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Migrants' minority-language newspeakism: The pervasiveness of nation-state monolingual regimes in transnational contexts

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Migrants' minority-language newspeakism: The pervasiveness of nation-state
monolingual regimes in transnational contexts¹

From a critical sociolinguistics perspective, this paper investigates processes of minority-language newspeakism among 23 migrants from heterogeneous socioeconomic and language backgrounds. Informants networked in a cybercafé and a bench in Catalonia, a European society with a majority and a minority language, Spanish and Catalan. Drawing on audio-recorded interviews, naturally-occurring interactions and 4-year ethnographic data, I analyze how informants' language practices and ideologies interplay with self-/other-ascribed Catalan newspeakism. The results show that migrants do not envision themselves as Catalan newspeakers. They employ ethnicist constructions of Catalan as 'the locals'' language, and inhabit fluid identities whereby 'Catalanness' is vindicated through global Spanish. They invest in Spanish newspeakism instead, presenting Spanish as the language of 'integration'. I conclude that newspeakism contributes to understanding migrants' roles in the linguistic conflicts of minority-language societies; particularly, the ways in which they invest in majority languages, following nation-state monolingual regimes which pervade as gatekeepers to post-national citizenship.

KEYWORDS: Newspeakism, transnational migration, minority language contexts, nation-state monolingual regimes

SHORT RUNNING TITLE: Migrants' minority-language newspeakism.

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3 Amb un enfocament sociolingüístic crític, aquest article investiga processos de
4 nouparlantisme en una llengua minoritària entre 23 immigrants amb perfils lingüístics
5 heterogenis, en un locutori i un banc a Catalunya, una societat europea amb dues
6 llengües: el castellà, majoritari; i el català, minoritari. Mitjançant entrevistes, converses
7 espontànies i quatre anys d'observació etnogràfica, analitzo com les pràctiques i
8 ideologies lingüístiques dels informants interactuen amb identitats d'auto-/hetero-
9 categorització catalanoparlant. Els resultats mostren que els immigrants no es perceben
10 com a nouparlants del català, construït en termes etnicistes com a llengua «autòctona», i
11 habiten identitats fluïdes amb què promouen una «catalanitat» en castellà global.
12 S'impliquen, així, en el nouparlantisme castellà com a vehicle «d'integració». Concluc
13 que el nouparlantisme permet entendre els rols dels immigrants en els conflictes
14 lingüístics de societats amb llengües minoritzades; especialment la manera com adopten
15 llengües majoritàries seguint els règims monolingües dels estats-nació que perduren
16 com a garants de ciutadania post-nacional. [Catalan]

1. INTRODUCTION

The diversification of individuals' mobility trajectories around the world has led to the emergence of heterogeneous societies constituted by people who hold various citizenship statuses and have many work experiences, family configurations, religious affiliations and language backgrounds (Blommaert 2013; Vertovec 2009). These societies are now 'post-national' (Heller 2011), in the sense that they are locally and transnationally informed, with nation-state boundaries no longer being their 'natural' unit of social organization (Glick Schiller 2010).

This is particularly the case of transnational migrant networks, who live across and beyond established territorial borders (Castells 2004), defying legality schemes of nation-state citizenship bureaucracies (Inda 2006). They also engage, simultaneously, in local and global economies, subverting market rationalities of the globalized new economy (Sabaté i Dalmau 2014). Besides, they socialize via multilingual, 'translinguistic' practices (Jacquemet 2010) based on unconventional uses of both allochthonous and autochthonous languages, thereby transgressing the ideological foundations of the 'native speaker' and of 'ownerships' of languages (Makoni and Pennycook 2012). Their affiliations are no longer solely based on fixed place-of-origin social categorizations, but on pluralized, fluid identities, too (De Fina 2016).

European governments envision transnational migrants as a threat to their national sovereignty, because they destabilize ways of ruling based on classic conceptions of nation-states as territorially, culturally and ethnolinguistically homogeneous, indissoluble units (Park and Wee 2017). As a reaction to this, these governments have reconfigured their institutions and bureaucratic machinery by dictating who may be granted legality status and work rights, who gets legitimized as

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1
2
3 linguistically ‘integrated’ and on what grounds, in a more restrictive manner. These
4
5 newer citizenship technologies, established in coordination with supranational
6
7 institutions such as the European Union, have resulted into the establishment of
8
9 neoliberal governance rationalities, constitutive of the globalized new economy. These
10
11 are based on monitoring transnational populations according to the modern principles of
12
13 ‘order’ and ‘rationality’ (Pujolar 2007a).
14
15

16
17 At the core of these post-national citizenship regimes policing and constraining
18
19 mobilities is language (see Canagarajah 2017). Evidence of this are the largely
20
21 exclusionary language policies targeting materially-deprived, ‘unfitting’ labor workers
22
23 from geographic peripheries (Extra, Spotti and Van Avermaet 2009). In many European
24
25 countries these are based on the institutionalization of newer ‘linguistic regimes’
26
27 (Kroskrity 2000: 3) which, whether overtly or covertly, recognize multilingualism but
28
29 ultimately impose monolingual language policies in nation-state languages. These are
30
31 envisioned as the key to obtain citizenship rights and as the barometer to measure
32
33 ‘integration’ (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2009). Such regimes also
34
35 usually entail the management of linguistic diversity via the use of economically
36
37 powerful lingua francas in their standardized forms (e.g., inner circle Englishes) but
38
39 silence, and even sanction, the unorthodox multilingual resources of transnational
40
41 migrants. This is so because their translanguistic practices tend to be associated,
42
43 dismissively, with conceptions of non-proper personhood which categorize these
44
45 populations as ‘non-disciplined’ and ‘de-linguaged’ (Gal 2006).
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49
50 In migrant-receiving bilingual or multilingual nation-states where the various
51
52 official statuses of regional, minority and/or majority languages are the terrain of
53
54 sociopolitical conflict, the establishment of linguistic regimes has proved more complex
55
56 (O’Rourke and Pujolar 2015). In these contexts, foreigners become the target of diverse
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1
2
3 nation-state or regional governmental language policies and campaigns competing to
4
5 attract new speakers into their language projects (Pujolar 2007b). This means that
6
7 throughout their language socialization processes they may need to learn how to manage
8
9 the social meanings of all these languages, and the identities that are locally and
10
11 globally attributed to each of them. In particular, migrants need to learn what is required
12
13 from them in communicative events at the local, regional or nation-state levels, as well
14
15 as in socialization spaces regulated by themselves, in order to be granted legitimacy in
16
17 resident societies. For instance, they need to develop an understanding of the
18
19 sociolinguistic compartments that are expected from them in the streets of a local
20
21 market, in a school of a minority-language region, in a state immigration office or in a
22
23 migrant-tailored cybercafé, in order to gain access to resources such as health care
24
25 services, legal advice or communication technology.
26
27
28

29
30 From a critical sociolinguistics ethnographic perspective (see Duchêne, Moyer
31
32 and Roberts 2013), in this article I explore transnational populations' linguistic
33
34 incorporation into a bilingual European society by focusing on minority-language
35
36 newspeakerism processes observed among 23 undocumented migrants in two peripheral
37
38 migrant-regulated socialization spaces: a cybercafé and a bench (see Section 2 for the
39
40 details).
41
42

43 The concept of newspeakerism emerged in bilingual communities with linguistic
44
45 conflicts, as an analytical tool to investigate the processes whereby 'local' majority-
46
47 language speakers had (re)-learnt a minority language, whether by choice or necessity,
48
49 via formal instruction or immersion. These speakers were called or considered
50
51 themselves 'new speakers' of such language (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015;
52
53 Puigdevall 2014). Emphasis was placed on the individual as the mobilizer of language
54
55 resources and as the agent of sociolinguistic change whose sociolinguistic
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3 compartments at different stages of life were key to explain personal (non)-involvement
4
5 in minority languages (Pujolar and O'Rourke 2016). The condition of having become a
6
7 newspeaker was called newspeakerism, and the linguistic identities whereby speakers
8
9 negotiated (advocated or inhabited) newspeakerism was referred to as newspeakerhood
10
11 (Martín Rojo and Márquez Reiter 2014).
12

13
14 The newspeakerism perspective was soon applied to the analysis of migrants'
15
16 linguistic practices and ideologies concerning 'local' majority/minority languages, as a
17
18 working tool to better understand how these interplayed with allochthonous languages, in
19
20 minority-language societies (Martín Rojo and Márquez Reiter 2014). The rationale
21
22 behind theorizing migrants' multilingualism through the lens of newspeakerism was
23
24 that an understanding of migrants' sociolinguistic compartments towards competing
25
26 sociolinguistic regimes and linguistic legitimacies would allow for a deeper exploration
27
28 of their (dis)-affiliations to local majority/minority languages. This may unveil newer
29
30 social meanings, newer sociolinguistic hierarchies, and newer post-national identities,
31
32 giving a transnational perspective to formerly 'local' linguistic conflicts and language
33
34 orders.
35
36

37
38 I adopt the newspeakerism framework because it allows for the problematization
39
40 of studies on minority languages, multilingualism and transnational identity which,
41
42 whether directly or indirectly, treat migrants as 'external' (rather than key) to the
43
44 sociolinguistic configurations of bilingual societies, and see their multilingual resources
45
46 as 'adding to' (rather than as constituting) the language hierarchies of post-national
47
48 minorities (Pujolar and O'Rourke 2016). Besides, the newspeakerism lens allows for the
49
50 analysis of how social difference, linked to newer practices of social categorization and
51
52 social organization grounded on language, get re-produced in transnational migration
53
54 contexts from an integrative informant-oriented perspective. In this regard, this study is
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1
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3 an exploration of how newspeakerism may provide a new angle of investigation of
4
5 language in social life in societies undergoing the transition from ‘local’ bilingualism to
6
7 ‘post-national’ multilingualism, in largely under-researched multilingual migrant
8
9 socialization spaces.
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11 This paper is organized as follows. I first present the resident society under
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13 study, Catalonia, with a majority and a minority language (Spanish and Catalan), and
14
15 the particular research spaces where the ethnographic work was conducted, an ‘ethnic’
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17 (i.e., migrant-regulated) cybercafé and a bench. I also describe the mobility trajectories
18
19 and sociolinguistic profiles of the informants, and summarize the methods and data
20
21 collected (Section 2). I then present the analysis of the informants’ diversity of reported
22
23 and observed practices and ideologies involving newspeakerism and newspeakerhood in
24
25 the minority language, and I try to understand the rationale behind them (Section 3). I
26
27 show that migrants do not envision themselves as Catalan newscasters. They do not see
28
29 their Catalan resources as belonging to their multilingual repertoires, and they silence
30
31 their Spanish-Catalan bilingualism. They employ ethnicist constructions of Catalan as
32
33 ‘the locals’ ‘authentic’ language and self-attribute hybrid identities whereby
34
35 ‘Catalanness’ (a vindication of some belonging to Catalonia) is advocated through
36
37 Spanish. In the second part of the analysis (Section 4), I explain that migrants invest in
38
39 majority-language native/newscasterhood instead, presenting Spanish as the only
40
41 language of ‘integration’. Their Spanish newspeakerism is ideologically grounded on
42
43 monoglossic Standard Peninsular Spanish, though in practice it is mobilized through
44
45 global Spanish. This is constituted by non-standard, translinguistic combinations of both
46
47 peninsular and Latin America Spanish practices, with linguistic conflicts concerning
48
49 what Spanish varieties are most legitimate in resident societies. In the conclusions
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51 (Section 5), I claim that the newspeakerism lens provides new light on how majority-
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3 language nation-state regimes pervade as gatekeepers to 21st-century citizenship, with
4
5 the participation of migrants who are subjected to (and excluded from) them, even in
6
7 public spaces where minority-language use is the norm. I finally argue that, all in all,
8
9 newspeakerism contributes to a socially-engaged understanding and rationalization of
10
11 the complexities of migrants' linguistic incorporation into minority-language societies,
12
13 allowing us to interrogate what counts as language, who counts as speaker, by whom,
14
15 and why, in the era of mobility and transnationalism (Heller 2011, Woolard 2016).
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24 **2. CONTEXT, PARTICIPANTS, METHODS AND DATA**

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27 The study took place in Catalonia, an autonomous community of about 7.5 million
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29 inhabitants, 13.7% of whom of foreign origin (Idescat 2016). Catalonia is located in
30
31 north-eastern Spain, a nation-state with one of the most controversial migration policies
32
33 in Europe and with one of the highest percentages of undocumented populations
34
35 (Sánchez 2008).
36

37
38 Catalonia is officially bilingual in a majority and a minority language: Spanish
39
40 and Catalan, both etymologically close Romance languages. Spanish is the dominant
41
42 official language of the nation-state (as well as a global language), fueled by a political
43
44 project of 'recentralization' (Pujolar 2015) where a certified basic level of Spanish is
45
46 required for 'naturalization' (BOE 2015: 105524). Catalan is a minority language in the
47
48 sense that it has been historically socioeconomically and politically persecuted and
49
50 'minorized' (Bastardas 1996). Today it is not recognized as an official language by the
51
52 European Union, and it is regarded as the co-official '*vernacular*' code of Catalonia,
53
54 with the Catalan government presenting it as a de-politicized 'language for everybody'
55
56 (Generalitat de Catalunya 2016). Linguistic diversity is recognized via 'pragmatic
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3 accommodations' (Kymlicka and Patten 2003: 5) rather than specific language policies
4
5 protecting migrants' rights (see Generalitat de Catalunya 2008).
6

7
8 In terms of minority- and majority-language use, Catalan is losing out speakers
9
10 in the private and public spheres, because the percentages of local people speaking it
11
12 has decreased notably over the past ten years (Pradilla and Sorolla 2016), with Spanish-
13
14 Catalan bilingual practices prevailing, and with minority- or majority-language choice
15
16 becoming increasingly detached from binary 'Spaniard' or 'Catalan' identities (Woolard
17
18 and Frekko 2013). Besides, foreigners are usually systematically addressed in, and tend
19
20 to choose to learn, the majority language first (Pujolar 2010), which makes it more
21
22 difficult for them to attain the language that ensures access to powerful social networks
23
24 in resident towns.
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26

27
28 The study focused on two Catalan urban towns in the Barcelona metropolitan
29
30 area. These were the research spaces of two ethnographic projects concerning migrants'
31
32 alternative socialization spaces conducted between 2007-2009 and 2012-2014. The first
33
34 project aimed at understanding migrants' multilingual practices and ideologies and their
35
36 use of information and communication technology in transnational life. The second one
37
38 focused on the interplay between migrants' multilingual practices and linguistic
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40 identities and their socioeconomic and geographic immobility. I here present the data
41
42 concerning migrants' practices, ideologies and identities revolving around the minority
43
44 language, stored for a deeper investigation of their own (the two full ethnographic
45
46 projects are available in 'Author' and 'Author').
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49
50 The two towns were similar in size and were located at an hour distance from
51
52 Barcelona City. The first one, whom I call 'Vallès',² had about 37 thousand inhabitants,
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54 and the second one, whom I call 'Anoia', about 39 thousand. Both were economic
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56 enclaves whose industries almost collapsed with the 2008 Spanish economic crisis,
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3 which left an unemployment rate of 39% among migrants in Catalonia (Observatori
4 Empresa i Ocupació 2012: 4), one of the highest percentages in Europe. Documented
5 foreign residents accounted for 13-15% of the population in both towns. Vallès was the
6 seat of former 'internal' labor migration movements of monolingual Spanish-speaking
7 families from Southern Spain who moved to Catalonia during the precarious post-civil
8 war economy. They accounted, remarkably, for about 22% of Vallès' population at the
9 time of the study. Anòia's population consisted mostly of Catalan-born families.
10
11 Actually, more than half of its inhabitants were born in the same town or in neighboring
12 Catalan-speaking localities.
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23 According to the latest reports (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015), Vallès is one of
24 the towns with the lowest percentage of reported knowledge of Catalan (about 60%),
25 whereas Anòia shows one of the highest indexes (about 80%). The fact that I could
26 focus on these two very different towns in terms of sociolinguistic configurations
27 allowed me to analyze newspeakerism in a context where language socialization in the
28 majority language prevailed (Vallès) and in a context where, by contrast, the use of the
29 minority language was the norm in public (Anòia). This provides a wider picture of the
30 different sociolinguistic configurations that migrants encounter in Catalonia, which may
31 help better address and interrogate the unpredictability of migrants' linguistic
32 incorporation paths in minority-language contexts (Jezak and Carrasco 2017) (as we
33 shall see, the data in both towns adds, rather than compares, information concerning
34 newspeakerism).
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49 In Vallès, I conducted a 2-year ethnography of a network of 20 migrants who
50 met daily in a migrant-tailored cybercafé located in an impoverished, working-class
51 neighborhood. This cybercafé received between 61 and 156 customers a day and had
52 become an alternative institution of migration where to access not only communication
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3 technology but also food, rooms for rent, advice on legality issues, and so on. The
4
5 informants were men and women aged between 27 and 52 born in South Asia, North
6
7 and Central Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America (they were mainly Pakistanis).
8
9 They were mostly undocumented and unemployed and participated in the Vallès
10
11 informal economy. They had accessed Catalonia between 2002 and 2010, and had
12
13 visited other European countries; alone or with extended family units. Some were non-
14
15 schooled and non-literate in Western alphanumeric systems; others had a high command
16
17 of written English and spoke Darija or Panjabi, for instance.
18
19

20
21 In Anoia, I conducted a 2-year ethnography of a small network of three
22
23 Ghanaian men who were also unemployed, partly undocumented, and unsheltered. They
24
25 lived on a public bench located in an open-air peripheral transports area, in front of a
26
27 supermarket where they begged for food. They participated in the local informal
28
29 economy by selling scrap from garbage containers. They were in their forties and had
30
31 migrated alone. They had travelled around Europe and had lived in other parts of
32
33 Catalonia previous to getting together in town in 2008. They spoke Ashanti as a lingua
34
35 franca among themselves, and commanded other African languages, English and some
36
37 Arabic. Two of them had finished primary education in Ghana.
38
39

40
41 The data in both research spaces included fieldnotes from daily and weekly
42
43 participant observation (I lived in both neighborhoods for at least one year before,
44
45 during, and after each fieldwork project), audio-recorded interviews and naturally-
46
47 occurring interactions among participants and among participants and other migrants,
48
49 and a variety of written materials (advertisements, text messages, etc.). The interviews
50
51 took place mostly in Spanish, and also in English and Catalan. I always started
52
53 interactions in Catalan, and presented myself as a ‘Catalan speaker’ and as an English
54
55 instructor at university. For the purposes of this paper, I present five Excerpts and quote
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3 eight Excerpt parts from interview data, and draw on extensive fieldwork notes. In the
4
5 analysis, language choice has been indicated with different typefaces: Spanish is
6
7 presented in italics; Catalan, underlined; English, plain; and undecidable speech, in bold
8
9 All language practices are reproduced verbatim (see transcription system in the
10
11 Appendix).
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19 **3. MINORITY-LANGUAGE NEWSPEAKERISM: THE HIDDEN LIFE OF** 20 21 **CATALAN** 22 23

24 Concerning minority-language practices, migrants never mentioned Catalan if I did not
25
26 explicitly asked about it. They did not see themselves as Catalan newspeakers, and did
27
28 not conceive of this language as belonging to their multilingual resources. Their
29
30 statements were very similar in both research spaces. Basically, they presented
31
32 themselves as either non-speakers or as not totally competent speakers of Catalan,
33
34 frequently in an apologetic manner, delegitimizing their competence in this language
35
36 (see Martín Rojo 2010 on linguistic self-delegitimization). Paul, a Ghanaian cocoa
37
38 farmer aged 40, exemplifies the first position with the statement (in Spanish) ‘*Sí sí yo*
39
40 *yo hablar español pero catalán nada*’ (‘*Yes yes I speak Spanish but Catalan not at all*’),
41
42 where he denied any competence in Catalan, in Anoia (interview 20 July 2012). His
43
44 compatriot Alfred, a 50-year-old English teacher who had worked as a fruit picker and
45
46 as a construction worker, illustrates the second position in Excerpt 1 below. When
47
48 inquired about the languages of the town, he first claims that ‘local’ people do not speak
49
50 English (line 2), and he then clarifies that only a few command it (line 3), for which he
51
52 cannot use this lingua franca with them (lines 5 and 7). He explains that he uses only
53
54 Spanish in public, instead (lines 7 and 9). When I asked about Catalan (line 10), he
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states that he uses it only ‘a bit’, making it clear that it is ‘ok’ (line 11), switching from English to Catalan with laughter, perhaps as a face-saving strategy to downplay the self-delegitimization of his minority-language resources. He finishes by claiming non-productive command of the language (line 13), and he switches to Catalan once more to repeat the researcher’s statement (line 15), reiterating that he socializes in town ‘only in *castellano*’³ (line 13).

Excerpt 1

@Location:	18 July 2012. Bench. Anoià.	
@Bck:	The researcher (RES) asks Alfred (ALF) about the ‘locals’ languages, which leads to commenting on his self-ascribed ‘low’ command of Catalan.	
1	*RES:	and in here do they speak English?
→ 2	*ALF:	the people here they are not.
	[...]	
→ 3	*ALF:	only a few people speak English only few only.
4	*RES:	so do you use English when you go here?
→ 5	*ALF:	no no no.
6	*RES:	no?
→ 7	*ALF:	no no no <only> [//] the only Spanish.
8	*RES:	only Spanish?
→ 9	*ALF:	yes.
→ 10	*RES:	and not Catalan?
→ 11	*ALF:	<Catalan> [?] ok # <u>una mica</u> .
	%tra:	a bit.
	%com:	Laughs
12	*RES:	<u>una mica</u> .
	%tra:	a bit.
→ 13	*ALF:	if you speak it yes it’s but I can’t reply to you in Catalan only in <i>castellano</i> .
14	*RES:	vale <però tu l’entens> [?].
	%tra:	ok <but you understand it> [?].
→ 15	*ALF:	yes yo entén entén sí .
	%tra:	yes I understand understand yes.

14

Informants in Vallès similarly reported non-command of the minority language. This is shown in Excerpt 2 (taken from ‘Author’), where Ronny, a middle-aged unemployed tailor from Bolivia, presents himself as a Spanish monolingual speaker or ‘unilenguado’ (literally, ‘one-linguaged’) (line 2). Ronny takes his comment back (line 4) and states that he has a receptive command of Catalan (line 6), codeswitching from Spanish to Catalan (in line 6), to highlight that it is ‘low’, delegitimizing it (like Alfred in Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 2

@Location:	1 September 2008. Cybercafé. Vallès.	
@Bck:	The researcher (RES) asks Ronny (RON) how many languages he speaks. He presents himself as a Spanish monolingual speaker, but he then uses Catalan, too.	
1	*RES:	<i>lo que me interesaba para el trabajo es a ver <cuántas lenguas hablas> [?].</i>
	%tra:	what I’m interested in in this study is let’s see <how many languages do you speak> [?].
→ 2	*RON:	<i>eh yo soy unilenguado.</i>
	%tra:	eh I am one-linguaged.
	%com:	Laughs
3	*RES:	<i>si?</i>
	%tra:	really?
→ 4	*RON:	<i>no # mentira <es un punto y aparte> [//] entre comillas.</i>
	%tra:	no # [that’s a] lie <it’s something put aside> [//] in inverted commas.
5	*RES:	<i>qué +...</i>
	%tra:	what +...
→ 6	*RON:	<i>+^ a ver un poco de: entiendo catalán pero <no> [//] no molt bé però +...</i>
	%tra:	+^ let’s see a bit o:f I understand Catalan but <not> [/] not very well though +...

As seen in Excerpts 1 and 2, most informants felt the need to ‘prove’ receptive command of Catalan, possibly as a means not to show unwillingness to participate in the Catalan-speaking community, in front of a ‘Catalan’ researcher. Their self-ascribed

1
2
3 'not very good' Catalan competence shows that the minority language was conceived of
4 as an additional foreign language to be 'learned' for functional purposes, not as a 'new'
5 language to be appropriated during one's linguistic socialization. Thus, Catalan was a
6 language of 'transition', not of relocation. Catalan newspeakerism was denied or
7 language of 'transition', not of relocation. Catalan newspeakerism was denied or
8 generally not targeted. Only those who wanted to settle down in Catalonia and access
9 non-blue-collar jobs presented Catalan newspeakerism as a future project. As Merche, a
10 40-year-old cleaning person from the Dominican Republic, put it in Spanish: 'va a ser
11 muy importante aprender catalán [...]; bueno, al menos los que vamos a vivir en
12 Catalunya' ('it will be very important to learn Catalan [...]; well at least for those of us
13 who will be living in Catalonia') (interview 22 August 2008).

24
25 In practice, though, many informants had incorporated Catalan into their
26 multilingual repertoires. This became obvious in interactions framed in Spanish,
27 particularly when informants engaged in phatic talk in Catalan when addressing 'local'
28 populations. In this sense, they in fact had appropriated the 'locals'' Spanish-Catalan
29 bilingual practices, as seen, for instance, in their routinized use of expressions like 'déu'
30 (from Catalan 'adéu' or 'bye', which would be 'adiós' in Spanish). Catalan was also at
31 times introduced in conversations among migrants themselves, in interactions framed,
32 for instance, in Ashanti or Darija. This was so especially in the written mode, where
33 even some of the informants who claimed non-command of Catalan incorporated
34 Catalan orthography into their literacies. Moroccan and Pakistani men, for example,
35 employed the Catalan grapheme <ny>, equivalent to Spanish <ñ>, to make for the
36 sound /ɲ/ in text messages and hand-written notes addressing 'locals' and foreigners.
37 Finally, it should be noted that some migrants were actually fully-fledged Catalan
38 speakers, though they silenced this in migrant-networking spaces, and they only used
39 this minority language if it was used by the addresser first. This was the case of
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3 cybercafé worker Aaliyah from Morocco, who had learnt Catalan while working for a
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5 Catalan-speaking employer in the tourist coast. Aaliyah did not consider herself a
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7 Catalan newspeaker, and, since she never used it with clients, she could not be
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9 recognized as such by others, in Vallès. This demonstrates that Catalan newspeakerism
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11 and Catalan newspeakerhood were non-expected, marked sociolinguistic compartments.
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13 In fact, the use of Catalan, even by ‘locals’, was an unorthodox practice. Evidence of
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15 this was provided when I introduced myself in Catalan in Vallès and a ‘local’
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17 adolescent commented, in Spanish: ‘vale no pasa nada’ (*‘ok no big deal’*), as if
18
19 ‘forgiving me’ for my language choice.
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23 The range of linguistic ideologies concerning Catalan newspeakerism was wide,
24
25 too, and revealed the migrants’ various degrees of contact with Spanish and/or Catalan
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27 speakers, including ‘locals’ born in other parts of Spain. In general terms, informants
28
29 believed that the majority language shall be the language of ‘integration’; the one
30
31 accepted by Spanish authorities and by most neighbors as the language of national
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33 identity (see Section 4) – this occurred both in Vallès and Anogia, though it was more
34
35 emphatically expressed in the former Spanish-speaking town.
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39 Both in the cybercafé and the bench, Catalan was considered the language of a
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41 ‘local’ elite who occupied relevant socioeconomic positions and who were in charge of
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43 distributing important resources in the Catalan administration. In Anogia, informants
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45 associated Catalan with the ‘locals’ in the religiously-inspired NGO who provided them
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47 with shower facilities and donated clothes, or with the workers in the temporary work
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49 agency, who translated their résumés in Catalan as a means to help them access the local
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51 marketplace. In Vallès, they associated Catalan with the school teachers who gave their
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53 children information in Catalan and with the library workers who provided free Internet
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55 services in Catalan.
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3 This association of Catalan as the language of the better-off ‘locals’, which is
4 based on older conceptions of Catalan as an elitist code (see Section 4), is based on
5 ethnicist understandings of the minority language, since it constructs it as an ‘authentic’
6 language of belonging only for autochthonous populations. No ideologies constructing
7 Catalan in economicist terms as a de-politicized ‘profitable’ language were found in the
8 data. In fact, when I tried to associate Catalan with the local workplace, migrants
9 emphasized that they would access job vacancies in Spanish. For example, when I told
10 Benedito (a 42-year-old unemployed Ghanaian accountant) ‘but in Lleida [his former
11 town] they speak Catalan’, he replied, in Spanish: ‘yes! Catalán hablan catalán yes
12 castellano también’ (*‘Catalan they speak Catalan yes Castilian too’*) (interview 29
13 August 2012), acknowledging that his former workplace welcomed local bilingualism
14 as well as the routinized use of Spanish, despite being located in a Catalan-dominant
15 town. This shows that Catalan was minoritized among migrant labor workers, in that
16 workplace.

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34 This nativist ideology concerning the minority language was frequently voiced
35 in pejorative terms, perhaps following discourses that informants heard from ‘local’
36 neighbors. Jenny, a 35-year-old unemployed Spanish-speaking ‘local’ who frequented
37 the cybercafé, for instance, kept explaining to Pakistani informants that Catalan was
38 only for ‘los del puño agarrao’ (*‘the tight-fisted’*) (fieldnotes 30 September 2008).
39 Shabbir, a 41-year-old construction worker from Kashmir, agreed, and complained that
40 ‘Catalans’ never addressed migrants in this language and switched to Spanish
41 systematically instead, suggesting that they did not want to share ‘their’ language
42 (revealing, too, migrants’ knowledge on the importance of this language for accessing
43 locals networks). He once stated that ‘siempre cuando nosotros hablamos de de
44 castellano ellos siempre hablan castellano. En cinco seis años no he visto ni una persona
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hablar catalán. ¿Esto de quién es falta?’ (*‘Always when we speak the the Castilian they always speak Castilian. In five six years I haven’t seen a single person speaking Catalan. Whose fault is this?’*) (interview 10 August 2008). By associating Catalan with the language of the ‘local better-offs’, both Jenny, who had socioeconomic problems, and Shabbir, who was trying to get a driving license to protect his transnational family’s income, voiced complaints concerning their precariousness conditions, experienced as a social inequality practice on the part of those ‘middle-classed Catalans’ (‘they’) who did not ‘share’ their code with the economically ‘inferior’ (‘us’) in Catalonia.

Ethnicist constructions of Catalan included views of it as a non-public, scarcely used, vernacular code, particularly among some Pakistanis. Shabbir and Yousaf, a 42-year-old unemployed electrician in Vallès, equated the unofficial, unprotected ‘regional’ status of Panjabi in Pakistan to that of Catalan in Catalonia, in Excerpt 3 (taken from ‘Author’), in lines 4 and 5, where Shabbir constructs both languages as ‘unseen’ and as relegated to the sphere of the home (in fact some of their relatives did not know about the existence of Catalan, as became evident when we finished their children’s homework in the cybercafé).

Excerpt 3

@Location:	22 August 2008. Cybercafé. Vallès.	
@Bck:	Inquired by the researcher (RES), Shabbir (SHA) and Yousaf (YOU) talk about their ‘home’ languages and seem to equate the ‘regional’ status of Panjabi in Pakistan to that of Catalan in Catalonia.	
1	*RES:	<i>y: vosotros en qué habláis en urdu en casa?</i>
	%tra:	a:nd you what do you speak do you speak Urdu at home?
2	*SHA:	<i>sí: Panjabi.</i>
	%tra:	ye:s Panjabi.
3	*RES:	ah Panjabi!
→ 4	*YOU:	<i>es como catalán.</i>
	%tra:	it’s like Catalan.

→ 5	*SHA:	+^ <i>cada uno país tiene uno: <cómo se llama> [?] como catalán o como Panjabi y siempre en casa y hablando así.</i>
	%tra:	+^ each one country has one: <what is it called> [?] like Catalan or Panjabi and always at home and talking like this.

Another example of the construction of Catalan as a language employed by an imagined small linguistic minority was provided by a cybercafé worker in Anogia. Ghanaian informants presented him as a ‘pakistani’ (interview 12 July 2012). However, when he came by the bench and inquired about my presence with the question ‘una chica <qué país> [?]’ (‘a girl <what country> [?]’), to which I replied ‘I’m Catalan, Maria’, he introduced himself as ‘I’m Kashmir provincia de Pakistán’ (‘*province of Pakistan*’). This cybercafé worker mobilized a minority-language alliance with the researcher in English and Spanish, and revealed some ‘Kashmiri’ identity, even if framed within the Pakistani nation-state territorial boundaries.

Some migrants mobilized their knowledge of, and positioning towards, language-related political conflicts to align with the defense of minority-language rights in Catalan and contribute to a project which claims for Catalonia’s political independence from Spain, constructing Catalan as Catalonia’s language, in nation-state terms (see, also, Woolard 2016). In Anogia, where the town’s dominant language was Catalan, I met Benedito queuing to vote in the non-binding referendum concerning Catalonia’s independence (held on 9 November 2014). He explained his decision to participate in it in Spanish (and, to me, in English), showing belonging to Catalonia and some feeling of ‘Catalanness’ without self-attributing Catalan newspeakhood. This shows that the newspeakhood framework may help contextualize and historicize the processes whereby language choice is increasingly detached from linguistic identity in minority-language contexts. This is so because it focuses on the individuals’ degrees of

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(non)-appropriations of minority-language resources and on the dialogical dynamics of recognition. In this case, it provides a more comprehensive rationale for the self-attribution of a Catalan identity without necessarily claiming Catalan newspeakhood when publicly vindicating incorporation via newer social categorization practices.

Like Benedito, none of the informants presented themselves as ‘Catalans’ or as Catalan newspeakers. Self- and other-ascribed categorizations included either fluid transnational identity labels (e.g., ‘we the black,’ ‘*los Latinos*,’ ‘the foreigners,’ ‘Europeans’) that interplayed with localist place-of-origin categorizations (e.g., ‘Moroccan’ or ‘Ghanaian’) or else revolved solely around Spanish newspeakhood, as detailed below.

4. MAJORITY-LANGUAGE NEWSPEAKERISM: A BAROMETER OF POST-NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP

As outlined above, migrants’ linguistic socialization was envisioned and practiced in Spanish. In the cybercafé, hand-written documents (like room-for-rent ads) were provided in translinguistic Spanish, and business materials (remittance forms, phone cards, etc.), in Standard Peninsular Spanish. All informants considered this majority language as the taken-for-granted barometer of ‘integration’ and of ‘proper’ citizenship, contributing to the Spanish governmental authorities’ efforts to present it as ‘a precondition to state membership’ (Jaspers and Madsen 2016: 245), in Spain as well as in Catalonia.

Many expressions and particular words linked to their resident-society socialization had been incorporated into migrants’ multilingual resources in Spanish,

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3 too. In interview data (recorded 18-20 July 2012), for instance, I found Spanish (here
4 italicized) in exchanges framed in English (plain typeface), concerning: Catalan
5 geography (e.g. ‘I had a job inside a house in *Lérida*’ (*‘Lleida’*)); employment (e.g. ‘I
6 had my *patrón*’ (*‘employer’*)); social services (e.g. ‘I don’t have *paro* I don’t have the
7 *ayuda*’ (*‘unemployment benefit’, ‘social benefit’*)); and economy (e.g., ‘somebody’s
8 *hipoteca* is is even six hundred’ (*‘mortgage’*)).
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16 In terms of ideologies, the unmarked use of Spanish as the language of
17 socialization became most evident when I asked informants about their towns’
18 languages. When I asked Abdelouahed from Morocco, aged 31, for instance, about the
19 languages in Vallès, he acknowledged linguistic diversity but stated that the language of
20 interactions among migrants and ‘locals’ in public was ‘Castilian’. I asked (over-
21 insistentlly) ‘y por qué no el catalán?’ (*‘and why not Catalan?’*), to which he replied:
22 ‘hombre que en España el castellano... el idioma el castellano’ (*‘look in Spain*
23 *Castilian... the language the Castilian’*) (interview 1 September 2008), calling his
24 resident society ‘Spain’.
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36 In Anoia, Spanish as a lingua franca among migrants and ‘locals’ was
37 considered the unmarked norm, too. Excerpt 4, where I asked Paul about the ‘locals’
38 language choices when addressing him (line 1), reproduces the idea that his resident
39 society is ‘Spain’ and that the public language shall be ‘*Castilian*’ (line 2). He
40 categorically states that Catalan is not used in his socialization spaces (line 4), and
41 frames his non-use of it in terms of ‘non-comprehensibility’ (lines 6 and 8). Thus, he
42 explains his sociolinguistic compartments in terms of language acquisition,
43 circumventing the need to reveal his sociopolitical positionings on ‘local’ linguistic
44 conflicts.
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Excerpt 4

@Location:	18 July 2012. Bench. Anoa.	
@Bck:	The researcher (RES) asks Paul (PAU) about the ‘locals’ language choices when addressing him. He constructs Spanish as the public language in town, and frames his non-use of Catalan in terms of ‘non-comprehensibility’.	
→ 1	*RES:	<i>normalmente cuando tú vas a la tienda o a hacienda <qué hablan> [?].</i>
	%tra:	normally when you go to the shop or tax office <what do they speak> [?]
→ 2	*PAU:	<i>España eh castellano!</i>
	%tra:	Spain eh Castilian!
	3 *RES:	<i><sí> [?] <y por qué no catalán> [?].</i>
	%tra:	<really> [?] <and why not Catalan> [?].
→ 4	*PAU:	<i>no.</i>
	5 *RES:	<i>no te gusta?</i>
	%tra:	you don’t like it?
→ 6	*PAU:	<i>no entiendo.</i>
	%tra:	I don’t understand.
	7 *RES:	<i>no entiendes?</i>
		you don’t understand?
→ 8	*PAU:	<i>no # no entiendo.</i>
	%tra:	no # I don’t understand.

Some informants did take a political stance and invested in the defense of the majority language as the only legitimate code for incorporation in Catalonia. James, a middle-aged Cuban poet in Vallès, for instance, employs ‘profitability’ discourses based on the socioeconomic and political weight of Spanish in Excerpt 5 (adapted from ‘Author’) by constructing Spanish as a global powerful ‘wealth’ and ‘delight’ (line 2); that is, as a modern tool for intercultural communication. He does so by refuting the idea that Catalan is a minority language, in line with some Spanish-nationalist discourses that consider minority-language use in the global sphere as ‘parochial’. He self-attributes expert knowledge of Catalonia and of (ethnic) ‘*Catalans*’ (line 1) and, on the basis of

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3 this, argues that granting Catalan the same official status as Spanish is unnecessary in
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5 order to keep its vitality. He downplays claims for minority language rights by
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7 constructed them as ‘dominant/dominated’ folk rhetoric (*‘theories’*). He leaves the
8
9 political autonomy of Catalonia unmentioned and, insistently and emphatically, takes
10
11 the political positioning that the resident society is not Catalonia but ‘España’ (*‘Spain’*,
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13 line 2; contrary to what Alfred did, but following Paul; Excerpt 4, line 2),
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Excerpt 5

@Location:	3 August 2008. Cybercafé. Vallès.	
@Bck:	James (JAM) presents Spanish as a dominant language in Catalonia and worldwide, refuting the idea that Catalan is minoritized, and calling his resident society ‘Spain’.	
→ 1	*JAM:	<i>sí [el español] es una lengua dominante porque sé la teoría y porque ya he vivido más de tres años anteriormente aquí y yo he tenido muy buenas relaciones con catalanes # me han hablado de la lengua dominante que tiende a relegar a la nativa etcétera y son teorías pero yo pienso que si la gente estudia en el colegio nunca se va a morir y es la lengua que mamás de tu mamá de la teta de tu madre.</i>
	%tra:	yes [Spanish] is a dominant language because I know the theory and because I’ve lived here for more than three years previously in here and I’ve had very good relationships with Catalans # they have told me about the dominant language that tends to relegate the native one etcetera and these are theories but I think that if people study at school it’ll never die out and it’s the language that you are breastfed by your mum from your mum’s breast.
→ 2	*JAM:	<i>ahora lo que es una verdad ineludible es esto del castellano imponiéndose en el mundo y que es una riqueza que hay que cuidar y <es un> [//] es una delicia española y de España porque mal que le pese a quien le pese <esto es España> [!].</i>
	%tra:	now but what is an unavoidable truth is that Castilian is growing in strength around the world and that it’s a wealth that should be taken care of and <it’s a> [//] it’s a Spanish delight and of Spain because whether we like it or not <this is Spain> [!].

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3 As outlined above, too, the informants' ideologies interplayed with discourses
4 mobilized by the 'locals' who had contacts with them, most of whom invested in
5 Spanish nationalist projects which envision the majority language as key for national
6 unity. Jenny, for instance, kept telling her Panjabi-using Pakistani friends 'Hablar en
7 español, que estamos en España' ('*Speak in Spanish, we are in Spain*') (fieldnotes 16
8 September 2008), circulating discourses similar to those of James and Paul (Excerpts 4
9 and 5).

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18 An aspect which should be noted in relation to the construction of Spanish as the
19 language of 'integration' is the fact that in Catalonia Standard Peninsular Spanish is
20 ideologically constructed as the same shared code employed by a variety of migrants
21 whose place of origin also has 'Spanish' as an official language; particularly Latin
22 America. While all linguistic varieties employed among them are categorized as
23 'Spanish', and while all their speakers are categorized as belonging to the same
24 'Spanish-speaking condominium', informants in migrant-regulated spaces may find
25 themselves immersed in competitions of linguistic capitals concerning whose Spanish is
26 (most) legitimate. Such competitions may be found between three different groups.
27 Firstly, between Spanish-speaking 'locals' and Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, both
28 of whom claim legitimate majority-language nativespeakerhood. Then, between
29 migrants born in Latin America using different Spanish varieties, all claiming majority-
30 language nativespeakerhood and 'native' Spanish 'accents'. Finally, between Spanish-
31 speaking Latin American migrants and Spanish-speaking migrants who are not 'native'
32 speakers of it but vindicate legitimate Spanish newspeakerhood. These sorts of
33 competitions for attaining recognition occurred, for instance, when a Bolivian cybercafé
34 user discredited the Pakistani worker's Panjabi-sounding Spanish with the complaint
35 '¡Habla más claro!' ('*Speak more clearly!*'), claiming that he did not speak it 'right', in
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3 Vallès (fieldnotes 30 June 2008). These linguistic competitions are constitutive of
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5 various Spanish (native/new)speakerhood identities which regulate the sociolinguistic
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7 regimes of migrant spaces such as cybercafés. For example, they are part of the identity
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9 work not to lose Spanish Latin American ‘accents’ linked to particular Latin American
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11 identities (for instance as a ‘Cuban’), which may require detachment from Standard
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13 Peninsular Spanish nativespeakerhood, as well as from Catalan. The newspeakerism
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15 perspective allows for the analysis of the politics of recognition of such newer varieties;
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17 for they unveil to what extent, in what situations and with whom, they are legitimized,
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19 which reveals, in turn, how informants engage with them and manage the newer social
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21 meanings attributed to their own and the others’ specific forms of speaking.
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25 The identities that informants self-attributed also provide further evidence that
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27 Spanish native or newspeakerhood were the targeted social categorizations. A clear
28
29 example of this is the fact that some informants Spanishized their names when
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31 introducing themselves in public in their socialization spaces, out of routine. Pakistani
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33 Sheema, for instance, called himself Chema (/ˈtʃema/); Shabbir from Kashmir, Xavi
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35 (/ˈtʃabi/), and Benedict from Ghana, ‘Benedito’ – all Spanish-sounding.
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39 The identities that informants used to identify ‘locals’ were equally revealing of
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41 their positioning towards the majority/minority language statuses in Catalonia. Migrants
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43 called non-foreigners ‘españoles’, leaving the category ‘catalán’ mostly to name
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45 socioeconomically distant, ethnically Catalan speakers and/or Catalan nationalists. This
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47 was seen in statements like ‘[tengo] amigos de Europa y de español también’ (‘[I have]
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49 friends from Europe and from Spanish, too’) (Paul’s interview, 20 June 2012), where
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51 ‘Spanish’ is equated to ‘Spaniards’ only (not ‘Catalans’). It was also seen when the
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53 researcher’s use of Catalan when first meeting them prompted a ‘Catalan’ identity
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55 ascription even when she did not explicitly present herself as such. These identities may
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3 reveal the coexistence of different ethnolinguistic boundaries in post-national Catalonia.
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5 On the one hand, they may speak of a newer fluid ethnolinguistic boundary described
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7 by Woolard (2009) between ‘Catalans’ (‘locals’ who mobilize Catalan or Spanish-
8
9 Catalan bilingualism) and ‘non-Catalans’ (those who use mostly Spanish, including
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11 Spanish-Catalan bilinguals, those who refuse to invest in Catalan and migrants). On the
12
13 other hand, they may unveil a re-appropriated version of an older ‘fixed’ local identity
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15 dichotomy (linked to social class issues) which divided Catalan society during and after
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17 Franco’s dictatorship between ‘españoles’ (an imagined mass of Spanish monolingual
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19 working-class ‘Spaniards’) and ‘catalans’ (envisioned as a Catalan-born monolingual
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21 elite) during the 1980s and 1990s, before transnational mass immigration (see Woolard
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23 1989). The fact that informants mobilized this older identity dichotomy in newer ways
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25 (as when Yousaf constructs Catalan as a ‘home’ language or when Shabbir constructs it
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27 as the language of wealthy Catalans; Section 3) demonstrates that transnational
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29 populations I ‘globalize’ older social differentiation practices by attributing newer social
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31 meanings to them. I suggest that the newspeakerism lens allows getting to the core,
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33 rationalizing and accounting for the many complexities revealed in the ambivalence,
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35 contradictions and diversity of emerging individual practices, ideologies and identities
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37 based on older and newer social dichotomies concerning migrants’ management of
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39 majority/minority linguistic conflicts. These, all in all, confirm that the different ways in
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41 which migrants claim linguistic incorporation (and, therefore, vindicate post-national
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43 citizenship rights and linguistic recognition) are all ultimately conducted solely in and
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45 through majority-language newspeakerism and newspeakerhood.
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56 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

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5 In this article I have used the newspeakism lens as a tool to provide a comprehensive
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7 account of the dialogical dynamics and interplays of language practices, ideologies and
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9 linguistic identities of migrant populations living in a post-national European society,
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11 from a migrant-oriented, reflexive perspective. I have argued that newspeakism,
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13 which understands migrants as acting/active key agents of sociolinguistic change,
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15 allows for a nuanced understanding of the complexities of languages in contact that tend
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17 not to be rationalized in conventional approaches focusing solely on the legitimization
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19 of the multilingualism of ‘powerless’ (helpless, passivized) migrants. I have suggested
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21 that newspeakism may help us provide a new lens on how the increased linguistic
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23 diversity has forced ‘local’ populations and migrants alike to negotiate, and to
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25 reposition themselves, with regard to what counts as legitimate language socialization in
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27 migrant-receiving societies, getting us closer to the dynamics of the engagements,
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29 appropriations and recognitions of newer sociolinguistic orders ,and linguistic
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31 hierarchies (including accents), all linked to newer social organization practices which
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33 are now truly global.
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38 More specifically, I have focused on multilingual migrant populations’ processes
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40 of linguistic incorporation into a traditionally bilingual society, Catalonia, where there
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42 exist linguistic conflict and sociopolitical tensions linked to the roles and statuses of a
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44 majority and a minority ‘local’ language, Spanish and Catalan. I have argued that these
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46 processes are worth investigating because they allow for the critical sociolinguistic
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48 ethnographic exploration of how language ‘ownership’, claims of recognition and,
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50 ultimately, newspeakhood get taken up in older and newer ways in order to account
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52 for who is considered a ‘proper’ citizenship-deserving migrant at all societal levels, in
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3 mundane street encounters as well as in formal institutional events, unfolding newer
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5 mechanisms of generating social difference and exclusion, on the grounds of language.
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7 The results have shown that the processes whereby migrants engage in minority-
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9 and/or majority-language newspeakerism and newspeakerhood in a bilingual society are
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11 multifaceted and largely unpredictable, since they involve myriad positionings and
12
13 (non)-appropriations of ‘local’ languages which need to be re-framed on a global scale.
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15 In some migrant socialization spaces, for instance, the use of the majority language,
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17 Spanish, needs to be re-understood in relation to the newer statuses that other global
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19 Spanishes have in there, when identity work and competitions of linguistic capitals are
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21 at play between Latin American and ‘local’ Spanish speakers (as in Vallès). In some
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23 others, its non-use or non-appropriation needs to be understood not only in relation to
24
25 the dynamics of local languages but also to the newer unseen roles that delegitimized
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27 migrant languages like Ashanti are granted in order to gain access to resources such as
28
29 food within particular migrant networks (as in Anoià). This re-framing of the
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31 indexicalities of languages is particularly relevant in under-studied research spaces like
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33 migrant-regulated ‘ethnic’ cybercafés or public benches, characterized by language
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35 socialization processes unfolded under conditions of extreme precariousness and
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37 marginalization, and managed off the radar of nation-state rules.
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43 I have shown that, contrary to common thought, pauperized migrant networks
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45 have a deep knowledge of, and are key for, the present and future revitalization of
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47 ‘local’ minority languages. For example, they appropriate and mobilize newer minority-
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49 language rights discourses concerning Catalan in Anoià, or reinforce integration through
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51 the nation-state language only, in Vallès, demonstrating, in turn, that they engage in
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53 ‘local’ (ethnicist) identity constructions and they know how to actively discuss matters
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3 with ‘Catalan’ and ‘non-Catalan’ neighbors (like the researcher or like their neighbor
4
5 Jenny, for instance).
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7 Overall, migrants’ reported and real multilingual practices, ideologies and
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9 identities involve, systematically, Spanish native/newspeakerism and
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11 native/newspeakerhood as the sociolinguistic comportment for ‘integration’ in inter-
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13 and intra-group communicative events. Thus, migrants generally frame their language
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15 socialization within the territorial boundaries of the nation-state (‘Spain’, not
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17 Catalonia), following the Spanish authorities’ regimentation practices exerted upon
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19 ‘unfitting’ migrants in Spanish, as a strategy to continue securing nation-state power
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21 and national unity.
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25 Catalan newspeakerism is, ideologically and in practice, generally absent in
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27 migrant socialization spaces. Routine Spanish-Catalan bilingualism is conceived of as
28
29 belonging to the migrants’ Spanish resources, and Catalan command (as in the case of
30
31 Aaliyah’s) is hidden and even reprimanded. This, too, shows that migrants understand
32
33 the minority language as a language to ‘go by’ and frequently disregard it as a language
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35 of relocation. This is so despite the Catalan (‘regional’) government’s efforts to de-
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37 ethnicize the language and to provide the infrastructure to help migrants appropriate it
38
39 (as in Anoia, where résumés are translated into Catalan for free). This not only occurs in
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41 migrant socialization spaces in overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking neighborhoods
42
43 where older conceptions of Catalan as ‘rural’ or ‘posh’ are still at play, and where
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45 contact with Catalan is difficult to access (in Vallès). It occurs, too, in spaces where the
46
47 conditions seem to be ready for Catalan newspeakerism processes to happen, in
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49 neighborhoods regulated in the minority language (as in Anoia, where the use of
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51 Catalan in public is the unmarked norm) but where linguistic incorporation is ultimately
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53 realized in and through Spanish. This demonstrates that, contrary to common thought,
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3 the immediate ‘local’ sociolinguistic market is extremely relevant but not determinant
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5 for migrants’ minority-language newspeakism to occur.
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7 All in all, this shows that the governance of mobile populations is about
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9 language. 21st-century nation-states have managed to re-invent and establish overt and
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11 covert linguistic regimes to make majority nation-state languages pervade as
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13 gatekeepers of post-national citizenship rights. In this regard, this paper provides further
14
15 evidence that, as stated by Jaspers and Madsen (2016: 246), ‘it looks as though
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17 denationalizing tendencies are still being accompanied by renationalization attempts,
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19 and that national standard languages are reinvigorated as symbols of unity and essential
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21 life-skills in a time of fragmentation and precarity.’
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25 The newspeakers lens, therefore, contributes to an understanding of how this
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27 modernized nation-state machinery legitimizes ‘integration’ and ‘proper’ citizenship
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29 personhoods via Spanish only. It shows that nation-state languages have been
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31 appropriated among transnational populations whose multilingual resources are
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33 sanctioned, but who end up participating in the exclusionary machinery to which they
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35 are subjected, as they engage in newspeakism processes which may ultimately be the
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37 baseline for transnational survival. In this sense, the newspeakism lens may help us
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39 advance towards a ‘truly post-national sociolinguistics’ (Pujolar and O’Rourke 2016) of
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41 linguistic diversity, migration and 21st-century mobility from a critical, socially-
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43 committed perspective.
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NOTES

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² The localities are not revealed for confidentiality issues. Exact percentages concerning demography, etc., are not provided because the towns could easily be identified from the data. All names of places and people are pseudonyms. The protection of the informants' identities was ensured by the Ethics Committee at University x (files x and x).

³ Spanish is sometimes called 'Castilian' in Catalonia, to make reference to the geographical area where it first came from. The term 'Spanish' is frequently used to refer to this language as a global lingua franca, too.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM
Language coding

Plain: English

*Italics: Spanish*Underlined: Catalan**Bold: Undecidable****Transcription conventions**

@Bck:	[Background]: Information of participants, context and topic
%com:	[Comment]: Contextual information about the previous utterance
%tra:	[Translation]: Free translation for languages other than English
+^	quick uptake or latching
+...	trailing off
#	pause
[>]	overlap follows
[<]	overlap precedes
[/]	repetition
[//]	reformulation
<>	scope
:	lengthened vowel
[...]	turns omitted due to space constraints
.	end of turn
?	question
!	exclamation