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## The emergence of new linguistic repertoires among Barcelona's youth of Latin American origin

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Since the end of the last century, more than 10% of students in Catalonia's schools are immigrants, mostly concentrated in areas of Catalonia where the population speaks Castilian in everyday life. Although these newcomers are educated in Catalan, the majority use diverse varieties of Spanish as their language of everyday communication. In the case of students from Latin America, it is possible to observe the emergence of a new repertoire that shares traits of different varieties of Spanish spoken in South America. This article focuses on the hybrid features of this repertoire, its transmission among peers, and also on the way teachers categorize and value it. The research results reveal that students develop multilingual abilities to fulfill practical goals. The data also show that varieties of vernacular Catalan and Spanish are articulated with a new Latino language repertoire in a complex set of resources in which linguistic forms of various origins are mixed. The uses of this hybrid repertoire can be related to key issues such as the speaker's stance regarding school, but also to symbolic aspects of broader processes, such as the re-territorialization of languages and people and the emergence of new processes of identity construction in a multilingual and cosmopolitan city.

**Keywords:** Catalan; Castilian; immigration; multilingualism; globalization; secondary school; language socialization

### 1. Introduction

Most studies on language use in Catalan schools have been done in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, in cities, and neighborhoods inhabited by people from the first great migration from several regions of Spain to Catalonia. These people mainly use Castilian<sup>1</sup> in their daily lives, although the vast majority is bilingual to varying degrees (see also Newman, Patiño-Santos, and Trenchs-Parera, this issue; Woolard and Frekko, this issue).

Individuals who usually use Catalan in their close relationships, for example in the family, tend to adopt Castilian in their contacts with people who regularly use Castilian. This orientation to the other's language takes new forms because of the increasingly bilingual population, as revealed by the sociolinguistic census (see Generalitat de Catalunya 2009) and other authors have pointed out (Woolard and Frekko, this issue). Therefore, it is progressively more common to hear bilingual conversations in which each speaker adopts his/her own preferred language or

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different features of code-switching. Several factors contribute to the increased use of Catalan and bilingual interactions: the school (which is the leading instrument in the transmission of Catalan to children who do not acquire it in the family); the public/institutional use of oral and written Catalan; Catalan language requirements for access to certain jobs; and Catalan media.

Nevertheless, despite institutional support for Catalan, research on international immigrants shows that, in neighborhoods where Castilian prevails as the usual language of communication, this language becomes in most cases the *lingua franca* between the local population and migrants, but also between people of communities that do not share a common repertoire (see Newman, Patiño-Santos, and Trenchs-Parera, this issue). Although there appears to be a break between language practices in the neighborhood and in schools, the language uses of the neighborhood seep into school life, obviously when the language is taught in its Castilian variety, but also in events outside the classroom (i.e. in the schoolyard or cafeteria), and also within classrooms conducted in Catalan, in the backstage spaces of teacher–students interactions or teamwork. Thus we can talk about a double linguistic re-socialization: re-socialization to the use of Catalan in the school and re-socialization of Spanish varieties in the neighborhood.

Latin American students have been the subject of several investigations, firstly because they constitute, globally speaking, the largest community and, secondly, because they are seen as a ‘danger’ for the transmission of Catalan in schools. Latin American students seem to express reluctance toward the use of Catalan (Newman, Patiño-Santos, and Trenchs-Parera, this issue). Without going into this question, this article is interested in the forms of American Spanish found in places outside Latin America, such as Barcelona.

As is well known, the Spanish spoken in America is not homogeneous (Alvar 1969, 1996; Lipski 1996). Considering that linguistic repertoires are transformed by mobility and globalization (see Section 2), a first question arises: how are the languages of the reception community – what we call ‘Catalonia’s Castilian’ and Catalan – and the American Spanish varieties readapted and performed by newcomers? According to our data, mobility and globalization in urban contexts facilitate the learning of new resources from the repertoires in contact. We argue that these new resources are linked to the need to reconstruct new identities in new territories.

In addition, the practices among members of the host community and newcomers generate processes of categorization of linguistic repertoires employed in communicative events, specially in the case of Latin American people. As reported by Corona and Unamuno (2008) and Corona (2012), the variety spoken by locals surprises newcomers who judge certain standard semantic configurations in Catalonia’s Castilian to be impolite or inappropriate. Boys and girls express their disappointment in the lack of a homogeneous linguistic community, with a common language. In return, a second research question arises: how does the school categorise the varieties of Spanish that come into the school through the voices of Latin American boys and girls?

In this article we will present some results of an ethnographic study, specifically focused on the Latin American Spanish resources that emerge in Barcelona, highlighting Latin American adolescents’ linguistic performance in secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> In the first section of this article, we will introduce the language socialization framework, which helps articulate the role of peers in the transmission

of linguistic resources (Section 2.1); we will also present some phenomena about language uses and about the multilingual practices that mobility promotes (Section 2.2). In Section 3, we offer an analysis of secondary school data in order to show how this new repertoire is performed by adolescents and is articulated with other verbal resources in an emergent complex set of linguistic forms. We will also discuss how teachers, in situated classroom activities, perceive this repertoire. Finally (Section 4), to conclude, we will pose some questions that arise from the results of the analysis.

## 2. *Langaging in multicultural cities*

Migration processes at the end of last century and the beginning of the current one have brought to Barcelona a significant number of people from around the world. This phenomenon is one dimension of globalization which, along with technological innovations, generates new forms of communication (Appadurai 1996; Castells 1996; Blommaert 2010).

Sociolinguistics has paid attention to these processes and their consequences in the redistribution of the values assigned to languages, the definition of people's competences, inclusion and exclusion processes, and the reconfiguration of identities (consider, e.g., contributions by Block and Cameron 2002; Blommaert 2010; Codó, Patiño-Santos, and Unamuno, 2012; Coupland 2003; De Swaan 2001; Heller 1999; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007). These studies analyze the way in which the global is performed in the local, opening a new arena for studies of sociolinguistic variation. Research in this new field can no longer focus on historically configured social relationships but must open up to 'translocal' practices caused by transcultural, deterritorialized movements that transform people's repertoires (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert, Colins, and Slembrouck 2005; Mondada and Nussbaum 2012). The sociolinguistics of mobility takes a critical look at the notions of 'language' and 'community,' pointing to the transformation of linguistic systems, which become hybrid, as a consequence of new emerging practices involved in global mobility.

This article aims to contribute to this debate by discussing the emergence in Barcelona of a new linguistic repertoire – the Latin American – among young people from various Latin American origins, which results from processes of peer socialization in the multilingual and cosmopolitan city. We will focus also on the way teachers categorize and value this emerging repertoire used in secondary school, relating it to key issues such as the origin of their speakers. As will be discussed, uses of different varieties of Spanish at schools are salient symbolic aspects of other broader phenomena, such as the re-territorialization of languages, the categorization of language resources, and the display of identity in interaction. The first issue that mobility evokes is the process of re-socialization, through which speakers must learn new resources to interact in the community where they reside.

### 2.1. *Language socialization in contexts of globalization*

The theoretical perspective of linguistic socialization accounts for the acquisition processes 'of what Pierre Bourdieu called *habitus*, or ways of being in the world' (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004, 249). Studies of linguistic socialization have dealt with multilingual or multidialectal contexts (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007; Kulick 1992; Schieffelin 1993), which necessitate analyzing the acquisition of more than one

language, as well as the comprehension of the social values attributed to them in different contexts and among varying interlocutors.

From this perspective, every interaction is an event of socialization (Ochs 1988, 2002; Schieffelin 1993; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Through interaction, the new members of a community acquire the linguistic and cultural competences needed to function (Cots and Nussbaum 2007). For the researcher, this entails the analysis of specific instances of socialization; that is, instances of interaction in which the new members are guided in the understanding of the sociolinguistic order of the community.

Studying socialization at school requires considering the role of the peers, who guide new members in the acquisition of the community's *habitus*. During the initial socialization, new members quickly learn the institutional value of using different languages at school (Unamuno 2011). Step by step, classmates introduce their immigrant peers to the distribution patterns linking certain ways of speaking, certain kinds of speakers, and certain situations. In the Catalan case, Unamuno's research (2011) demonstrates that newly arrived children, as new members of the community, show greater instability regarding the correlations between language and interlocutor and between language and activity, and gradually move toward their classmates' model, which generalizes the use of Castilian for peer interaction and to address certain teachers, and leaves Catalan as the language of schooling (Nussbaum and Unamuno 2006). Thereby, the new members of the community learn that Castilian – and not Catalan – is the language that makes them part of the peer group, a process that finds clear echoes outside the school, specifically in the environments (neighborhoods and cities) where the use of Spanish is predominant. Therefore, it is easy to understand that, after some time of attending school, students assume Castilian as their usual language, progressively placing the linguistic uses of their first languages in a marginal place, and relegating Catalan to academic activities (Unamuno 2009). However, learning processes involve the emergence of new repertoires – often temporary and always locally situated in every interaction – characterized by hybridity of its forms. This hybridity can index the processes of learning and socialization of individuals, but also ways of expressing identity and/or affiliation to social groups.

## 2.2. Multilingual repertoires

As noted above, in areas in which the research was undertaken, Castilian became the *lingua franca* for communication between speakers from local and immigrant groups who have other native languages. However, the *lingua franca*, far from being a stable and homogeneous repertoire, includes in fact a cluster of varieties, the emergence of which is one of the dimensions of mobility. Globalization processes involve the appearance of hybrid and mixed forms that integrate diverse repertoires (House 2003; Pennycook 2003) in flexible and creative ways. In this regard, and according to the situation and the identities they wish to exhibit, the speakers can orient themselves toward one of these varieties, or at least to some features of them.

As indicated by several authors (see Nussbaum and Unamuno 2006, for example), the repertoires are anchored in the biographies of speakers, whose social practices offer them contact with several linguistic varieties. Thus speakers' repertoires, especially in cosmopolitan contexts, may contain linguistic and socio-linguistic features of different varieties to be combined for practical purposes in

specific communicative events. Nevertheless these repertoires are instable and in constant change. As indicated by Blommaert and Backus (2011), one can learn bits of varieties to use them for a while and then forget them or use them no more.

While research reveals that *lingua franca* can sometimes count as neutral and unrelated to identity (anonymity, in terms of Gal and Woolard 2001; Woolard 2007), in the case of Castilian and the Latino repertoire studied in this paper, the meaning is more complex. Thereby, as we shall see in the next section, young people from Latin America create new resources that serve to identify themselves as a group. But they may also adopt multilingual talk, which neither the local way nor the way of their own country, but rather a third way of communicating (Wei 1994, 2010). These mixed repertoires – which from an exogenous point of view belong to diverse linguistic systems – are combined *ad hoc* by speakers for practical purposes. These uses question the notions of ‘language’ and ‘code.’ Thus, Gafaranga (2005) proposes the term *medium* instead of language, and Makoni and Makoni (2010) talk about *plurilinguas francas*, while Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2008) claim that people use features and not languages. Other authors focus on people’s activities and propose the term *translanguaging* (Creese and Blackledge 2010; García 2007; Lüdi 2011; Møller 2008; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook 2010; Wei 2010) in order to describe multilingual practices in conversation and multimodal uses in written texts. In the next section, we describe some data obtained in secondary schools, in order to illustrate the features of this translinguistic Latino repertoire and the way it is categorized by teachers.

### 3. The emergence of a Latino repertoire

In this section, we will discuss data collected in two secondary schools situated in a north Barcelona neighborhood during extensive fieldwork (Corona 2012). Members of the GREIP team conducted ethnographic observation and collaborative work with teachers to implement projects to improve language learning.<sup>3</sup> Both schools have a notable presence of immigrants, particularly from Latin American countries.

We discuss three extracts whose protagonists are immigrant students and in which some features of Latino repertoire spoken by adolescents appear. The first one illustrates some of these features. In the other two excerpts, the stance of teachers regarding the language varieties used by the students will be discussed.

#### 3.1. How the Latino repertoire is performed

The first excerpt contains a fragment of a conversation on the playground between the researcher Manuel and Oscar, a Bolivian adolescent. The boy is talking about his expulsion from school because of a fight with a classmate. In his story Oscar makes use of a set of linguistic resources belonging to different varieties of Spanish spoken in America, with some specific words in Catalan<sup>4</sup>:

Extract 1 (see transcription symbols in Appendix)

Participants: Manuel (researcher MAN), Oscar (adolescent, 16 years old)

13. MAN: por qué te expulsaron?| ósca:r\_(1.8)

why did they expell you? | Osca-.r\_ (1.8)

14. OSC: le quité el balón a **un man**\_ (1.1)  
*I took the ball from a guy* (1.1)
15. y luego\_ él tam\_ o sea\_ que\_a jugar en la pista vino **cogió el balón**\ (.)  
*and then\_ he al\_ well\_ to play on the pitch he came he took the ball* \ (.)
16. le dije- **tío dejámelo**\ (.)  
*I told him- man give it to me* (.)
17. MAN: aja\ (.)  
*uh huh* (.)
18. OSC: él no quiso me empujó y de allí yo lo empujé\_ me dio un **puñete**\ (.)  
*he didn't want to he pushed me and then I pushed him\_ he punched me* \ (.)
19. le metí uno en la cara (0.2)  
*I punched him in the face* (0.2)
20. (laughter)
21. OSC: le metí en la cara y se fue\ y como el padre estaba ahí\ (.)  
*I punched him in the face and he went off\ and since his father was there* \ (.)
22. vino aquí y **se chivó** al cap d' estudis\ (.)  
*he came here and he snitched to the head teacher* \ (.)
23. MAN: aja \ (.)  
*uh huh* (.)
24. OSC: bueno\ al + *directol*+ (.)  
*well\ to the principall* (.)
25. luego al día siguiente me vino a buscar el cap d' estudis diciendo eso \ (0.5)  
*then the next day the head teacher came to find me saying this* \ (0.5)

Oscar deploys a repertory that is: (1) lexically heterogeneous, combining a lexicon that could be attributed to different varieties from Latin America, with a lot of peninsular words associated with the working class; (2) phonologically homogeneous (e.g., no pronunciation of [θ], aspiration of the final [s]); (3) reproducing a Caribbean accent or musicality and some traits of this variety (the assimilation of [r] as [l] in the consonant group and in the end of a word (Alvar 1969, 1996). This presence of the Caribbean accent used by non-Caribbean people may be referred to as *crossing* (Rampton 1995).

This heterogeneous repertoire is polyphonic: it contains echoes of voices – in the metaphoric Bakhtinian sense: Bakhtin, 1986 – from different Latin American geographies, and it responds also to the social significance that these different echoes gain in the sociolinguistic context in which these young people are living (Corona 2012). That is, Oscar's speech style is selective and prioritizes some traits above others to build a speech practice that authenticates him as a member of the Latino community.

Oscar's polyphonic speech, which potentiates some features of the varieties of the Caribbean, dialogues with the negative social value that these varieties have had historically. Oscar's speech, rather than sounding Bolivian, Spanish, Catalan or Dominican, is performing the identity of 'a Latino in Barcelona'; i.e. a person whose community crosses political boundaries to be installed in an imaginary globally collective one, which constitutes one of the dimensions of globalization and in which these young people live. At the same time and as our field work data (interviews and natural data recordings in classrooms) and previous studies have illustrated (Corona 2012), this repertoire acts as common set of resources among certain adolescents in Barcelona and seems to serve as a means for embodying a Latino identity in particular circumstances and to particular interlocutors, as for example, peers, but also teachers in contexts of resistance to the school.

The existence of this repertoire does not imply that it is the only one these adolescents employ. Instead, as our data show, at the same time that they create this set of resources, they learn other varieties, such as the Castilian they hear on the

streets of their neighborhood and the Catalan they acquire at school (Nussbaum and Cots 2011). In the following excerpt, we will see how this repertoire is transmitted among young non-Latino community members.

### 3.2. Re-socialization in Latin American variety

In extract 2, collected in a Spanish class (14 years olds), the teacher is encouraging students to discuss their families' trajectories. Prior to fragment 2, the teacher has talked to other students, including Juan, who is a native of Latin America. This boy uses linguistic resources characteristic of Spanish. In the sequence, the teacher (TEA) is talking with Hamet (HAM), a boy whose family has emigrated from Pakistan. The boy does not know the requested information (turns 1–7). In turn 9, the teacher asks about the moment Hamet first arrived in Barcelona. Hamet says he arrived two years earlier (turn 10), and uses an utterance with a very marked Latino accent that leads to a particular interpretation by the teacher (turns 11–13):

#### Extract 2

Participants: Students (STD), Teacher (TEA), Hamet (HAM).

1. TEA: xxx (.) y\_los abue:los! (.)  
*xxx (.) and\_your grand:parents! (.)*
2. HAM: de paquistán\ (.)  
*from Pakistan\ (.)*
3. TEA: de paquistán\| de qué pueblo! (.)  
*from Pakistan\ (.) from which town! (.)*
4. HAM: eso no lo sé\ (.)  
*that I don't know \ (.)*
5. TEA: esto no lo sabes/ (.) y tus padres\_de qué pueblo! (.)  
*that you don't know! (.) and your parents\_from which town! (.)*
6. HAM: tampoco\ (.)  
*I dont know either\ (.)*
7. TEA: tampoco sabes de dónde son tus padres/(.)  
*you also don't know where your parents come from! (.)*
8. STD: [(voices)] (1.03)
9. TEA: y: o sea tú no sabes- y cuándo has llegado/(.)  
*and: or you don't know- and when did you get here! (.)*
10. HAM: +<sup>h</sup>ase do<sup>h</sup> año<sup>h</sup>\+ (.)  
*+ two years ago + (.)*
11. TEA: hace/ (0.07)  
*it's been! (0.07)*
12. STD: +do<sup>h</sup> do<sup>h</sup> año<sup>h</sup>\+ (0.04)  
*+ two two years + (0.04)*
13. TEA: +do<sup>h</sup> año<sup>h</sup> uno<sup>h</sup> do<sup>h</sup> año<sup>h</sup>\+ (.) (pointing at Juan) + habla:<sup>h</sup> habla:<sup>h</sup> musho  
con <sup>H</sup>uan\+ (.)  
*two years one two years (.) (pointing at Juan)+ he talks a lot with Juan + (.)*
14. STD: [(laughter of the classmates)]

In turn 11, the teacher does not seem to understand Hamet's answer. The boy repeats his sentence (turn 12), and then the teacher expresses surprise at Hamet's way of speaking, imitating him and linking Hamet's use of Spanish to his closeness with his Latin American classmate Juan (turn 13). In her reproduction of the utterance, she is highlighting some distinctive language features of Hamet's speech: use of the dental [s], instead of the interdental [θ], namely *seseo*; final word s-aspiration, vowel lengthening, and general intonation of the utterance; i.e. characteristic elements of



the Latino repertoire used by Juan and other classmates in previous sequences. At the same time, the teacher is labeling the way of Hamet speaking as strange.

This excerpt raises several related issues. It shows the importance of peers in the socialization processes, which can also give rise to phenomena such as crossing or affiliation with certain immigrant groups. At the same time, the fragment indicates that young migrants can be socialized through nonlocal varieties. The teacher's somewhat mocking attitude seems to problematize Hamet's speech as inauthentic or incongruous for an adolescent coming from Pakistan, who is expected to use a learner variety based on the Castilian spoken in Barcelona and on his own native languages.

Second, Hamet's use of language challenges the school practices as well as its perception of the correlations between language and territory, language learning and geographic origin. Thus the use of features of a set of resources traditionally associated with Latin American speakers could be part of processes of school resistance. The Latino repertoire emerges in contexts of transgressive practices (Corona 2012), in which its use obtains a counter-school value. As shown above, groups of diverse origin use the Latino repertoire. However, this fact is not recognized by the educational institution, which seems to assume that groups are homogeneous and represent monolithic identities and migration patterns. Martin Rojo (2010) finds similar teacher's stances in Madrid, in secondary schools with a large population coming from Latin America.

This fragment thus shows three overlapping phenomena: (1) the socialization by nonlocal peers, (2) the de-territorialization of linguistic resources, and (3) the recognition by the local speakers of the existence of a Latino repertoire. In addition, the boy's behavior calls into question the legitimacy of certain resources by the school. This last phenomenon will be more salient in the following excerpt.

### **3.3. How teachers categorize the Latino variety**

In the next extract, collected in a class of 15-year-old students, the learners are writing a documentary script about language use in the neighborhood. In order to do so, they are watching videos that they recorded as a part of a school assignment, searching for relevant scenes and describing them. Saul (SAU) is proposing an utterance to the researcher Manuel (MAN), present in the classroom. Manuel accepts, inviting the boy to write the sentence (turns 1–2). However, the teacher (TEA) suggests looking for a different form to express the same idea and she condemns the use of the word 'man' (guy) – which is a word that appears often in the Latino repertoire – because other teachers would not understand (turn 3) or maybe because she is anticipating the condemnation of other teachers and is trying to protect the students. Manuel seems to protest (turn 4). Saul laughs (turn 5) and the teacher adds that the boys overuse the expression (turn 6):

#### Extract 3

Participants: Saúl (student, SAU), Manuel (researcher, MAN) and the teacher (TEA)

1. SAU: está cabreado porque metieron +al man+ a la cárcel\ (.)

*he's pissed off because they put the guy in jail\ (.)*

2. MAN: pon eso\ (2.03)

*you put that\ (2.03)*

3. TEA: a ver\_ (. ) no pongas +el man + \ (.)

*let's see\_ \ you don't write +the guy\ + (.)*

*porque después cuando te tengan que corregir (.)*

- because later when you get graded* (.)  
*tus profes que son otros que no éstel* (.)  
*it will be other teachers, not this one* (.)
4. MAN: *el man\_el man* (.) *bueno +el man+ y: es clarísimo* (.)  
*the guy the guy* (.) *ok +the guy+ and it's clear* (.)
5. SAU: (*laughter*)
6. TEA: (to VIC) *después están diciendo todo el día este +man+*  (.)  
*(to VIC) then constantly saying +the guy+*  (.)

It is salient that the teacher corrects ‘man’ and not the word ‘cabreado,’ which belongs to a very colloquial register of Castilian. The teacher finds ‘man’ to be unsuitable in this context, maybe because it is a loan word that is not recognized in standard or colloquial registers of Barcelona Castilian. But there is more evidence suggesting that this teacher understands Saúl’s speech as belonging to a Latino repertoire. She says that students must write a message that will be clear to all of the teachers and not only to the researcher, who shares the Latino varieties. In addition, at the end of the extract, the teacher claims that it is important to correct Saúl’s use of ‘man,’ to discourage learners from employing it in other contexts (turn 6).

The two previous extracts show that schools promote the standardization of a specific Castilian variety, despite the presence of other linguistic repertoires in the classroom that are often used by the majority of students. This attempt to minimize linguistic diversity is what is known as the ‘ideology of standardization’ (Milroy 2001), which has an impact on the way different emerging repertoires are ranked in Barcelona. In excerpt 3, in the process of categorization of a Latin American word a negotiation of the scope of the speech community comes into play. The processes involved in globalization and new identity construction in this context question the traditional visions of the speech community and who are their members. In the extract, the teacher and the other actor (Manuel) categorize ‘man’ in relation to two possible communities of readers of the text constructed by Saúl. For the teacher, the use of this term is restricted to the boy’s community (Latinos), but not for local teachers. In contrast, ‘cabreado’ is accepted. Teacher and Manuel’s exchange, in turns 4 and 6, is an example of an attempt to negotiate a symbolic border, without apparent success. It would seem then that the teacher is placed on a different scale (Woolard and Frekko, this issue) with respect to Manuel and Saúl.

As has been pointed out (see Section 1), the varieties of Spanish in America are very different from each other. Nevertheless, for autochthonous Castilian speakers, the common linguistic traits of these varieties seem to be more important than the differences, because they are symbolically opposed to Barcelona’s Castilian. Latino young people share this emphasis on the similarities between Spanish varieties. Their forms of talk do not necessarily correspond to the varieties of their countries of origin. Rather, they are a heterogeneous mixture of lexicon, rhythms, and accents from different parts of the Americas and, of course, from the Barcelona varieties, including Catalan.

#### 4. Final remarks

Our ethnographic work in secondary schools has allowed us to observe the emergence of new repertoires in Barcelona. The fragments above presented show the coexistence and articulation of different varieties that represent one of the dimensions of globalization, mobility, and diaspora. As we have noted, the variety of

Castilian spoken in Barcelona appears as a *lingua franca* among migrants and locals, and also between migrants from communities that do not share a common language. In this sense, Barcelona Castilian can be considered a neutral resource for communication unrelated to identity.

On the other hand, our data from adolescents at secondary schools show that the Latino repertoire is an in-group language created, shared, and transmitted among peers (see extract 2). As we show above, the Latino repertoire shares features from various regions of Latin America and also, it contains forms and features of the varieties of Barcelona's Catalan and Castilian (see extract 1). In this sense, it is translocal, but, at the same time, it is anchored in historically configured social relationships (Blommaert 2005). The use of this repertoire challenges the traditional notion of 'language community' (Blommaert 2008; Pennycook 2007; Rampton 1999, 2006) and raises some questions about the construction of new global communities, in which membership is based on the use of shared transnational repertoires.

The repertoire that we have called Latino-Spanish emerges in contexts in which high school teens show some resistance to the linguistic forms of re-socialization that the school offers, mainly in Catalan, but not exclusively. This repertoire created by teens contains several brands from different Spanish source areas. It is a translocal repertoire, based on hybridity and *translanguaging*, which seems to become a useful resource for social identification regarding the school and its official linguistic resources: Catalan and Castilian. Nevertheless it is an embedded repertoire (Blommaert and Backus 2011) that does not work alone but with other branded resources.

One relevant aspect is that this repertoire is not only shared by teenagers from Latin America, but also for other young people socialized by peers in these cosmopolitan contexts. In this sense, the new variety acts as a catalyst for the various individual identities reconstructed and relocated by mobility.

This last observation brings into question the generalizations made by teachers and education authorities in reference to foreign students. Thus one might think, for example, that the starting point of boys and girls from Pakistan when learning Catalan and Castilian will be Pakistani languages, ignoring the crucial importance of other varieties learned with peers. Also, the school often ignores the new communities of practice that emerge in contexts of globalization.

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### **Notes**

1. Although Castilian and Spanish can be considered synonyms, we will use Castilian to refer to the different varieties of the official language of the Spanish state spoken in Catalonia. The term Spanish will be used to refer to the different varieties of this language, which are official in many Latin American countries. This approach mirrors the use of the cognates 'castellano' (which is the more common word for the language in Spain) and 'español' (which is the more common word for the language in many places in Latin America).
2. This research was funded by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Project SEJ2007-62147-EDUC, 2007-2010) and Ministerio de Ciencia y Innovación (Project EDU2010-17859; 2011-2013).

3. See: <http://greip.uab.cat/ca/projectes/finalitzats/I+D/decomasai/>
4. Different features are mentioned as follows: Ecuadorian in **bold**; Caribbean in *italics*; Peruvian are underlining; peninsular Castilian are in **bold italics**, and words in Catalan are in Courier New style.

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### Appendix: Transcription symbols

Speaker: ABC:

Intonation:

- a. Falling: \
- b. Rising: /
- c. Maintained: \_

Pauses:

- a. Micro (.)
- b. others (timed by n° seconds)

Latching: =

Interruption: text-

Lengthening of a sound: te:xt

Transcriber's comments: [(comment)]

Approximate phonetic transcription + utterance +