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DOWN THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC RABBIT HOLE

The complexities and contradictions of Spanish in Barcelona

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Introduction

One way of making the political personal takes the form of a well-known globalized genre: t-shirts promoting particular causes. Once, a Mexican American Angelino visitor wore such a t-shirt stating "Se habla español" on the Metro in Barcelona. For him, the message constituted a challenge to the English monolingual ideologies that permeate his home country. However, he found to his surprise that under the streets of Barcelona, where English-Only sentiments can be expected to be entirely absent, it garnered him some icy looks. More curiously, nearly everyone who found the message disturbing spoke Spanish natively or nearly so, and had the visitor asked them a question, they would have surely responded in that language. In fact, even if that Angelino—or anyone else with a presumably non-autochthonous phenotype—asked a question in the other local language—Catalan—the response would still as likely have been in Spanish. Rather than taking the escalator down into a rapid transit system, this young Angelino seemingly went down a sociolinguistic rabbit hole where language conflicts and preferences take the form of inscrutable paradoxes.

In fact, our visitor was tripped up by the way "every particular national or urban economy has its specific and inherited modes of articulating with current global circuits" (Sassen, 2005, p. 36). In terms of specificity, Barcelona is the only global city in this book where Spanish shares space with a vital "medium-sized" language (Boix-Fuster & Farràs i Farràs, 2013). In terms of inheritance, that language, Catalan, has stronger historical claims than Spanish as the city's very own, its *llengua pròpia*, as Catalonians say in that language.

Consequently, although in Los Angeles, the message challenges the threat to Spanish of a stronger language, for the disapproving Barcelonans the same assertion is seen as a challenge from Spanish to their weaker one. More subtly, but just as importantly, any perceived attack on Catalan is, for many, also an attack on the bilingual *convivència*—the getting along—which supports the peaceful coexistence of Barcelona's diverse communities. It is a threat to the sociolinguistic peace.

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Consequently, to examine Barcelona as a global city highlights broader ramifications of that *convivència* of the two languages and the threats to it. Spanish is not simply considered a linguistic bully, although some Barcelonans feel it is and not without cause. Nor is it just the primary, and in some cases only, language of identification of a large portion of the community, although it is that as well. It is also more than the national language of a state a good number of Barcelonans would like to leave and others want to remain in. It also constitutes an important resource available to virtually all Barcelonans that has enabled the city to have achieved a global status beyond its modest population.

Moreover, on a microsocial level, language negotiation has pervaded Barcelona life longer than many comparable diverse urban areas worldwide. For the most part, this negotiation happens without any commentary or apparent friction, although, as we have implied above, not everyone is content with the bilingual status quo. This potential conflict means that it is not unreasonable for Barcelonans to interpret a message like "se habla español" as covertly expressing a politically monolinguistic and hence linguicidal aim.

The mixture of differing linguistic visions, ideologies, and aspirations alongside ways of managing them emphasizes an important fact that situates Barcelona uniquely among the global cities discussed in this volume. Due to its history, Barcelona anticipates—in some ways by centuries—the language practices, ideologies, and struggles that are increasing elsewhere as urban monolingualism fades with globalization (Blommaert, 2010). Globalization has certainly brought major language changes for the city. It has expanded the everyday linguistic repertoire from Catalan–Spanish bilingualism to multilingualism including multiple immigrant languages alongside English as a lingua franca. Still, because of the city's history, Barcelonans are old hat at managing plural language resources. This has long been a city of amateur sociolinguists following sometimes clashing folk theories, which they mobilize as they read their interlocutors for their language preferences and abilities and argue with friends over the finer points of language policy. The toleration of those differences is at the heart of the *convivència* mentioned earlier. Yet recent political conflicts involving Catalonia's relationship to Spain may challenge this uniquely Catalan way of getting along. These conflicts, of course, coincide with a powerful reaction to globalization that extends far beyond Catalonia and Spain.

In this chapter, we elaborate upon the sketch earlier. In the following section, we present facts that justify the label of "global city" for Barcelona. In the third section, we review first Catalonia's history of language use, contested national identities, and related political issues, an understanding of which is necessary to comprehend the present dynamics. Next, we devote a subsection to present-day bilingual and multilingual language use patterns and choices involving immigration—a key characteristic of global cities—and the various subcommunities of Barcelonans. In that section, we explore in some depth the most relevant language use and negotiation practices that have been the subject of considerable sociolinguistic research. That account sets up the fourth section, which focuses on current key sociolinguistic issues regarding Spanish, including those implicated in the political conflict referred to earlier. The following section turns to dialectal diversity by presenting some particularities of the various ways of speaking Spanish in the city. Finally, in the Synthesis and conclusions, we relate the phenomena reported in the chapter to similarities and differences with other global cities and hint at possible future research directions.

Barcelona as a global city

Barcelona's status as a global city may be said to have debuted symbolically with the 1992 Summer Olympics, which put the city in the world spotlight. In fact, the Games culminated a recovery process that began soon after the end of the Franco dictatorship a decade and a half

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earlier. They also spurred a period of rapid economic growth. Although that expansion ended with the 2008 economic crisis—which proved to be a serious and prolonged setback for all of Spain—Barcelona has remained a major globalized center. The city is 24th in the 2017 A.T. Kearney Global Cities Index (GCI) (Kearney, 2017), just below San Francisco, Amsterdam, Boston, and Vienna and just above Istanbul, Buenos Aires, Montreal, and Dubai.[1] Although it is only prudent not to overstate the significance of these kinds of rankings, the GCI provides a sense of what business leaders are told about cities, in particular about what makes them distinct, important, and economically attractive. Moreover, Kearney claims that their criteria reflect the following assumption, reminiscent of Sassen's (2005) description of the global city concept, "Globally integrated cities are intimately linked to economic and human development. By creating an environment that spawns, attracts, and retains top talent, businesses, ideas and capital, a global city can generate benefits that extend far beyond municipal boundaries."

Certainly, the raw statistics in Table 12.1 clarify Barcelona's global status.

A particularly strong way the city integrates into global circuits is tourism, which has steadily expanded despite the economic crisis. In 2014, the city ranked first in Spain and fifth among European tourist destinations, just behind London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome (Pellicer, 2015) with 17.1 million overnight stays (80% of them foreigners). Many tourists may be surprised to see Spanish—a language they are likely to recognize if not speak—sharing the linguistic landscape with Catalan, a much less familiar one.

The international prominence of the city has increased the international standing of Catalonia, of which it is the political capital and dominant urban center (see Figure 12.1). It has also led to some negative effects. These range from the overtouristification, what might be called the "Disnification" of Barcelona—much criticized by the current mayor—to the August 2017 terrorist attack on its most famous street: *Les Rambles*.

Table 12.1 Barcelona global city statistics

Factor	*Year*	*Statistics*
City inhabitants	2014	1,602,386
City inhabitants w/o Spanish citizenship	2015	262,233
City inhabitants born abroad	2013	347,897 (21%)
Metro area (*Àmbit Metropolità*) inhabitants	2013	4,720,951
GDP per capita (Catalonia index = 100)	2013	139.2
GDP per capita (UE 28 index = 100)	2013	117
Metro area businesses	2013	438,385
Catalonia foreign businesses	2012	5,602
Port transit	2013	41,391.2 thousand tons
Airport passengers	2013	35,210,735
Cruise passengers	2013	2,599,232
Tourists	2013	7,571,767
Tourist accommodation	2014	71,013 rooms
Top 10 business Schools	2015	2
Top 250 universities (Times Higher Education World University Rankings)	2015	3

Note: From IDESCAT (2014), IDESCAT (2015), and Barcelona's municipal website (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017).

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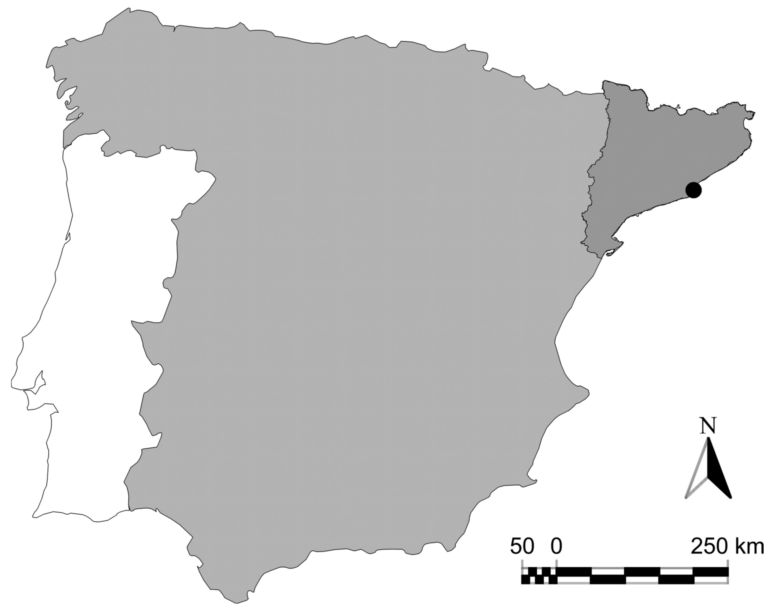

Figure 12.1 Spain (in lighter grey) with Catalonia (shaded) and Barcelona (black dot). Map data have been processed with MiraMon GIS (Pons, 2014).

In its economic position as a global city, the Spanish language plays a direct role. Universities and private schools capitalize on the language to attract Spanish language learners from around the world. Other educational programs prepare teachers to teach Spanish as a second or foreign language. Some international companies use the city as a base to project into the worldwide Spanish-speaking market. Barcelona is Spain's publishing hub and the primary worldwide center for Spanish-language fiction publishing, with Penguin Random House located in the city (Gúrria-Quintana, 2011) although recent political unrest has caused Spain's largest publisher Planeta to move its corporate headquarters to Madrid (Ayén, Massot, & Vila-Sanjuán, 2017). In fact, much of the promotion of the 20th century boom of Latin American fiction was done from Barcelona (Woolard, 2016, f.n. 113). Finally, in the last few decades, Barcelona has attracted immigrants from highly diverse cultural and linguistic origins. These newcomers (see Figure 12.2) coexist with autochthonous inhabitants, many of whom, in turn, are children or grandchildren of earlier immigrants (to use the term widely applied to them in Catalonia) who arrived from other parts of Spain.

As of January 2015, the Barcelona municipal government reported 262,233 foreign residents, i.e. those without Spanish citizenship, making up 16.3% of the population. The top 12 national groups are listed in Table 12.2.

Although registration in the municipal civil registry is encouraged independent of legal status, it requires awareness of and confidence in the system. Consequently, there is a significant undercount of the most marginalized groups, particularly Sub-Saharan Africans. Moreover, the citizenship criterion used to classify people is often not equivalent to their origin. For example, an uncertain number of those who appear as Italians are actually Latin Americans who obtained Italian citizenship by ancestry. Immigrants with Spanish citizenship by ancestry or naturalization do not appear at all. Finally, even in cases where citizenship matches origin, it may not

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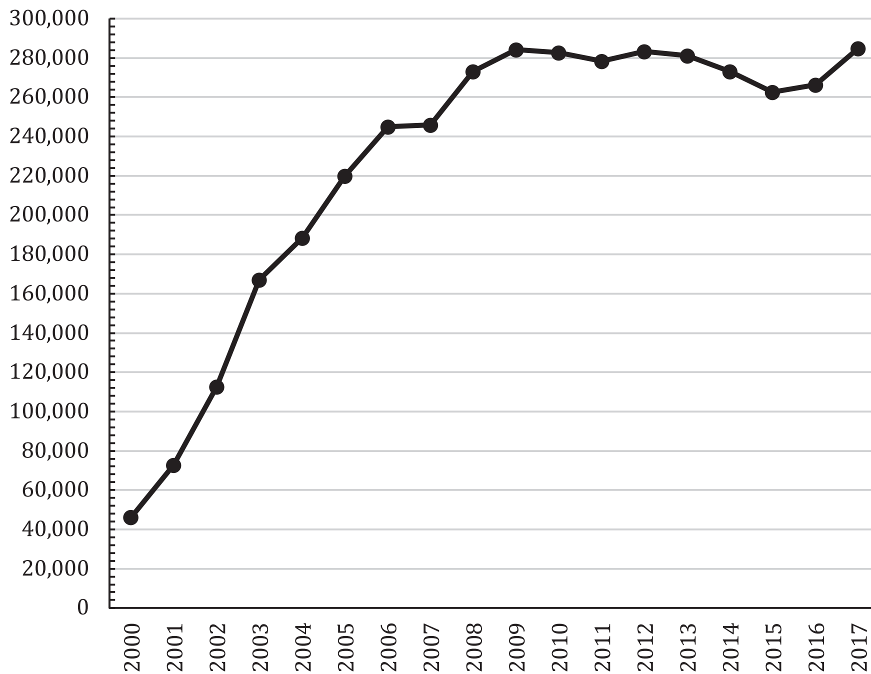

Figure 12.2 Non-citizen residents in Barcelona 2000–2017. Data from IDESCAT (2018). As of 2017, the Barcelona municipal government reported 284,907 foreign residents, i.e. those without Spanish citizenship, making up 19.0% of the population. This total underestimates the number of residents who consider themselves immigrants because naturalized citizens and those who achieve citizenship by ancestry do not count in the total. The top 12 national groups are listed in Table 12.2.

Table 12.2 2015 Immigrants in Barcelona from top 12 source countries

Country	*Total*	*% imm.*	*% total.*
1. Italy	27,707	10.6%	1.7%
2. Pakistan	19,414	7.4%	1.2%
3. China	17, 487	6.7%	1.1%
4. France	13,281	5.1%	0.8%
5. Morocco	12,601	4.8%	0.8%
6. Bolivia	9,946	3.8%	0.6%
7. Ecuador	8,647	3.3%	0.5%
8. Philippines	8,491	3.2%	0.5%
9. Peru	8,486	3.2%	0.5%
10. Colombia	8,011	3.1%	0.5%
11. Romania	7,062	2.7%	0.4%
12. Germany	6,870	2.6%	0.4%

Note: From Ajuntament de Barcelona (2017).

reflect identity. People who identify as Russians may come from various former Soviet republics, whose contributions total 12,282, which would rank that group in sixth place if the region still constituted one country.

Language use

Historical perspectives

Perhaps the most basic sociolinguistic fact about Barcelona is easy to miss because it is taken for granted: that Spanish and Catalan are constructed as separate languages. Spanish emerged from Latin in north-central Spain and spread to the region of Old Castile, where it garnered the name it is still often known by: *Castellano.* Catalan evolved from Latin in the nascent Catalonia located in the extreme northeast, as shown in Figure 12.1. The language then spread south and east to Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and to the small city of Alguer (Alghero) in Sardinia through conquest during the Middle Ages.

Parallel processes of linguistic differentiation occurred in much of the former European western Roman Empire. Nevertheless, in France analogous varieties such as Gascon, Provençal, and even Catalan in Roussillon, are either relegated to the status of *langues regionelles* or dismissed as *patois*. In Italy, most Romance varieties have long been popularly considered dialects; a single variety that evolved from late medieval Florentine is commonly considered the Italian language. During the dictator Franco's regime (1939–1975), efforts were made to similarly subordinate Catalan by labeling it a dialect, which still makes many Catalonians sensitive about the independent status of their language to the present day.

Despite the Franco regime's rhetoric, the term *language* was ascribed to Catalan as far back as the Middle Ages. In 1412, for example, the kingship of Aragon, which included the County of Barcelona, was granted to Ferdinand I of the Castilian Trastámara dynasty. This choice was criticized partly on linguistic grounds, "How is it possible to 'nominate and elect and introduce as king a foreign man, of a foreign nation, different from our language and our customs?'" lamented one noble (Cahner, 1980, p. 185).

In fact, the entry of the Trastámaras led to the introduction of Castilian language and literature throughout the kingdom, a process that intensified after the union of the crowns with Ferdinand II's famous marriage to Isabella of Castile (Vann, 2007; Vila-Pujol, 2007; Davidson, 2014). Soon after, conceptions of a Spanish nation slowly coalesced, although the kingdoms maintained separate political structures. In its commercial, cultural, and military ventures, Catalonia had always projected toward the Mediterranean, but now with the Crown of Castile at the helm, the Atlantic assumed greater importance. Nonetheless, political separation meant that Catalonians were excluded from the exploitation of the empire. The consequent period of economic and political decline led to increasing growth and prestige of literature in Castilian at the expense of Catalan.

A crucial historical event was Catalonia's support for the losing side in the War of the Spanish Succession, which ended in 1714 (Vila-Pujol, 2007; Vann, 2007). The winner, Philip V, eliminated all autonomy and established Spanish as the sole language of administration. Spanish consequently began to monopolize the higher registers (Llobera, 2004).

Yet, paradoxically, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries Catalonia grew more prosperous (Fontana, 1998) while most of the rest of Spain weakened economically as the country swerved between backwards-looking political repression and often-violent instability. Barcelona began to attract migrants from other regions (Vila-Pujol, 2007), and by 1877 a quarter of the population came from outside Catalonia (Sinner, 2004, p. 16).

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Catalonia's divergent economic and social trajectory, as well as the historical memory of its independence, gave rise to Catalan nationalism, which led to resurgence of the prestige of Catalan by the end of the 19th century (Llobera, 2004). Those political aspirations became entwined with struggles in Spain between progressive forces, which tended to be less concerned with centralization, and more traditional authoritarian ones favoring a unitary state. As the pendulum swung between them, Catalonia gained autonomy in 1914, lost it in 1923, and won it again in 1931. In 1939, autonomy ended once again with General Francisco Franco's triumph in the Spanish Civil War. The result was unprecedented linguistic oppression. Beyond the attempt to "dialectalize" Catalan, the chilling phrase *Hábleme en cristiano* ("Speak to me in Christian," meaning in Spanish) was used when someone dared speak Catalan in certain public spaces. Some Catalonian Franco regime supporters and other members of the socioeconomic elite shifted to Spanish. However, the bulk of the Catalonians maintained Catalan at home and among friends, while using Spanish elsewhere.

Yet defeat and subjugation again gave way to an economic boom. Beginning about 1955, Catalonia experienced intensive industrialization, which soon began to attract workers from elsewhere in Spain, especially from the monolingual south. Franco's death in 1975 led to the dismantling of the dictatorship through a constitutional settlement called *la Transición Democrática*. This process gave rise to a democratic state divided into 17 Autonomous Communities (ACs), including Catalonia. Constitutionally, Spanish is official everywhere, and it is the exclusive language in most ACs. However, five ACs have a co-official language. These include Galician in Galicia, Basque in Navarra and the Basque Autonomous Community, and Catalan in the Balearic Islands and Valencia, in addition to Catalonia. In fact, other ACs have recognized non-official languages like Asturian in Asturias or Catalan and Aragonese in Aragón. Catalonia has been the most assertive in increasing the vitality of its language through a policy called *Normalització Lingüística* (Linguistic Normalization), which has generalized at least receptive Spanish–Catalan bilingualism among all Barcelonans who finished high school after 1980.

Normalization has generated a great deal of research. For Catalan sociolinguists and language planners, constant evaluation of the process is needed to gauge the vitality of the language and so the success and limitations of the efforts. For others, it has provided a window into language revitalization and stable bilingualism in a contemporary global city (see summaries in Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2015).

Contemporary perspectives

As mentioned earlier, a key feature of global cities is immigration, and any demographic analysis of Barcelona's population would highlight the division between autochthonous inhabitants and immigrants. Both groups are internally diverse, but they constitute the most salient social division to Barcelonans.

Autochthonous Barcelonans: Ethnolinguistic divisions and efforts at de-ethnicization. Autochthonous Barcelonans descend from two demographic sources. One consists of those whose ancestors were in Catalonia before the 1936–1939 Civil War. Virtually all but the small elite who had shifted to Spanish are native Catalan speakers. The relatively small numbers of Catalan-speaking Barcelonans from Valencia and the Balearic Islands should be added to this group. Although long-rooted Catalan speakers are found across all socioeconomic strata, most of the middle and upper-middle classes have historically been of this origin.

The other main source of autochthonous Barcelonans is the large-scale (im)migration from other parts of Spain during the industrial boom in Catalonia beginning in the 1950s. According to De Riquer and Cullà (2000 [1989], p. 177), 454,229 people arrived in Catalonia during

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the 1950s and 742,813 during the 1960s, an increase of 12.8% and 16.8% of the population by migration alone, respectively. Because these migrants had higher birthrates and they continued to arrive until approximately 1974, this total belies their demographic impact. Eighty percent of the new arrivals went to Barcelona and its surrounding industrial belt, although the increase was in fact greater in that belt than the city proper (de Riquer & Cullà, 2000 [1989], pp. 179, 336). By the early 2000s, people who identified as primarily Spanish speakers—mostly from this migration wave—constituted more than half the population of the metropolitan area (Vila-Pujol, 2007; Davidson, 2015).

The newcomers concentrated in specific neighborhoods, which consequently became almost monolingual Spanish-speaking. The bulk of the new arrivals, who were called *castellanos* after their primary and often only language, were former agricultural workers with low socio-economic status and education. To this day, few of those now aging migrants use Catalan even receptively (Báez de Aguilar, 2008). For the most part, consequently, they raised their children in Spanish.

Yet even before their arrival, the future migrants largely opposed the Franco regime, and once in Catalonia they joined with the original so-called *catalans* in demands for autonomy (de Riquer & Cullà, 2000, p. 429) even if autonomy would entail policies favoring Catalan. In fact, openness to bilingualism could be seen as early as the 1960s in positive evaluations of Catalan by *castellanos* (Badia i Margarit, 1969). Similarly, leftwing political parties, despite their mostly *castellano* base, quickly began to translate their materials into Catalan (de Riquer & Cullà, 2000).

Despite these favorable signs, in a matched guise study, Woolard (1989) found complex language attitudes among young Barcelonans during the *Transición* period. Catalan received higher status from both *castellanos* and *catalans*, but each group gave higher social attractiveness scores to their own language (L1). Spanish-accented Catalan guises were strongly rejected by Spanish L1 judges and not really supported by Catalan L1 judges either. Woolard interpreted those results as indicating that *castellanos* saw members of their own group speaking Catalan as a kind of linguistic betrayal, and *catalans* provided little incentive to join their group.

At the time of Woolard's study, autonomy and language policy were being negotiated, and a debate erupted as to the form Catalan recovery should take. Some scholars (e.g. Argenté et al., 1979) concluded that Spanish–Catalan bilingualism had led to an unhealthy diglossia, which could only end with wholesale language shift to Spanish. They proposed a goal of Catalan monolingualism in a context of independence as the only way to preserve the language.

This one-nation-one-language ideology has remained present, but it never acquired political predominance. Instead, the policies instituted by the autonomous government (called the *Generalitat*) in the early 1980s, albeit with some alterations, remain in place today and so set the context for current debates. It is noteworthy that at that time, although under the control of an overtly Catalan nationalist party, these policies embraced a goal of bilingualism. The Language Policy director at the time described the aims as follows:

> [The goal is] to make normal in practice what the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia establishes: that Catalan is Catalonia's own language, and that Catalan and Spanish are official languages. …, that each citizen has the right to express themselves in either of the two languages … without anyone being able to impose on them the use of the other.
>
> *(Moll, 1983)*

Another key move was an effort to delink the Catalan identity from language of birth or of use with the principle that everyone who lived in Catalonia and who wanted to be Catalan was *ipso facto* Catalan. In effect, the Generalitat encouraged increasing Catalan proficiency among *castellanos*

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by downplaying the importance of ethnolinguistic identity, which had given rise to the term. A particular objective was to challenge what Woolard (1989) referred to as a Castilian accommodation norm, a practice of using Spanish with any interlocutor who does not appear to be a Catalan native speaker. Following this norm implies that Catalan becomes what Pujolar i Cos (2000) refers to as a "we code" appropriately used only between those constructed as *catalans*.

Thus, changing the nature of language negotiation supported the larger objective of de-ethnicization of linguistic difference. As Woolard (2008, 2016) describes it, Catalan would become a language whose authority is based upon non-ethnic anonymity, a status previously reserved for Spanish, rather than upon ethnic authenticity. Currently, the accommodation norm remains robust, but enormous progress has been made in de-ethnicization. Woolard (2016) reports that young Catalonians tend not to differentiate ethnically according to native language or linguistic preferences. Similarly, Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) argue that those who cling to exclusive monolingual identities constitute a minority, and doing so even carries a stigma within the cosmopolitan-oriented mainstream.

The accommodation norm is now applied principally to newer immigrants from outside Spain and to tourists. Consequently, even if a person initiates a conversation with a stranger or in a service encounter in Catalan, the response may very well be in Spanish, which is why we argued that the Angelino visitor in our introduction might receive a Spanish response even if he opened a conversation in Catalan. Both non-native Catalan speaking co-authors have experienced this convergence to Spanish, and even on occasion English, after opening a service encounter in Catalan with someone who then proceeded to respond in Catalan to another customer.

Immigrant Barcelonans: The spectrums of multilingualism and multidialectalism. International immigration began in the mid-1990s at a fast-growing rate although the arrivals declined sharply with the 2008 economic turndown. As shown in Table 12.2, immigrant populations include both native Spanish-speakers and speakers of other languages. Both groups arrived in the city most often without much awareness of the existence of Catalan. As their sociolinguistic experiences and trajectories after arrival are quite distinct, we will differentiate between these two main groups.

Native Spanish-speaking immigrants. Immigrants from Latin America obviously play a central role in any exploration of Spanish in Barcelona, and they comprise the largest group of any geographic or cultural region. In 2015, municipal sources (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015) counted 71,528 residents who were nationals of Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America, 23.7% of all immigrants. Figure 12.3 breaks that number down by their nationalities, except Central Americans who are combined for readability.

Much as elsewhere (see chapters in this volume on New York, Chicago, Madrid, Miami, London, and Milan), *Latin American* often emerges as a single pan-ethnic category (except for Brazilians). Similarly, the term used to describe them has been the subject of much debate (Oboler, 1995; Corona, 2010). For most autochthonous Barcelonans, the most common term is "sudamericanos/sudamericans," which confusingly includes Central Americans, Dominicans, Cubans, and Mexicans. However, as we discuss later, even among Latin Americans in Barcelona there is little consensus about how to refer to themselves (Corona & Newman, under review).

Overwhelmingly, sociolinguistic studies on Latin American communities in Catalonia explore immigrants' attitudes and ideologies concerning Catalan, a focus that reflects chronic fears about loss of vitality of this language. In a series of survey-based studies of adolescents, Huguet and colleagues (see e.g. Huguet & Janés, 2008) found positive attitudes towards both languages, but Latin Americans held the least positive attitudes to Catalan. Maruny and Molina

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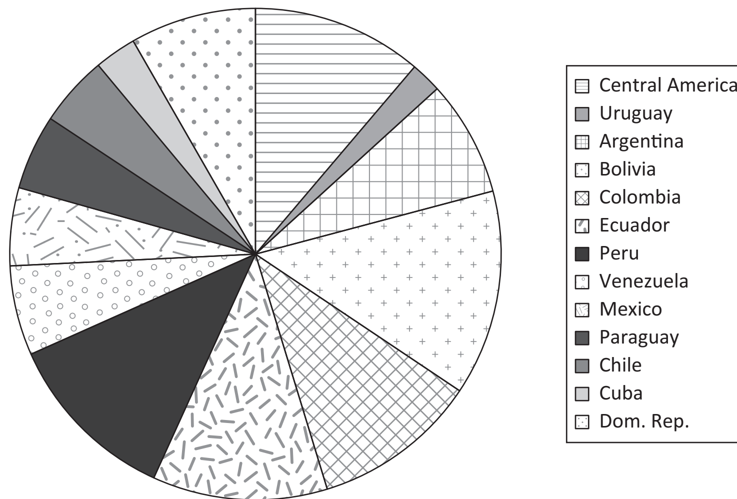

Figure 12.3 Latin American immigration to Barcelona.

(2001), however, noted that Latin Americans' attitudes toward Catalan are more positive when children have been attending school from earlier ages. It is significant that positive associations tracked closely with academic orientation, and some described the language as making a speaker sound educated (Newman, Patiño-Santos, & Trenchs-Parera, 2013, p. 7). By contrast, young Latin Americans who were alienated by school avoided Catalan (Corona, 2010), although they crucially did not see it as their main educational obstacle.

Corona (2012) argues that educators' rejection of their *varieties of Spanish*—including sporadic "corrections" of *seseo* (merger of /s/ and /θ/ as /s/ so *casa* and *caza* are homonyms) triggered a discourse of resistance. Specifically, this discourse involved an oppositional stance that included rejection of school, refusal to use Catalan, complaints about Spain and its culture, nostalgia, and in-group solidarity. Corona and Newman (under review) label that stance as *Unified Latino*. Moreover, there is a racial dimension of Unified Latino identity since it has become more associated with immigrants from the Andean region and the Dominican Republic than the Southern Cone, who often have more European phenotypes (Block & Corona, 2014). For Unified Latinos, American Spanish features become iconicized as the voice of the community that constructs itself—despite its heterogeneity—as homogeneous in opposition to local languages and culture, which are in turn also treated as homogeneous. The linguistic consequences of this and other stances adopted by adolescent Latin American immigrants are discussed later in this chapter. A less oppositional stance is taken by some Latin American immigrant youths called Latino-National by Corona and Newman (under review). Latino-National youths accept ascription of Latino identity but maintain more emphasis on home country origins. Curiously, this group tends to preserve sometimes quite idiosyncratic home country features, including salient ones such as the Colombian use of *usted* among male friends and consonant cluster simplification patterns. This dialect preservation occurs even among youths who arrived in Barcelona as toddlers and report socializing as children with autochthonous peers.

Those Latin Americans most oriented to school tend to adopt a third stance that Corona and Newman (under review) call "non-Latino" because they overtly reject an affiliation with Latino identity. Members of this group either showed wholly Peninsular dialectal forms or moved strongly in that direction.

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Marshall (2009, 2012) appears alone in conducting sociolinguistic research on adult Latin Americans in Barcelona. He shows varied responses by immigrants. These include a desire to accommodate and learn Catalan, a rejection of the language based on the perceived sufficiency of Spanish as a common language, or, once a degree of Catalan proficiency has been achieved, the engaging in codeswitching practices that were unusual in Catalonia. Such practices, of course, echo linguistic behaviors described in chapters in this book on US cities.

Speakers of other languages. Besides Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, the 1990s–2000s immigration brought to Barcelona and its industrial belt speakers of more than 200 other languages (IDESCAT, 2014). We discuss two main subcomponents of this group, which reflect a common pattern in global cities.

One, which tends to adopt the term *expatriate*, consists of the most privileged immigrants and sojourners (limited-stay residents) mainly from first world countries. In addition, upper-middle-class to upper-class immigrants from developing countries might also use the term to avoid the stigmatized *immigrant* label. As shown in Table 12.2, the largest national group of foreign residents includes an expatriate group, Italians (when not actually Latin Americans), with French and Germans high on the list.

The origins of the contemporary expatriate community are arguably in the 1950s when Barcelona and nearby coastal areas began to attract northern European tourists, which increased as Spain grew more prosperous and stable. More recently, the city became a pole of attraction for European investors, entrepreneurs, and scientific researchers. Expatriates often arrive with some familiarity with Spanish, which they may have studied in school and/or university. They may also be aware of Catalan and the political issues surrounding bilingualism in Barcelona, although, of course, they rarely arrive with much knowledge of that language. We are aware of only two groups of expatriates that have received attention in sociolinguistic research.

Cramer (2010) examined young members of the German community who use English and Spanish in addition to German. As competent multilinguals—especially those who attend German schools—Cramer reports they express positive feelings towards Catalan as well. However, many participants tend to share a cosmopolitan view of the world as a global space in which that local language actually has little value.

Fukuda (2009, 2013) examines Japanese, who predominantly arrive with a monolingual ideology, although their language practices vary widely. Sojourners use Japanese predominantly at work or in interpersonal relationships and Spanish only when necessary, for example in service encounters. In general, sojourner families send their children to a Japanese international school, in which Catalan has no academic presence and Spanish is learned as a foreign language. Other more rooted Japanese families, especially those with a Catalan-speaking family member, show high instrumental and integrative motivations to use Catalan. Thus, they tend to send their children to Catalan schools, adding extracurricular Japanese classes to ensure a minimum knowledge of the heritage culture.

The largest national source of less privileged immigrants is Pakistan. Most Pakistanis in Barcelona are Punjabis, and a smaller group of Punjabis from India is also present. Estors (2014) finds that her mostly Pakistani participants felt it normal to learn both local languages, perhaps due to multilingualism in their homeland. In fact, more identified with Catalan than with Spanish. They were aware of Catalan's instrumental and symbolic value and, when answering the question of whether one can live in Catalonia with only Spanish, they responded, "Yes, but you will not be Catalan." That said, they acknowledge that Spanish is the language of Spain and facilitates mobility. Larrea Mendizabal (2017) notes that Spanish is also the dominant language in their neighborhoods and so maintains its role as a national and international asset. As regards Catalan, Larrea Mendizabal finds more heterogeneous attitudes than Estors. Some of his Punjabi

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participants complain that the use of Catalan in schools may limit students' future and that they feel pressured by Catalan public institutions to learn it. In contrast, he finds others who accept and even staunchly defend its promotion as the language of the country where they wish to integrate. Ultimately, their attitudes are highly dependent on their local social networks.

Sabaté i Dalmau (2014) studied *locutorios* (call centers) used by immigrants from many origins but usually run by Pakistanis. The language spoken by owners and workers is commonly Urdu or Punjabi while public signs are usually written in Spanish, which, she argues, is all immigrants' lingua franca. Catalan, along with other immigrant languages, has little presence. Sabaté i Dalmau (2014, p. 115) explains this as follows,

> The use and command of Spanish has become a *public barometer* to check the level of 'adequate integration' among migrants themselves, not only in the *locutorio*, but also in the neighborhood, and, more generally, in their host societies. Spanish is thus a form of symbolic capital whereby migrant individuals are granted, and grant, some degree of respect, legitimacy and even prestige to transnational migrant 'others' […] Thus, this 'integration through learning Spanish' ideology […] is shared with Spanish residents as well, is deep-seated across most migrant groups, who see a command of Spanish as highly necessary to access the services of *locutorio* businesses.

The third-largest national immigrant group is from China. Chinese immigrants mostly come from Zheijiang Province south of Shanghai and speak Wu natively. Some work in construction where they acquire Spanish vocabulary. However, most work in Chinese-owned restaurants, bars, hair salons, and discount stores, with Spanish predominating in customer service. The long hours they work do not favor taking language courses (Trenchs-Parera & Tristán Jiménez, 2014). However, this community assigns instrumental value to both local languages. Adults rely heavily on the younger generation as language brokers in both Catalan and Spanish in businesses and public services (Trenchs-Parera, 2013). Although they often express positive feelings about the Catalan education system, they consider Spanish more practical.

Most (but by no means all) young Chinese socialize mainly with Chinese peers in Wu or Mandarin. Nevertheless, all invariably develop proficient levels of Catalan and Spanish and adopt characteristic local practices, such as the accommodation norm discussed in the previous section. Yet they also employ a translingual practice that they describe as "speaking *barrejat*" (Catalan for "mixed") meaning codeswitching between Catalan and Spanish (Trenchs-Parera, forthcoming). Interestingly, locals have traditionally avoided such codeswitching.

The Moroccan community, the fifth largest in Table 12.2, mainly comes from the Rif region where Tamazight remains strong, albeit with a history of language shift to Moroccan and Modern Standard Arabic. Interestingly, arrival in Catalonia may trigger the recovery of Tamazight (Comellas et al., 2010). Vila, Sorolla, and Larrea (2013) observe that only a third of the young Moroccans in their study spoke both Catalan and Spanish. Those who did had either been through the Catalan educational system or arrived in Barcelona more than a decade earlier. The majority of Moroccan immigrants, though, understand and speak Spanish to various degrees, and their children often use Spanish with even Moroccan peers.

Many Moroccans find jobs in working-class positions where Catalan is seldom used (Alarcón & Garzón, 2013). In fact, many adults have little contact with locals and hardly speak either local language while retaining English or French as lingua francas. Nevertheless, they expect their children to learn both local languages in school. Alarcón and Garzón affirm that "proximity to Catalan may be explained by the opportunities for upward social mobility offered by the host society" (2013, p. 109). Spanish, for some of their upwardly mobile participants, was again not

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felt to be enough to achieve integration in Barcelona. Relatedly, proficiency in Catalan was seen as a way to counter racism and islamophobia. Nonetheless, efforts to use Catalan are stymied because, due to the accommodation norm, the local population tends to use Spanish when addressing them, a fact they often complain about.

Key issues

It is evident that the overwhelmingly dominant sociolinguistic issue in Barcelona involves the positioning of Catalan, particularly—although not only—vis-à-vis Spanish. In a review by two of the authors of this chapter of the numerous studies on the evolving sociolinguistic situation (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2015), a clear focus on Catalan is readily apparent. In those studies, Spanish functions as a kind of counterpoint. It is the language compared and contrasted with Catalan in terms of ideologies and attitudes; the language that would be spoken or is spoken when Catalan is not; or the primary language used alongside Catalan for different or the same purposes.

The primary consideration in evaluating Catalan language policy is how much of it is structured to compensate for the dominance of Spanish. Early on, the focus was to repair the damage caused by state repression of the language during the dictatorship. Currently, a major goal is to mitigate Spanish-language domination in mass media and popular culture. Spanish-language television channels outnumber Catalan ones. Almost all popular Catalan YouTubers make videos in Spanish due to the international market that language provides. Similarly, Spanish dominates popular music particularly rock, reggaeton, and rap (Corona & Kelsall, 2016; Garrido & Moore, 2016). Yet in terms of research, with few exceptions (e.g. Corona & Kelsall, 2016), there is comparatively less attention to popular culture in Spanish on its own terms.

As we explain in the section on language use, the interactions between the two languages and struggles over domains of use are centuries old. However, the current structure of the interlinguistic relationship began with the Normalization Policy, which remains in place with some modifications today. It comprises:

- Publicity campaigns in favor of use of Catalan and against the accommodation norm;
- Requirements for Catalan in public signage;
- Requirements for Catalan knowledge for new civil servants and advancement for those already in Catalonia; and
- Catalan immersion in the schools.

It is worth emphasizing that the policy entails no effect on the use or knowledge of Spanish except to affirm the right to use it and duty to learn it as guaranteed by the Spanish Constitution. Nevertheless, some opponents have long constructed it as covertly repressive of Spanish, under a tacit understanding of bilingualism in society as a zero-sum game. Under those assumptions, advances made in the vitality of one language must come at the expense of another. In some forms, this stance ascribes to Catalan language planners a covert goal of Catalan monolingualism analogous to the overt one of Spanish monolingualism held by the Franco regime. It is widely felt among advocates for Catalan revitalization that this perspective overtly or covertly arises from Spanish nationalism and, as such, it is actually a direct heir of the Franco regime's position.

Normalization proponents have not always been adept at countering such charges, which have wide currency throughout Spain and even abroad. For example, the centerpiece of Normalization is Catalan language immersion used throughout the educational system. It is commonly described as "Catalan-medium education" (*català com a llengua vehicular/catalán como*

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lengua vehicular) which appears to imply a marginalization of Spanish. In fact, it would be more accurately described as asymmetrically bilingual, with the asymmetry designed, as the rest of the policy, to rebalance the stronger presence of Spanish outside the classroom. All subjects are taught in Catalan, except Spanish Language Arts, which uses essentially the same curriculum as elsewhere in Spain. In addition, materials in Spanish are often used in all other content courses, and both languages are widely used by teachers and students.

However, since the Transition, anti-Normalization political groups, particularly although not exclusively on the right, have conducted campaigns for creating a parallel Spanish-medium school system or for an increased role for Spanish in a single system. For 40 years, these efforts have tendentiously portrayed Spanish speakers as victims of linguistic oppression and highlighted the principle of the right to be educated in one's own language.

That principle is used to support better immigrant education and minority rights worldwide and is well-established as an educational ideal. Nevertheless, it is not the only consideration. The rebalancing of the dominance of Spanish elsewhere has already been mentioned. Just as importantly, creating a dual school system would have supported precisely the ethnolinguistic division that the Generalitat had worked so hard to diminish. Finally, there is no evidence of negative educational effects perhaps due to the closeness of the two languages, the generally early bilingual experiences, and the fact that Catalan school teachers are accustomed to immersion practices. Catalonia has test results above the mean for Autonomous Communities in the competence of secondary school students in Spanish despite a high proportion of foreign-born students (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2011). As for reading competence in general, Catalonia ranks fifth among the 17 Autonomous Communities (Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa, 2013). In fact, according to the results in the standardized test taken by all students at the end of compulsory secondary school (Consell Superior d'Avaluació del Sistema Educatiu, 2014), students performed almost equally in Catalan and Spanish (77.1% versus 76.4% respectively).

Actually, the grievance of linguistic oppression never gained much traction among the population to whom it was perhaps intended to appeal, despite the large proportion who continue to speak Spanish at home. Until the 2014 elections—in which the question of Catalonian independence overshadowed educational policies—groups advocating the strengthening of Spanish never achieved more than 15% of the vote. The relative lack of success of these parties electorally provides evidence for the limited association of one language with one community. In fact, even now, with different positions on independence splitting Catalonia roughly in half, advocates and opponents of a Catalan republic can be found among those with both first languages, albeit not equally so.

A better-grounded preoccupation is actually the worry—found in both Catalonian public media and academic analyses—that the system has given rise to Catalan competence but not full usage (Bastardas, 1985, 1986; Vila i Moreno, 1996; Vila, Vial, & Galindo, 2005). Spanish remains dominant in social communication among young people except where all interlocutors are Catalan native speakers—following the Castilian accommodation norm—or have made a conscious decision to shift to that language.

One of the most significant studies exploring attitudes and behaviors of the offspring of Spanish-speaking migrants is Pujolar i Cos's (1997, 2000) ethnography of two social networks of working-class youths in the Barcelona periphery. He found that the use of Spanish was pervasive among members of the two cliques, although they differed in many other ways, including political stances and lifestyles. Although the use of Spanish did involve a rejection of Catalan, it was not primarily as an expression of ethnolinguistic loyalty. In fact, one of the groups was mixed ethnolinguistically. Instead, the preference for Spanish was the product of a complex intersec-

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tionality involving gender and class, with Spanish seen as more masculine and more authentic. In fact, some of the female participants expressed more openness to using Catalan as a vehicle for social mobility.

Looking at a broader spectrum of Spanish L1 youth and at a younger age than Pujolar, Woolard (2009) observed class displacing ethnicity as a motivating factor in language selection already in the 1980s. Her participants at that time rejected speaking Catalan in high school due to feelings of marginalization but expressed willingness to use it once they had moved on to university. In fact, in a follow-up study with a few of the original participants as adults, Woolard (2011) found that the some who had been most resistant to using Catalan were now speaking it regularly and even passing it on to their children. Much of their teenage rejection of the language had been motivated, they reported, by peers' policing their non-native features. Subsequent life experience leading to increased security and cosmopolitan attitudes led to more comfort with bilingualism (see also Woolard & Gahng, 1990; Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008; Pujolar & González, 2013).

A qualitative study by Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) found that adolescent descendants from mid–late 20th-century Spanish migrants showed a spectrum of attitudes towards the two languages. On one extreme were "Catalan converts" (Woolard, 2009), who adopted essentialist Catalan identities and rejected Spanish to such an extent that they were reluctant to speak it at all. On the other end, were those who maintained Spanish identities and avoided speaking Catalan, "even in Catalan class" in the words of one participant. However, most participants embraced Spanish–Catalan bilingualism as a tool for cosmopolitan identity construction (see also Newman et al., 2008; Frekko, 2009; Woolard & Frekko, 2013).

In fact, the global city concept provides a way of seeing Catalan together with Spanish as maintaining a cosmopolitan glocal authenticity for Barcelona and Catalonia generally. Catalan provides, as Woolard (2016) points out, a kind of singularity and so brand of distinctiveness. Woolard describes Catalan as similar to the Nike Swoosh, i.e. a feature that provides "Catalonia Incorporated" an advantage in the global marketplace while Spanish provides, as it long has, access to global circuits. Essentialist identity concerns have little purchase in such a construction.

The independence Procés *and its potential sociolinguistic consequences*

The writing of this chapter has coincided with one of the most interesting if not perilous periods in the recent history of Catalonia, which, as a side effect, has brought it to much greater prominence around the world. During pre- and post-dictatorship democratic eras, there were political parties advocating independence from Spain. However, since the end of the dictatorship at least they were a distinct minority, and independence was widely seen as unrealistic whether it was viewed as desirable or not. However, beginning around 2007 a change occurred. The primary conservative Spanish opposition party began a campaign for increasing centralization, first, through courts and then, once elected, as the government. Catalonia was a particular object of the centralizing effort because it has always, alongside the Basque Country, spearheaded decentralization and formed the largest cultural and economic powerbase outside Madrid. The claims of Catalonia to status of "nation" particularly rankled. Even before this turn, language policy had long been a point of contention, as we explained earlier.

The events leading to the current push for independence are often said to be triggered by one particular thrust of this centralization effort. That was the obstruction of the Popular Party of a new expanded autonomy statute that had been negotiated with the then Socialist Spanish government and approved in referendum. The party challenged the Statute as unconstitutional and eventually won a number of substantive and symbolic changes, including eliminating the

designation of *nation* for Catalonia. Later, the Popular Party was elected to the government, in part with what was seen as an anti-Catalan rhetorical strategy.

At the same time, from the Catalan perspective, Spanish economic policy had long been exploitative. The central government, it is widely believed, takes advantage of Catalonian wealth while under-investing in infrastructure in ways that hardly pretend to be fair or even rational. Just one example with relevance to global circuits is illustrative of more general grievances: although it is possible to fly directly from Barcelona to such global centers as New York, Singapore, Bogotá, São Paolo, Tel Aviv, Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Dubai, Seoul, and Miami, these flights are only available on foreign flag carriers. Spanish carriers route all their long-haul destinations through Madrid. Currently, there are plans for direct flights to Barcelona to the US and Latin America but only with a low-cost Spanish carrier.

It was in this context that the main Catalan Nationalist conservative party switched from favoring increased autonomy to advocating for independence. In 2014, pro-independence parties won a majority in the new Catalan Parliament and began to implement pro-independence actions.

To understand the implications for language of what is called the *procés* of implementing independence, it is important to understand that Catalonians have had different reasons for their support for either independence or remaining in Spain. Although for many the motivations for taking one position or another are indeed driven in good part by identity, the effects of de-ethnicization have taken root. One prominent organization of independence supporters explicitly identifies as a grouping of Spanish speakers, and a member of this group is prominent in one of the main independence parties. In fact, for many Catalans expectations about the economic consequences of independence and political calculations play a greater role than identity aspirations.

An example of the kinds of tensions that result from this ideological diversity in the pro-independence camp involves the role envisioned for Spanish in a future Catalonian Republic. A manifesto by a group of intellectuals (Grup Koiné, 2016) describes Spanish as a "language of domination" that has forcibly taken over domains of use that rightfully belong to Catalan. The manifesto denounces "the forcible bilingualization of the population" by former dictator Franco. It also describes the mid–late 20th-century immigration from other parts of Spain as "an instrument of involuntary linguistic colonization," which casts those migrants as intruders—a position that is hard to describe as anything other than ethnonationalist.

The manifesto garnered the signatures of over 30 individuals including literary figures, journalists, linguists, and philologists, and it sparked vehement debate. The monolingual ideal it assumed troubled Catalan sociolinguists, none of whom signed. Those sociolinguists invariably see themselves as activist scholars, who support the increased vitality and normality of Catalan, and most, if not virtually all, are supporters of independence. Thus, their absence from the manifesto's signers was a significant rebuff. Vila (2016), one of the most prominent sociolinguists, put the contrary position as follows, "In democratic societies, official monolingualism is the result of a wide social consensus, not a method to arrive at such a consensus. Fortunately, it is also not the only way to achieve linguistic normality."

Significantly, Vila's views reflect the position of the two largest Catalan independence parties. Both call for a future Catalonian republic in which Catalan takes on a central role as the national language but which guarantees language diversity and individual linguistic rights. Their priority is to increase Catalan in all areas in which it is now deficient (the judicial system and mass media, for instance). Significantly, Spanish would continue to be an official language.

This controversy took place when independence was still largely hypothetical. A widespread view at the time was that a negotiated compromise would occur with enhanced

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autonomy of some kind. Not only did that settlement not occur, but there were not even serious negotiations. Instead, in October 2017, the Catalan government held an independence referendum that was declared illegal by the conservative Spanish government. Spanish police were unsuccessful at stopping the vote, but they did disrupt it using sometimes violent means. The results were massively pro-independence, but participation was relatively low, in good part because an unknown number of anti-independence voters stayed away. Be that as it may, the police violence was an enormous shock to Catalan society, aggravated by the subsequent actions of the Spanish government. After a unilateral declaration of independence was somewhat ambiguously proclaimed on 27 October 2017, a number of Catalan leaders both in and out of government were arrested and Catalonia's autonomy was suspended. The president fled into exile. Elections called by the central government were held in December 2017 and returned a small pro-independence majority in the Catalan parliament, albeit without a clear majority of the popular vote.

The future is unknown, but the choice between independence and remaining part of Spain—by its very binary nature—encourages increased polarization that has the potential, at least, to spread throughout society in what Irvine and Gal (2000) have called a fractally recursive pattern. A major sign of the sharpening of division involves changed voting habits. The majority party among Spanish L1 speakers before the current independence push was the center-left Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya, the Catalan branch of the Spanish socialist party. This group branded itself less as identity-based than as advocates for workers. However, that party has been steadily losing votes, and in 2017 many shifted to the right-wing Ciutadans (Citizens) Party, making it the largest single party in Catalonia. Whereas the socialists favor the current educational linguistic model, Ciutadans, like the Popular Party, would cut back on Catalan immersion. The danger is that the support for these kinds of proposals, which are widely seen as an attack on Catalan, could easily incite a re-ethnicization but now on the basis of language loyalties.

Varieties of Spanish in Barcelona

Alongside linguistic diversity, a common characteristic of global cities is their high degree of dialectal diversity, a result of the linguistically heterogeneous populations they attract. Dialectal diversity can be, argues Blommaert (2010, p. 47), more important socially than linguistic diversity, "The crux of the matter is that we need to think of issues such as linguistic inequality as being organized around concrete resources, not around languages in general but specific registers, varieties, genres."

Blommaert (2010) has critiqued variationist studies as inadequate for purposes of understanding globalization. Yet his emphasis on repertoires as the better alternative begs the question of how those repertoires are to be analyzed in terms of their content and structure, demographic distributions, and evolution. Variationists have investigated precisely these questions in a number of North American global cities (e.g. Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Newman, 2014), European ones (e.g. Kerswill, Torgersen, & Fox, 2008; Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008) and both continents contrastively (e.g. Walker, Boyd, & Hoffman, 2015). Such studies identify social and linguistic factors that undergird dialectal variation. By contrast, Barcelona Spanish, with one major exception, has been examined from the more descriptive dialectological tradition.

Catalan-Contact Spanish

Actually, Sinner (2004, 2008) and Vann (2009) note that even dialectologists have paid little attention to the Spanish spoken in Catalonia. They connect this reluctance to the widespread

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deprecation of what we call Catalan-Contact Spanish (CCS), following Davidson (2012, 2015). Sinner (2008, p. 233) explains that,

> [the cause is] the prejudice that the peculiarities of the Spanish of the Catalan-speaking areas are indications of the impoverishment or degeneration of this Spanish as a result of the generalized bilingualism of the regions in question, and ultimately, of the lack of culture of the speakers.

Sinner further objects that falling into this purist discourse plays into politically motivated attacks on Normalization. The charge is that children educated primarily in Catalan have deficits in Spanish written and oral expression, a hypothesis refuted by the educational statistics we have cited.

A third thrust of Sinner's argument is that purists never show that the "substandard" forms that concern them are actually used to a greater extent in Catalonia than elsewhere in Spain. As an example, he discusses the regularization of past-tense verbs (e.g. *andé*, *andaste(s)* in place of *anduve*, *anduviste*; *deducí*, *deduciste(s)* in place of *deduje*, *dedujiste*). He finds that at most—and even this is not clear—contact leads language-wide tendencies towards verb paradigm regularization.

Almost by definition, actual distinctiveness of CCS should be found mainly in features traceable to Catalan contact, which Galindo (2003) calls *transcodic markers*, including lexical, morphosyntactic, and phonological borrowings and calques. These features are widely commented on, and the tables (Table 12.3 for lexical borrowings, Table 12.4 for calques, and Table 12.5 for phonological elements) present samples of features identified by researchers on CCS. Fuller accounts are found in the sources cited, most exhaustively in Vann (2009).

Lexical and morpho-syntactic features. Contact effects can be more complex than simple borrowings or calques. Galindo (2003), Sinner (2004), Casanovas-Català (2008), and Blas Arroyo (2008) show that many of the putative transcodic markers actually appear in other Spanish

Table 12.3 Catalan lexical borrowings identified in CCS with source

CCS word/phrase	*Non-CCS equivalent*	*Catalan source*	*English*	*Reference*				
				W	CC	G	S	V
rachola	azulejo	rajola	tile	✓				✓
paleta	albañil	paleta	brick layer	✓			✓	✓
enchegar	encender	engegar	turn on	✓			✓	✓
mujer que hace faenas	asistenta	dona que fa feines	cleaning lady	✓				
cojín	almohada	coixí	pillow				✓	
bamba	zapatilla	bamba	sneaker				✓	✓
acudir	darse cuenta	acudir	think of something				✓	
cal(er)	deber/falta	caldre	must/lacks		✓			✓
esplai	–	esplai	after-school, day camp			✓		✓
pencar	currar	pencar	work			✓		
tocho	ladrillo	totxo	brick			✓		

W = Wesch (2008), CC = Casanovas-Català (2008), G = Galindo (2003), S = Sinner (2004), V = Vann (2001, 2009).

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Table 12.4 Catalan calques identified in CCS

CCS pattern	*Non-CCS equivalent*	*Catalan source*	*English*	*Source/reference*			
				CC	G	S	V
los días de cada día	días laborables	els dies de cada dia	weekdays	✓			
quedarse parado	sorprenderse	quedar-se parat	be surprised	✓			
hacerse	preocuparse	fer-se'n	worry about	✓			
hacer mal olor	huele mal	fer mala olor	smell bad	✓			
faena	(un) trabajo	feina	a job	✓			
plegar	terminar de trabajar	plegar	end work	✓		✓	
venir	ir	venir	come*	✓	✓		✓
traer	llevar	portar	bring*	✓			✓
aquí	ahí	aquí	here*	✓	✓		✓
éste	ese	aquest	this*	✓	✓		✓
la Mireia**	Mireia	la Mireia	Mireia		✓		
el Víctor**	Víctor	en/el Víctor	Víctor				
ves	ve(imp)	vés	go		✓		
preguntar	pedir	¿?	??			✓	
a más a más	además	a més a més	in addition		✓		
hacer campana	hacer novillos	fer campana	cut class, play hooky		✓		
que ___{declarative}*	Ø ___{declarative}	que ___{declarative}					✓
oliva	aceituna	olive	olive				

*English follows the Catalan pattern in using these deictic elements. **The article is used in all non-vocative contexts, particularly when the person referred to is familiar to the speaker.
CC = Casanovas-Català (2008), G = Galindo 2003), S = Sinner (2008), Vann (2007, 2009).

Table 12.5 CCS phonological features

Feature	*Example*	*Source given*
1. seseo	Barcelona: [barselona]	Hernández García 1998
2. devoiced coda /d/	popularidad: [populariðat]	Wesch 2008
3. ceceo	Salamanca: [θalamanka]	Vann 2001
4. [ə] for unstressed /a/ /e/	España: [əspaɲə]	Vann 2001, Wesch 2008
5. [u] for unstressed /o/	normalización: [nuɾmoliθaθjon]	Vann 2001
6. palatal /ʎ/	Sevilla: [seβiʎa]	Vann 2001
7. [ð] word final prevocalic /θ/	diez años: [djeðaɲos]	Wesch 2008
8. /l/ as dark or velar [ɫ]	central: [θentraɫ]	Wesch 2008
9. [z] word final prevocalic /s/	seis años: [seizaɲos]	Wesch 2008

Note: Based upon Vann (2009, p. 78), rendered in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

dialects or consist of preservations of now archaic non-CCS forms. Moreover, transcodic markers appear far less frequently than their notoriety would lead one to believe, as Galindo states,

> Data analysis reveals that phenomena of language contact represent a low percentage in the speech of the subjects. Lexical and morphosyntactic transcodic markers constitute 0.35% of the total of the words examined in the corpus. If convergence phenomena

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are added, the percentage increases to 1.78%, still a low figure. All of the results presented here lead to the same conclusion: the influence of Catalan on the Castilian spoken in Catalonia is minimal.[2]

(Galindo, 2003, p. 28)

Galindo's corpus consisted of about 12 hours of recording of preteens. However, Báez de Aguilar (2008) similarly found few transcodic markers in his corpus of an extended family of Andalusian origin. In other cases, the effects of Catalan contact are present but easily missed. Blas Arroyo (2004, 2008), for example, shows that CCS preserves a much greater rate of usage of the morphological future (e.g. *hablaré*, *comerás*) versus the periphrastic future (*voy a hablar*, *vas a comer*) than other varieties; Catalan only has an analogous morphological future (*parlaré*, *menjaràs*).

As Davidson (2015) observes, such subtle effects challenge the outdated view that contact effects are products of *interference* of Catalan on Spanish. Referring to a feature as caused by *interference* suggests that *endogenous* (i.e. developed from internal evolution) and *exogenous* (i.e. originating in other languages) features are different in kind and authenticity. The concept thus reinforces the idea that "pure" Spanish is spoken, for example, in Castile, but that spoken in Catalonia is "contaminated."

In fact, there are features characteristic of CCS for which there is no obvious source. As described by Ordóñez and Roca (2019) Spanish in Catalonia is typically *leísta*, meaning that *le* is used as the direct object pronoun for human masculine referents in place of the etymological *lo.* For example, *I saw him* will often be *le vi* rather than *lo vi*, but *I saw her* will not be *le vi*, but *la vi*. This pattern is found at all social levels and by Catalan- and Spanish-dominant Barcelonans. By contrast, in Castile, this *leísmo* pattern is associated with only higher SES speech, and so it is accepted as standard, despite its deviation from etymology. However, Castile differs from Catalonia in that a non-standard *leísmo* is found for feminine objects in lower SES groups; *le vi* can also be *I saw her*. In Andalusia and the Americas, the etymological forms, *lo vi* and *la vi*, respectively, while not exclusively used, predominate. It is noteworthy that in this case, CCS is more consistently standard than the supposed "pure" Castilian variety.

Phonological features. Table 12.5 presents a series of phonological features associated with CCS compiled by Vann (2009, p. 78). Vann adds lexico-phonological effects, in particular cases where there are close cognates of Catalan words and in which Catalan pronunciations are carried over, such as Catalan vowel qualities that may raise or lower /o/ or /e/. For example, *hora* may be pronounced with a lower [ɔ] and *sentencias* receives a lower [ɛ] in the stressed vowel, whereas *presidente* is pronounced with a higher [e̝] (raising indicated by the diacritic). He leaves out, however, parallel effects on close cognate consonants, in which words like *casa* may contain a voiced [z], [kaza]. Also, he provides no commentary or analysis of any feature.

It should be noted that despite some of the claims listed in Table 12.5 in our experience *seseo* is vanishingly rare among autochthonous Barcelonans, even those who are Catalan-dominant, despite the merger of the historical phonemes in /s/ in Catalan. We have never noticed *ceceo* except among adult immigrants from the *ceceante* regions of Andalusia.

Features 8 (dark /l/) and 9 (word final prevocalic /s/) in Table 12.5 are discussed by Davidson (2012, 2014, 2015), called, following Labovian variable notation, (l) and (z), respectively. The phoneme /l/ in Spanish outside of Catalonia is invariably pronounced with the tongue bent towards the front of the mouth, [l] in IPA, and is commonly referred to as *clear* or *light.* By contrast, in Catalan the back of the tongue rises toward the velum, which leads to a variant called velarized or dark, [ɫ] in IPA. Use of [ɫ] is probably the most notorious shibboleth of CCS. One caveat is that, rather than a binary choice, the phonetic realization is more gradient. Davidson (2012, 2014, 2015) examined (l) among participants grouped into cohorts reflecting four degrees

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of contact and use of Catalan. On one end were participants from a mainly Catalan-speaking village and at the other end a control group in Madrid. Catalan-dominant; Spanish-dominant and Catalan-dominant Barcelonans made up the middle two groups. Figure 12.4, taken from his study, shows each participants' mean normalized (i.e. made comparable across speakers) velarization, using an index Davidson developed. It confirms that degree of association with Catalan predicts more use of Catalan-like dark [ɫ].

Also important is that age and gender play a role. Younger females tend to have the least velarization, whereas older males tend to have the most. Nevertheless, Davidson (2015, p. 182) concludes that "even Spanish-dominant bilinguals maintain a degree of lateral velarization that is significantly stronger than that found in Madrid Spanish, which may act as a linguistic resource with which Spanish-dominant bilingual speakers align themselves with the greater bilingual CCS community."

Post-vocalic word-final /s/ referred to as (z) consists of the borrowing of a complex Catalan phonological rule that leads it to be voiced as [z] in positions where in other Spanish varieties it is generally voiceless.[3] The voiced variant goes largely unnoticed. Davidson found that rates of /s/ voicing in the relevant contexts increased depending on intensity of Catalan use.

The same pattern holds as for (l), but there was greater (z) voiced variants for younger speakers than older ones, and females led, which is typical of changes in progress. Figure 12.5 reproduces Davidson's results by individual participant. He concludes that

> age and gender play an important role in mediating this phenomenon in CCS, and furthermore is consistent with the scenario in which greater degrees of voicing, being a non-standard but crucially unstigmatized feature of this variety, are being increasingly adopted over time.
>
> *(Davidson, 2015, p. 201)*

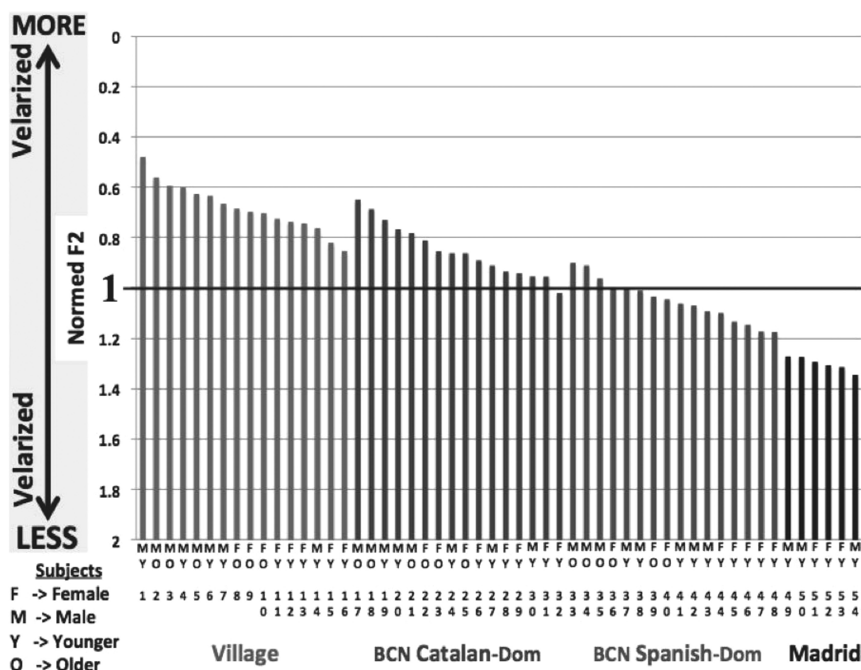

Figure 12.4 Davidson's (2015, p. 136) range of velarization of (l).

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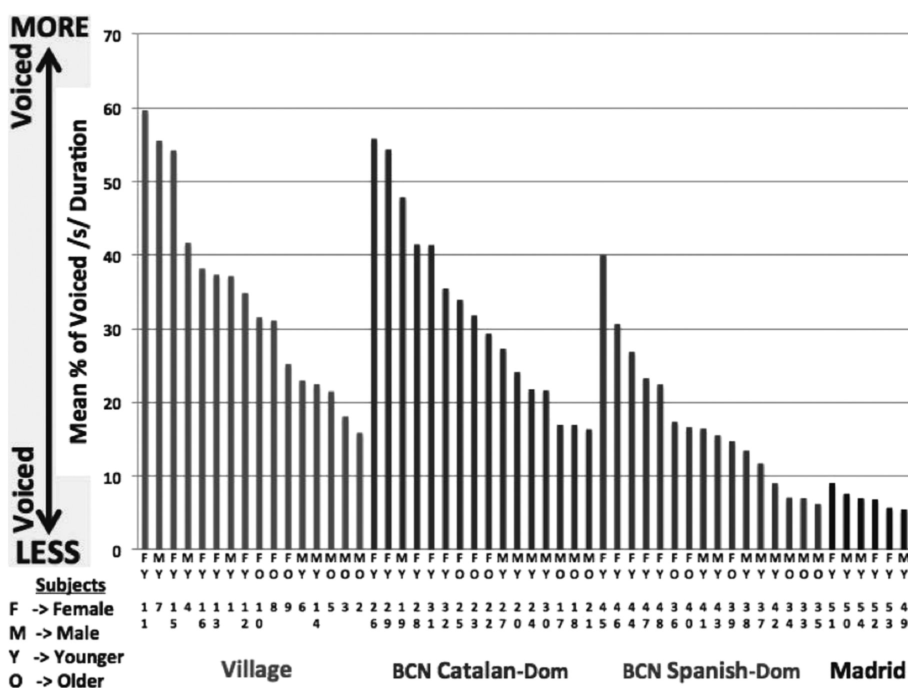

Figure 12.5 Davidson's results for (z) (2015, p. 201).

Davidson argues that Spanish that sounds *very Catalan* is stigmatized, but there is a tendency among all groups to adopt increasingly a form of Spanish that is *somewhat* Catalan-sounding. That conclusion supports the findings of Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng (2008). In that study, highly Catalan-sounding voices in a matched-guise test were rated relatively low on social attractiveness traits, as were highly Spanish-sounding ones. The highest-rated voices were those perceived to be "in between," i.e. those that sounded Catalan but not *too* Catalan. It is worth noting how well this valuation of a non-exclusive identity engages with the cosmopolitan glocal ethos of global cities. It is also worth observing that it is indexed equally in Catalan and Spanish.

Andalusian contact and internal development

The lowest-rated Spanish voices in Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng (2008) were described as *Barriada Spanish*, meaning the Spanish associated, albeit not completely accurately, with working-class Spanish-dominant descendants of Andalusian immigrants. The youths in subsequent studies (Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009; Newman, 2010) referred to the strongest speakers of this variety variously as *garrulos*, *quillos*, and *canis* (m) or *chonis* (f). The reference was to a peer culture that is largely nonacademic and monolingual Spanish-speaking, equivalent to guidos (m)/ guidettes (f) in the Eastern US or chavs in the UK. The most stereotypical feature of Andalusian origin is aspirated /s/, but elision of /l/, /r/, /b/, /d/, and /g/ and more rarely /n/—also associated with Southern Peninsular Spanish—are found variably too. Although these features are common among lower socioeconomic class groups, they may also be observed among better off groups, although most commonly with less frequency.

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The Andalusian roots of those traits have led some researchers to describe Barriada Spanish as Andalusian (Pujolar i Cos, 1997, 2000; Báez de Aguilar, 1997; Woolard, 2016), but it is best seen as a case of new dialect formation parallel to those discussed by Kerswill and Williams (2000) in England. During the 1950s and 1960s, people speaking different dialects of Spanish, mostly Andalusian, converged upon Barcelona. Their children subsequently socialized with others using other variants than they did, resulting in a sort of *koiné*. Barriada Spanish is therefore really a Catalonian variety of Spanish, and indeed it contains many features that are not of Andalusian origin, such as the *leísmo* mentioned above and many of the CCS features shown in Tables 12.2 and 12.3. Like their long-rooted Catalan-origin peers, Barriada speakers invariably have the /s/ versus /θ/ distinction (*casa ≠ caza*) whatever their social status, although many of their parents do not. It should be clear, then, that the distinction between CCS and Barriada Spanish in Barcelona is not well-defined. Catalan contact can be found in virtually all varieties of Spanish spoken in the city to different degrees. At the same time, it is not unusual to find native speakers of Catalan who grew up in neighborhoods largely populated by 20th-century Spanish immigrants whose Spanish contains all the Barriada features discussed earlier. Some may be from immigrant families who shifted to Catalan or have mixed language parents; but others are of working-class Catalan background for many generations.

We end this section with a striking innovation in Barriada Spanish (found less commonly in casual middle-class speech), which is probably widespread in other urban areas of Spain: voicing of intervocalic voiceless obstruents. The low rates of voicing in Madrid Spanish of (z) in Davidson's comparison data are probably examples of this change in progress. Intervocalic stop voicing is most salient. For example, *Paco* is commonly pronounced as [pago], *pato (duck)* as [pado], and papá (dad) as [paba]. We are unaware of any possible origin of this feature in predecessor varieties of Spanish.

Spanish accent, Latin American accent

The presence of Latin Americans and their children in the Spanish and Catalan context adds relationships involving contested sociolinguistic hierarchies between American and Peninsular Spanish varieties to this already complex situation. Socially and ideologically, both of these macro-varieties of Spanish are commonly constructed as more internally homogeneous and opposed to each other than can be justified on linguistic grounds. The iconization of the Atlantic divide and the erasure (Gal & Irvine, 2000) of the many differences internal to each supposed grouping have captured the attention of several authors (Moyer & Martin-Rojo, 2007; Newman, Patiño-Santos, & Trenchs-Parera, 2013; Corona, Nussbaum, & Unamuno, 2013; Block & Corona, 2014). Corona et al. (2013) summarize the well-known and highly salient differences between the Spanish spoken in America and Spain, displayed in Table 12.6.

Table 12.6 Salient differences between American and Peninsular Spanish

Variable	*Dominant Peninsular variant*	*Dominant American variant*
(c/z)	*distinción*	*seseo*
(2PP)	predominantly *vosotros*[4]	only *ustedes*
(prox. past)	present perfect: (e.g. *hoy he comido*)	preterite (e.g. *hoy comí*)

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In addition, there are a few other widespread linguistic differences to note. For instance, Peninsular Spanish uses the informal *tú* more than any American variety uses their informal 2ps forms (Carricaburo, 1997). Also, null objects are far more common in Latin American varieties—most obviously in constructions like *yo (lo) sé*—than in Peninsular ones (Alamillo, 2009). Finally, the present perfect has more frequency and appears in greater semantic contexts in Peninsular than American Spanish. However, the number of these oppositions pales in comparison to the internal variation observable in either Peninsular or American Spanish (see Lipski, 2004).

Corona et al. (2013) and Newman and Corona (under review) show that the speech of the Latin Americans described in the previous section as Unified Latino appears to have undergone a koineization process, parallel to the earlier koineization of Barriada Spanish. Source varieties include Peninsular Spanish and Catalan features and the various regional Americans ones. Unfortunately, neither this koiné, nor the less modified varieties from the regions of origin, are highly valued by educational institutions. This rejection creates discomfort in many young people who, instead of acquiring the institutional variety, accentuate the most stigmatized features, i.e. those from Caribbean dialects. Thus, it is possible to hear a youth of Bolivian origin lateralize coda /r/, a phenomenon associated with the Caribbean.

The devaluation of this emerging Barcelona Latino vernacular in educational domains contrasts with its covert prestige where these forms index highly valued traits such as authenticity. As a result, even rap artists of Spanish or Moroccan origin imitate this vernacular in their songs (Corona, 2017). Interestingly, this emergence parallels so-called multiethnolects found in northern Europe, in which the speech associated with one ethnic group of immigrants begins to be adopted by immigrants of various origins (Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008).

Synthesis and conclusions

We began this chapter with an anecdote that portrayed t-shirts as a globalized genre commonly used to convey political stances, in this case, a sociolinguistic one. In our story, the basic message was properly understood as a defense of Spanish against some kind of perceived threat, but the implications went badly awry. In the US, where that t-shirt is marketed, Spanish is racialized (Zentella, 1997; Barrett, 2006) in terms of what has been called the "Latino threat narrative" (Chávez, 2013), in which Latino immigrants are "othered" as a peril to the American way of life and language (see in this volume the chapters on Miami, New York, Los Angeles, and Washington). Specifically, Spanish is constructed as a threat to English, and bilingualism is seen as a problem. In Barcelona, a quite different Spanish threat narrative exists since Spanish is by far the more dominant language, and bilingualism is widely established and valued as a sign of *convivència* and of cosmopolitanism.

This bilingual coexistence has emerged out of a historical context tied to contested national identities that are still at play in the current political arena. In this struggle, Spanish has been and is being cast in various contradictory roles:

- An oppressor language threatening the survival of a more authentic local one;
- An oppressed language, as the weaker local language becomes revitalized;
- The first language of most of the population after several waves of Spanish-speaking immigration;
- A global linguistic resource as a recognized international language;
- A mediating lingua franca between locals, tourists, and immigrants as well as among different groups of immigrants; and
- A language with legitimatized and stigmatized varieties, some recently emerging.

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Most work on Catalonian sociolinguistics has focused on Catalan in particular, in light of language planning efforts beginning with the return to democracy in the late 1970s. However, those efforts have tacitly included Spanish since the goal was always to fortify Catalan in a context of bilingualism. This language planning has resulted in one of the most robustly bilingual cities in the world. In this city, moreover, ethnolinguistic divisions have been steadily diminishing (cf. differences vis-à-vis the case of Belgium, for instance, with separate Flemish and Francophone communities). This de-ethnification is a testimony to the planners' success despite the persistence of some of the behaviors they have targeted, such as the assimilation norm. The worry now is that the current political conflict can reverse some of this progress as the languages become more bound up in a political struggle that shows little sign of abating. In addition, this struggle is taking place in the context of an enormous backlash in much of the world to globalization and migration, two major themes of this volume. In good part, this background has brought a resurgence in sometimes atavistic forms of what Woolard (2016) calls "particularism," a focus on the perceived interests of particular groups and identities.

As it stands, two languages, and in many places three or four, are in fact intimately intertwined in Barcelona. After all, Barcelonans' translingual practices involving Spanish, Catalan, and other languages have become a norm, especially among youth of all origins. Moreover, the multilingual linguistic landscapes and soundscapes continuously prove how global the city has become. Some of Barcelona's multilingual neighborhoods appear to be similar—Catalan aside—to those in so many other global cities such as London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Sydney, Paris, and New York, all centers of resistance to this resurgent particularism.

Indeed, we find in Barcelona resilient local communities that reflect linguistic continuities, be they from Catalan, diverse Peninsular or Latin American Spanish varieties, or other languages, as communities interact with each other and with global flows. The changes are informing new identities—very often, cosmopolitan ones—and new linguistic practices. As Appadurai puts it (1996, p. 187, cited in Blommaert 2010, p. 23), "There is an influence from the global and, to be sure, places do change, but the local is quite resilient as well and local criteria and norms define the processes of change." Barcelona is confronting various globalization processes that have led to increasing multilingualism. In this context, we hope (and expect) that Barcelona will preserve the city's distinctive and complex linguistic personality, reflecting the balance of a vital local language sharing space with one of global outlook and reach.

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Notes

1 The top five are New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, and Hong Kong, in that order.
2 By contrast, the influence of Spanish phonology, structures, and vocabulary on Catalan is much greater, particularly in the case of the younger generations.
3 Specifically, intervocalic /s/ is voiced in word final position, e.g. "seis años" as [seizaɲos] instead of the non-contact [seisaɲos].
4 Terrell and Schwenter (2014) demonstrate that *vosotros* is, despite traditional descriptions, the only productive 2PP form in Peninsular Spanish.

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