mixing used to carry out an academic activity indicates important cognitive processing in both languages (see for example, Baker 2006, Blackledge and Creese 2010, García and Wei 2014, Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012b). The presence of language mixing can be understood as an index of the language socialization processes that Asiz and his team have undergone at school. They have internalized such mixed uses as the norm, even though the school tries to impose a monolingual environment. Even though Asiz reads with difficulties, we know that he is able to follow what the instructions demand since he shows himself to be capable of participating in the preparation of the activity.

5.2 In the role-play: Catalan for the academic frontstage

After interviewing two candidates for the revision academy, Naim of Moroccan background, comes in as the third candidate. Naim turned out to be the worst candidate of those who presented the role-play, since he did not prepare for the interview. Naim was one of the students with problems of truancy and close to dropping out. However, his teachers were happy that he was there that day to participate in an activity that they felt might be interesting

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for the students. We note how even Naim, who is not considered to be a 'good student', is able to accomplish the task as required:

Excerpt 3: Interviewing Naim

1. **Milena:** *oye (to Naim) / saluda y hasta que no te digamos que te sientas / no te sientas @*
2. **Naim:** *me puedo sentar?*
3. **Asiz:** *joder / tía@*
4. **Diana:** *está grabando ya?*
5. **Milena:** *repíte*
6. **Asiz:** *repíte@*
7. **Naim :** *xxx@ @ @*
8. **Milena:** *mmm/ a ver/@ @ ya?*
9. **Diana:** *si@ @*
10. **Azis:** *hola bon dia*
11. **Naim :** *bon dia*
12. **Asiz:** *pots seure / has portat el curriculum?*
13. **Naim :** *no*
14. **Milena:** *pues /está molt difícil / eh?/ sense el currículum↑*
15. **Asiz:** *vale/ molt bé/ i com et dius?*
16. **Naim :** *xxx*
17. **Asiz:** *tens experiència cuidant a nens?*
18. **Naim :** *si*
19. **Asiz:** *què has fet?*
20. **Naim:** *vaig cuidar a la meua germana i vaig fer un cicle després de l'institut*
21. **Asiz:** *vale / (3'') i quines assignatures se't donen millor?*
22. **Naim :** *eh: / @ educación física @*
23. **Asiz:** *(4'') i et veus capaç d'ensenyar a nens?*
24. **Naim :** *si↓° / bueno / depende de la edad/ si son nens de sisé i cinqué de primaria: / si/ si*
25. **Asiz:** *vale° / (pues bé)/ aquesta-/ aquest és el professor i et vol preguntar @ unes preguntes@*
26. **Milena:** *eh hola/ eh has mi@ @ - / has sigut professor alguna vegada?*
27. **Naim :** *(mou el cap negant)*
28. **Milena:** *no?@/ i et veus motivat a fer aquest treball?*
29. **Naim :** *si↓/*
30. **Milena:** *i:-@ / o sea / totes les dificultats que té un nen les pots resoldre? / o sea / tu ets capaç d'explicar-ho?*
31. **Naim :** *si↓/*
32. **Milena:** *(pues nada)°*
33. **Asiz:** *doncs res/ moltes gracies por venir i ja et trucarem*
34. **Milena:** *adeu!*
35. **Diana:** *yo lo despido!// eh? @ @ @ @ viene!// al primer saludo/ adiós!@*
36. **Azis:** *qué fuerte°*
37. **Milena:** *@ este está ya despedido!@*
38. **Diana:** *tienes experiencia como profesor?/ no!*
39. **Asiz:** *YA TE LLAMAREMOS!@/ YA TE LLAMAREMOS!*
40. **Milena:** *NO HACE FALTA QUE VUELVAS!@*

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41. **Asiz:** Asiz: *YA TE LLAMAREMOS!! YA TE AVISAREMOS!@*

1. **Milena:** *hey (to Naim) / say hello and don't sit down / until we tell you to @*
2. **Naim]:** *can I sit down?*
3. **Asiz:** *jeez / dude@*
4. **Diana:** *is it recording now?*
5. **Milena:** *repeat*
6. **Asiz:** *repeat@*
7. **Naim :** *xxx@ @ @*
8. **Milena:** *mmm/ let's see/@@ now?*
9. **Diana:** *yes@ @*
10. **Azis:** *hello how are you*
11. **Naim:** *hi*
12. **Asiz:** *you can sit / have you brought your CV?*
13. **Naim :** *no*
14. **Milena:** *ah /it's very difficult / you know?/ without your CV↑*
15. **Asiz:** *ok/ very well/ and what's your name?*
16. **Naim :** *xxx*
17. **Asiz:** *do you have experience in looking after children?*
18. **Naim:** *yes*
19. **Asiz:** *what have you done?*
20. **Naim:** *I looked after my sister and since then I've done a course after secondary school*
21. **Asiz:** *ok / (3") and which subjects could you teach best?*
22. **Naim:** *um: / @ PE @*
23. **Asiz:** *(4") and do you think you'd be able to teach children?*
24. **Naim:** *yes↓ / well / that depends on the age group/ : if they are in Years 5 and 6 at primary school: / yes/ sure*
25. **Asiz:** *ok° / (ok good)/ this-/ this is the teacher and he wants to ask you @ some questions@*
26. **Milena:** *yes hello/ have you b@ @ - / have you ever been a teacher?*
27. **Naim :** *(shakes his head)*
28. **Milena:** *no?@/and are you interested in doing this work?*
29. **Naim :** *yes↓/*
30. **Milena:** *and:-@ / I mean / could you sort out all the problems a child might have? /I mean / could you explain things?*
31. **Naim :** *yes↓/*
32. **Milena:** *(ok fine)°*
33. **Asiz:** *so great/ thanks for coming and we'll ring you*
34. **Milena:** *bye!*
35. **Diana:** *I'd kick him out!/ eh? @ @ @ @ from when he walks in the door!/ from the first hello/ ciao!@*
36. **Azis:** *unbelievable°*
37. **Milena:** *@ that one is definitely out!@*
38. **Diana:** *d'you have any teaching experience?/ no!*
39. **Asiz:** *WE'LL RING YOU!@/ WE'LL RING YOU!*
40. **Milena:** *DON'T BOTHER TO COME BACK!@*
41. **Asiz:** *WE'LL RING YOU!@/ WE'LL RING YOU!@*

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Turns 1 to 9 configure the backstage of the activity, when the students are getting ready to start the role-play. Spanish is the language of interaction during this preparatory sequence. In T. 4, Diana shows a metapragmatic awareness indicating her concern about not using the language of the task/recording, indexing that she understands the activity to be academic. Milena then takes the floor to ask Yoli to start the recording again. Turns 6 to 9 are co-constructed between the members of the team to ensure that they are all ready to start the role-play. The situation of the interview gives rise to clear power relations between the students, both in the back and the frontstages. We can observe how those who play the interviewers perform actions that initiate the interaction (Asiz in T. 10), asking for information (Asiz in T. 12, 17, 19, 21, etc.), evaluating the interviewees' answers directly (Milena in T. 14) or through laughs (Milena in T.28). Naim is not able to answer all the questions as expected within this frame (Goffman 1981). Thus, for example, he fails to show enough interest in the post, or offer the qualifications his classmates, as employers, would require (skills, experience, etc.). Language socialization moments in which students socialize among themselves happened during our fieldwork. Our data show how peers corrected among themselves not only Catalan expressions before recording, but also forms of behavior not expected during the role-play. In other teams, the "employers" allowed some candidates to improvise a CV, or even lent their own to somebody who had forgotten to prepare one in advance. Those who were in the position of employers had an idea of what was "right" or "wrong" in regard to successful participation in the role-play and they expressed this interactionally, for example, in the case of Azis's team through explicit negative evaluations or through laughter and mocking.

Asiz, in T. 10 initiates the academic sequence by greeting the candidate in Catalan. Language switching presents a clear symbolic border between what the students are constructing as the back and the frontstage. Similar change of language and register will occur again in T. 35 when Diana takes the floor in Spanish to evaluate Naim's performance in the interview and the others align with her in Spanish to voice Naim's answers in the interview. Voicing (Bakhtin 1984) in Spanish in T. 38 and the exchange in Catalan between Milena and Naim (T. 26-27) during the interview shows how these students understand the use of both languages in their linguistic repertoires. During the formal representation of the job interview, it is important to observe how Naim, an 'absentee' student is able to participate in the task by drawing on Catalan, even though he does not have the linguistic resources to reply entirely in his second language (see Turns 22 and 24).

5.3 Language mixing to organize the activity

A final language use relevant to the documentation of the language uses of Asiz and the other members of his team is observed in the ways in which they interact with their teachers. In this site, the teachers are supposed to embody the "Only in Catalan" norm. Teachers should

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ensure the use of Catalan within and outside the classroom. Contrary to previous research that has shown how, in many Catalan schools, the teachers stick with this norm (Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos 2013), in this school some teachers accept the translingual practices of their students and they draw on their own plurilingual resources to organize the academic activities. This is the case with Quirze, one of the leaders of these transversal work activities. As we can see in the excerpt, Quirze comes into the classroom a few minutes before the activity starts to make sure that everything is in place with the interviewers. Some of the students start to organize the setting to turn it into a meeting room. The students have already decided who will play which role. The three interviewers, Azís, Milena, and Diana, sit in front of the table while the fourth member of the team, Yoli, will film the interview:

Excerpt 3: interacting with the teacher, Quirze

1. **Quirze:** *bueno* nois!/ prepareu per fer l'entrevista!/ busqueu una taula / el secretari que comenci a surtir i presenti la gent!
2. **Diana:** *tenemos [que preparar]*
3. **Milena:** *[el papel lo que digamos?]*
4. **Quirze:** *más o menos / lo que queráis*
5. **Azís:** *y podemos llevar la hoja?*
6. **Diana:** *pues claro*
7. **Quirze:** *sí / pero no teniu que dir exactament això / això és una [ajuda°]*
8. **Diana:** *[no / no profe] y lo que dice la secretaria / lo puedo leer?*
9. **Quirze:** *sí:/ pero la secretaria / hola buenos días/ benvinguts a l'entrevista*
10. **Milena:** *por eso / lo mismo que dice aquí*
11. **Quirze:** *lo mismo /no, hombre!/[invéntate tú!]*
12. **Milena:** *[vamos a entrevistar a] todos esos?*
13. **Quirze:** *si //*
14. **Milena:** *en serio?*
15. **Quirze:** *cuatro / cuatro personas sólo hay*
16. **Milena:** *ah*
17. **Quirze:** *XX a decidir / aquí estareu /*

-
1. **Quirze:** *so guys!/get ready for the interview!/ find a table / the secretary is starting to go out and present the people!*
 2. **Diana:** *we've got to[get ready]*
 3. **Milena:** *[the role is whatever we say?]*
 4. **Quirze:** *more or less / whatever you want*
 5. **Azís:** *and can we use the sheet?*
 6. **Diana:** *yes of course*
 7. **Quirze:** *yes / but you don't have to say exactly that / that's just an [aid°]*
 8. **Diana:** *[no / no sir] and can I read /what the secretary says?*
 9. **Quirze:** *yes:/but the secretary / hello how are you/ welcome to the interview*
 10. **Milena:** *that's right / just what it says here*
 11. **Quirze:** *the same thing /no, for goodness sake!/[make something up!]*
 12. **Milena:** *[are we going to interview all those?*
 13. **Quirze:** *yes //*
 14. **Milena:** *really?*

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15. **Quirze:** *four / there are only four people*

16. **Milena:** *ah*

17. **Quirze:** *XX let's decide / you'll be here /*

This excerpt illustrates how the teacher, Quirze, draws on language alternation for pedagogical reasons, to organize the activity and to clarify the students' doubts about the task that they will need to accomplish. Thus, following the expected language use, Quirze opens the sequence by asking the students to prepare the space for the role-play to start in Catalan. Diana and Milena, in Turns 2 and 3, self-select to ask for clarification on the role-play in Spanish, and will continue their participation in the interaction in that language. Quirze then aligns himself with the students' language choice and replies in Spanish. He aligns in the same way in Turns 11, 13 and 15 when explaining the activity to the students. In T. 9, we can observe how Quirze exemplifies what the secretary might say in the interview by mixing greeting expressions in both languages. Quirze is one of the teachers from this school who addresses the students in both languages, even though he continually reminds them that the role-play and the film should be carried out in Catalan. This linguistic behavior allows us to interpret his heteroglossic use of Spanish in T.9, voicing the secretary's good morning greeting, as showing that Quirze perceives Spanish to be the first choice for people who work in public places. Another relevant feature of this example is the way that it shows how the teachers, who are expected to defend the "Only in Catalan" norm at school, abandon it for communicative and didactic purposes. Interestingly, none of the students addresses the teacher in Catalan, although, as we have seen in the previous examples, they are all able to speak it. This suggests that having experienced a *linguistic muda* does not ensure that new speakers will use the acquired language in their daily practices – even when expected to. Rather, what they have naturalized is that switching into Spanish and/or Catalan is 'normal here'.

6. Discussion and conclusion

By taking a situated approach to studying the language repertoires of a group of secondary students of migrant origins who experienced a *linguistic muda* in Catalan during their early years, we were able to confirm that, once the *linguistic muda* has taken place, new speakers are able to integrate the new language into their linguistic repertoires. This does not necessarily mean that they stick with the new language as the predominant linguistic resource in their daily activities or that they can master linguistic skills to the same level as in other languages in their repertoires (Pujolar and González 2013).

However, I observed how the new speakers did appreciate the social norms governing its use and called upon Catalan in complex communicative and cognitive activities, in various forms

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at school. The language performance of Asiz, a boy self-identified as a “Spanish person of Arabic origin” shows that interactions in places like his school offer the possibility of creating some sort of *third space* (Bhabha, 1994) in which to communicate, displaying his hybrid identity whilst drawing on his various language repertoires in order to navigate the academic and social activities within and outside the classroom. Observing Asiz’s linguistic performance, we might deduce that his linguistic competence in Catalan was unbalanced: he is fluent when speaking, but reading causes him greater difficulties. However, this did not interfere with his participation in the academic task proposed by his teachers, since he was able to discuss and decide on the organization of the role-play. Once in the role-play, he took the role of leader and was able to use the linguistic resources necessary to dictate to his interlocutors the direction of the interaction. He defined the beginning, the course of, and the ending of the interview, and he asked relevant questions concerning the post by drawing on the formal language and the behaviors expected of an interviewer. When I discussed with Asiz his participation in the role-play, he mentioned that he had had experiences of applying for jobs and being interviewed. He wants to be a football junior coach so, at the time of our research, he was looking for an after-school job. Interestingly, the job interviews he had done thus far had all been in Spanish.

This situated perspective, also allowed me to show how all the students made sense of the linguistic regime of the activity in which they were participating through their language uses. Thus, informal Spanish was the language of the backstage, while a more formal register in Catalan was adopted to perform the role-play – constructed interactionally as the frontstage for the camera. They were all linguistically aware and continually expressed their concerns about the “right” language choice during the role-play. An important point that I observed was that all the students, independently of their origins and L1, had an idea of what the “right” Catalan norm/expression was. This verbal hygiene (Cameron 1995) materialized mainly during the backstage, when they all corrected each other. All the students socialized amongst themselves by using language to master the linguistic conventions, but also through the adoption of appropriate identities, and the behaviors associated with the host society and the situation depicted, and its norms. Thus, in Excerpt 3, we observed how Naim failed to perform ‘well’ in his role as candidate in the interview, not only because he was not able to construct convincing answers in Catalan, but because he did not show sufficient investment in the task (shortcomings including not bringing his CV and not showing any real interest/motivation for the post). His colleagues, as ‘employers’, played by the rules of the role-play by adopting the personas of employers. However, Naim’s lack of investment as a ‘candidate’ was penalized through laughter and mocking his answers and attitude.

Finally, I was able to present how, in some cases, language switching marked the borders between linguistic regimes and changes of activities, as noted by Unamuno (2005) in previous research, but in addition we identified that language mixing practices were also

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presented as a continuum in the speech flow of these students. The students switched from one language to another, demonstrating that, contrary to the official language policy of the school, this is the actual norm amongst these students, and indeed some teachers at this school. Excerpt 1 shows how reading in Catalan but discussing in Spanish demands high cognitive skills. The students discussed what they had to do by drawing on flexible bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2010). Language mixing seems to emerge as a new way of speaking that does not hinder the communicative flow. Importantly, besides their awareness of linguistic norm of the school, these students refused to speak in Catalan with their teachers. Their teachers' first choice was always Catalan, but the students, fluent in Catalan, never aligned with this choice. The teacher Quirze was the only one who switched into Spanish from time to time, signaling that language mixing does not necessarily obstructs the communication in the backstage. Some scholars might interpret this behavior in schools located in Spanish-dominant environments as a form of resistance to Catalan. However, I believe that these are the kinds of behaviors that new speakers learn as a norm during their language socialization processes at school. For them, using Catalan only for academic purposes, Spanish in other domains, and language alternation and language mixing, are all "normal" practices. Using Spanish in the classroom or replying in Spanish to a question asked in Catalan is never penalized. It is true that this can be seen as a strategy that the teachers employ to avoid interrupting the flow of the activity in question, but a consequence is that the students understand it as something permissible.

The *linguistic muda* represents a change in linguistic trajectory for the individuals who experience it, and it opens up a series of new language choices that are "normal" in schools like *El Parc*, a state school located in a working class, Spanish-speaking neighborhood on the outskirts of Barcelona. Such uses clearly include a choice made according to the ways in which the users categorize their interlocutors and the situation in this environment (i.e. Catalan for formal academic business, Spanish and language mixing for non-academic tasks or in the preparation for academic production). Twelve years after his *linguistic muda* in kindergarten, we see Asiz and his colleagues code switch in a highly fluid way, doing what their other classmates do. Students in this school have internalized the idea that language mixing is the norm. Asiz commented in the interview that he created words or expressions in Catalan when he did not know them. The overriding priority here is a spontaneous adoption of the path of least communicative resistance at any given moment. From that point of view, I believe that it is important to recognize that under certain complex conditions associated with and according to social class (examples include: socialization processes at school and in the neighborhood; students' investment in school activities; students' aspirations; specific communicative situations, etc.) a *third space* for mixed language uses and hybrid identities has opened up, although this has not been recognized thus far in previous work on the *linguistic muda*. Within this *third space*, language mixing is the norm. From that point of view, language mixing might be seen as a threat to the chances of a 'genuine' *muda* in

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Catalan ever taking place, but from the data analyzed in this article I would suggest that language mixing is an indication that the *muda* has already happened. Now, speakers will make their decisions according to the particular communicative circumstances. In other word – now the speaker takes the floor.

Symbols used in transcripts

PART: participant	- self interruption
fragment in Catalan	= continuation of utterance after overlapping
<i>fragment in Spanish</i>	↓ descending intonation
AA loud talking	↑ rising intonation
a: lengthening of vowel or consonant sound	→ continuing intonation
/ short pause (0.5 seconds)	()° low voice/whisper
// long pause (0.5 – 1.5 seconds)	[] turn overlapping with similarly marked turn
XXX incomprehensible fragment	<i>Ital</i> direct speech
? question	

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