ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN GIBRALTAR

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To

Jesús, Carol, and Robert

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The idea of studying Gibraltar was first suggested to me by José Manuel Blecua in 1987 when I returned from completing a master's degree in Linguistics at Stanford University. The summer of that year I went back to California and after extensive library searches on language and Gibraltar, I discovered that little was known about the linguistic situation on "The Rock". The topic at that point had turned into a challenge for me. I immediately became impatient to find out whether it was really true that Gibraltarians spoke "a funny kind of English" with an Andalusian accent. It was José Manuel Blecua's excellent foresight and his helpful guidance throughout all stages of the fieldwork, writing, and revision that has made this dissertation possible.

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INTRODUCTION

The genesis of most dissertations is an idea or a hypothesis which requires some sort of explanation. The initial question was to find out about the language situation in Gibraltar where more than half a dozen different languages and cultures have come together at different periods in its history. After exhaustive library searches at several institutions, including the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Stanford University, University of California at Berkeley, and Georgetown University, I discovered that with the exception of the research done by Cavilla (1978) and Kramer (1986) nothing else had been published on language in Gibraltar. This proposal really started to take shape when I visited Gibraltar for the first time and realized that the linguistic situation there was even more interesting than I had first imagined.

As the project developed, more immediate research questions emerged such as determining the specific goals of this study as well as the sort of explanation I wanted to provide. Code-switching turned out to be the most accurate approach to account for the languages in contact in Gibraltar. While other forms of language contact phenomena resulting from incomplete linguistic competence do occur, code-switching is by far the most common linguistic manifestation of fluent bilingual speakers. The type of code-switching that takes place in Gibraltar consists in the switching of languages both within the sentence (i.e intra-sentential switching) as well as switching beyond the sentence, (i.e. inter-sentential switching). These patterns of code-switching contrast with those of other multilingual communities that may just insert single lexical items, or use inter-sentential use of code-switching as opposed to intra-sentential code-switching. The question still unanswered in the field of bilingualism and language contact is precisely what sorts of social circumstances and linguistic constraints are responsible for different code-switching patterns in different communities.

One of the first objectives of this study was to collect the full range of code-switching data; a task that required the use of a wide variety of methodological techniques. In addition, to reach a conclusion about why highly fluent bilinguals in Gibraltar use code-switching at all rather than just English or Spanish it was necessary to take into account the geographical, socio-political, economic and historical circumstances of the community as well as the values and attitudes associated with each social group and language. A social understanding of code-switching provides only a partial view of the kinds of factors which account for these bilingual phenomena; the role of the individual is the other part needed to give a comprehensive explanation of code-switching. A person's linguistic competence and their knowledge of the grammatical rules of two languages are additional constraints on the kinds of structural switching met with. A comprehensive view of code-switching in Gibraltar requires that this particular kind of language contact phenomena be studied both from the perspective of the community as well as from the perspective of the individual. It is for this reason that a situational, a discourse and a syntactic analysis of code-switching in Gibraltar are undertaken. Each one of these approaches asks the research questions pertinent to that particular field of inquiry and in the conclusions the results are brought together to provide the complete picture of the language situation in Gibraltar.

The present dissertation is divided into seven chapters which are introduced by a brief summary of the main points discussed in each part. The footnotes are also included at the end of each chapter at the end and they consist in clarifications, and additions to the ideas expressed in the text as well as illustrations and examples. A list of maps and tables and an annotated bibliography complete the present volume. An appendix with the transcripts of the interviews carried out in Gibraltar are included in a separate volume.

Chapter one characterizes the speech community of Gibraltar. It starts out by discussing the main objections to grouping individual speakers together into an "idealized" unit. It concludes, however, that its applicability to the community of Gibraltar is justified since there are many characteristics unique to this territory. The historical events and the demographic composition of the society are additional factors essential for understanding the input of the different ethnic groups and their current linguistic practices. One of the difficulties encountered with the population data is that lack of statistics on the different ethnic groups. The grouping of the population by religious denomination in the census has been helpful for distinguishing the Jewish, the Hindi, the British military, and the Moslem populations but of course under the heading of Roman Catholic, a variety of different nationalities are included such as Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, Maltese.

The process of data collection and the different methods employed are examined in **chapter two**. An important methodological concern throughout the project is the observer's paradox. Recordings and other data collection methods were backed up by the researcher's direct observations from four field trips to Gibraltar for periods from two weeks up to two months. Different types of of data are analyzed by each of the approaches which requires using different methodological techniques. Data analyzed from a situational perspective is obtained from administering a language diary and questionnaire to a small group of informants. Observation-participation is especially important for confirming the answers to the diaries and to contrast these answers with other sectors of Gibraltarian society. A discourse approach to code-switching requires analytical units larger than the sentence such as exchange sequences or conversations. A total of sixteen audio tapes included in the appendix are selected from a total of over twenty-one ninety minute recordings from a wide

variety of settings and situations. One of the key concerns was to obtain instances of bilingual language use among as many people and different settings as possible. A syntactic or grammatical analysis of code-switching requires sentence level units of a wide variety of different structures. The most significant cases of syntactic code-switching are cases where the grammars of both English and Spanish do not coincide in the mixed sentence. Data to carry out the analysis from this perspective were taken from the conversations and from over forty written texts. At the end of this chapter on methodology two examples of written texts with humorous intent are taken from one of the local publications in Gibraltar called *Panorama*.

An introduction to issues related to code-switching are presented in **chapter three**. Code-switching is a more general term which covers the mixing of two languages at the sentence level and above the sentence level or according to situation. Distinct definitions for intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching are provided and distinguished from code-switching used in a more general sense. Another issue discussed in this chapter is the way code-switching can be distinguished from other forms of language contact phenomena such a borrowing, nonce-borrowing or loans. The position adopted in this study is that code-switching is the result of highly proficient bilinguals with a comparable linguistic competence in both languages. This contrasts with the position of other researchers as for example Auer (1984) who consider that language mixing resulting from imperfect linguistic knowledge is an instance of code-switching.

The influence of situation and setting as factors intervening in the choice of code are presented in **chapter four**. The study of situations and domains characterized most early work on bilingual language choice. Usually these studies concentrated on the use of either language A or language B. Code-

switching did not have the status of a separate code-choice. In this chapter, however, code-switching is accepted as an alternative third code-choice and it is subdivided into code-switching where English is predominant and code-switching where Spanish is predominant. Also a different approach is taken to situation. Rather than correlating code or language choice with a given setting and situation the data are obtained from informant's networks that is the different persons and situations of day to day encounters. The variable of situation derived from personal encounters shows indicative patterns of language use. Observation-participation techniques provide further information on more direct correlations of language and situation. This approach also indicates the values and the attitudes of the population towards English and Spanish.

A discourse approach to code-switching is taken up in **chapter five**. The object of analysis are conversations including structured interviews and spontaneous speech. The study of conversational code-switching is situated within the wide theoretical framework of discourse analysis. The two main areas of inquiry are (a) the different discourse strategies accomplished by a switch of language in a conversation, and (b) the search for the non-literal meaning which is conveyed by using code-switching as opposed to a single language. In addition to these research concerns, models of conversational code-switching are also concerned with accounting for all the switching data that occurs in conversation. The systems proposed for classifying code-switching are universal in that they can be applied to the different sorts of code-switching data in any multilingual community. This is the case with the distinction between metaphorical and situational switching and the variety of discourse strategies or the organization of turn-taking.

Some conversational models account for code-switching from the perspective of the speaker such as the proposals made by Bell (1984); others

are concerned with the hearer and the way non-literal meaning is conveyed and understood. This latter model concerned with the non-literal meaning is developed by Gumperz (1982, 1990) in work on conversational cues. Auer's model is different from the two mentioned in that he is concerned with the methodological issue of identifying and distinguishing all instances of code-switching and explaining them either in terms of the individual or the discourse related options. The conversational data from Gibraltar is analyzed from the different models proposed but it is only from adopting a dynamic and interactional analysis of conversational discourse that it is possible to arrive at an explanation both at the micro-level of the interaction and at a more macro-level in the sense that individual uses unconsciously reflect the values and attitudes of the community at large.

Code-switching from the perspective of the individual's linguistic competence is analyzed in **chapter six**. An intra-sentential approach to code-switching is concerned with the grammatical constraints which predict when code-switching can take place within the limits of the sentence. The theoretical frameworks available are the variationist approach of Poplack (1991) and the generativist approach within the framework of government and binding. A variationist approach presents descriptive statements based on the frequency of of code-switching structures. As descriptive statements the observations made within a variationist framework are valuable but they are not related to the goal of providing a plausible and psychologically realistic grammar. In adopting a generative approach certain theoretical and methodological assumptions must be made such as the decision to account for data produced by persons with a proficient linguistic competence in two languages. The position adopted in the present work differs from Di Sciullo's proposal (1988) which adopts a generative approach in that the constraints applicable to code-switching are essentially the

same as the grammatical constraints for monolingual speakers. Therefore, code-switching is permitted as long as the sentence is grammatical in one of the two languages. The notion of grammaticality and matrix language are re-examined in order to understand how an ideal speaker-hearer understands these concepts when two languages are involved. Data from a variety of different sources are presented to argue for the views exposed in chapter six. The selection of the data is based on structural types rather than on frequency of occurrence since the view adopted is that examples can not be excluded solely on the criterion that they are infrequent.

Restrictions of time have not permitted the author to incorporate the Matrix Language Frame Model proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1992) nor the revisions made by Pieter Muysken (1992)on the government constraint. It should also be noted that a deliberate choice was made to concentrate on the syntactic information provided by lexical items rather than to discuss specific syntactic problems such as *Pro*-drop and its associated features of *that*-trace effect, and subject postposing or the analysis of functional categories.

The conclusions in **chapter seven** summarize the most important results obtained in the present study on code-switching. The main characteristics of Gibraltar as a bilingual speech community are presented. A comparison of some of the social, historical, political and economic circumstances is made with the Puerto Rican community in the United States which shares the same language pair (i.e. English and Spanish). The object of looking at these two communities together is to provide some information on the social differences that may account for the different types of bilingual language use in the two communities.

From a discourse perspective Gibraltarians use a wide variety of different code-switching patterns in conversation. In order to account for the different sorts of code-switching data, as well as the production and perception of non-

literal meaning, it is necessary to provide a model which takes into account individual factors, and interactional factors in relation to the larger social context. This model takes individual code-switching production as a starting point for analyzing the meaning of all instances of code-switching phenomena.

A syntactic analysis of code-switching has demonstrated that intra-sentential code-switching is principled from the view point of Spanish and/or English grammars. The formal predictions made to account for the language the lexical items appear in do not explain all instances of sentential code-switching in Gibraltar. Different grammatical information such as word order, predicate argument structure, thematic role and subcategorization are just some of the kinds of grammatical information explored and which seem to play a primary role in understanding the criteria speakers use when code-switching.

An annotated **bibliography** is included at the end. The entries include direct references from the dissertation as well as other works consulted. The purpose of an annotated bibliography is mainly to provide future researchers with a basic orientation on the works that were helpful in undertaking the present project. The commentaries on each of the entries are not always comprehensive of the entire work. They often consist in a presentation of an idea or point which is relevant to my way of thinking at a given time which may not always coincide with the author's point of view. The bibliography covers several areas which primarily include references to Gibraltar, its language, history and political status as well as works on each of sections developed in the chapters such as methods, situation, discourse and syntax. The format of the bibliography follows the norms for publication of the Linguistic Society of America.

The **appendix** is included in a separate volume and it includes a selection of the interviews carried out by the researcher in Gibraltar. Transcribing audio

tapes into written form always involves taking theoretical decisions on what kind of punctuation to include; in the case of the transcriptions in the appendix the object is mainly to get the content down on paper in an exact way rather than indicate information on pauses, intonation or tempo which is included when necessary in the detailed analysis of several extracts in chapter five. The transcripts are based on structured interviews as well as spontaneous speech from a wide variety of different settings and situations. The transcripts are organized in the appendix from predominantly English texts to predominantly Spanish texts. Only a small part of this corpus is actually exploited in the text of the dissertation. Many of the examples from chapter six on the syntactic structure of code-switching are taken from these transcriptions and the extracts analyzed in chapter five all come from this appendix. While some transcripts are not directly commented on they were extremely valuable for understanding the wide range of contexts where code-switching is used in Gibraltar. They are essentially meant to back up the empirical observations made in chapter four on language choice in situations. The advantage of having such a varied corpus in computer readable form is important for future research and carrying out frequency counts of code-switching structures in order to compare with other numerical counts for Spanish/English code-switching carried out by Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1988). The issues as well as the perspective adopted in this dissertation clearly situate it within a linguistic tradition rather than a sociological or an anthropological one. The classical dichotomy in linguistics between individual and society underlies many of the ideas and analyses provided in the present work. A reflection of this distinction are a person's competence and their performance which distinguishes the data analyzed from a syntactic perspective from the data analyzed from a situational and a discourse approach. The

distinction between speaker and hearer is also relevant for understanding the phenomena of bilingual code-switching especially in terms of language processing models and the discourse analysis of conversations.

While on the one hand this doctoral dissertation fits into a linguistic tradition; on the other hand it should be specified that it probably fits best within a US linguistic tradition. The reason for adding this is not so much that research on code-switching has exclusively been undertaken on the American continent; in fact the reality is quite the opposite. The European Science Foundation with its head office in Strasbourg, France has contributed to the development of this field of inquiry by organizing several meetings and providing encouragement and support for young researchers.

Each one of the chapters advances or provides a new perspective on the approaches to bilingualism and code-switching but in order to carry this through it first requires presenting the state of the art in situational analysis, discourse analysis and syntactic analysis as they have been applied to code-switching. The main ideas in each field of inquiry are presented in a critical vein not to disprove them but more to provide a new direction for explaining the Gibraltar data and also to forge a future line of research to an area which sometimes seems to have come to a standstill. A final warning regarding the format in which this dissertation is written. The ideas and models proposed by other authors are not cited literally and they are referenced just by the author's name or by the author's name, date of the publication and sometimes the page number is included following the format of many curent linguistic journals.

CHAPTER 1

GIBRALTAR AS A SPEECH COMMUNITY

Speech community is an analytical concept used to study the language situation in Gibraltar. The notion of speech community is valid in spite of criticisms about the criteria that makes a community homogeneous. This unit of analysis is chosen over the concept of network because the ethnic heterogeneity of the population and the different language behaviors in Gibraltar can not be elicited since some groups hardly interact with others. Some factors that contribute to the definition of Gibraltar as a speech community are social, geographic, historical, and demographic; in addition language use and attitudes (studied in chapters 4-6) are important. All these factors are necessary in order to understand the sorts of criteria which bring the people of Gibraltar together into a unified whole. Information on Gibraltar's setting is accompanies the most important historical events and a description of the demographic development all of which are essential for understanding the present sociolinguistic situation in Gibraltar.

A theoretical construct

The fundamental unit of sociolinguistic analysis is the abstract theoretical construct of speech community. The notion of speech community enables sociolinguists to group together individuals who share a set of social norms and features of language use (Gumperz 1968a, Labov 1972, Hymes 1974). Hymes claims that the concept of speech community should be taken as a social rather than as a linguistic entity. The identification of speech community with a language variety renders this term superfluous.

Studies of language variation often start off with a given social group based on social class, ethnic origin, age or sex, and afterwards look at the entire group and the linguistic patterns those group uses. This approach is distinguished from studies that take a linguistic pattern as the starting point for determining the social and individual motivation for that variation. This approach supports the research of Dorian (1982) in the English Gaelic bilingual community of East Sutherlandshire where membership of low proficiency bilinguals in the speech community is defined in terms of social criteria rather than on the basis of knowledge of a linguistic variety. In other words, a speech.community can not be defined in terms of language alone. It is necessary to take into account a group of individuals who share knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech. The range of varieties a person knows as well as the different communities with which a person can communicate must also be taken into consideration.

A person's knowledge of different varieties permits the participation in various speech communities. This is not the same as belonging or participating as a member of those speech communities. Therefore, a given individual may participate in more than one speech community depending on her knowledge of different variants, their uses and their social evaluation. The concept of "speech community" is needed in linguistic approaches that seek to explain how external linguistic factors account for variation in language. Early studies on language variation do not make use of the concept of speech community. Variant linguistic forms are discussed in relation to their geographical distribution but a geographical or dialectological approach is not relevant in multilingual or urban settings. Labov's discovery that language variation could be attributed to social class and that individual speakers also showed patterns of variation which

are related to different speech styles is an important innovation in understanding the motivation for language change.

According to Gumperz (1968a) a speech community is any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interactions by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use. A group of individuals who fulfill the above requirements constitute a speech community. This definition is different from Labov's (1966) use of the term. He took the whole city of New York, a larger geographical unit, as a speech community on the basis that the different social classes agree on their evaluation of post-vocalic [r] as well as other linguistic features. Individual variation of post-vocalic [r] shows regular style shifting in the same direction as the evaluations of this variable by different social classes within the same speech community. This is called by Romaine (1982:19) uni-directional variation and language change and it presupposes a fairly uniform set of attitudes as well as speakers. A speech community as Milroy (1980) demonstrates in the case of Belfast is not always such a homogeneous unit as is the communities in Labov's studies of New York City and Martha's Vineyard. The key to discovering individual variation is to investigate the different sort of speech communities a person participates in.

This theoretical construct is criticized by other sociolinguists who claim that certain kinds of language variation are best understood if the individual and his/her network is taken as the primary unit of sociolinguistic analysis (Milroy 1980, Chesire 1982). This proposal is not inconsistent with the notion of speech community. It involves taking individuals and their varied social relationships with others in the community rather than the classical grouping by social class, age or sex. According to Milroy, a "social network"

is defined as the informal social relationships contracted by an individual which enables the linguist to analyze the manner in which a speaker utilizes the resources of linguistic variability with other members of the community. Social network, as an analytical unit in sociolinguistic research, provides a way to analyze individual variation but it also facilitates a methodology for discovering the speech communities in which a speaker participates. By analyzing the speech of an individual in a network of different relationships, it is possible to gain information about social groupings based on language use. The issue which comes up with the study of network relations is what other ways can this approach relate to the variation which exists at the level of other social groupings such as those described by Labov.

Labov accounted for social class variation together with individual variation by correlating individual speech styles with social class. In contrast, the network analysis proposed by Milroy provides no way of relating individual variation with social groupings on a larger community scale unless it can be demonstrated that individual variation is a reflection of community variation on a smaller scale as is observed by Labov. An individual's network in effect accounts for certain language variation. This is observed by Labov (1966) among Puerto Rican and Black gangs in New York City where the more prestigious members of the gang use the vernacular more than those members with less status. However, the only way to get a full picture of language variation and change is to go beyond the individual in order to examine the evaluation of linguistics variables by larger social groups. The problem boils down to whether it is possible to classify within the same speech community speakers who share the norms

and rules of language but who do not necessarily use all the same features of language in the same way.

Research employing a social network analysis primarily deals with phonological variables. The recent work by Milroy and Wei (1991) explore the use of this analytical tool in the Chinese/English bilingual community of Tyneside, Great Britain. The relationship between individual networks and the broader social, economic and political context is considered. A network approach is also taken by Labrie (1989) in his study of the multilingual behavior of Italian speakers in Montreal, Canada. He discusses the application of network analysis to multilingual communities where an individual's linguistic behavior will depend on a person's membership to a network of language A speakers or to a network of language B speakers. Thus a bilingual speaker presumably has two separate social networks each of which would be associated with different domains. This differs from the social networks of monolingual speakers where a whole set of domains is analyzed with respect to one language. Information from individual networks is taken into account in the situational analysis.

Gibraltar is a well-defined speech community, in spite of its apparent social and ethnic heterogeneity. The frontier serves as a boundary which delimits the territorial extension of the community. Gibraltar differs from traditional monolingual urban communities in that the local identity makes them far more uniform in terms of social norms and attitudes than most social groupings which exist in large cities. Another difference is the multilingual character of Gibraltar where variant forms are not gradients along a continuum as in the Labov sense. The use of two languages as well as code-switching is what distinguishes Gibraltar from some Spanish or British communities. This situation provides support for a social group

definition of speech community rather than a language oriented definition where members share the same speech varieties, the same linguistic knowledge and proficiency in both languages.

Sociolinguistic research on the linguistic situation of Gibraltar is practically non-existent. The studies undertaken by Cavilla (1978) and Kramer (1986) are primarily concerned with the lexical substrata although Kramer does touch on some historical and demographic factors which influence language use on the Rock. The present study treats Gibraltar and its inhabitants as a single speech community based on political, social, economic and geographic considerations. From a linguistic perspective not all speakers share the same linguistic competence in English and Spanish. For this reason, it is necessary to take into account individual interactions as well as individual levels of proficiency for each speaker. Information on individual networks provides a better understanding of how English, Spanish, and code-switching of these two languages are used by different speakers who belong to the same speech community. The analysis of individual data of language use together with the functional use of English and Spanish in the community of Gibraltar contributes to understanding the maintenance or change of the non-standard variety of speech known as Yanito (the use of Spanish/English code-switching in discourse).

In order to understand the use of language and code-switching in Gibraltar it is necessary to analyze an individual's interaction with the members of the same community that is with other Gibraltarians but the interaction with the British and the Spaniards must also be taken into account. This may not be possible as not all Gibraltarians have equal access to members of English and Spanish communities. Not all members of the community are equally suitable for network analysis if this method is

used in order to understand how code-switching is used by Gibraltarians and the values which are associated with its use. If the goal is to look at how an individual code-switches then the kind of information that a network analysis will provide can not be generalized to the community as a whole. The variation in an individual's code-switching has to take into consideration the varying linguistic competences in the languages which are used to code-switch and the choice to code-switch or to use either English or Spanish depends to a great extent on the linguistic competence of the members in a network.

Setting

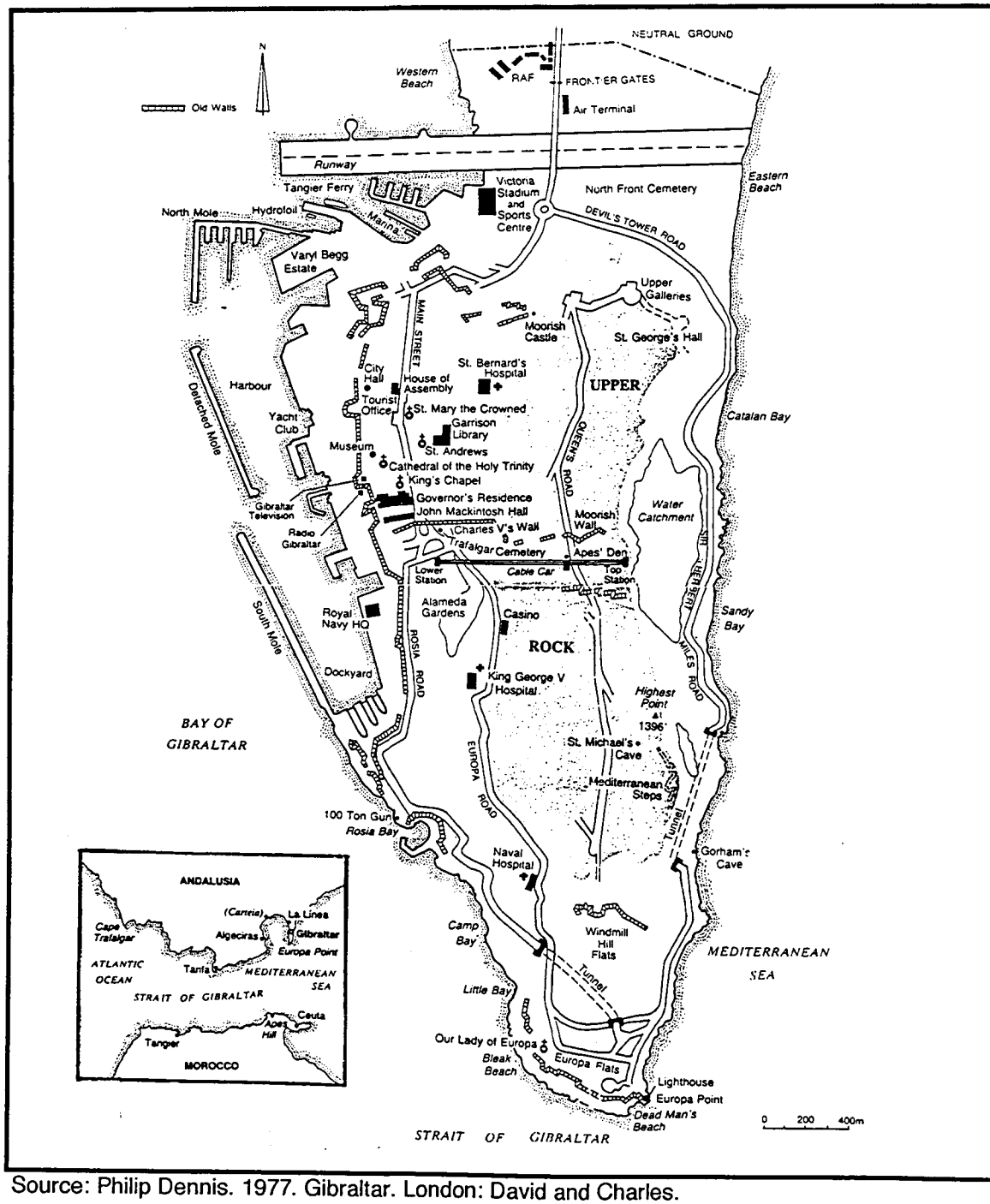
Gibraltar is a small British colony situated on the southern tip of Spain.[1] It covers an area of approximately 584 hectares with a length of 4.8 kilometers from North to South. Most of the territory is occupied by a large mountain -the Rock- leaving little habitable space at its foot. Gibraltar which is also known as the Rock, is connected to the Spanish town of La Línea de la Concepción by a narrow isthmus less than half a mile wide. In relation to Spain, Gibraltar is situated on the south western end of the province of Cádiz in the region of Andalusia halfway between the cities of Cádiz and Málaga (see Map 1.1). Its notable historical and military importance during the two world wars can be attributed to its strategic location between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

The Gibraltarians reside primarily in the town of Gibraltar. Approximately 350 people live in Catalan Bay on the Eastern side of the Rock (Dennis 1977:108) which was originally a Genoese fishing settlement (see Map 1.2).

Map 1.1
Gibraltar in relation to Spain

Source: Peters Atlas of the World. 1989. Essex, England: Longman.

Map 1.2
Map of Gibraltar



Source: Philip Dennis. 1977. Gibraltar. London: David and Charles.

British military personnel live along the south western side of the Rock and at Europa Point.

The history of Gibraltar has always been closely associated with battles and attempts to siege the Rock. Before the year 711 Gibraltar was known to Phoenician and Greek merchants who travelled around the Mediterranean trading with different peoples settled along its coasts. For the Romans, Gibraltar was an important landmark known as Mons Calpe, one of the pillars of Hercules.[2] In the year 711, the Moors from northern Africa invaded southern Spain and took Gibraltar away from Visigoth tribes who had settled on the Iberian peninsula. The name "Gibraltar" is said to be derived from the name of the Moorish military leader "Tarik ibn Ziyad" who carried out the first successful military incursion on the Iberian peninsula .[3] Gibraltar was in the hands of the Moors until 1462 when Christian forces under the Duke of Medina Sidonia conquered it. At that time, Spain was divided into separate kingdoms and it was not until 1502 that Gibraltar was officially placed under the crown of Spain by Queen Isabella. In 1704, British and Dutch forces won over the Rock in the name of Charles III of the Hapsburg dynasty (the pretender to the crown of Spain) during the Spanish War of Succession (1702-1713). The occupation by the British was confirmed in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht and since that time Gibraltar has remained in the hands of the British.

In order to understand the current linguistic situation in Gibraltar it is important to take into account the numerous historical events which have occurred since the Treaty of Utrecht. The drastic increase and loss of population in short periods of time over the past three hundred years can only be explained in reference to military interventions and disease. In addition, it is only in reference to these events that insight into the sort of language contact that has taken place in Gibraltar can be gained. Kramer (1986) is explicitly

concerned with how the educational policies as well as historical and demographic considerations have had a direct effect on the current use of English and Spanish on the Rock.

The period immediately following the British conquest of Gibraltar was followed by several important attempts by Spain to reconquer the territory.[4] The last and the greatest military effort to reconquer Gibraltar was known as the Great Siege which lasted from September 13, 1779 to March 12, 1783. At that time the military governor of Gibraltar encouraged the civilian population to leave Gibraltar as supplies were scarce. Certain sectors of the population declined (especially the Jews).[5] Immediately following the siege most of the population returned. According to Kramer (1986:16) the dominant language of the civilian population continued to be Spanish in spite of the fact that the Spanish population was greatly outnumbered by the Genoese, the Jews and even the British population. Howe (1951:20) explains that around 1786 the Genoese and the Jews spoke a language compounded of Spanish and English, and a dialect or jargon, common to all southern European nations, including Africa. Contact with Spain of course was inevitable as Gibraltar depended on the peninsula for many basic supplies such as water, construction materials and labor force.

The population increased rapidly throughout the 19th century. The Alien Order Council of 1873 limited new immigration. No alien was allowed to reside in Gibraltar. On the other hand, Gibraltar-born inhabitants could take up residence on the Rock but citizens of the United Kingdom (excluding employees of the crown) were required to obtain special residence permits. The Spanish Civil War brought in a new influx of Spanish refugees fleeing from Franco's dictatorship. Approximately 10,000 political refugees took shelter in Gibraltar but only 2,000 people remained there for the duration of the war. In

World War II the civilian population was evacuated to England, Jamaica, Madeira and Tangier.

Population

In 1988, there were 30,077 people registered as Gibraltarians. Most of this population is concentrated at the foot of the Eastern side of the mountain in the town of Gibraltar. There are also small settlements of people (approximately 350 people) in the village of Catalan Bay on the eastern side of the Rock, and also on Europa Point at the south end of the rock where mainly the families of British military personnel live.

The mixture of different nationalities and ethnic groups through intermarriage renders most specific statements regarding the origin of Gibraltarians inexact. However, it is safe to say that the majority of the population (that is over 70%) are descendants from a Roman Catholic background and more specifically of Portuguese, Italian and Spanish origin. In addition, there are important and influential minority groups such as Indians, Moroccans, descendants of Maltese and Jews who contribute to the cultural heterogeneity of the community.

A detailed historical study of the population of Gibraltar and its origin is difficult because of the lack of statistical information prior to the historical period of the Great Siege (1779-1783), as well as the lack of detail in the breakdown of the population into groups by sex, occupation, nationality and otherwise. This is particularly evident in the censuses carried out between 1791 and 1814 where the population is divided into three groups: (a) British, (b) Roman Catholics, (c) Jews and Moors.

Table 1.1
Civilian population of Gibraltar in 1988 by sex

	Females	Males	Total population
Gibraltarians	10,581	9,655	20,236
Other British	3,047	2,636	5,683
Non-British	827	3,331	4,158
Total	14,455	15,622	30,077

Source: Immigration Department and Statistics Office. 1988. Abstract of Statistics. Gibraltar: Publications Office.

Table 1.2
Population by religion and nationality in 1981
(Percentages)

Religions	Total	Percent	Gibraltarians	Other British	Moroccan	Other non-British
Roman Catholic	19,747	74.6	91.4	30.1	1.3	59.9
Church of England	2,259	8.5	2.9	44.8	-	2.9
Presbyterian	231	.9	.1	5.7	-	.3
Methodist	135	.5	.1	2.9	-	-
Jehovah's Witness	124	.5	.5	.7	-	.4
Other Christians	199	.8	.5	2.1	-	3.2
Moslem	2,124	8.0	.01	.2	97.3	3.3
Jewish	589	2.2	2.7	1.0	.6	1.7
Hindu	393	1.5	.1	5.3	-	21.4
Other or not stated	678	2.6	1.7	7.2	.8	6.9
Total	26,479	100	100	100	100	100
N			19,825	3,706	2,140	783

Source: Government Secretariat. 1981. Gibraltar Census Report 1981. Gibraltar.

The 1988 census registers 30,077 Gibraltarians. The population of the Rock in this census is broken down into three groups (Gibraltarians, Other British, and Non-British). This classification is not a faithful reflection of the true multi-ethnic character of Gibraltar today (see Table 1.1). The classification of "Other British" includes the wives and children of the military personnel but statistics for the British servicemen are not included. The greater number of women in this group (926 females in total) can be attributed to this fact. This classification also includes British subjects from the Commonwealth. It should be noted that the British military presence in Gibraltar ended by March of 1991 and a large proportion of the military personnel and their families no longer live in Gibraltar.

A Gibraltarian is any person whose name is entered into the official Register. Birth in Gibraltar before June 30, 1925, or legitimate male descent from a person so born, are the principal qualifications for registration. Gibraltarian status is further specified in the legislation of November 11, 1969. There is also a whole list of exceptional cases which are defined by a law stating who is entitled to be registered as Gibraltarian. Other British status include members of the British military stationed in Gibraltar as well as other citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies with the right of abode in the United Kingdom. The non-British sector of the population are mainly workers and they include Moroccan, and some Indian immigrants as well as Spaniards.

The statistical data on religious groups presented in Table 1.2 is the only official information available on the ethnic identity of the Gibraltarian population, deduced from a breakdown of religious persuasion by nationality. The majority of Gibraltarians (91.4%) descendants of Genoese (and other Italians), Spanish (and Menorcan), Portuguese and Maltese, are Roman Catholic. The Protestant community made up of members of the Church of England, Presbyterians,

Methodists and Jehovah's Witnesses account for the non-Gibraltarians. The members of the Church of England (44.8%) are mainly British officials, servicemen and their families. The Jewish community have been in Gibraltar since the British took the Rock over in 1704. The Jews account for only 2.7% of the Gibraltarian population although they are an influential sector of the society. The Moslems are mainly the Moroccan workers with temporary work permits. They are considered outsiders to the mainstream Gibraltarian culture. Many of the Indians are recent immigrants (since 1945) to Gibraltar. Many of the members of this community are financially well established in the community.

The history of the different ethnic groups and their role in the community of Gibraltar is important. The Jewish community has not always such a small proportion of the Gibraltarian population. They constitute a close-knit and influential ethnic group who maintain their traditions and celebrate Jewish religious holidays. Many of the first Jews to arrive in Gibraltar were descendants of Spanish Sephardim Jews who fled from the Spanish Catholic Inquisition to Northern Africa during the and 16th centuries and have played an active role in trade and commerce. There is currently a primary Hebrew school financed with public funds which is responsible for the education of the Jewish children in Gibraltar. It is considered one of the better schools. Local religious leaders are responsible for the instruction of Hebrew language. The recent immigration of orthodox Jews from England within the past five years has influenced the self awareness of Gibraltarian Jews as a separate identity.

Morocco has maintained close ties with Gibraltar over the centuries as on more than one occasion it has been the lifeline and main provider of victuals and labor force. The Moroccans currently in Gibraltar arrived in the late sixties when the border with Spain was closed down to fill jobs previously held by Spaniards. The majority of the Moroccan workers are from the urban areas of

Tangier and Tetuan in Morocco, and a few from as far south as Rabat, Larache, Kenitra, Fez and Meliqua (Martens 1986:149). The entry to Gibraltar of immigrants from Morocco is carefully controlled by the requirement of a one year working permit if they meet the following conditions: (a) they get an employer's contract; (b) they pass a health examination at the public health clinic; (c) the Department of Immigration checks on their reputation; and (d) they obtain a permit of residence (Martens 1987:148-149). The social and legal status of this ethnic group is low, in part because they are transient but also because they hold the less prestigious jobs. Women which make up a small proportion of the Morrocan population hold jobs as domestic workers in private homes. Men are employed in construction and other blue collar jobs. Workers with a permit are not permitted to bring their family nor spouses from Morocco; and pregnant women must return to Morocco to give birth.

According to Martens most of the Moroccans in Gibraltar are not strict Moslems. The influx of immigrants in the late sixties led to the creation of two mosques or houses of worship. Social interaction with the local population is restricted for the most part to the work place. They are perceived by the local population as a distinct ethnic group but they do not necessarily use their ethnicity to reaffirm their identity. In my own experience with Moroccans they have been friendly, accommodating, and willing to communicate in spite of their limited knowledge of English and Spanish.

The Indian community in Gibraltar dates back to the late 19th century. More recent immigration arrived during the late sixties when the border with Spain was closed down and currently small numbers of migrant workers (two per shop) are legally imported to work in Indian shops. The first to arrive were from the area of Hyderabad in prepartition India which is currently part of Pakistan. They were Sindhi speakers and Hindus by religion. Most recent

immigration are also Sindhi speakers from urban centers in India. The Indians established in Gibraltar maintained ties with their homeland, and members of their family and friends make up sizeable proportion of the more recent immigration.

The Indian community is active in trade and the majority of the shops along the main street are owned by them. Originally these shops were dedicated to selling exotic goods from the East, but today electrical appliances, watches and fashion goods are the most typical items on sale. In 1987 there were approximately 95 Indian shops and around 380 Sindhi residents (Martens 1986). In comparison with the Moroccans, the Indians have higher social prestige than the Moroccans; and in spite of the fact they form a well-defined ethnic group they tend to integrate more easily with the local Gibraltarian population. The legal status of Indians in Gibraltar depends on when they arrived and also on whether they have a British passport which enables them to live in Britain. Immigrants brought over to work in shops are able to stay in Gibraltar as long as their contract is valid as is the case with Moroccan workers. Usually they live with their employer and his family. The Indians who arrived earlier have been given permanent residence if they had a British passport but they have not been granted Gibraltarian status unless they were born in Gibraltar.

Indians have a strong sense of their own identity. Their cultural traditions and religion are practiced privately in the home. There is no Hindu temple but people have small shrines in their home, and the Gibraltar government has provided land to carry out cremations. Social and economic differences among members of the Indian community has lead to tensions among different groups (Martens 1986). Indians in Gibraltar on the whole speak English fairly well. Older members of the community speak three to four languages but the majority

are Sindhi and Hindi speaking. Second generation children are usually bilingual in English and Spanish.

British residents of Gibraltar from the United Kingdom belong to one of the following categories: (a) the colonial administration, (b) lower and middle ranks of the military forces, or (c) civilians who are employed in both skilled and unskilled jobs. The colonial administration is made up of civilians and military officials. The Governor, who is the highest political authority, belongs to the military. Other members of the administration are the Finance and Development Secretary, the Attorney General and the Chairman of the Department of Education who at present are civilians. The colonial administration together with the military officers and high status Gibraltarians constitute the social elite of Gibraltar.

The civilian British population in Gibraltar are mainly employed in the professions such as medical doctors at the local hospital and teachers at the primary and comprehensive schools. Unskilled civilians are a transient sector of the society and they work at bartending and construction. Both groups of civilians do not mix socially with the Gibraltarians although the professionals have greater social prestige among the local population.

The military forces include the three services, army, navy and air force. As of March 1991 most of these forces have been pulled out because of readjustment in NATO's strategic forces. The military are an important economic source for Gibraltar and it is unclear how their departure will affect the economy. The British military and their families on the whole do not mix with the Gibraltarians. They have separate housing facilities located between Gibraltar and Europa Point. In addition, the children of the military personnel attend separate schools. The social distance between the English military and the Gibraltarian was already expressed by Howe in 1950: "The Services keep very

much to themselves, but within each Service there are also marked social distinctions. Some members do try to mix with Gibraltarians, but often complain that they receive very little encouragement. The Colonial Civil service has its own social divisions, but, generally speaking, there are certain differences of outlook between those who have come from the outside and those locally recruited. All this means there is no real unity among the English, in relation to the Gibraltarian." (Howe 1982: 220). The continual contact of the Gibraltarian with Spanish and British culture and language as well as peoples creates contradictory feelings among the people of Gibraltar who in front of the Spanish reaffirm their British identity, but in front of the British (and especially the British military personnel) they like to acknowledge their separate identity.

There are numerous aspects of the social and cultural life which bring Gibraltarians together as a coherent social unit. Some of these aspects have a direct influence in the daily lives of the members of the community; these are: the frontier, the mass media (radio, television, and newspapers), education, housing, entertainment, and libraries.

The frontier is a source of irritation for many Gibraltarians who live in La Línea (Spain) and must cross the border everyday to work or study in Gibraltar. The use of a motor vehicle creates a delay of approximately 30 or 40 minutes, and at peak hours or in the tourist season the delay may be of two or three hours. The control by the police and the customs officers on the Spanish side of the border is the cause for the accumulation of vehicle traffic. In spite of these difficulties, many Gibraltarians continue to cross the border frequently to have a meal or to spend their weekends and vacations at their second homes in Spain. Housewives continue to shop at the Spanish fresh food market on Saturdays and schoolchildren cross the border twice a day with their passports to go to school in Gibraltar.

Five Gibraltar newspapers with local news were in circulation in 1989: The *Gibraltar Chronicle* which is published daily in English; *Vox*, *Panorama* , and *The People* are published weekly with articles in both English and Spanish; and, *The Democrat* is published weekly in English. The *Panorama* has the largest estimated circulation of 4,000, followed by the *Gibraltar Chronicle* with an estimated circulation of 3,500. The remaining publications have an estimated circulation of less than 2,000. Gibraltar Radio broadcasts in English and in Spanish for 17 hours a day according to the United Nations summary report. An average of five hours weekly are devoted to commercial broadcasting. Live and locally recorded programs as well as BBC programs are replayed. Gibraltar television operates for only five hours daily. Gibraltarians must pay a TV license fee which is used to finance in part the Gibraltar broadcasting corporation. Gibraltarians purchase British newspapers and magazines as well as some Spanish magazines such as *Hola* and *Interviú* and the local Spanish newspaper *Area*. Spanish newspapers such as *El País*, *Diario 16*, *Abc*, can not be obtained. Spanish television is sometimes viewed by Gibraltar residents.

Housing in Gibraltar is scarce. Over the past five years, however, numerous housing and commercial development projects have been under way. In 1986, 67% of all dwellings are rented out by the government while 26% of all dwellings are rented by private owners. This contrasts with barely 6% of dwellings which are occupied by their owners. The housing shortage explains why a number of Gibraltar residents look for living accommodations in Spain.

The education system is based on the model from the United Kingdom. First schools and middle schools are coeducational and cater to the five to eleven age group. Comprehensive schools for children over twelve are segregated by sex. Free education is available and school attendance is

compulsory between the ages of five and fifteen. There is no university in Gibraltar, thus students who finish comprehensive school must apply for admission to British universities. Students who attend university in Britain are funded with scholarships made available by the Gibraltar government. University graduates who have been financed are expected to return to Gibraltar for several years to offer their services to the community. Vocational and technical training is provided in the comprehensive schools as well as the Gibraltar College of Further Education. Evening classes for adults are also organized by the School of Further Education.

Entertainment in Gibraltar centers around a social life which involves mainly going out to the local pubs, or going to Spain for a meal. There are numerous nature and cultural organizations and associations which people participate in. The John Mackintosh Hall is a center where several of these associations meet and carry out their activities. There are no movie theatres in business at the moment although there are a number of video shops which are popular. The Garrison Library was recently closed down although permission may be obtained to consult its collection of books. The only other public library is housed at the John Mackintosh Hall which is open to the public.

Some of the most important features of Gibraltarian society are discussed in the present chapter. The historical circumstances of Gibraltar, its isolation from Spain, and its distance from Great Britain, are the reason why Gibraltar is such a close knit community. In spite of the ethnic diversity of the society, the population come together on the issue of defending themselves against Spanish demands of sovereignty.

NOTES OF CHAPTER 1

1. It was not until 1830 that Gibraltar was proclaimed a crown colony with a non-military administration. Until that time it was a military fortress governed by British military authorities.

2. The Romans attributed the creation of the Straits of Gibraltar to the mythological god Hercules. Thus the two sides of the strait became known as the Pillars of Hercules. The northern pillar attached to the Iberian Peninsula was called Mons Calpe, while the African pillar was named Mons Abila which today geographically coincides with the Spanish military fortress of Ceuta. For further information on this historical period check Jackson's book (1987) on the Gibraltarians.

3. Historians (Jackson 1987: 24-25, Dennis 1977: 7) explain that Tarik was the first Moorish general to successfully conquer Mons Calpe, which was renamed Djebel Tarik which means the mountains of Tarik.

4. See chapter 5 of the book by Dennis (1977) and chapters 7, 8 and 9 of the book by Jackson (1987).

5. The population of Gibraltar in 1777 before the Great Siege was 3,201 inhabitants (Howe 1951:18) which was broken down into 519 British subjects (16%), 1,819 Roman Catholics, and 863 Jews. The period following the fourteenth siege attempt by the Spanish caused a decrease in some sectors of

the population even though the overall population slightly increased . The total population in 1787 was 3,386, and the British accounted for 512 inhabitants (15%), the Roman Catholics for 2, 098 and the Jews amounted to 776 inhabitants.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

The data in linguistic research, no matter the approach, is of primary importance and more especially in multilingual communities where the task of collecting true instances of code-switching is not so straight forward. The present study not only investigates a form of speech behavior which is not directly accessible to the researcher from outside the community but also it incorporates analyses which define their data in different ways. This means that a variety of different methodologies and analytical techniques are needed in order to obtain the kind of data valid for analysis. In the study of languages in contact an important problem which arises is distinguishing code-switching data from other forms of bilingual language contact. This issue is addressed in chapter three in the discussion of the different analyses and definitions for code-switching. Sociolinguistic data gathering is geared to overcoming the observer's paradox. In formal interview sessions this is overcome by Labovian techniques (i.e specific questions) to elicit the vernacular. [1] Vernacular data (code-switching in this study) was also collected with a concealed tape-recorder. Permission was always requested from the participants in the recordings. The methodological procedures used to gather data are: (a) recordings from structured interviews as well as spontaneous situations, (b) a language diary with a sociolinguistic questionnaire, and (c) observation participation. In addition to the data produced by these methods, written examples of code-switching are obtained from material published in local newspapers and books. A detailed discussion of the transcripts, two written texts as well as the language diary and questionnaire administered are included in the present chapter.

A variety of methods

One of the primary concerns of sociolinguistic research is the data and the methods used to obtain them. Labov (1972b) demonstrates that certain kinds of data are not suitable for studying the regularities of language variation. One reason for this is that speakers use a whole range of speech styles extending from a formal style to a less formal or spontaneous style; in addition, certain speech styles do not show variation. An important objective of sociolinguistic fieldwork is to elicit spontaneous or informal speech where patterns of variation turn up. Spontaneous speech often represents a persons normal or unmarked speech style in everyday situations.[2] The task of obtaining spontaneous speech is a major challenge for the field worker who in many cases comes into a community as an outsider. Techniques and specific methodological approaches for overcoming the fieldworker's influence on their informant's speech well-known as the "observer's paradox" are proposed by Labov (1972b: 209-210) and Milroy (1980,1987).

In the present study the main methodological objective is to elicit code-switching data. Monolingual speech (English or Spanish) in Gibraltar is typical of more formal style while bilingual code-switching is the vernacular and is more characteristic of informal situations. The values associated with code-switching by members of the community are complex; on the one hand, code-switching serves to reinforce local identity but, on the other hand, it is viewed negatively as an imperfect way of speaking. The repercussion of this covert prestige associated with code-switching makes Gibraltarians reluctant to code-switch in front of outsiders, and especially outsiders who have come to study them. Although the researcher's experience of having grown up in Southern Spain turned out to be more of an asset than a hindrance since many of the

cultural norms are more easily understood and this experience on the whole is valued favorably by the Gibraltarians. For them it means that the researcher is not a total outsider which is important since strong resentment is felt towards the Spanish and their foreign policy regarding Gibraltar.

The methodology adopted in this study is aimed at obtaining the appropriate data in order to provide a valid analysis of code-switching in Gibraltar. Different sorts of data and methodological procedures are needed to account for (a) how both languages in Gibraltar are used in different situations, (b) how English and Spanish are combined at the level of the sentence, and (c) how languages are used in conversations to fulfill specific discourse functions as well as to express shared social and cultural meanings.

A situational analysis which seeks to discover the domains of code-switching requires data on language choice from different sorts of contexts. Information on language choice in specific situations is obtained by administering a questionnaire and a language diary. In addition, direct observations by the researcher on language choice by Gibraltarians in different domains of their everyday activities supports the information from empirical methods such as the questionnaire and the language diary.

A syntactic analysis typically uses performance data and informants' introspective judgements on the acceptability of sentences. However, in the case of code-switching the task of obtaining introspective data is more problematic as judgements of code-switched sentences are almost always turned down because the mixture of two languages sounds unacceptable to most bilingual speakers who even use code-switching to communicate. The data used for the grammatical analysis of Yanito is obtained from recordings as well as written texts. Another reason for using this kind of data is to avoid the

problem of resolving intersubjective agreement of speakers with different judgements (Labov 1972b: 106-107).[3]

The discourse analysis of code-switching carried out in chapter 5 of the present study uses conversations as its major data source. Both formal and spontaneous conversations are recorded for the purpose of understanding how social knowledge is implicated in bilingual communication which uses code-switching. Observation participation techniques are used to provide a complete analysis of conversation with detailed information about the participants, their relationship, as well as factors about the context.

In order to gather the data needed to undertake this study it is necessary to live in the community and become acquainted with the society first hand. The fieldwork is carried out over a time span of three years between December 1987 and November 1990. A total of four trips are made to Gibraltar for periods up to two months. The dates of the fieldwork trips were: December 1987 for a period of two weeks; March-April 1989 for a period of a month; February, March, April 1990 for a period of two months and a half; and September-October 1990 also for a period of two months.

The first trip served to make an initial contact with Gibraltar, its people and the language situation. These contacts are instrumental for future visits. No attempt was made at this time to establish institutional ties. One of the main concerns at this stage was to get personal experience to diagnose a linguistic situation.

The researcher's second visit is dedicated to making more extensive contacts with the local primary schools through the Department of Education. Extensive interviews are carried out in most of the primary schools in Gibraltar with the exception of one. An important objective at this stage of the research is to find out the bilingual linguistic competence in English and Spanish of

different sectors of the community. Children of four and five are a key sector since their own language practices reflect the language used in the home by their parents. It was also important to look at the linguistic competence of children acquiring two languages and to see whether they used code-switching and how they use code-switching.

The third stay is dedicated to obtaining spontaneous speech from a wide variety of people in many different situations such as hospitals, family gatherings, trade unions, mass media, and so on. For this third visit the researcher is able to live with a Gibraltarian family who are extremely helpful at introducing the researcher into the community. Single interviews were carried out with different ethnic groups (Hebrew, Indian and Moroccan) living in Gibraltar. In spite of the initial contacts with these groups it turned out to be extremely difficult to obtain more interviews since they are close-knit, and more time is needed to break down the social and cultural boundaries which exist. Structured interviews following a Labovian protocol are also conducted among "mainstream" Gibraltarians in various situations

On the fourth trip, the researcher lives with the same Gibraltarian family whom she stays with on her third trip to the Rock. Data collection at this point focuses on gathering spontaneous recordings with a concealed tape-recorder in order to test the validity of the data collected from structured interviews. Recordings are made among adult groups of friends in informal situations which include circumstances such as a meal or a group of people in a staff room at the work place. Permission is obtained to use the recordings from all the participants in these conversations.

A total of twenty-one 90 minute recordings are obtained from a wide variety of people and situations from the later three research trips to Gibraltar. Sixteen of the recordings are transcribed for analysis and are included in the

appendix. The recordings carried out in the primary schools can not be used because of background noise which makes the transcription process literally impossible. Even though this data is not included the experience of being present for all the recordings carried out in schools is important for the researcher to understand language use among children in Gibraltar and the kinds of problems teachers face in dealing with bilingualism in schools.

In addition to the above methods of obtaining data, the experience of living with Gibraltarians from day to day --observation/participation-- enables the researcher to gather valuable information which can not be obtained otherwise. This approach to data gathering is well-known in the anthropological tradition as ethnography. Many anthropological linguists have used this approach to study multilingualism (Gumperz 1971a, 1971b, Calsamiglia and Tusón 1978, Woolard 1983). The first issue a researcher needs to clarify when carrying out ethnographical fieldwork is the position adopted in the community. In this study the researcher identifies herself as a citizen of the United States who is currently living in Barcelona. The purpose of this is to minimize any negative feedback which sometimes is associated with anything having to do with Spain. The object of the research is explained and presented as a requirement to complete a dissertation. The topic of the research is presented in such a way so as not to put major emphasis on the language aspect in order to avoid an informant feeling self-consciousness about their language use and also to avoid the collection of non-spontaneous data. The purpose of the study as presented to the informants is to understand everyday life, culture and to a less extent the language of the Gibraltarian people.

Observation-participation is essential for understanding the Gibraltarian identity as distinct from either Spanish or British identities. The anti-Spanish attitudes are mostly manifested by Gibraltarians even in the presence of the

Spanish, but in the presence of the British, Gibraltarians are often not socially accepted as full fledged British citizens. This internal contradiction is also reflected in the language use and is essential for understanding the linguistic insecurity or self-consciousness of the Gibraltarians, especially in the presence of outsiders. This kind of information is essential for carrying out the interviews successfully as saying the wrong thing can easily put the whole project in jeopardy. The observation-participation method is also important for obtaining information on social groups the researcher can not interview. Contact is made with the Moroccans, the Indians and the Jewish community. Valuable information about culture, language use and life-style is obtained from different ethnic groups in these conversations. One of the difficulties the researcher experiences is learning how to maintain the necessary emotional distance while at the same time trying to become more involved with people on a personal basis. It was necessary to adjust to certain social values and attitudes which did not always coincide with the researcher's point of view in order to be accepted by certain members community.

Language diary

The use of language diaries to gather data for analyzing code-switching is discussed among others by Milroy (1987). The major drawback of this method is pointed out by Labov (1972a:213) who claims that speaker's tend to report prestigious language uses that differ from their actual speech production. They do this unconsciously because language behavior can be influenced by stereotypical views of language which reflect stereotypical attitudes to groups, including a speaker's own group. Milroy (1987,1991) claims, however, that this

method is valid when two distinct languages are involved. She claims that bilingual speakers have an enhanced consciousness of their competence in two separate codes. This makes it feasible for the researcher to ask speakers to report their language behavior. A different objection to the self-report method is that bilinguals do not always remember which language is used in a particular exchange (Gumperz 1982:62). This is why these methods should be supplemented by observational data on a speaker's actual choice of language.

A combined questionnaire and language diary are used to collect information on the use of English and Spanish in given situations or contexts. The language diary follows the format proposed by Milroy (1987). The questionnaire and diary is distributed to over fifty people of different social and ethnic backgrounds in Gibraltar but slightly less than fifty per cent returned the questionnaires with the diaries. Most of the people who returned the diary are acquaintances of the researcher. There are two possible reasons for this; one, it may be that informant's felt self-conscious about filling in the questionnaire and the other could be because the instructions for the language diary are too complicated.

The questionnaire section includes 13 questions on the informants' background and aspects of their lifestyle where questions on language and language attitudes are included; for example, visits to Spain, reading material, radio, and television. The information requested in the questionnaire provides some of the external variables necessary to understand how language choice is influenced by social factors. The language diary provides an empirical way of obtaining information on how language choice is affected by situation, topic, addressee, degree of friendship or familiarity, level of education and sex of the addressee.[4] The combined questionnaire and language diary administered is included here in English, although the original version administered to

informants is distributed in both Spanish and English. The purpose for writing the language diary and the questionnaire in both languages is to avoid any perception by the informant on a researcher's attitude or preference of language. The actual sheet informants filled out consisted of a column with the characteristics of the situation and another column with information about the addressee. The information requested on the situation is: time, place, and circumstance. In addition, information on the style, topic and addressee as well as the characteristics of the addressee such as level of education, sex, age and ethnic origin is also provided for in the diary. The instructions on how to fill in the diary follow below.

A STUDY OF CULTURE LANGUAGE AND LIFESTYLE IN GIBRALTAR

The purpose of this study is to understand the lifestyle patterns, language use and culture of the Gibraltarian people. This questionnaire is anonymous and the information you provide will be treated with strict confidentiality. The questionnaire includes two parts. **Part 1** is for you to fill out following the instructions provided below. **Part 2** includes a list of questions requesting basic information about yourself and your lifestyle. Thank you very much for your help.

Part 1

Instructions for filling out the language diary

1. **Time.** Please indicate the hour and the length of the conversation (e.g. 2:45-13:05). If you cannot remember, just indicate roughly how long the conversation lasted (e.g. 10 mins.).

2. **Situation.** Give the location of the conversation and the circumstances pertaining to the conversation.

   For example:

PLACE	CIRCUMSTANCE
A pub	Lunch/ a drink/ coffee
At work	An exchange with a fellow worker
On the street	Greeting a friend or family member

3. **Style.** Briefly mention the way you were talking. For example: A friendly talk, an argument, a serious discussion or whatever else

4. **Topic.** Give the topic of conversation (e.g. politics, a TV program, some member of the family).

5. **Addressee.** Give the role of the person/s you conversed with (e.g. mother, employer, best friend, a stranger)

6. **Addressee information.** Please use the coding system provided to represent your answers.

(a) Education: Primary (first and middle school)	1
Secondary (comprehensive school)	2
University	3
Other. Please specify.	4

(b) Sex: Male M
Female F

(c) Age: Give the approximate age of addressee (e.g. 25-30 or 55-60).

(d) Ethnic origin:

English	E
Italian	I
Maltese	M
Spanish	S
Indian	H
Jew	J
Moroccan	K
Portuguese	P

Specify any other _____

7. **Language.** Use the code system provided for the languages that apply.

Spanish	1
Spanish with English words	2
English	3
English with Spanish words	4
Yanito	5
Arabic	6
Hindi	7

Part 2

Basic Information

1. Age: _____

2. Sex: _____

3. Birth place. City: _____Country: _____

4. Religion: _____

5. Education:
   Primary: First school: _____
   Middle school:_____
   Secondary. Comprehensive:_____
   University:_____
   Other educational training:_____

6. Work:
   Job: _____
   Employer: _____

7. Do you ever go to Spain for any of the following?
   Shopping: _____
   To visit friends: _____
   For dinner: _____
   For an occasional meal: _____
   On vacation: _____

8. Approximately how often do you go to Spain?
   In a week: _____
   In a month: _____
   In a year: _____

9. Which of the following languages (Spanish, Spanish with English words, English, English with Spanish words, Yanito, Arabic, Hebrew, Hindi) do you use (a) at home or (b) in your daily life?
   At home: _____
   Everyday life: _____

10. Have you lived away from Gibraltar for any period of time longer than three months?
    Place: _____
    Amount of time: _____

11. Check the television channels you normally watch.

Television channel:	**Name of Program:**
Satellite TV: _____	_____
GB TV: _____	_____
Canal Sur: _____	_____
TVE 1: _____	_____
TVE 2: _____	_____
Videos: _____	_____
Other: _____	_____

11. What kind of literature do you normally read?
    Magazines. Which ones?
    Newspapers. Which ones?
    List novels, essays, poetry or theatre you have read in the last month or year?

12. What radio stations do you listen to?

For further information contact : Melissa Moyer
27 Irish Town
Gibraltar
Phone: 77375

Types of data

A total of sixteen audio tapes are transcribed in the appendix. Each of the recordings consists of a conversation always with more than one participant. The texts in the appendix follow an order from those which contain more English to those with a minimum of English. The material transcribed is selected for the purpose of eliminating long monolingual extracts with no code-switching. The parts which are selected constitute complete conversational exchanges among all the participants; otherwise the entire tapes are transcribed.

Sometimes the beginnings and the ends do not coincide with the actual starting or ending point of a conversation. These limitations are mechanical and have to do with the fact that the actual recording started after conversations had been initiated and often the tape ends before the conversations had finished. The majority of the audio tapes are recorded by the researcher but transcripts #2, #3, and #5 are recorded by friends of the researcher in order to obtain examples of fully spontaneous language. It should also be mentioned that half of the recordings took place with a concealed tape-recorder (transcripts #1,#3, #5, #6, #7, #10, #13, #15) and permission are always obtained afterwards from all the participants. The recordings carried out but which are not included in the appendix are the following: a telephone conversation of government official, an outpatient clinic at the hospital, most primary schools in Gibraltar, a local Gibraltarian woman and bingo at a local community center. Two of the transcripts included in the appendix are broadcasts from the local radio station.

Transcript 1 is a technical class held in a laboratory in a vocational school. Three students and the teacher make up the entire class. The researcher is present because she asked a friend who is a student in the class to repair a broken microphone. The relationship between students and teacher was good

which made the situation more relaxed. The teacher gives permission to make the quick repair while the class is going on. At the end of the class the teacher accepts to be interviewed by the researcher. The first half of the recording the participants are not aware that they are being recorded. After they are informed, they give their permission to use the recording. The second half of the transcription is a conversation between the teacher and the interviewer. The quality of the recording is good.

The conversation in transcript 2 takes place in the office of a local bank in Gibraltar. The participants are two young female employees, Olivia and Margaret. Other female employees are present, but they do not participate in the conversation, that is recorded by Olivia. Tania, a third participant, intervenes sporadically. The tape recorder is placed in a visible place for the duration of the conversation. The topic of conversation is the participants' new homes, which are recently purchased but which are not yet finished.

In transcript 3 a spontaneous conversation is recorded at break time in the teachers room of one of the schools in Gibraltar. The researcher is not present. The recording is obtained by a friend -a linguist with experience in field work- who is also a teacher at the institution. The tape recorder is concealed. The quality of this recording is variable, as people are coming in and out and speaking at the same time. This created difficulties for transcribing some parts of the recording. Several conversations among among various people take place at the same time. Not all the participants are identified personally, although they are all teachers at a secondary school. The main topics of conversation are: students' behavior, a teacher's child being ill, the marriage of an ex-student, and a computer class.

The interview in transcript 4 is carried out in the local hospital of Gibraltar in March 1990. The interviewer meets with nurses in a small room that had

good recording conditions. At the beginning of the conversation the interviewer is accompanied by two middle-aged, female senior nurses. Elisa was born in Gibraltar, and Antonia was born in Ireland and has been in Gibraltar for over 30 years. Towards the middle of the conversation other hospital staff came in to have a coffee; these are Sonia, Vanessa and Nathan, who is the only male. Sonia and Vanessa are much younger and are completing their internship to become nurses. Nathan is in charge of the Emergency Room that day, where the interview is conducted. He is the researcher's contact at the hospital, and he introduced her to the staff that is interviewed. All the participants in the interview are fluent in both Spanish and English.

Transcript 5 is a spontaneous conversation which takes place like transcript 3 in the teachers room of the same secondary school. The investigator is not present. The recording is obtained by a fellow teacher and member of the group participating in the conversation. The tape recorder is concealed. The number of participants varies throughout the recording as people are coming in and out. When possible, the same speaker is identified throughout the conversation by the same initial. On occasions, several speakers speak at the same time, which makes transcription impossible in a few instances. This is noted in the text as incomprehensible. The main topics of conversation are the wedding meal, and the wedding presents for a colleague who is getting married, and the behavior of several students.

Transcript 6 is a recording made during a lunchtime meal at the home of a Gibraltarian family in April 1990. The tape recorder is concealed, and permission is obtained after the recording is completed from all the persons present. The participants are a middle-aged Gibraltarian wife Pam, and her husband Marten also Gibraltarian. Marten speaks with difficulty, as he has undergone an operation on his throat and could be understood by lip reading.

His voice is audible in a few interchanges. Both husband and wife are fluent bilinguals. Ana is an elderly lady related to the family. She is from Gibraltar and is visiting for a few days. She does not understand too much English. Elizabeth and Carol are paying house guests. Elizabeth is a Canadian biologist in her mid-twenties residing in the UK and she is undertaking research on Gibraltar. She does not know any Spanish. Carol is the person carrying out the present study. She is bilingual and participates naturally with everyone in the conversation.

Transcript 7 is a spontaneous conversation between two native Gibraltarian women, Pam and Esther. The conversation takes place in Pam's kitchen over tea. The tape recorder is concealed and permission is obtained afterwards from both participants. The researcher is present, but she hardly intervenes in the discussion. Esther is an elderly Gibraltarian woman who currently lives in London but has returned on vacation. Esther is staying with her friend Pam for several weeks. Pam is a middle-aged housewife with grown children and who works part-time. The topic of conversation is Ester's visit to a spiritualist.

The recording on which transcript 8 is based is a semi-spontaneous conversation broadcasted over the local Gibraltar radio station. The context of the conversation is a local cafe where two friends, Yvonne and Nati, meet to discuss local events with ironic and humorous intent. The two participants are stereotypical middle class Gibraltarian housewives. The conversation lasts approximately ten minutes, and it is a program broadcasted daily but that no longer comes over the air. The quality of the recording is good.

Transcript 9 like transcript 8 is a conversation broadcasted over GBC, the local Gibraltarian radio station. It is a semi-spontaneous dialogue in the sense that the topics are fixed beforehand but not the wording of the script. The

conversation as in the previous transcript takes place in a cafe between two women, Yvonne and Nati, posing as middle class Gibraltarian housewives. The subject matter of the conversation includes frivolous gossip as well as satirical critiques of local politics. The radio program lasted between five and ten minutes and the quality of the recording is excellent.

The participants in the conversation of transcript 10 only become aware that they are being recorded towards the end of the tape. The conversation takes place in the kitchen of a Gibraltarian home during a noon time meal. Parts of the conversation can not be transcribed because of the noise produced by cooking activities such as setting the table and washing dishes. Pam, one of the participants in the conversation is a middle aged Gibraltarian woman who is fluent in both English and Spanish. She is also the head of the household. Ana is an elderly woman, also from Gibraltar, who does not know very much English. She is related to Pam. The other two participants, Elizabeth and Carol, are paying guests. Elizabeth is a Canadian biologist residing in the UK conducting research in Gibraltar; she does not know any Spanish. Carol is fluent in both English and Spanish, and is the person undertaking the present study.

Transcript 11 is a spontaneous conversation which takes place in the emergency room of the main hospital in Gibraltar. A teenage boy with a cut finger comes into the emergency room with his mother. Both apparently knew the members of the hospital staff on duty. The tape recorder is concealed and permission is later obtained. The participants in the conversation are the patient's mother, a middle-aged Gibraltarian woman, the patient, and the nursing staff on duty, a female nurse in her early twenties and a male nurse who was in charge of the emergency room. The subject of conversation is the patients medical history.

A spontaneous telephone conversation recorded at a trade union office in Gibraltar is found in transcript 12. Hannah, the receptionist, is a Gibraltarian in her early forties. She is having a conversation with Mark, a trade union leader. They are discussing the case of a worker who is applying for pension benefits. In the telephone conversation only one side of the line is recorded which is Hannah's voice.

Transcript 13 is a spontaneous conversation that took place in the office of a local bank in Gibraltar. The main participant is Jack who at first is talking on the telephone with another employee from the bank. Ted is also a bank worker who participates in the second half of the recording. There are other employees present who can be heard in the background.

The discussion in transcript 14 takes place at the local hospital. Approximately ten participants are attending a nurse training seminar. The head nurse, Lewis, starts the talk in English; after announcing he had finished the class an informal discussion starts -which is mainly in Spanish- among the staff who had participated in the seminar. The participants are identified as nurses; the gender is indicated with a subscript distinguishing males and females. All participants are native Gibraltarians. The topic of the conversation is how a nurse must respond to situations that go beyond their actual duty. The researcher is present although she did not intervene. The tape recorder is placed in a visible location.

The conversation in transcript 15 takes place at dinner time in the home of a Gibraltarian family with whom the researcher is staying. The tape-recorder was concealed. The first part of the conversation is spontaneous chit-chat. There are three participants: Pam a middle aged Gibraltarian house-wife, Ester a woman in her early seventies who is Gibraltarian and currently living in London, and Carol the researcher. The participants in the second half of the

recording are Ester and Carol. In the latter part of the recording the researcher guided the informal conversation along the lines of a structured interview in order to find out more about the informant's life in Gibraltar. The topic of conversation centered on Ester's life as a child, when she is married, and about her visits to a spiritist.

Transcript 16 is a recording obtained in the reception of a trade union office in Gibraltar. It is the same Trade Union as transcript 12. The researcher contacts the receptionist through a mutual friend. The objective is to obtain interactions with people who came to the window to request information or help regarding their work situation. Hannah (the receptionist) and Carol (the researcher) are present during the whole recording. Both the receptionist and the researcher are seated in a small office encased with glass and with a small window through which people communicate with Hannah. Several people working at the Union come in and out and they are identified as: Felipe who is an official trade union officer; Tom who is also an important trade unionist; and Jackie who is Felipe's secretary. In addition, there are several people who request information from the receptionist. These people are identified according to gender: M for male and W for woman. A subscript number serves to distinguish different people who came in. The telephone conversations are all between Hannah and other parties. The responses of the other people on the line can not be recorded and their turn at speaking is represented as /?/ in the transcriptions to indicate that their voice can not be heard.

A variety of techniques are used to obtain the recorded material (presented in the appendix). The criteria for selecting informants was to choose as many different situations the researcher had access to, and also to try to balance the diversity of situations with different social groupings based on age, gender, ethnicity, and social class. While all social groupings are not

represented in the recordings there is a fairly wide range involving different age groups, social class and domains, and to a lesser extent ethnicity.

Some of the data are collected in a structured interview following a Labovian protocol. The danger of death question was not appropriate for obtaining code-switching data but questions about the informants' childhood and about their life in Gibraltar when they were young were successful. The objective in all these cases is to collect spontaneous speech where the speakers would feel free to use either English or Spanish or code-switching. The researcher demonstrates her fluency in both English and Spanish so that informants feel free to use which ever language they prefer.

Another methodological issue of central importance to a discourse analytical approach is the transferral of the recordings to written form. The process of transcribing audio tape-recordings is not a neutral task. The transferral of oral language of a conversation to a written medium involves an initial classification of the data. The decision to transcribe certain features of speech and not others involves taking a theoretical position on what is important or relevant to take into account. The complexity of oral language is not always evident to the participants themselves except when presented in close written transcriptions (Gumperz 1990). Some of the elements that researchers must decide whether to include in a transcription are features to indicate intonation, pauses, false starts, hesitations, self-corrections, overlapping, and ungrammatical or unfinished sentences. All of these elements may contribute meanings not expressed by the lexical elements or the ordering of sentences used in conversation. There is no one way to transcribe nor one single method for all students of discourse. For the recordings presented in the appendix a broad transcription system is used, however, the parts from the appendix are analyzed in chapter 5 on discourse. These illustrative examples

are transcribed in much more detail taking into account overlapping, the timing of the pauses, emphasis, and intonation.

The recordings included in the appendix are carried out in Gibraltar between February to April 1990, and September-October 1990. They are transcribed by the researcher with the help of a research assistant fluent in both English and Spanish. Each transcript is compared and contrasted by the researcher and her assistant. The transcripts are revised afterwards by two other people to check for errors in the transcription of the content.

Non-oral or written data are gathered from several sources. Some of the texts are taken from the local newspapers that include humorous columns with a mixture of English and Spanish (not necessarily in that order). Other written material includes written verse also published in local newspapers and instances of interference and language mixing produced by students of English in their written essays. *Panorama* is published by Medsun publishing company of Gibraltar. It is a weekly news magazine that comes out on Mondays and is well-known for the popular bilingual column titled *La Calentita: Gibraltar's National Dish*. Data come from a total of forty-one columns corresponding to forty weeks, some dating from the beginning of the eighties up till 1991. These columns are humorous oral exchanges in written form between two fiction housewives, Cloti and Cynthia. The topic is usually a commentary on some social or political event that has taken place in Gibraltar during the week. Articles from a column titled *El Tío del Capote* published in *The People* which is also published weekly is predominantly written in Spanish although English and Yanito vocabulary is often incorporated. The researcher examines these texts for the time she is in Gibraltar and uses a selection of ten for analysis.

Two texts from *Panorama* illustrate a written text in Yanito with humorous intent. The texts are reproduced literally with the same spelling and punctuation mistakes as in their publication.

TEXT #1

GIBRALTAR'S NATIONAL DISH: CALENTITA

The telephone conversation of Cloti and Cynthia

Caramba, con cada nuevo viaje we open a new embassy. Ya tenemos en Washington y Hong Kong. The one in London is a High Commission, my dear.

All we need now is a roving ambassador, porque El Tio del Bigote cannot be everywhere, as if he were God.

Mind you, what has been proved is that whilst the cat's away, the mice won't play. The electricity crisis was resolved in his absence.

Digo, como que ya tenemos al ministro trabajador, Juan Carlos the Second, who went round the estates changing the fuses so that the public would not be without electricity.

A public servant, I presume.

Donde hay un increasing mosqueo es en el civil service, con esto de los joint companies y el cambio.

Como que esta todo cambiando, and just wait for the Japanese to come, que van a cambiar hasta el shape del Rock.

Mejor, then the Spaniards won't recognize it and they'll leave us in peace.

Lo de la guerra con el Navy parece que es verdad, porque lo dijeron en el telebisho. Nos quieren torpedear el reclamation. Mi Juan dice que el almirante está asustao después de escuchar on TV a Big John y Little Joe.

I hope the admiral doesn't think he is living in the days of the Battle of Trafalgar.

We have to build houses if we don't want our people to go away.

And once again the long queues at the frontier, esta vez a lo mejor tenía algo que ver con el de Rumasa que se escapó de las cortes en Madrid disfrasao.

A lo mejor iba a un fancy dress ball y se creian que venia a Gibraltar, now that the fancy dress ball season is with us.

What is coming is Christmas. Vamos a ver que regalo nos trae el Howe. Blimey, it's a bit heavy these annual meetings about Gibraltar so close to Christmas.

A lo mejor nos quieren dar las pascuas.

Have no fear, the monster is here.

Anyway, ya tenemos un shipping register nuevo and before long many of the ships in the world will carry the name Gibraltar on their back sides.

Que bien, que se entere todo el mundo que we exist.

Next week hablaremo de eso.

Y de lo otro. Ta, ta for now.

Panorama, December 1989

Text #2

GIBRALTAR'S NATIONAL DISH: CALENTITA

El telephone talk de Cynthia y Cloti

Okay, don't get me confused, que yo no soy de tu epoca. El que esta haciendo un buen chapu es el Governator, esta deseando que haya un demonstration para salir y darle la mano a todo el mundo.

Blimey, didn't you see him cuando los de Rock Alive went past The Convent singing in the rain, el tio salio con su umbrella y por poco termina haciendo el cursillo.

El tio va que chuta, como que sale mas que El Bigote.

Como que El Bigote is governing by proxy, se las sabes toda. Me manda al Sol a un tempestad y al Triston le dice lo que tiene que hacer, after all he has chosen to be our Minister in London so he must toe the party line.

No te fies porque mira lo que le hizo el Garel a nuestra Maggie, blimey plotting to throw her out y todo.

Mind you, tiene al Major in his pocket, con eso de que se pasa sus holidays en casa de un parentezco de Garel in Spain que se llama Garrigues.

Yes, I read in the Financial Times que el Major is known there as El Majo porque sale por las calles como una person normal, hablando con la gente y todo, almost like the Governator today y El Bigote cuando tenia less work.

I suppose we could invite him to our Gibraltar, aqui no hay tantas gente to shake hands with to greet the nation as a whole y le ponen en el Guiness Book of Records.

Como que la politica is the bread of everyday, whether we want it or not. Y con tantas preocupaciones nos vamos a poner mas fina que un liquirba.

Como que estoy jaleta, my dear. Anyway, aunque cuando se vayan los soldiers nos quedamos sin trabajo.

Caramba, que dices.

Digo lo que digo, or haven't you heard que the Army is pulling out? Tell my darling husband, que pidio un transfer del dockia al army porque iba a cerra y ahora no se atreve pedir otro transfer al RAF, por lo que dicen.

Eso es chiteria, my dear. Anyway, forget all your problems and start singing Silent Night porque Christmas is here and the New Year is there.

Merry Christmas to you.

And Happy.New Year to you.

La Cynthia, mas fina que un liquirba...

Panorama, January 1991

NOTES OF CHAPTER 2

1.The Labovian approach posits a sociolinguistic continuum with the local vernacular at the bottom and a prestige variety at the other end with the linguistic movement of individuals towards the use of the prestige form. In contrast, the study of an individual's social network gives access to the whole range of speech styles as well as information on the ways different speech styles are used. This approach entails important theoretical assumptions regarding the concepts of speech community and social class that are taken for granted in sociolinguistic research.

2. Bell (1984) reinterprets Labov's data on style. This language variable is defined as a speaker's response to their audience rather than as a product of certain interviewing techniques.

3. In a formal generative approach the lack of intersubjective agreement is resolved without any further analysis; persons with different judgements have differing grammatical systems.

4. Milroy makes use of this kind of information in network analysis where features of context and addressee are of central importance. The concept of social network refers to the formal and informal social relationships contracted by an individual. This theoretical construct serves as a solid methodological tool for gathering vernacular speech.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSES OF CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is a specific manifestation of bilingual language behavior used by speakers in multilingual societies to communicate on a regular basis. Code-switching is identified by the mixing of lexical items in different constituents from at least two language systems. Researchers specialized in this area of inquiry are mainly concerned with predicting code-switching and with providing a theoretical model to account for this kind of language contact phenomena. The various theoretical approaches to code-switching are limited by their object of study, and the kind of data they use for their analyses. A *situational analysis* takes the context as the main unit for predicting code choice; a *syntactic approach* seeks to establish the rules for code-switching at the level of the sentence; and, the *discourse approach* takes speech exchanges or texts larger than the sentence to see how two languages are used. An important issue to which considerable attention is directed is the identification of code-switching and the way it can be distinguished from other kinds of bilingual language contact phenomena. This concern is the result of specific theoretical assumptions of the early research of Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1950) and more recently of the variationist approach to code-switchinh of Poplack (1991). An individual's linguistic competence is the key factor for determining true instances of code-switching data. Language contact in Gibraltar displays the different kinds of contact phenomena discussed in the present chapter, and the varying level of linguistic competence among the members of the community.

Definitions of code-switching

Code-switching is one of the different kinds of verbal strategies that can be used by people to communicate in multilingual societies. This form of communication contrasts with the alternate use of two languages. Code-switching exists in different kinds of communities all over the world. It is not restricted to any particular society or group of people nor is it limited by the typological structures of the language pairs combined. The present study concentrates on how code-switching may be used to communicate in Gibraltar bearing in mind that other bilingual communication strategies are employed.

A general definition of code-switching proposed by Gumperz (1982: 65) is the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of lexical items, phrases, sentences as well as passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Code-switching is a kind of language behavior used regularly and which is characteristic of speakers with a high level of proficiency in two or more languages.[1] This definition accounts for code-switching that is manifested lexically by elements from two languages; switching may occur between the lexical items in a phrase, or between given phrases, sentences or discourse exchanges. The mixing of lexical items from two languages is a limited view of code-switching phenomena. Other forms of code-switching resulting from language contact are: the combination of grammatical rules of one system and the lexical items of another, or the mixing of grammatical principles of one language with grammatical principles from another. These types of phenomena which are not often classified as code-switching are described by Muysken (1981), and Gumperz (1971c) in communities with typologically different language pairs (i.e Quechua/Spanish, and Urdu/Kannada/Marathi).

The most commonly described form of code-switching is that where lexical elements from two languages are combined structurally in a single sentence or larger unit. This is also the kind of code-switching which is analyzed in the present study. The main goal set forth in the present study is to formalize the regularity of code-switching and predict when code-switching can and must take place. The manner in which these predictions are formulated vary according to the approach adopted and the theoretical assumptions made.[2]

Up to the present time, research carried out on code-switching falls into three broad areas of inquiry each of which adopts a different definition of code-switching according to the unit of analysis. The study of the situations and domains in which code-switching is used takes context as the analytical unit of code choice; the study of grammatical constraints or the mixing of different languages take the sentence as the analytical unit , and the study of code-switching in discourse typically takes entire verbal exchanges, written texts, or conversations as the most important unit for analysis.[3]

Code-switching can also be viewed from an individual and a societal perspective. The main theoretical frameworks proposed fit into either one or the other perspective. The grammatical constraints approach deals with individual speakers' linguistic competence, and one of its main aims is to characterize at a universal level the way all code-switched languages can be combined. The other two approaches (i.e. situational and discourse) fit into the societal perspective, and they seek to explain different aspects of a speaker's bilingual communicative competence.[4]

Code-switching, for the most part, is studied within the limits proposed by different theoretical approaches (i.e. situational, syntactic and discourse). The contributions made by each of these approaches are important and necessary to understand code-switching although they have not served to develop a

model which accounts for the kinds of knowledge, linguistic and social, required to code-switch.

A number of different terms are mentioned throughout this study to refer to code-switching as a general phenomenon or as an approach-specific phenomenon. The term "code-switching" is used in the most general sense (as defined by Gumperz, 1982) without any implication of the adoption of a particular theoretical model or particular unit of analysis adopted. Another concept employed, especially in chapter 4, is "code choice" or "language choice". The meaning conveyed by these two items is identical, and they refer to the choice between code-switching or a single language. Code or language choice is interchanged with the term code-switching to refer to the use of single languages.

Some authors make further terminological distinctions to designate the theoretical approaches and type of data they employ. Some of the terms used to designate this difference in approach are "intra-sentential code-switching" and "inter-sentential code-switching". Intra-sentential code-switching refers to the use of two grammars within the analytical unit of the sentence. Inter-sentential code-switching refers to code-switching between full sentences. In the course of a conversation, or in a given situation people may shift languages in units which are whole sentences or larger exchanges; in which case the principles of a grammatical approach can not be applied. Inter-sentential code-switching appears in chapters 4 and 5 while intra-sentential code-switching is used in chapter 6.

Another term used to talk about code-switching from a grammatical perspective is "code-mixing"; this involves the mixing of two grammars within the limits of a sentence. From a discourse perspective an additional distinction is made called "metaphorical code-switching". Metaphorical code-switching is a

kind of code-switching which is used in a conversation to express underlying knowledge speakers make use of to convey a meaning which is often community specific. This term contrasts with the unmarked use of code-switching called "situational code-switching" which does not convey any sort of social meaning.[5]

One of the key issues in the field of code-switching is whether or not this phenomenon needs to be distinguished from other kinds of language contact data such as borrowing. From a formal theoretical perspective there is no reason for distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing if a speaker has native speaker linguistic competence in two languages (Smith 1989:55). However, the question that arises is how much linguistic competence does a speaker need to have in two languages for a given lexical item to be considered part of her grammar system or a case of borrowing which is independent altogether from grammatical knowledge. This issue turns into a serious methodological problem for fieldworkers and analysts alike who must make constant decisions on the status of their data. In practice, the task of identifying code-switching without reference to speaker is complicated but a number of researchers dedicate their efforts to this problem (Poplack 1984, 1987).

Language contact phenomena

Researchers of language contact and bilingualism who adopt a variationist approach agree that code-switching needs to be identified accurately (especially in those cases where information on the individual speaker does not exist) in order to provide explanations for its systematicity (Sankoff 1991).[6]

If Gumperz' definition that any juxtaposition of items, phrases or sentences from two or more languages constitutes code-switching then the question which arises is when can elements in two languages be something other than code-switching. Usually the problem involves distinguishing code-switching from borrowing of single lexical items in a sentence which is otherwise in a different language. Some of the language contact phenomena that other researchers differentiate are interference, transfer, loans, borrowings, and nonce-borrowings, among other. One of the problems raised by this proliferation of concepts that fit under the heading of bilingual language data is that often the same terms are used with different meaning.

Haugen's study of borrowing (1950) is an attempt to clarify the terminology; he proposes to narrow borrowing down to three makeshift expressions which are loan words, loan blends, and loan shifts.[7] Many of Haugen's claims are based on observations on the acquisition of English of first and second generation Norwegian immigrants to the United States. He observes that the bilingual behavior which characterizes the speech of first generation speakers is substitution and later it is importation as their proficiency increases. The absence of larger units of analysis makes Haugen's data difficult to compare with code-switching as criteria for distinguishing different kinds of bilingual behavior are not proposed. In addition, he is mainly concerned with the borrowing of single lexical items and the different phonological processes involved in the integration of these items.

An additional source of confusion for identifying code-switching data is the failure to distinguish bilingual linguistic behavior in terms of the classic division in linguistics of langue and parole, or competence and performance. The advantage of incorporating this dichotomy to the analysis of bilingual language data is that it maintains a helpful distinction between the real linguistic

capacities of the individual bilingual speaker (i.e. competence). It also is an important criterion for distinguishing code-switching from data of language acquisition (Van Coetsem 1988).

Language contact phenomena can be studied from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. A synchronic approach has the advantage that both individual and community factors can be taken into account; although some of the traditional criteria used by historical linguists to identify loans and borrowings such as phonological and morphological integration are used synchronically by linguists analyzing bilingual language behavior.

One of the first systematic studies carried out on bilingual language contact is that by Weinreich in 1953. He gives a detailed account of lexical, grammatical and phonological borrowing as well as interference that results from the contact between two languages. Instances of interference are defined as cases where a bilingual's speech deviates from the norms of both languages. Borrowing comprises two types of interference; in the first case a word may simply be transferred from language A (source) into language B (recipient) with or without integrating it at the phonological or the grammatical level. In the second case, words from language B (recipient) may be used in new designative functions following the model of A (source) morphemes with whose content they are identified.[8] In lexical borrowing the opposition between two lexicons affects the existing vocabulary in one of the following ways: (a) It can cause confusion between the content of the old and the new word; (b) it may lead to the substitution of the old words and the content of these old words becomes fully covered by the new loan word; or (c) it can bring about the survival of both words each with a different and specialized meaning.

Reference to interference in grammatical relations, word order and agreement phenomena as well as the failure to express certain grammatical

relations is not elaborated in Weinreich's work. The kinds of data analyzed are sentences exemplified in (1) where German word order has been used with English lexical items (i.e. Gestern kam er) whereas in English the correct ordering is *He came yesterday.* This kind of contact phenomena is observed in Gibraltar in examples (12)-(15).

(1) Yesterday came he

Another sort of interference involves a mismatch between ordering and meaning. This is illustrated in example (2) which is a grammatical sentence but means the opposite of what was intended which is: the man loves the woman. An example similar to this is *These two students are always insulting themselves.* Reciprocal and not reflexive meaning is intended by the pronoun referent.

(2) This woman loves the man

This one to one correspondence of English and German word order (i.e. Diese frau liebt der mann) is more than likely the product of incomplete language acquisition which stems from the learners familiarity with the English lexicon but not with English word order. Additional sentence level language contact data examined by Weinreich has to do with different problems of word order and gender agreement. Example (3) illustrates how Portuguese Americans have adopted English adjective order presumably when they speak Portuguese. Compare this example (2) with (12) of the present chapter. If these patterns become widely extended throughout the community, it may bring about changes within the grammatical system.

(3) Portugal's Recreativo Club

The acceptable ordering of Portuguese adjectives is *Club Recreativo Portugués.* Other examples of word order presented by Weinreich involve a single language lexicon with grammatical relations from a donor language produced by a speaker whose dominant language is presumably Portuguese. This is quite different from word order clashes which turn up in code-switching data.[9]

Weinreich did not pinpoint code-switching behavior as it is currently viewed today. His views on this matter are that the ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation, but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1991:181-183) provide a concise summary of the problem. The reason why these authors need to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching is related to the grammatical constraints they put forth to account for code-switching. Exceptions to grammatical constraints are explained as instances of borrowing. In chapter 6 a detailed discussion of these constraints is presented. Other theoretical approaches do not need to distinguish code-switching from borrowing; for example, Treffers-Daller (1990) claims they have the same status and that there is no clear way of distinguishing between them.

There seems to be a consensus by researchers of code-switching that examples like (4) and (5) constitute cases of intra-sentential code-switching; and that the words *state, people, pizza, ghetto,* and *sputnik* in an otherwise English sentence are loans. See examples (6) (a) and (b). Weinreich distinguishes between lexical borrowing that takes place when a foreign word

is incorporated into the recipient language, and lexical interference a process by which a word from the base language is displaced by a foreign element. The status of borrowed items in terms of the speaker's linguistic competence is not distinguished in Weinreich's framework. With the exception of *people* the rest of the items are classified as borrowing.

(4) Finnish/English[10]

Ja yks hänen yliopisto kavereitä unbeknownst to me was dating yhtä mun tyttöystävää joka on skotlantilainen

And one of his university chums unbeknownst to me was dating one of my girlfriends who is Scottish

(5) English/Spanish

At least he had the guts to write the foreign secretary pa decirle que viniera.

At least he had the guts to write the foreign secretary to tell him to come

(6) (a) The turtles like to eat pizzas.

(b) The people are always fighting against the State.

Alternative means for identifying code-switching are needed. The status of sentences (7) and (8) are the source of the debate since there is no information on the informant's bilingual linguistic competence.

(7) Spanish/English

Y di tú como vamos a venir este año, que no tenemos restrictions en la frontera

And you tell me how we are going to come this year that we have no restrictions at the frontier

It is unclear whether the insertion of the word *restrictions* into an otherwise Spanish sentence should be considered a loan or a case of code-switching. There is no syntactic, phonological nor morphological criteria available for deciding whether this word has been integrated into the otherwise Spanish sentence.

(8) Brussels Dutch/French[11]

Pertang ze hebben een brief gemaakt

However they have made a letter

Example (8) is somewhat more complicated since the adverb *pertang* borrowed into Brussels Dutch from the French *pourtant* "however" does not show total syntactic integration, as the position of adverbs in Brussels Dutch is immediately preceding the finite verb. The ordering of *pertang* in (8) is unacceptable and produces an ungrammatical result as illustrated by the following sentence **Pertang hebben ze een brief gemaakt.* The adverb *pertang* has been adapted to the recipient language and integrated phonologically. Treffers-Daller (1990) claims that it can be found in the dictionary. The question is whether this isolated word is really a borrowing or a code-switch. The identification of code-switching in the case of single words in examples such as illustrated both in examples (7) and (8) above is problematic.

To identify code-switching without taking into account the informant's linguistic competence leaves the researcher with problems similar to those faced by historical linguists investigating the origin of linguistic innovations (both internal and external). Historical linguists also attempt to account for the

processes by which a linguistic form is borrowed into a particular language, as well as the readjustments that linguistic innovation produces within the system.[12] The main language contact phenomena associated with historical linguistics is the borrowing of lexical items, although the term is also used to refer to borrowing in other domains of language. Language change has also been the object of study of historical linguists as well as the methodologies for tracing changes over time. This historical perspective is relevant to the linguistic phenomena (such as imperfect phonetic adaptation, calquing, loan blends, and loan shifts among others) which may also be the source of synchronic loan. Regarding the identification of true instances of code-switching, emphasis is placed on distinguishing borrowing from intra-sentential code-switching rather than classifying loans according to the different processes by which words may be adopted into the recipient language whatever language that may be.[13] All instances of borrowing (including synchronic borrowing) result from contact between languages and cultures although the details of this contact can only be observed in a synchronic analysis. The external motivation for innovation via borrowing is quite varied.[14] The integration of a foreign word (with or without phonological adaptation) may be explained by the need or the lack of an equivalent lexical item in the recipient language, or on the other hand, it may be for reasons of prestige or the combination of both.

Several issues related to historical linguistics serve to situate the discussion on code-switching. The distinction which is made between the recipient language as opposed to the donor or source language of the borrowed word imposes a model where the recipient language is taken as the base or matrix language.[15] There is no problem with this assumption in a historical framework but in the case of code-switching a more detailed analysis is required as it is not always possible to identify the base language and the

foreign elements in a given utterance. In example (9) there is no apparent criteria for distinguishing whether the base language is Hindi or English.

(9) Hindi/English[16]

I went to Agra, to maine pne bhaiko bola ki, if you come to Delhi you must buy some lunch

I went to Agra, then I said to my brother that, if you come to Delhi you must buy some lunch

Another frequent criterion which is used to identify linguistic borrowing is phonological, morphological and syntactic integration into the recipient language. If the process of integration is only partial this may result in interferences (Weinreich 1953) or deviations from the norms of both the recipient and donor languages. This is illustrated in example (8) where the word *pertang* is neither Flemish nor French although its origin is the French *pourtant* "however". It is integrated phonologically.[17] Another procedure for distinguishing loan words is to examine the sound correspondences of unintegrated borrowed forms in order to discover the time of their integration by contrasting them with the existing sound system of the recipient language. This criterion is not particularly useful for identifying code-switching since the cognitive status of a particular word used by a bilingual with the phonology of the donor or source is not sufficient for classifying it as a case of borrowing. Unless we provide a redefinition of borrowing that incorporates phenomena produced by persons with a bilingual competence, but this would clearly be different from the historical definition of borrowing we give.

Another concept used in historical linguistics in relation to borrowing phenomena is "substrate" (Lehiste 1988) . The term refers to a linguistic variety

or a set of forms which has influenced the structure or use of a more dominant variety or language within a given community. A substrate language is evident when a language is imposed on a community, as a result of political or economic superiority. In Gibraltar, Italian, Genoese, Arabic, Maltese and Portuguese are substrate languages as many of the lexical items from these different groups form part of the vocabulary of the local vernacular.

A "superstratum", on the other hand, refers to the linguistic variety which has influenced the less dominant language within the community. This is also applicable to the case of English with respect to the speech variety spoken in Gibraltar. Lexical borrowing is a well defined term in historical linguistics. The specific procedures used to distinguish borrowed forms together with the absence of information on the levels of bilingualism in the individual and the community facilitate the task of determining the loan words of a language. The question that arises is whether it is possible to isolate similar borrowing and distinguish them from code-switching.

Language contact in Gibraltar

The language situation in Gibraltar is characterized by three language varieties which are used in defined situations. While both English and Spanish are used separately with a native-like proficiency, code-switching (i.e. Yanito) is also a common way of communicating among Gibraltarians. To label this as some other kind of bilingual language behavior such as some variety of English or Spanish objectively misrepresents the way people in Gibraltar use language a good part of the time. The current linguistic situation developed from the historical and social circumstances is discussed in chapter 1 of the present

study. It is probable that shortly after the British conquest of Gibraltar in 1703 that some sort of pidgin or contact language existed which later disappeared. This pidgin must have been a mixture of Italian, Spanish, English and perhaps with less influence languages such as Arabic or Hebrew. The only evidence available today is Cavilla's *Diccionario Yanito* (1978) which includes lexical items from a variety of different Mediterranean languages. Early church records are written in Italian, the language used by the first Catholic priests in Gibraltar. The influence of Spanish and English has been more or less continuos over the years. They have undoubtedly exercised strong pressure both through commercial relations and political policies and this explains why these two languages dominate today.

The future of code-switching in Gibraltar is unclear. The continuation of this form of bilingual communication will predictably continue as long as there is a need to preserve their identity. Code-switching is a symbol of local identity and also means by which Gibraltarians can avoid adopting either a British or a Spanish cultural identity which is associated with the monolingual choice of English or Spanish.

A typical misunderstanding regarding bilingual or multilingual communities is that all its members speak two languages with a high level of proficiency. In Gibraltar as in other multilingual communities this is not the case; different sectors of the society have varying degrees of proficiency in English and Spanish and the ability to code-switch is dependent on their linguistic competence in these two languages.

The study of code-switching from a community perspective must take this into account; in addition it provides information on the situations in which code-switching as opposed to English or Spanish are used. A community approach to code-switching phenomena shows what aspects of a persons

communicative competence are specific to Gibraltar, and how language is used to convey community bound meanings. The relationship between the bilingual community and the bilingual individual is particularly important for deciding what language behavior is idiosyncratic and what is general community practice. The community is an essential criterion for distinguishing borrowing from idiosyncratic language contact phenomena as well as Poplack's "nonce-borrowing" (i.e. the momentary incorporation of a lexical item uttered a single time and by a single speaker). A requirement for a borrowed item is that it is widely used throughout the community. This contrasts with a nonce-borrowing which are momentary syntactic and morphological integrations by an individual speaker into the recipient or matrix language.

In contrast with the community approach to code-switching in Gibraltar it is important to examine this phenomenon from the perspective of the individual speaker. Individuals are the locus of language contact and it is the analysis of individual speech behavior that provides information on the different linguistic and cognitive processes. The level of proficiency of individuals in two languages must be distinguished in order to determine the status of the bilingual language phenomena (i.e. borrowing, interference or code-switching) produced by the speaker.

An additional distinction which needs to be made to discuss the different kinds of language contact phenomena that exist in Gibraltar is the identification of the base or "matrix language" a person uses when structures and grammatical relations from two languages are combined in single syntactic structures. The task of identifying the base language is not always straight-forward. When a single linguistic item such as a word is incorporated into the structure of another language it is easy to identify the matrix or recipient language and the donor language.[18] This distinction between recipient and

donor language is a helpful analytical tool which sheds light on the specific ways languages influence each other when in contact.

Van Coetsem (1988) provides an analytical model for distinguishing language contact phenomena where the individual speaker plays a key role. This recognition of the importance of the individual's role in identifying different kinds of bilingual language behavior together with the practice of analyzing language contact data in terms of message/code which correspond to the traditional langue/parole, or competence/performance distinction is a necessary approach.

Van Coetsem's approach presupposes that bilingual speakers can always be classified into either source language speakers or recipient language speakers based on their dominant language, and on the manner in which they have acquired each language. In those cases where both languages are learned in early childhood it may not be such a straightforward task to distinguish between whether a given speaker is using his recipient language or his source language. Van Coetsem's theoretical framework is presented in general terms so as to account for language contact phenomena in all domains of language even though the model was created to account for phonological borrowings. His emphasis on the dominant language of the individual speaker is important for distinguishing (a) the base language, and (b) the direction of phonological and grammatical adaptations into the recipient language. The problem of classifying foreign lexical items as instances of either borrowing or code-switching is not dealt with.

Monolingual and highly proficient bilingual or multilingual individuals who are members of the same community where two languages are in contact will display a different functional as well as structural use of two languages. This is attributed to the difference in speakers' linguistic competence in one or more

languages.[19] Knowledge of the social and functional uses of two languages in conversation is limited at the performance level by the speakers linguistic competence.[20] In between a monolingual and a proficient bilingual speaker there are normally individuals with intermediate linguistic systems or intermediate linguistic competence. These individuals are referred to as interlinguals and the kind of bilingual phenomena they produce should be distinguished from code-switching.

Bilingual language contact phenomena produced by interlinguals and bilinguals can be distinguished if a researcher has access to the speakers. When access to informants is not possible, however, linguists are forced to analyze isolated data and to try to label them. The distinction between interlingual and bilingual language data is not so straightforward. Example (10) is a case of intra-sentential code-switching which requires advanced knowledge of Spanish and English grammar on the part of the speaker. The two languages are combined in such a way so as not to violate the grammar of either language. The question whether (10) would be uttered just by a bilingual or also by an interlingual is irrelevant if there is no access to the speaker; what can be claimed on an empirical basis in this case is that the speaker who uttered (10) must at least know: the word order structure, the pro-drop parameter, movement rules, and subcategorization, and argument structure of the verbs in both English and Spanish. Otherwise that speaker might have uttered some nonsensical sentence like "*He en Puerto Rico would que say cortaba caña even though they know tenía su negocio*".

(10) Spanish/English[21]

En Puerto Rico he would say que cortaba caña, even though tenía su negocio, you know

In Puerto Rico he would say that he cut sugar cane, even though he had his own business, you know

Sentence (11) only requires linguistic competence in English, and knowledge of a single lexical item without any of its lexical or structural requirements.[22] Both a bilingual using part of her linguistic knowledge or a monolingual speaker could have uttered a sentence like (11). Thus, in this example the data does not indicate any difference in linguistic knowledge.

(11) English/Spanish

They practiced sardanas in front of the cathedral

They practiced sardanas [the Catalan dance] in front of the cathedral

The lexical item *sardana* is not an established loan word from a community perspective but it can be considered a borrowing or loan from the perspective of a monolingual speaker. For a bilingual speaker it would also be considered a borrowing because there is no equivalent variant in English from which the speaker chooses from; therefore, the Catalan term is adopted to refer to a culture specific activity.

In Gibraltar, language contact has produced various different kinds of bilingual phenomena which involve processes distinct from code-switching as defined at the beginning of this chapter. There is no information on the individual linguistic competence of the informants who produced the examples.[23]

Determining the matrix language of sentences is often a difficult task. The reason lies in the type of criteria which ought to be used. Word order or the

language of the lexical items inserted in a structure are two of the most obvious criteria. All the lexical items in examples (12)-(15) are in English in each one of the structures but the elements in (12)-(14) follow a Spanish word ordering. The head noun of the phrase in (12) is intended to be *economist* in which case adjective ordering follows the Spanish adjective order in spite of all English lexical items. Example (13) adopts the Spanish Pro-drop parameter with an English verb; [24] the Spanish equivalent *Dice el profesor que vengas* has no overt lexical subject. Sentences (14) and (15) are interrogative clauses even though in (14) interrogation is conveyed through intonation as in Spanish rather than by subject auxiliary inversion which we would expect since all the lexical items are realized in English. Example (15) uses *no* at the end as an interrogative particle which is common in Yanito and characteristic of Spanish discourse. The task of establishing the matrix language of these sentences is problematic. No matter the choice one makes regarding the recipient or matrix language no violation of the grammatical principles of either English or Spanish takes place.

(12) An economist expert

(13) Says the teacher, come here

(14) When you are going?

(15) I thought you could only have two ¿no?

Other sorts of bilingual language contact in Gibraltar such as examples (16)-(22) do not strictly obey the grammatical rules of either English or Spanish. The double negative forms in (16); dual comparative marking in (17); confusion between reflexive and reciprocal pronoun reference since (18) is meant to have reciprocal meaning; the lack of grammatical agreement in (19); the absence of

verbal inflection in (20)-(21); and argument doubling in (22) are all phenomena violating grammatical principles in both English and Spanish. In these cases the matrix language can not be determined since neither the English nor the Spanish syntactic, referential and morphological requirements are fulfilled.

(16) It's a long time since I have not seen you

(17) More stronger

(18) These two students are always insulting themselves

(19) Thanks God

(20) I do it tomorrow

(21) A constitution that bind the people to Great Britain

(22) Lend me a book to read it

Data like examples (16)-(22) show that certain syntactic requirements and lexical idiosyncrasies have not been fully acquired. Speakers who produce these structures do not necessarily have a low level of proficiency in English. These kind of phenomena are rarely found in code-switching.

Similiar problems turn up when the lexical items of the sentence are primarily in Spanish and some syntactic, morphological or lexical principle is not fulfilled. Sentences (23)-(25) illustrate incomplete acquisition of ordering principle of negative particles, subject conflict, and absence of noun-adjective agreement. Examples (24)-(25) result from contact with English as in this language negation is usually placed immediately before the main verb and overt subjects must be expressed lexically. Example (25) is from a street sign in Gibraltar and not some student's casual spelling mistake.

(23) La radio ni la televisión no dicen nada

The radio nor the television don't say anything

(24) I imagínate

I you imagine

(25) Aviso: Reduzca en zonas indicada

Warning: Reduce speed in specified areas

Language contact not only takes place at the syntactic level but also with leical items. Words from Spanish and English incorporated into a base or matrix language by some morphological process, changes in the subcategorization frames of many lexical items are also characteristic of bilingual contact phenomena in Gibraltar. Examples (26) and (27) could be classified as instances of code-switching if information about the speaker were avaliable. On on the surface level word order the matrix language which is English can be determined. No syntactic ordering principle is violated by the noun modifiers in either Spanish or English.

From a data perspective there is no way of distinguishing whether a word like *cursillo* is a borrowing or a case of code-switching. In example (27), *un poco de...* can
not be considered a borrowing unless the Spanish elements are taken as some kind of fixed idiomatic expression.

(26) A cursillo for ladies will be held on Thursday

A class for ladies will be held on Thursday

(27) Un poco de exercise upstairs and downstairs will keep them healthy

A little bit of exercise upstairs and downstairs will keep them

healthy

At the lexical level language contact can bring about morphological adaptation as in examples (28) and (29). These two sentences take English as the matrix language. Morphological adaptation to English of the Spanish verbs *molestar* and *pisar* requires a high degree of bilingual competence in order to combine morphological and phonological processes without violating the rules of either language. Morphological adaptation is not necessarily a criterion for determining that these examples are instances of borrowing phenomena as held by historical linguists and Poplack (1980) who claims that the mixing of morphemes from two languages is not a case of code-switching. This excludes phonological and morphological juxtaposition in a single structure as cases of code-switching. There is no apparent reason why code-switching ought to be limited to lexical or linear ordering phenomena.

(28) Teacher, Peter is molesting me

Teacher, Peter is bothering me

(29) He pissed on the line

He stepped on the line

Examples (30) and (31) illustrate morphological adaptations of English lexical items which are inserted into a Spanish matrix language sentence. The English noun *border* and the verb *freeze* are adapted as a noun and past participle in Spanish. The same question presented in examples (28)-(29) about whether these items are borrowings or instances of code-switches applies to the lexical items in (30)-(31). This process of morphological adaptation particularly to Spanish is documented by Cavilla (1978) in his *Diccionario Yanito.* A whole list of words of English origin are adapted to the

Spanish phonological system and are used by Gibraltarians in sentences with both English and Spanish as a matrix language. Some examples of these lexical items are: tipá/*teapot*, quequi/*cake*, liquirvá /*icorice bar*, conbif/*corn beef*.

(30) Pollo frisado

Frozen chicken

(31) Los borderados vienen a menudo

The people from the other side of the border come often

Subcategorization of different lexical items is another area where language contact is manifested. In order to fulfill the subcategorization requirements with lexical items (that are constituents) from two languages linguistic competence must be near native-like. The language of the head verb determines the sort of complement or complements required which may be filled in by the appropriate structures regardless of the language they appear in. Examples (32)-(34) have a structural head and its complements in English. The examples presented require specific prepositions; sentence (32) requires *at*, sentence (33) does not need a preposition introducing the complement, and the adjective *different* in (34) must be followed by *from* rather than *to*.

(32) Don't shout to me

(33) He reached to the town

(34) Different to

These apparent subcategorization violations of the English heads may be explained if the speaker identifies at some level in the language processing

system *shout* with the Spanish *chillar* or *gritar* both of which are followed by *a mi* or *to me* in English. The complement of *reach* in (33) is filled by the Spanish prepositional complement structure of *llegar*. The preposition following *different* is also filled by the preposition subcategorized by the Spanish adjective *diferente* .

NOTES OF CHAPTER 3

1. Code-switching data must be produced by speakers with a close to native linguistic competence in two or more languages.

2. This implies that a single approach to code-switching does not provide a complete picture of the complexity of this kind of language behavior.

3. For a more detailed account of the approach taken to discourse see chapter 5 of the present study.

4 Communicative competence is a concept introduced by Hymes (1972). It is the non-linguistic knowledge a speaker needs to communicate effectively in a speech community.

5. The distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching is not accepted by some researchers who maintain that all instances of code-switching are significant and communicate some sort of social meaning.

6. Bilingualism is used in contrast with the term monolingualism. It is not restricted to the meaning of just two languages and it does not imply a fixed level of proficiency.

7. Loanwords involve the adoption of the entire word or morphemic importation without substitution. Morphemic importation can be further

classified according to degree of phonological substitution. These borrowings must be incorporated into the grammatical structure of the recipient language. Place names such as *Los Angeles* or *San Francisco* constitute examples of this kind of process. Loan blends involve morphemic substitution as well as importation. This process involves an awareness on the part of the speaker of the different morphemes that make up the word. For example the word *boarder* in English has become *bordo* for American Portuguese speakers. The suffix ending *-er* has been substituted for the Portuguese agent suffix *-o* . Loan shifts show morphemic substitution without importation. These processes occur more readily when there is both phonetic and semantic resemblance between the donor and the recipient language word. Such loans appear in the recipient language only as changes in the usage of the word incorporated from the donor language. The example of Spanish and Portuguese speakers who use the word *librería* which means "bookstore" or "book shelf" to refer to the English "library" because of the similarity with the English form in spite of the fact a specific word exists in these languages which is biblioteca. An additional process is *creation* that is new words brought in by the contact with a different culture and its language. This process is not borrowing in the strict sense as they involve newly created words in the recipient language where one of the morphemes may be a loanword.

8. Lexical borrowing can be attributed to various factors such as the comparison on the part of the speaker with the other language and need to make finer distinctions in the semantic fields or the need to express culture specific meanings. Lexical borrowing can also be associated with the positive and negative social values of each language, and finally, lexical borrowing may

stem from mere oversight that is the unawareness on the part of the speaker that she is incorporating a foreign element.

9. Poplack would define these instances as violations of the equivalence constraint she proposes and which may be stated as the principle which predicts that code-switching will only occur where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule from either language.

10. This example is taken from the definition of code-switching provided by Sankoff et al. (1991).

11. This example is taken from another paper presented by Treffers-Daller (1990) at the European Science Foundation meeting held in London. An important idea put forth is that borrowing and code-switching can not be distinguished.

12. "Borrowing" is used throughout the present study to refer to a process separate from the grammar by which any linguistic form is incorporated in the recipient language from the donor language unless otherwise specified. The term is also used interchangeably with loan word.

13. Imperfect phonetic adaptation refers to the unequal imitation of the donor language loan word which has been borrowed into the recipient language. "Calquing" also known as "loan translation" refers to a type of borrowing carried out by a one to one translation (identification) of the morphemes from the donor language word into the recipient language. "Loan blends" refer to the borrowing of only a part of the word and its meaning. While

the other part of the word belongs to the recipient language. "Loan shifts" involve the changing of the meaning of a particular morpheme in the recipient language based on a meaning from the donor language. These morphemes borrowed in the above processes are integrated into the recipient language system.

14. There may also be internal linguistic motivations for change which stem from the restructuring of the systems as when some linguistic item is borrowed.

15. The distinction between recipient language and donor language is taken from the proposals of van Coetsem (1988) to account for the base language into which a given linguistic element is incorporated.

16. The example is taken from Gumperz (1982:76).

17. Phonological integration is not essential according to Poplack (1991) as it does not help to identify momentary or nonce-borrowings. This issue is discussed further on in the present chapter.

18. The term incorporation is used throughout the present chapter in the general sense of a recipient language incorporating some linguistic element from another language. It does not refer to any particular process of borrowing.

19. Linguistic competence is used here in the Chomskian sense. It is defined as a native speaker's fluent knowledge of a language which implies the

native speaker's knowledge which enables her to produce and understand the infinite number of sentences in a language.

20. A monolingual who is a member of a multilingual speech community may be quite familiar with the situational use of two languages, but she may be unable to attain full communicative competence in spite of her knowledge.

21. This example is from David Sankoff and Shana Poplack (1980). A formal grammar for code-switching. Working Papers in the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 8, CUNY, New York although it is cited indirectly from Woolford (1983).

22. The lexical item *sardana* does not have any subcategorization restrictions in contrast with verbs.

23. I am indebted to Tony Callaghan from the School for Continuing and Further Education for sharing many of the examples discussed in this section.

24. The pro-drop parameter applies to languages like Spanish but not English. This language specific rule allows a pronominal subject to be left unexpressed. See Haegeman (1991) for further information.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE IN SITUATIONS

A situational approach to language use in a multilingual society typically correlates code choice with specific domains. In the case of Gibraltar, code choice needs to be extended to include not only situations where English and Spanish are used but also those domains in which communication is carried out through code-switching. The theoretical concept of domain incorporates macro-social variables such as family, friends, and work place and relates them to language choice. In a domain analysis, there is a need to include individual factors such as those contributed by studies on network. Both macro social factors and individual micro factors are needed to gain a full understanding of the extra-linguistic influences on code choice. Language diaries and observation participation techniques provide data on the macro and the micro factors which determine code choice in Gibraltar. Over half of the eleven informants use predominantly English in their daily lives while the remaining speakers tend to use more Spanish. Situational use of English, Spanish and code-switching in Gibraltar is related to the attitudes and social values associated with each one of these codes for communication.

Bilingual language choice

Research on multilingual communities carried out during the decade of the fifties and the sixties seek to explain the alternate use of one language over another in a given situational context. The main unit of analysis in a domain is social context. Research by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1972) concentrate on the choice of separate language varieties; bilingual language phenomena such as code-switching is not taken into account. This third code choice which is an additional alternative in Gibraltar is examined in the present chapter. In

Gibraltar most people can converse in both English and Spanish, in addition to communicating in a mixture of English and Spanish. Not all multilingual communities manifest such different uses of languages but in cases where bilingualism is extensive to a large proportion of the population, code-switching is common.[1] Later studies carried out by Labov (1968) and Poplack (1980) among Puerto Ricans in New York City demonstrate that code choice is not limited to just English or Spanish but that code-switching turned out to be a quite common third alternative. Currently, researchers on multilingualism agree that most communities are not as homogeneous as initially proposed by Ferguson or Fishman but these studies provide valuable social information on the use and attitudes of code-choice. The members of the community not only have different degrees of linguistic competence in the languages spoken but they also may display different patterns of language use. The present analysis incorporates code-switching as a form of speech behavior from a situational or domain approach.

Domain is a theoretical concept that represents macro societal constructs. The five domains originally recognized by Fishman in his study of the Puerto Rican speech community in New York City area are family, friendship, religion, education, and work. For example, family in domain theory is taken to be a social institution and not some individual family unit. The societal norms of language choice in the family as an institution, however, are derived from information on language use by individual families. Domains are extrapolated from talk data, thus they are not an actual component in the talk process. The concept of "domain" must be flexible as societies may recognize different domains and also different values or attitudes towards their domains. Therefore, domain can not be determined beforehand by a fixed set of functions or situations. If it is assumed that language behavior reflects certain

sociocultural patterns which will differ among individuals and communities; then the concept of domain must be able to incorporate these differences.

One of the most outstanding theoretical considerations concerning the concept of domain is that it is derived from direct observations of language use. This limits the sort of explanation that a situational approach from this can provide for code-switching phenomena. The relation between domain and language choice for Fishman and Ferguson, among others, is merely a kind of descriptive statement about a speech event that takes place in a given situation.

A limitation of a domain or a situational approach is that it has not successfully incorporated a means by which an utterance in a given language within a bilingual community can be related to external social variables such as social class or ethnic background. Labov's variationist framework accomplishes this feat successfully by relating linguistic structure to social class; a goal that has not been accomplished by situational studies of multilingual communities. More recent studies in discourse apparoaches to bilingual speech (Gumperz 1982) combine both micro and macro variables in their explanations.

One of Fishman's primary concerns in domain analysis is to provide a framework which incorporates both macro-level as well as micro-level analysis in the study of language choice. A micro-level analysis of code choice in Fishman's framework looks at more detailed factors such as topic, role-relationship between speaker and addressee, as well as locale or place. These three variables make up what Fishman defines as the social situation which provides a more detailed understanding of language choice within a given domain. These proposals, however, fail to answer a question basic to researchers in linguistics which is, what kind of relationship exists between an

individual speaker's language capability (i.e linguistic knowledge) and the broader social context or domain which a speaker must also know.

The ability to make the appropriate language choice in relation to a situation is defined by Hymes as communicative competence or the knowledge a speaker must acquire in order to communicate effectively within a speech community.[2] The notion of "communicative competence" brings together the individual with societal contexts and institutions.

The theoretical construct of network, its principles and methodology of analysis, bring together the individual with a wider social context. Milroy and Wei (1991) in their study of the Chinese community in Tyneside apply a network analysis to the study of bilingualism. They collect information on language choice among the members of several Chinese families with observation-participation techniques. This way information about the individual characteristics of the speaker can be correlated with social as well as situational domains. So, for example, individual characteristics of speakers such as their linguistic competence or knowledge of the two language varieties, is examined in relation to age, sex, in-group and out-group ties, and employment.[3]

Ferguson's work links language choice with situation. He is able to identify a similiar set of values and attitudes in four very different communities involving the language pairs Classical Arabic/Egyptian Arabic, Standard German/ Swiss German, French /Haitian Creole, and Literary Greek/Modern Greek. The H variety fulfills certain social functions and are used in certain domains that are different from those where the L variety is used. A diglossic community as defined by Ferguson (1959:336) is a relatively stable language situation in which the primary dialects of the language exist side by side with a very divergent and highly codified superposed variety which is the vehicle of a

large and respected body of written literature. The high variety is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but it is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Gibraltar differs in a number of respects from the diglossic community defined above. In the first instance, English and Spanish in Gibraltar share many of the same social functions. For example, it is quite common for a Gibraltarian to carry out a conversation in either English or Spanish. Although a certain specialization for English does exist in government and education. In addition, the common practice of most Gibraltarians in a wide variety of situations is to code-switch English and Spanish. While English is in fact the prestige language there are situations where code-switching, or speaking Yanito, has positive values as is used to reinforce the local identity.[4] Code-switching is often used when Gibraltarians travel to Britain or in social interactions with British military or tourists who visit Gibraltar. This is a meaningful code choice where the speaker purposely does not choose English in order to present a distinct social-cultural identity.

Ferguson (1959) also characterizes a diglossic community in terms of the grammar. He claims that the high variety has many more grammatical resources than the low variety. This is clearly not the case with English and Spanish which both have complex grammatical systems. In terms of the lexicon, diglossic communities share the bulk of their vocabulary with some variations of form and differences in use and meaning. In Gibraltar the vocabularies of English and Spanish are not shared. In fact, the kinds of lexical items used in code-switching depend on whether the base language is Spanish or English. The phonology is perhaps the most unique aspect of Gibraltarian speech. Intonation and certain phonological processes are distinct

from the Spanish spoken in the area and from standard British English and received pronunciation (RP).[5] Diglossic language situations according to Ferguson must be distinguished from analogous situations where two languages are used side by side to accomplish specific social functions. It certainly does not refer to communities where code-switching is prevalent. The language situation in Gibraltar responds to a complex political situation where the population feel a strong allegiance to Great Britain --and thus the prestige of English-- but where the ethnic character of the Gibraltarians is far from being typically British.

Gumperz and Blom (1971) in their detailed field research of the different language varieties in Hemnesberget, Norway show that speech alternates or choice of language variety are predictable from features of the local social system. To arrive at the social meaning of any utterance, Gumperz and Blom make use of the constructs of setting, social situation and social event.[6] A social setting is the way members of a given community classify their ecological environment into different locales around which their lives are organized. A social situation involves the sorts of people who are gathered together to carry out some activity in a given setting. Social events take place in a given social situation. The change in topic or the adoption of a different role in a given situation constitutes a speech event. The working hypothesis of this field research suggests that the switching of language varieties is constrained in those situations which only allow local relationships to be enacted. This leads to the prediction that whenever local and non-local relationships are relevant to the same situation, topical variation may elicit the switching of code.

Gumperz and Blom concentrate on the application of the theoretical constructs they propose to the community in Norway as well as linking their proposals to social theory. They successfully identify linguistic utterances and

are able to correlate them with the social dynamics of the community by means of participation observation. Their main concern is to show how speakers and hearers agree both on the meaning of words as well as the social import or values attached to a particular choice of expression. Gumperz and Blom provide descriptive information on the linguistic structure of the language varieties under study but their ultimate goal is to explain why the standard was used instead of the local vernacular. The common goal of these researchers is to explain the constraints on language choice in multilingual communities by using similiar variables.

Domains of English and Spanish

Self-report data followed up by participant observation on the part of the researcher are the source of the data analyzed in this section. The self-report data were obtained from language diaries completed by eleven informants. The format of the diary used in Gibraltar follows the proposals made by Milroy (1987:188-197) describing the importance of including the range of factors which lead to code choice in the community. In the case of the diary administered in Gibraltar detailed factors were provided in the instructions. The drawbacks to self-report data are well-known in the field of sociolinguistics. While Gumperz points out that bilingual speakers often are not aware of which language they speak in a given situation, Milroy (1991) claims that language choice is more tenable to self-report since it is more obvious and can be observed better than the choice of a phonological variant. Milroy also suggests that this can be overcome by having informants who fill out the diary record all the interactions they report on. This way it is possible to check the inaccuracies

of the self-reporting technique. This additional method of recording all speech events could not be applied in Gibraltar. Participant observation, with approximately half of the informants who were also friends of the researcher, provided enough information in order to check the validity of the self-report data. The language diary was accompanied by a questionnaire about the informant's life-style. The purpose for including this section was to find out more about speaker's contact with Spain and Britain as well as the languages used in daily activities such as reading or listening to television or the radio. This information is essential for understanding how code choice is associated with certain types of social behavior.

One of the problems was that only a reduced proportion of the language diary/questionnaires distributed were returned: 50 protocols were handed out and 11 were returned. In most cases they were returned by friends of the researcher. The 11 informants who filled in the diary and answered the questionnaire by no means represent Gibraltarian society as a whole. The persons who did answer form a fairly homogeneous sector of the population. Informants were asked to write down which code they used in different circumstances. Four possible language choices were presented for the informants to choose from and which are: English, the mix of English and Spanish, the mix of Spanish and English, or Spanish. The distinction between mixing Spanish with English or vice-versa enabled speakers to classify their speech along a continuum from more English, to more Spanish; this way it was possible to overcome the dual prestige that code-mixing has in the community. The data of the tables included below provide information on each of the informants as well as language choice acording to four domains from the most formal to the least formal (a) work, (b) telephone conversations, (c) streets,

stores and restaurants, and (d) home. A discussion of these domains follows with each table.

Table 4.1 presents detailed information about each informant in addition to facts about their life-style such as the language they listen to on television and the radio and also the language they read as well as their contact with both Britain and Spain. The speakers are listed in an approximate order based on their use of English. The first six speakers (A, B, C, D, E, F) mostly use English in their daily activities while the last five speakers (G, H, I, J, K) tend to use more Spanish than English. Contact with Britain and Spain does not permit any sort of correlation because it is not a relevant measure of code-choice nor of a speaker's attitude towards Spanish or English culture. The informants characterized in Table 4.1 form a fairly homogeneus group. The majority were born in Gibraltar and all of them with the exception of speaker F who is Jewish come from a Roman Catholic background. All speakers are government employees and the majority work in the field of education. All informants with the exception of two continued their higher education in Britain. They are predominantly female, and they represent an educated, middle-class sector of Gibraltarian society. For this group of speakers a good command of English is a requisite in order to suceed in the educational system and to attend university in Britain.

Lower class members of the community have a strong sense of Gibraltarian identity but they tend to communicate more in Spanish or the mix of Spanish and English and they do not show such a strong motivation to express themselves in English. Evidence for this was observed in the public primary schools in Gibraltar which are located in catchment areas where residents in the surrounding area send their children to school. Differences in the

Table 4.1
Characteristics of informants

Speaker information:				Language:					
				Spoken:		Reading:		Listening:	
Speaker	Birthplace	Age	Sex (a)	At home	Elsewhere	Books	Newspapers and magazines	Television	Radio
A	Gibraltar	41	M	English	Eng/Sp	English	...(c)	English	English
B	Gibraltar	37	M	Eng/Sp	Sp/Eng	English	...(c)	English	English
C	Tangier (b)	45	F	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp	English	English	Eng/Sp	English
D	Gibraltar	34	F	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp	English	English	English
E	Gibraltar	42	F	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp	English	Eng/Sp	English	English
F	Gibraltar	47	F	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp
G	Gibraltar	40	F	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	English	English	Eng/Sp	Sp/Eng
H	Gibraltar	38	F	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	English	Eng/Sp	Spanish
I	La Línea	27	F	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	English	Eng/Sp	Eng/Sp
J	Gibraltar	44	F	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	English	Eng/Sp	English
K	Gibraltar	31	F	Sp/Eng	Sp/Eng	...(c)	English	Eng/Sp	English

Table 4.1
Characteristics of informants
(continuation)

Contact with Britain:	Contact with Spain:				
		Motive:			
Period of stay (in years)	Trips per year	Meal	Vacation	Shopping	Visit to friends
4	12	yes	yes	yes	yes
6	48	yes	yes	yes	yes
3	24	yes	yes	yes	yes
8	50	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	48	yes	yes	yes	yes
0	48	yes	yes	yes	...
0	48	yes	yes	...	...
4	96	yes	yes	...	...
3	36	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	60	yes	yes	yes	yes
6 months	48	yes	yes	yes	...

Source: Data from language diaries (September-October 1990).
Notes: (a) M is male, and F is female.
(b) Speaker C was born in Tangier but she moved to Gibraltar when she was two months old.
(c) ... no answer.

knowledge of English among the entering classes at age five are quite notable among some of the catchment schools.

In lower class districts of Gibraltar children have a more limited knowledge of English at school entering age. The level of English is obviously an important key to academic success in the local school system and for later continuing at university in Great Britain. This is why middle and upper class families use English in the home, especially when addressing their children.

Table 4.2 through to Table 4.5 represent the four domains which turned up repeatedly in the language diaries. Code-choice is the basis for distinguishing the four domains. Spanish is used in the more informal situations as in the home, on the street and in restaurants. English, on the other hand, is used more often when speaking on the telephone and at work.

Detailed information on the interlocutor is provided in each of the domains. Information on topic, setting and formal or informal style is requested in the language diary but informant's responses were unsystematic. The ethnic origin and the level of education of the interlocutors were requested in the language diaries but the answers provided by informants did not shed any new light on code-choice.

Code-choice according to the four domains represented in the Table 4.2 through 4.5 indicate that Spanish is more likely to be chosen in informal contexts such as the home or the street. Domain, however, is not the sole determinant of choice of code. Interlocutor should also be considered an important factor influencing a person's choice of language (or code-switching). Bell (1984) supports the importance of the interlocutor for explaining stylistic shift as well as language choice in his model of audience design. The researcher records a number of incidents which support this view. In the local stores a Gibraltarian shop assistant addresses the British tourist in English but

Table 4.2
Situational use of language at home in Gibraltar

Number of observation	Speaker	Interlocutor: Sex	Age	Relationship	Language
1	D	F	22	Friend	Spanish
2	D	F	56	Maid	Spanish
3	F	M	50	Husband	Spanish
4	F	F	24	Maid	Spanish
5	G	M	43	Husband	Spanish
6	G	F	70	Mother	Spanish
7	H	F	61	Mother	Spanish
8	B	F	35	Wife	Sp/Eng
9	D	F	73	Aunt	Sp/Eng
10	F	...	...	Friends	Sp/Eng
11	H	M/F	13/10	Children	Sp/Eng
12	I	F	22	Sister	Sp/Eng
13	B	F	9	Daughter	Eng/Sp
14	D	M	35	Husband	Eng/Sp
15	D	...	...	Family	Eng/Sp
16	F	M	11	Son	Eng/Sp
17	J	F/M	45/50	Friends	Eng/Sp
18	D	F	3	Daughter	English
19	E	...	...	Children	English
20	J	F	45	Neighbour	English
21	J	M	45	Husband	English

Source: Data from language diaries (September-October 1990).

Table 4.3
Situational use of language at stores, restaurants and on the street in Gibraltar

Number of observation	Speaker	Interlocutor: Sex	Age	Relationship	Language
22	B	M	26	Constable	Spanish
23	D	...	34	Acquaintance	Spanish
24	G	...	40	Shop assistant	Spanish
25	G	F	25	Hairdresser	Spanish
26	G	...	50	Friend	Spanish
27	H	...	22	Friend	Spanish
28	B	M	26	Shop assistant	Sp/Eng
29	H	...	30	Friend	Sp/Eng
30	H	...	20 to 50	Friends	Sp/Eng
31	I	...	...	Colleagues	Sp/Eng
32	I	F	30	Best friend	Sp/Eng
33	K	F	31	Close friend	Sp/Eng
34	C	F	19	Friend	Eng/Sp
35	I	F	27	Best friend	Eng/Sp
36	I	...	...	Colleagues	Eng/Sp
37	K	F	31	Friend	Eng/Sp
38	A	...	50	Friend	English
39	B	M	65	Retired colonel	English

Source: Data from language diaries (September-October 1990).

Table 4.4
Situational use of language on the telephone in Gibraltar

Number of observation	Speaker	Interlocutor: Sex	Age	Relationship	Language
40	D	F	30	Sister in law	English
41	F	M	40	Priest	English
42	G	M	43	Husband	English
43	G	F	30	Sister	Eng/Sp
44	B	F	26	Sister in law	Spanish

Source: Data from language diaries (September-October 1990).

Table 4.5
Situational use of language at work in Gibraltar

Number of observation	Speaker	Interlocutor: Sex	Age	Relationship	Language
45	E	...	30 to 40	Colleagues	English
46	F	M	...	Rabbi	English
47	H	M	60	Boss	English
48	J	...	6 to 7	School children	English
49	E	F	44	Colleague	Eng/Sp
50	I	M	25	Lawyer	Eng/Sp
51	B	M	40	Government official	Sp/Eng
52	H	...	30 to 60	Colleagues	Sp/Eng
53	H	M	30	Lawyer	Sp/Eng
54	H	M	45	Boss	Sp/Eng
55	B	F	30	Secretary	Spanish

Source: Data from language diaries (September-October 1990).

will turn around and speak to the sales assistant next to her in Spanish or Yanito.

This sales assistant is in no way embarrassed to speak the local vernacular. A similar event occurred one day when I was walking down the street with my landlady. Normally we speak Spanish together but all of a sudden she switches to English. I could not understand why the sudden switch but when I turned around I noticed that we were walking past a grocery store packed with rowdy Spaniards buying sugar and cigarettes.

Code-switching as a choice for communicating in Gibraltar is far more common in all of the domains (except for telephone conversations) than the choice of Spanish or English. Code-switching of predominantly Spanish with English or predominantly English with Spanish is often used to affirm Gibraltarian identity, especially with Spaniards or non-Gibraltarian British citizens. But at the same time Gibraltarians express negative opinions about code-switching and they say that Gibraltarians really do not speak English or Spanish very well. Code-switching clearly has covert prestige for the members of the community in spite of the negative appreciation associated with this language behavior.

The information provided in the Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 represent the speech behavior of a middle class sector of Gibraltarian society which is considered indicative of Gibraltarian society at large. The analysis of this social group provides valuable insights on speaker's values and attitudes towards English and Spanish as well as code-switching in the community. In order to gain a more complete understanding about the status of English in the community it is necessary to look at the types of interlocutors with whom the speakers use English as well as the domains in which English is most

prevalent. Since a particular choice of code is not associated exclusively with a given domain in the data collected it is not possible to formulate any kind of norm involving the use of a particular code. In the two most informal situations (i.e. the home, on the street) indicated in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 English is used with addressees who do not have a close relationship with the speaker. See for example observation numbers 20, 38, and 39. Also observations 18, 19, and 21 indicate that English is used with family members. This is typical middle class behavior of parents who wish to give their children a head start with English and therefore make a point of using this language at home in spite of the fact that it is considered an informal context. This coincides with the fact that English is used most in the more formal domains like talking over the phone and with hierarchic superiors at the work place.

The prestige of English can be attributed to historic and economic reasons. Also English is the language taught in schools and used in local government. Spanish, in contrast, is associated with informal use in the home and with family and friends. The values and attitudes about English for this group of speakers should also be reflected in conversational exchanges where speakers change code in order to express a certain meaning. In other words both a situational approach to code-choice and a discourse should reflect the same kinds of social values which make up part of the common community knowledge and which must be acquired by speakers in that community.

Language use and attitudes

The earliest reference to the multilingual situation in Gibraltar is by the Spanish historian López de Ayala (1782: 374) who claims that during the

second half of the eighteenth century the Genoese who remained on the Rock after the British victory and the Jews who came from northern Africa spoke more or less Spanish and English as well as a dialect or a jargon which served as a lingua franca throughout the Mediterranean including Northern Africa.[7] The British conquest of Gibraltar in 1704 is considered the starting point for the contact of English and Spanish and of other languages (primarily the Italian dialect spoken by the Genoese and to a lesser extent Portuguese) spoken by those who traded and settled in Gibraltar.

English was declared the official language of Gibraltar at the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The history of the language situation from this time onwards and the origin of the local vernacular called Yanito can only be approximated by means of secondary sources such as population censuses, migration trends and important historical events.[8] There are no records regarding the language situation prior to the British conquest but it should be assumed that Spanish was the dominant language and that the Italians (Genoese) and other foreigners who had settled in Gibraltar must have spoken their own language among themselves and have communicated in the jargon that López de Ayala (1782) refers to with the local inhabitants but of which we have no definitive evidence. The English newcomers were soldiers. Most authors and historians (Howes 1982, Kramer 1986) who have written about this period maintain that contact between the civilian community and the miltary personnel was limited. The limited contact between these two groups still persists up to this day. It is likely that some sort of simplified language different from the jargon to which López de Ayala (1782) refers developed in order to communicate with the British officials and the limited British civilian population. There are three outstanding moments in the history of Gibraltar which contributed to the establishment of English in Gibraltar: (a) the concern for

providing education in English from the time Gibraltar became a Crown Colony in 1830, (b) the evacuation of the Gibraltarians in the Second World War, and (c) the closing of the frontier with Spain from 1969 to 1982.

Education was not compulsory in Gibraltar until 1917. Before this time education was in the hands of different religious denominations who saw it as a way of gaining adherents (Traverso 1980). Most of the teachers were English speaking and some like the Christian Brothers had great difficulty carrying out their task of teaching because they were not prepared for primarily Spanish speaking children. The first public school was opened in 1832 for poor children. All the schools were concerned with providing a fair knowledge of English but there was no contact with an English speaking society to reinforce the language (British soldiers nor the local population mixed together). Spanish was used and sometimes today, it is still used as a medium for explaining English terms, especially in primary schools. It was not until the twentieth century that the English language was given a real boost in the educational system. The Education Code required English to be taught for an average of one and a half hours a day. The use of Spanish was recognized for instruction (Kramer 1986). After 1945 instruction in all government subsidized schools was English. The attitude of many parents is that the schools are responsible for teaching their children English.

Another factor which influenced the people's attitudes, as well as the practical use of English was the evacuation of the civilian population during World War II. Sixteen thousand British subjects were initially taken to Tangier in Morocco, but later on they had to be transferred to other places after the French capitulation to the Germans in 1940. The refugees were taken to England (London) later to northern Ireland, to Jamaica, and Portuguese Madeira. The British government set up schools in order to guarantee the education in

English of these refugees (Traverso 1980). Repatriation of the Gibraltarians ended at the beginning of the fifties. Many of the evacuees came into closer contact with English than they would have otherwise if they had stayed in Gibraltar.

The population censuses of 1922, 1931, and 1951 included questions of levels of literacy and the ability to speak English. Unfortunately, this information is not provided in more recent census reports. The degree of literacy is relevant for understanding the evolution of the language situation. Table 4.6 indicates the figures of literacy of the population over a period of thirty years.The figures for 1951 represent the ability to read and write in English whereas the numbers for 1921 and 1931 only represent the literacy of the population without any indication of language. If literacy is taken as a measure of the level of education it is certainly the case that those people who know how to read and write will also have the ability to do so in English. The figures for 1931 are problematic in that they account for only 51% of the population which is one reason why the number of literates decreases. Another explanation may have to do with the enormous increase in the population by almost fifty percent. The population statistics of 1931 show a decrease in the number of Gibraltarians while on the other hand there was an important immigration of female British subjects from the British Commonwealth. The higher rate of illiteracy among women in Gibraltar at that time is another reason for the lower rate of literacy. If Table 4.6 is compared with Table 4.7 which provides figures for the level of illiteracy among the inhabitants of Gibraltar, we get a more complete picture of the level of education of the population at that time.

The proportion of literates and illiterates is not complementary. In Table 4.7 we can see that the number of illiterates decreases whereas we expect it to increase based on the low number of literates for 1931 indicated in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6
Literacy of the inhabitants of Gibraltar

Year	Able to read and write	Population	Percent
1921	12,371	18,061	68
1931	12,516	33,551	37
1951(a)	12,695	21,314	59

Source: Government Secretariat. 1921,1931,1951. Gibraltar Census Report. Gibraltar.
Note: (a) The data for 1951 refers strictly to literacy in English while the previous two years do not specify whether or not the statistics refer to literacy in English or some other language/s.

Table 4.7
Illiteracy of the inhabitants
of Gibraltar

Year	Unable to read or write	Total population	Percent
1921(a)	4,172	18,061	23
1931(b)	4,651	33,551	14
1951(c)	8,401	21,314	39

Source: Government Secretariat. 1921, 1931, 1951. Gibraltar Census Report. Gibraltar.
Notes: (a) The figures for 1921 include 1,580 children under five years of age.
(b) The figures for 1931 include 1,330 children under fives years of age.
(c) The figures for 1951 include 1,944 children under five years of age.

Table 4.8
Ability to speak English of the inhabitants of Gibraltar

Year	Able to speak English	Total population	Percent
1931	10,271	33,551	31
1951	13,661	21,314	64

Source: Government Secretariat. 1931, 1951. Gibraltar Census Report. Gibraltar.

The figures for 1931 are not indicative if contrasted with statistics from 1951 which includes data for 98% of the population. The existence of 39% of illiterates in 1951 following the repatriation of the civilian population after World War II is considered an important obstacle in the anglicization of Gibraltar. Table 4.8 represents the population which in 1931 and 1951 is able to speak English.

The comparison between the figures for reading and writing in English in 1951 and for the ability to speak English is to be expected. More Gibraltarians were able to speak English (64%) than read or write it (59%). This situation is similar to that of other multilingual communities such as Catalonia in Spain where the majority of the Catalans are able to speak the language (when it was restored after the dictatorship in 1975) but they had not been taught to write it. The consequences of just knowing how to speak a language leads to difficulties in policies of normalization of English where the spoken form is not backed up by a written form. This in fact can explain the particular development of the orthography of Yanito.

The closing of the frontier from 1969 to 1982 created a great deal of hostility towards Spain. Gibraltarians looked towards England; the English language received an important impulse and British customs and life-style became even more influential. In current day Gibraltar knowledge of English is high. University graduates all have an excellent level of English. A person's linguistic competence seems to vary according to social class, employment and level of education although there is no empirical data to support this. On field trips to Gibraltar it was observed that knowledge of English at school entering age varies inmensely according to the neighbourhood catchment schools where the children of the lower social classes seem to know less English than children from other catchment schools in middle class areas.

Italians were the most numerous group in Gibraltar at the beginning of the British occupation and for the years to come. Their language survived for well over one hundred years. Official ordinances proclaimed by the governor as late as 1836 were published in Italian, as well as English and Spanish (Kramer 1986:56). It is difficult to trace the evolution of the Genoese population or for that matter any other nationality in Gibraltar after 1777 as they are classified with other nationalities by religion.

The censuses are not always reliable sources as often population statistics are not based on official counts and the grouping in the official register of population changes. For example, during the first half of the eighteenth century the population is classified by nationality, whereas the data available for 1754 mixes nationality with religion; by the eighteen hundreds the categories used to classify the population are natives and aliens or foreigners. It is for this reason that the evolution of the different ethnic groups in Gibraltar is difficult to reconstruct. In addition, the different sources often present statistics with important differences regarding the total amount of population. One reason for this is that a separation between civilian and military is not always distinguished. Also, figures relating to British military presence have often remained confidential for security reasons.

There is no account of why Italian eventually died out but it did leave its imprint on the vernacular currently spoken in Gibraltar. Cavilla's *Diccionario Yanito* (1978) records many of the words from Italian used by the original Genoese merchants. Some of these words are (a) testo: *the cake pan which is used to bake the typical genoese dish Calentita* (from the Genoese *testo*); (b) mapa: *Aahinge, as on a door* (from Genoese *mappa*); (c) marchapié: *sidewalk or pavement* (from Genoese *marciapie*); (d) lala: *aunt, father's sister* (from

Genoese *lalla*); (e) estrochi: *broken, wrinkled* (from Italian *strusciare*); (f) capote: *an overcoat* (from Genoese *capotto*).

The use of the Spanish language was reinforced by among the Italians and by the contact with the neighbouring towns in Spain. The Jews that settled in Gibraltar were Sephardim. Their mother tongue was an old form of Spanish which they spoke before they were expelled from Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Spanish language was further reinforced by the Catholic Church which according to ecclesiastical law remained a part of the Diocese of Cádiz, in spite of the fact British authorities refused to recognize the jurisdiction in Gibraltar of the Bishop of Cádiz (Caruana 1989). Education by Spanish priests who remained in Gibraltar after 1704 to carry out instruction was another factor which contributed to the maintenance of Spanish in Gibraltar. Spanish has always been, and still is today (to a limited extent), an auxiliary language in primary schools in order to facilitate access to English (Traverso 1980:105). According to West (1956) the commercial ties with Spain, the need to communicate with the large influx of Spanish workers and the intermarriage of Spanish women are responsible for the survival of Spanish in Gibraltar. The evolution of the Spanish population is difficult to trace for the same reasons indicated above for the Genoese but what is different is that relations with Spanish speakers have not been interrupted since the British occupation.

NOTES OF CHAPTER 4

1. Chapter 3 contains a discussion of the different kinds of language contact phenomena that exists in a bilingual community.

2. Hymes (1970) introduced the notion of communicative competence in contra-position to Chomsky's formulation of linguistic competence.

3. The term "in-group" refers to those persons who belong to an individual's social network whereas "out-group" includes those persons who do not maintain close ties with the individual.

4. See chapter 3 on language in Gibraltar.

5. According to Kramer (1986: 81-87) there are many phonological similarities as well as differences between the Andalusian dialect and the speech of Gibraltarians. The similarities between the two dialects are: (1) yeismo or the realization of the standard Spanish voiced palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/ as a voiced palatal fricative[y] as in the word *cuchillo* knife which is realized in most of Andalusia as [k u ĉ i y o]. In Gibraltar, it is realized as a voiced fricative [k u ĉ i ž o]; aspiration which is also typical of the Andalusian dialect exists in Gibraltar as well. The loss of syllable final [s] as well as word initial [h] derived from Latin words beginning with *f-* and the voiceless velar fricative phoneme */x/* are usually aspirated. Examples of aspiration in each case are illustrated by the words *asma*[aʰma], *hambre* hunger [hámbre], and *jorobado* hunchback [horo̟ba̟do]. The loss of intervocalic [d] predominates in

all of Andalusia but it is also widespread in most the Iberian Peninsula. An example of this is *dedo* finger [dé̯:o]. The differences between Gibraltarian Spanish and the Andalusian dialect in the towns surrounding Gibraltar are : seseo, the confusion of the interdental fricative phoneme [θ] with [s] in words like *cazar* to hunt which in standard Spanish is realized as [káθár] but in seseo areas it is realized as [kásár]. This phonological process is opposed to ceceo which is typical in all the towns around Gibraltar. Ceceo consists of the confusion of [s] with [θ] that is in words which in standard Spanish are realized as [s] as *casa* house [kása] in ceceo areas of Andalusia they are realized as [káθa]. According to Kramer (1986:87) the Gibraltarian [s] is neither coronal nor predorsal; it simply does not sound like a Spanish [s] but rather like a normal [sic] alveo dental fricative such as we find in languages like English, Italian, French or German. Other aspects described by Kramer are the realization of word final [n]. In the local Andalusian dialect this phoneme is generally velarized as the following place name *Cuenca* which is realized as [Kwéŋka]. But in Gibraltar it is always an alveodental [n] as [kwénka]. If English is taken as the base language or when English lexical items are used in the local vernacular the phonological processes involved are rather different. The shortening of long vowels in a word like sheep realized as [s h i: p^h] is often realized as [s h i p^h] in Gibraltar. There is also a tendency to drop final consonants [r], [n] as in the words *andar* walk [andá] and *crin* mane [krí]in English words. According to Freddie Trinidad there is a great deal of confusion in Gibraltar with the vowel system which in the case of English involves a larger inventory than Spanish. Other characteristics observed are the realization of the voiced palatal affricate / dz / as a voiced palatal [j]. For example, Johnny which in standard British English is realized as [dzɔni] is given the following realization by Gibraltarian speakers [yɔni]. The realization of [č] as in the word

chuckle [cʌkl] becomes [sʌkl] in Gibraltarian English. Other phonological processes in Gibraltar English are typical of acquisition errors made by any Spanish speaker learning English. Such as the realization of [s] in word initial position as in the word school is often realized by Spanish speakers as [es-]; The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ are often confused with the fricative realizations which are characteristic of Spanish. For example, English voiced stops are realized phonetically as voiced fricatives as for example the English word *dare* which is realized in Gibraltar either as a voiced dental fricative [ð̪ear] or a voiced interdental fricative [ðear].

6. Gumperz (1971: 291) uses the term locale to refer to the community specific situations.

7. The Genoese dialect spoken by the Italian immigrants who had settled in Gibraltar was apparently quite different from standard Italian which was spoken at that time in Italy by an educated minority (Kramer 1986:48).

8. There is some debate regarding the etymological origin of the word *yanito* which is used to refer to the language as well as the inhabitants of Gibraltar. Cavilla (1978, 1984) claims that the term derives from a typical Italian name *Giovanni>Gianni* pronounced by Spaniards as *Yiani.* The diminutive *-ito* was added to the word and thus the term *yanito.* Kramer (1986: 93-95) maintains that it comes from the Spanish word *llano* (derived from the Latin *planus*), and because Gibraltar is located in a region where [ʎ] is realized as [y] this would explain the spelling with a *y*. Neither author provide conclusive evidence for their proposals.

Chapter 5

DISCOURSE APPROACH

A discourse approach to code-switching, also referred to as inter-sentential code-switching, deals with units of analysis larger than the sentence. The present chapter studies oral discourse in conversations with two or more participants. In order to situate the study of conversational code-switching it is necessary to examine the variety of goals and analytical procedures which are available to explain the way communication is achieved in a conversation. The two perspectives discussed are the linguistic perspective which is concerned with the form-function relation, and the non-literal meaning perspective which looks at the kinds of meanings not expressed by lexical items. The classificatory systems for conversational code-switching are largely determined by the conversational model adoted. They vary according to (a) the relevance attributed to the intention of the speaker (or lack of intention) for using code-switching in a verbal interaction; (b) the kinds of code-switching data they account for, and (c) the role of the hearer and the means by which the interpretation process is accomplished. Examples of the different classificatory systems are illustrated with the conversational data from the appendix. A conversational analysis of code-switching in Gibraltar distinguishes three distinct patterns which are used to express various meanings as well as to fulfill several discourse functions. In addition, conversational analysis shows how verbal interactions at a micro level complement and reproduce larger scale social values and attitudes associated with language use in the community.

The place of code-switching in discourse

A discourse approach to code-switching typically addresses the manner in which this form of bilingual communication is used to fulfill specific discourse functions (i.e, reported speech, interjections, repetition), to enact and negotiate relations and roles in interactions, and to convey non-literal meanings which are produced and interpreted on the basis of shared linguistic and social knowledge among the participants in a verbal interaction.[1] Discourse analysis, however, involves a much wider area of research interests, methods, levels of analysis, and data, and it is far from being a well-defined field of inquiry. In the present chapter, the kind of discourse data studied are bilingual conversations which require an inter-sentential analysis in order to obtain a full picture of the structure and the meaning of an exchange.

Conversations can be studied from a strict linguistic perspective (Harris 1951, Labov 1977, Stubbs 1983, Schiffrin 1988, Prince 1988, Kempson 1988) or from a perspective of the non-literal lexical meaning (Grice 1975, Gumperz 1982, Sperber and Wilson 1986,Cots et al. 1989, Wilson and Sperber 1993;).[2] Some researchers (Searle 1960, Austin 1962) concern themselves with the way language is used to perform actions; those actions that are realized verbally are studied in speech act theory. In all cases, conversation is an activity involving more than one person and where turns at talking are taken. Conversing not only requires a syntactic and a textual competence but also a specific kind of communicative competence which is one of the main features distinguishing it from written discourse forms or monologues. Code-switching in conversation has mainly been studied from an interpretive and non-literal meaning approach but it is also possible to study this bilingual phenomena

from a linguistic perspective taking into account the discourse strategies code-switching can accomplish in different conversational contexts. The application of speech act theory to code-switching is not treated in the present chapter since it is considered that real world actions in a strict sense are not performed simply by switching alone in the course of a conversation.[3]

Conversational analysis from a linguistic perspective may seek to explain either competence or performance data depending on the goals and the theoretical orientation of the researcher. The analysis of competence data is in accordance with a linguistic view of discourse. The principles are outlined by Prince (1988:164-181) who maintains that certain aspects of discourse belong to a person's linguistic competence. Prince argues that the underlying choice of particular syntactic or referential options in a context and the principles underlying the understanding of it must be a kind of competence that is acquired when we learn a language. She addresses the question of why syntactic and referential options exist for conveying a proposition, and what makes a speaker select one over the other in a given discourse context. [4]

A performance approach typically studies the way linguistic forms in discourse invólve a kind of knowledge which is not directly dependent on the syntactic structure of a sentence. Some of the linguistic forms commonly analyzed are adverbs (i.e. *fortunately, suddenly*), coordinating conjunctions, and other single word particles (i.e. *well, how, right*) unexplained by most syntactic theories. The goal of analysts studying these forms are to capture the way speakers and hearers understand both their meaning and their discourse function. The conversational context (i.e. linguistic context) is crucial for understanding the way these discourse particles are used.

Another area of concern addressed by a linguistic approach to conversation has to do with the textual structure of conversations; even thpugh there is

no agreement on what types of units are to be identified in a conversation. The dependency of conversation on social context and the audience or interlocutors makes the task of defining conversational units difficult. Some of the analytical units proposed are dialogic pairs (Schegloff 1972, Schegloff and Sacks 1973), the sequencing of turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974), and topic (Brown and Yule 1983).

Often the analysis of specific linguistic forms are associated with discourse organization, text coherence or functions such as boundary markers; as for example the function of the particle *well* in a conversation (Stubbs 1983:70) or the use of this particle for conversational coherence (Schiffrin 1985:640-667). Still others exploit the form-function connection by relating certain forms to specific discourse strategies such as direct speech, addressee specification, and interjections. Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Stubbs (1983:15) take coherence as the basis for defining text whether oral or written. The structure of conversation can be broken down into differentiated units which are syntactically chained into predictable linear sequences. Text is taken as a semantic unit that can only be interpreted if the relationship between its elements is examined in order to discover the overall coherence of the whole textual unit. A similar perspective is adopted by Stubbs (1983:15-39) who proposes an approach that involves a careful inspection of discourse in order to discover the surface organization and the patterns it shows.

Criticisms of a strict linguistic approach to discourse are formulated by ethnomethodologists (Sacks et al.1974) who point out the danger of presuming a priori that a single lexical device will invariably have the same interactional implications in a given context. Gumperz (1982b) adds that certain features of conversation can not be analyzed as isolated occurrences across many different conversations since they interact with other features of conversation

from different channels to produce meanings expressed through multiple channels.

In contrast to the research centered on discovering the linguistic structures and regularities in conversations, conversational analysts are also concerned with the kinds of non-literal lexical meaning expressed in the course of a conversation.[5] One particular approach that deals with meaning in a wider linguistic and extra-linguistic context is Grice (1975). His pioneer studies analyzed the role of factors external to linguistic structures. He successfully demonstrates that underlying conversational principles accounted for all the indirect information conveyed by utterances. The importance of Grice's proposals is that a wide range of phenomena that linguists traditionally claimed belonged to the linguistic meaning of the expression could be explained in terms of Grice's principle of cooperation together with the maxims of conversation.[6]

An important motivation for the Gricean framework is the distinction made between the propositional content of a sentence which is determined from the lexical items it contains and the implicatures or the meaning which is inferred by the hearer and which corresponds to the principles of conversation. For Grice the propositional content of an utterance is specified semantically with truth conditions. It is the cooperative principle which permits speakers and hearers to determine the implicatures for the additional information which is not otherwise expressed. However, as Kempson (1988) points out, not all implicatures are separate from the propositional content of an utterance. Grice (1975) argued that in a sentence like (1) the sequencing of the two events in time has nothing to do with the linguistic content of *and* rather it depends on the implicatures deducible from the speaker conforming to conversational maxims.

(1) King Kong jumped into the car and drove away

A counter example is presented by Kempson (1988:150) in sentence (2). This example seems to contradict the Gricean view that maxims operate only to determine indirect information and that they do not operate in determining the direct propositional content expressed. The main point illustrated is that the chain of reasoning applied to interpret (2) is part of the propositional content of the sentence.

(2) He didn't steal some money and go to the bank; he went to the bank and stole some money.

In relations of causality such as expressed in (2) a person is expected to go to the bank and afterwards steal the money. The reverse ordering is a violation of the causal relation inferred and obviously it does not mean the same thing. Sentence (1) also shows that the inferences about sequencing affect the propositional meaning as it does not make sense to say that *King Kong drove away and jumped into the car.* Propositional meaning is dependent on our knowledge and expectations about the world. These examples also demonstrate that there are many different sorts of meaning which together permit the interpretation of an utterance on the part of the hearer. In addition, to the propositional meaning which can be tested for its truth functional value in the real world, and implicatures there are also other sorts of meanings which derive from a particular social/cultural context or situation which do not fit the propositional content analysis nor the proposals of the Gricean framework.

A different view of meaning is proposed by Gumperz (1982, 1990) who is concerned with the way contextual cues or linguistic (i.e. code, dialect, style,

lexical and syntactic options, code-choice, formulaic expressions) and paralinguistic features (i.e. intonation, variation in loudness, vowel length, and stress) convey non-literal lexical meaning. These meanings are implicated and can be inferred by the hearer in conversation much in the same way as Gricean implicatures. Gumperz analyzes the kinds of implications absent in cases of miscommunication; that is when communication breaks down as a result of the hearer failing to recognize some underlying meaning which is determined by the social norms of the community or the culture. This sort of communicative meaning is achieved through contextualization where hearers are able to infer the underlying strategies and intentions of the speaker by interpreting the contextualization cues.

The use of contextualization cues in conversational sequences is a dynamic procedural process which also serves to create interpretive contexts as well as to establish and negotiate social relations. The new context created by speakers in a conversation and the definition or redefinition of roles and relations of the participants is based on power and socio-economic status and is achieved by the use of linguistic and paralinguistic choices. This dynamic view of meaning which is a new creation resulting from the interaction of the participants in a conversation should not be confused with the more limited notion and static view whereby a given meaning is associated with a given contextual cue in a particular context on a one to one basis.

The Gricean and Gumperzian formulations of meaning provide a basis for understanding what kind of information is communicated when a speaker code-switches. The meaning of code-switching is not fixed by a set of community values verbal strategies or contexts in which code-switching takes place. Code-switching can be used to create local meaning in the course of a verbal interaction. The creation of meaning depends on the participants, their role and

relationship to the speaker on the micro level scale and to the social, historical, political and economic conditions on the other. The task of the analyst is to relate these external variables in such a way as to gain insight on how the speaker uses various kinds of information to convey meanings.

Classifying conversational code-switching

Classificatory systems for conversational code-switching refer to the analytical units that are identified in a verbal interaction. The kinds of units recognized are directly tied to the goals and the theoretical claims the researcher wishes to make. Some of the classificatory systems proposed for explaining code-switching such as the metaphorical/ situational distinction, the strategies or functions of code-switching in the conversation, the individual/discourse related switching, or the identification of contextualization cues are discussed in the present section. An additional point considered is the extent to which the proposed models and analytical units account for the variety of code-switching phenomena that can appear in conversations.

The classificatory models that are discussed can best be understood with reference to a distinction between speaker and hearer; since the goals and the type of data analyzed differ according to whether a speaker or hearer oriented model is adopted. From the point of view of the hearer, an important concern is to examine how non-literal meaning is understood or implicated from the variety of linguistic mechanisms or contextual cues used by the speaker. Attention is given to interpretation and the manner it is achieved. This contrasts with a speaker's point of view whereby code-switching is explained in terms of (a) what non-linguistic factors influence the speaker's choice of code, and (b)

what linguistic elements (i.e. turn-taking or contextualization cues) can the speaker employ to convey individual meaning in an interaction.

One proposal made to account for stylistic choice and which is extended to code choice is Bell's (1984) speaker oriented model of audience design. The main idea behind audience design is that intra-speaker variation derives from and reflects inter-speaker variation. Code-switching phenomena within this framework is essentially viewed as a speaker's response to the audience or to the persons present in a given situation. The role of the addressee in this model accounts for a general tendency among bilingual speakers to accomodate to the languages used by their interlocutor in a previous turn of talk (Auer 1984:93-94). This is a static view of code-switching whereby individual language choice is determined by factors external to the speaker. Bell, however, considers that not all instances of code choice are responsive; a speaker may also take the initiative. This is included in Bell's notion of initiative style which is primarily referee design where the speaker chooses to diverge from the addressee and move towards a reference group which is absent. This notion of initiative style corresponds with similar observations made by other researchers such as Goffman (1981:124-159) who uses the term footing to describe when the speaker takes the initiative in order to redefine the existing context .

The distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching proposed by Gumperz (1982:60-65) to account for conversational code-switching is similar to Bell's audience and initiative model in that it adopts a speaker oriented approach. Code-switching in both models may be related either to factors external to the speaker such as situation or audience or to factors internal to the individual speaker who wants to express an intended meaning. Metaphorical code-switching contrasts with situational switching in

that the former is an instance of meaningful use of language choice while the latter is a response to the situation. Code-switching becomes meaningful precisely when the situational expectations are violated by the speaker. It is by means of metaphorical or initiative style code-switching that new footings or social relations are enacted and negotiated.

The analysis of metaphorical or initiative style switching requires a detailed examination of the entire verbal exchange. This entails a dynamic approach where the contribution of all the participants in the conversation must be taken into account in order to arrive at the speaker's intended meaning. In more recent work by Gumperz (1990) code-switching is a kind of contextualization cue that is sometimes accompanied by other verbal and non-verbal cues which jointly cooperate to express meaning which is interpreted correctly by the hearer. Contextualization must be understood together with a theory of interpretation where considerations of sequencing, conversational management, negotiation of meaning and a cooperative principle are interpreted based on previously acquired social and linguistic knowledge.

Extract #1 (Appendix: transcript #1:279-280) shows how a speaker uses code-switching to convey a specific meaning which is not expressed by the lexical items. In addition, the analysis of this extract demonstrates how other verbal and non-verbal cues cooperate with code-switching to convey meaning. This conversation takes place in an electronics class at a professional school in Gibraltar. The participants are the teacher, three students and the researcher. The hierarchical relationship between teacher and students is the object of analysis; the identities of the students are not distinguished since their individual contributions are secondary to their role as students in this analysis and also because it is difficult to recognize each one in the recording.

The class is organized in an informal way and the teacher's main objective is to review material which had previously been dealt with.[7]

Metaphorical code-switching is exemplified in the beginning of line #18 and later on in lines #44 and #45. The interpretation of code-switching by the teacher is to reduce the distance created by the hierarchical relationship with the student. The approximation of the teacher is accomplished by switching to Spanish in line #18 to give encouragement and in lines #44 and #45 the teacher uses Spanish to reformulate the question and to clarify the point. The purpose of using Spanish here is not to facilitate the student's understanding of the question as their English is fluent enough to have grasped it the way it was originally formulated. The teacher who is in the powerful position intiates a change in his position with respect to the students. By using Spanish an informal situation is created where the students feel less pressured by not having to answer in English. This extract can equally be explained within Bell's model of audience design. The teacher's switches to Spanish constitutes initiative switching whereby the speaker is redefining his relationship to the addressees. By using a style which speaker's in Gibraltar normally reserve for close friends and family the teacher is treating the students as if they were friends thus neutralizing the formal classroom situation and creating an environment of informality. Note that the meaning of switching here derives precisely from the violation of situational use of language. Since English is the language of instruction in the educational system in Gibraltar when Spanish is used it always has significance which can only be understood in a detailed analysis of the context of each conversational exchange.

Extract #1

T: The three electrons transmitted from a hot /?/... / then we we've covered them on the handout I gave you // <reading intonation the struggle of electrons are admitted to particles are converted to another beam> again should be * in your handout * talking about the /?/ and the grid // <reading intonation state the electrons impinging on a prepared screen producing a spot of light the brightness of which depending on the intensity> that is also in the handout // next one * which is forty describes how the main intensity can be varied again / we talked about it changing the potential of the * /?/ which should increase or decrease the flow of electrons // <reading intonation explain how the beam can be deflected by a high potential difference between pairs or metal plates> you can talk about a potential unity pair of plates // WHAT TYPE of machine are they talking about?

S: Plates there

T: But... eventually where will that tube be used // for? Will it be used for a television?

S: Uh / no

T: No // why not?

S: *Sí porque lo que estás diciendo es un* coiler *un* coiler */¿/*
[Yes, because what you're saying is a coiler, a coiler.]

T: *Sí exacto* // OK that is that is the main difference you know // <reading intonation state how the beam is deflected> now the next one comes up <reading intonation state that a beam IS DEFLECTED> that that is that is the... that's the principle of the television tube you remember as well the difficult display with the magnet / just walking behind the oscilloscope making ehm beam move

S: Does that have anything to do with the coilers?

T: Well all I have to do really if I've... / I've been using a permanent ehm but if I get a a sonogram which is a coil... I pass my hand through it it's a it's a convenient magnet isn't it?

S: */¿¿/*

T: Well I mean the the beam * is inside the oscilloscope and the magnetic field doesn't really matter whether it comes from a permanent magnet or it comes from a coil / the magnetic field is the same really // it's just the source that we are changing // the next one is <reading intonation state the purpose of coils on brilliance controls> that I think it's a very obvious the purpose * of the focus of the brilliance do you know what is meant by time base the time base what was the time base? Do you remember?

S: */¿¿/*

T: What does a time base do * to in the picture? What do you... if you take..

S: It controls the beam

T: It moves moves the beam from left to right yes // it's a oscillator that

40 transfers... what shape of oscillations or waves does it produce? What
41 type of a wave? Is it a sinusoidal wave that the type of wave it produces? Is
42 it a square wave? Is it triangular? Or is it isosceles?
43 **S:** Isosceles
44 **T:** *¿Qué tipo de /¿/ tiene en el* wave*? Que el* time of wave *produce que va*
45 *a aumentar los* plates *// no te acuerdas ¿no?*
[What kind of /¿/ does the wave have? That the time of wave produces that the plates are going to increase. You don't remember, do you?]
46 **S:** *No*
47 **T:** *Eso lo llaman /?/ // vale //* get that bit in a */?/* and *//* the last bit there
48 says this kind of simple wave can be displayed */?/ //* how can a simple
49 wave be displayed in the tube? Where will you collect... what they're
50 asking here is do you know where the signal eventually goes in the tube?
[They call that /?/. O.K. ...]

Code-switching which is considered a contextualization cue co-occurs with other contextualization cues analyzed in extract #1. The function of code-switching in this extract is essentially to reduce the social distance between teacher and students but this is also accomplished by other means in this exchange. For example, in line #12 the question formulated by the teacher does not make use of typical fall-rise question intonation of English. The beginning of the question *what type of machine* in line #12 is uttered with emphasis but with no accentual prominence or other indication that it is intended to be a question. The differentiated intonation pattern of this question has the same effect as code-switching; namely, to reduce the formality or the distance by trying to avoid the typical power role where the teacher asks questions and demands answers from students. By making the utterance less question like and more matter of fact emphasis is taken off the student's performance. The teacher's attempt to create a situation where emphasis on performance is reduced is also reflected in line #14 where the first sentence is a false start followed by a reformulation of the question whereby additional clues are included as an aid for the students. The presence of the researcher

probably was an influencing factor in the teacher's attempts to play down the role of student performance. Lines #41 and #42 is an additional example of how the teacher attempts to cut the social distance by providing a list of alternative answers.

Another observation about extract #1 has to do with the way the teacher carries out the task of going over the material. The structure of this whole exchange is one of question and answer carried out between teacher and student. The teacher on his part alternates reading from the book with his own explanations and comments. The instances of reading which are indicated in the extract are much slower and monotonous than the teacher's own comments and interventions which are uttered with more varied intonation and at a more rapid pace. The structure of this interaction is determined by the discourse patterns of question/answer and reading/comment by the teacher. A violation in the structure of the question/answer pair as illustrated in line #12 is a kind of contextualization cue which complements the meaning the teacher is trying to express by using code-switching.

An issue that is raised by both Bell's and Gumperz' distinctions is the notion of meaning thatis, the kind of meaning associated with two code-switching types proposed (situational/audience switching and metaphorical/initiative switching). It is often assumed that situational switching is devoid of meaning since speakers are responding to certain circumstances external to them rather than trying to use code-switching to express some intended meaning. Situational or audience related switching is caused by specific social circumstances or the presence of persons who symbolize certain positions and roles in the community. In this case, the correlation between social factors and language choice is a direct one. The social meaning associated with language choice reflects the social make-up of the community

as well as the local social norms, values and attitudes. The role of background knowledge is also an essential component for interpreting the social meaning of audience or situational switching. Situation in Gibraltar is a variable that does determine language choice. The use of English in the local government and also the use of English by parents with their children at home are examples of situational use with a different meaning in each case. The British modelled government system in Gibraltar and contact with Britain require the use of English for carrying out government business. Whereas the reason why a mother or a father uses English with their children in Gibraltar is because that child needs English to succeed in the educational system and also because English is the prestige and educated variety.

In extract #2 (Appendix: transcript #9:409)Yvonne uses English to address the waiter and Spanish to address her friend Nati. This is a clear case of audience or situational use of code-switching which can only be interpreted if a person knows that most of the waiters employed in Gibraltar are from Great Britain and in many cases they do not know much Spanish. English is used for practical reasons of making the request understood. It should be noted that to address a Gibraltarian waiter in English has a totally different meaning; it would be a sign of unsolidarity and a way to create social distance.This extract illustrates the importance of community knowledge in order to understand the situational choice of language.

Extract #2

1 **Y:** Excuse me, could we have two coffees and some scones, please?
2 **N:** Yvonne, *para mí no vayas a pedir* scones *de esos que ahora me estoy*
3 *tratando de controlar un poquito antes de Pascua.*
[Yvonne, don't order those scones for me now that I'm trying to control my weight a little bit before Christmas.]

An additional way of classifying conversational code-switching from a speaker's perspective is in terms of specific discourse functions. A typology of discourse functions is proposed by Gumperz (1982) based on his observations of three culturally different speech communities. The same discourse functions are also observed by the McClures (1988) in the Romanian town of Vingard where Saxon, German and Romanian are in contact. The main conversational functions accomplished by code-switching are analyzed with examples from Gibraltar. Some of the most typical functions are quotation,addressee specification, reiteration or repetition, interjection, and message qualification among others.

These functions are considered universal in the sense that they can be identified in a wide variety of different communities but at the same time there is no rule nor any one to one relationship between function and code-shoice in a given situation. Code-switching is just one of the choices available to speakers for structuring their discourse and as demonstrated in extract #1 it can be accompanied by other lexical and non lexical phenomena which are equally important for the meaning and the organization of a conversation. In any case the identification of discourse functions is a first step in an analysis of conversational code-switching and it contributes to understanding the kind of social and communicative knowledge a speaker and hearer must have in order to maintain conversational involvement.

The explanatory value of identifying conversational functions of code-switching is more limited than the previous classificatory unit of metaphorical or initiative style switching. The main difference consists in the static meaning derived from the direct relationship between code-choice and discourse functions as opposed to the interactional and creative meaning of metaphorical or initiative style code-switching. A strict classificatory approach leaves out the

most important meanings that are conveyed through mechanisms of turn-taking, intonation, pauses as well as other linguistic means. Short illustrative extracts in some cases of a single speaker are taken from different situations in order to show the variety of conversational functions fulfilled by code-switching in Gibraltar.

The words underlined in extracts #3 (Appendix: transcript #4:329) and #4 (Appendix: transcript #4:331) are examples of the way code-switching is used to qualify what has previously been said. In extract #3 the speaker switches to Spanish to qualify the Moroccan population who live in old military barracks in a section of Gibraltar called Casemates. Qualification of the message here involves the reiteration of a similar idea previously expressed. By adding that the Moroccans are farmers the speaker is contrasting herself and the sector of the population she represents as more prestigious and higher up on the social scale than the Moroccans. Extract #4 is also a case of code-switching fulfilling the discourse function of message qualification. The difference with the previous extract consists in the fact that the qualification is realized by a different person.

Extract #3

1 **A:** Some of them might. Like me, my, my, my husband is Moroccan. But
2 he's not Moroccan; he's French Argelian, but he's Moslim, and he, he, he
3 is not... He doesn't live down there. He never has nor... He said that all
4 who live down there are from the countryside, *campesinos ¿no?*
5 [farmers ¿no?]

Extract #4

1 **A:** More or less. The populations all stick to themselves, like a circle.
2 **E:** *Sí ,ellos se ayudan mucho.*
[Yes, they help each other a lot.]

The use of code-switching for direct speech or quotation is a typical way of highlighting the role of a person who is not present in the conversation. The sentences underlined in extract #5 (Appendix: transcript #4:334) show how English is used to reproduce the speech of British nurses. This is also a case of metaphorical code-switching where a change in footing takes place. The use of direct speech as a discourse function is a means of including people in the conversation who are not physically present. Both the choice of direct rather than indirect reporting together with a change in language contribute to highlighting the absent participants. The metaphorical meaning of code-switching in this example is tied to community stereotypes regarding the british and the Gibraltarian character. A similar use of code-switching is illustrated in extract #17.

Extract #5

A: *Mira yo he trabajado con ellos en* maternity. *No es trabajar pero he vivido la sala y la he visto. Había dos pacientes yanitos,* they were going to have a baby. *Ellas prefieren que esté un* nurse *con ella que es de Gibraltar o que hable su lenguaje porque es más cariñosa dicen. Porque los nurses ingleses le dicen que quiere levantar la almoada y dicen:* "Oh, I haven't got the time now. Wait until later". "Your husband can do it for you". They are colder. The attitude is cold.

[Look, I've worked with them in maternity. Not exactly work but I've lived the ward and I've seen it. There were to Yanito patients, they were going to have baby. They prefered to have a nurse with them from Gibraltar or who speaks their language because they say they are more kind. Because if you ask an English nurses to help raise your pillows they say...]

The repetition of certain lexical items underlined in extract #6 (Appendix: transcript #4:310-311) fulfills the function of emphasis more than one of clarification. The effect of switching into English when uttering *dancing* or *sailors* has the effect of attracting the addressee's attention whereas the repetition in

Spanish of *bailando* and *marinero* is to maintain the consistency of language in the interaction. The speaker feels uncomfortable code-switching and hesitates to use to use two languages in a single utterance; this is plausible since the intervention took place towards the beginning of the interview when the participants are still deciding which linguistic repertoire to use. The word *bebiendo* is first uttered and then repeated in English. The reason for this switching pattern eventually has to do with meaning since *bebiendo* in this linguistic context does not usually imply the drinking alcoholic beverages while the English does not have this added meaning. The repetition of *bebiendo* is for purposes of clarification.

Extract #6

1 **A:** *Y la gente también tenía, en la juventud... Hablando de la juventud, la*
2 *gente tenía mucha más vergüenza. No entraban en un pub como hoy en*
3 *día a tomar una copa. Y tampoco había por la calle Real todos los bares*
4 *eso que las mujeres venían* dancing *¿no? Bailando. Y bebiendo,* drinking,
5 *con el* sailors, *con los marineros*, sailors *¿no? Y estaba la vida de los*
6 *gibraltareños era muy diferente...*
[People also had when they were young... Speaking about young people, people were a lot more self-conscious. They wouldn't go into a pub like they do today to have a drink. And there weren't all those bars on Calle Real where women came dancing ¿no? dancing. And drinking, drinking,with the sailors, with the sailors, sailors ¿no? And the life of Gibraltarians was very different]

Extract #7 (Appendix: transcript #6:366) fulfills the function of addressee specification whereby two different persons are being addressed within a single exchange. This example is extracted from a conversation which took place at mealtime with a Gibraltarian family. The speaker first responds to one of the persons sitting at the table by pointing out that she has not been served (i.e. *What about me?*) and within the same turn she repeats a question her husband has just asked and immediately answers by directing her response to her husband and addressing him in English (i.e.

Darling). Spanish is the main language of this intervention and English is used to indicate that a different person is being addressed.

Extract #7

1 **P:** *¿Y yo qué? Ah, que no tenía que haber comido.* Darling, *tenía hambre.*
[What about me? Oh, I shouldn't have eaten. Darling, I was hungry.]

The underlined particle in extract #8 (Appendix: transcript #2:290) and extract #9 (Appendix: transcript #2:290) illustrates the way code-switched items are used as sentence fillers. In Spanish the particle *no* can be used for several functions which include the mitigation of an order or statement, the attempt to gain the approval of the addressee or in the case it does not fulfill any particular function other than a filler it can suggest politeness or insecurity both which are properties characteristic of women's speech. It occurs often in the speech of Gibraltarians and in the recordings of a variety of different speakers. Ij both extractx #8 and #9 the *no* is more of a sentence filler indicating the participants' nervousness about being interviewed.

Extract #8

1 **M:** How deep your voice *¿no?*

Extract #9

1 **O:** What? That's just not a living-room and a dining-room. A living-room,
2 dining-room *¿no?* Sort of one room.

The list of discourse functions discussed above simply involves the association of linguistic form and language with function. Speakers learn how

The list of discourse functions discussed above simply involves the association of linguistic form and language with function. Speakers learn how to use certain linguistic forms for specific purposes in a conversation from their experience in everyday life situations as well as from their social knowledge they acquire. The use of discourse functions in conversation is a way to reproduce the roles and situations which take place so frequently that they have become ritualized. Well established domains and situations in which English and Spanish are used in Gibraltar are central for understanding what the speaker is trying to reproduce when using two languages in a conversation.

Auer (1984, 1988) proposes a model to analyze conversational code-switching where sequences of turn-taking are the main object of study. According to Auer language alternation (a cover term he uses for inter-sentential code-switching) is the outcome of a speakers compromise between the necessity to contextualize a new activity or to accomodate to the language choice of the previous speaker. It is the contextualizing function of code-switching which is is developed in this model. This proposal is a universal classificatory system for code-switching which provides the procedural apparatus for arriving at local interpretations of all instances of language alternation in a situated context. It is along these lines that Auer's model differs from Gumperz' contextualization cues model which is mainly concerned with the verbal and non-verbal cues that hearers interpret as meaningful.

All instances of language alternation (Auer 1988) in conversation (i.e. in sequences) whether within a single turn or between turns can be explained at a local level by discovering what interpretations can be given in each individual case. From an analytical perspective all the language alternation units recognized in a conversation are either instances of transfer or code-switching. Language alternation that is considered transfer consists in the switching of a

structural unit such as a word, clause, or sentence. Transfer can be identified because there is a fixed point of return into the first language when the switched unit is completed. Language alternation that is classified as code-switching differs from transfer in that there is no return to the first language. That is, the same or a subsequent speaker introduces a new language which is continued. Code-switching data does not always have meaning as in the case of discourse and participant related language alternation. The concepts of *transfer* and *code-switching* are meant to account for the decontexualized meanings of the two languages.[8] Transfer is used to account for those instances where there is language alternation of a certain unit with a structurally provided point of return into the first language at the unit's completion. Transfer typically occurs within the same turn. Code-switching is any language alternation which takes place at a certain point in the conversation without a structurally determined return into the first language. There are numerous practical problems with identifying and distinguishing transfer from code-switching, especially when code-switching is found within a single turn. This is illustrated in relation to the examples discussed.

The local interpretation of transfer and code-switching in a conversation is arrived at by examining the context and determining whether the object of language alternation (i.e. transfer or code-switching) can be attributed to the participant or to the organization of the discourse. Auer has provided the terms participant and discourse related language alternation. Participant related alternation involves using code-switching to find and negotiate the proper language for interaction. It must be a language which is situationally adequate, that accomodates everyone's competences and preferences. Both participant and discourse related alternation can be associated with both code-switching and transfer so that a four way distinction is used to arrive at a situated

interpretation of language choice: participant related code-switching, participant related transfer as opposed to discourse related code-switching and discourse related transfer. Each of these distinctions is illustrated by examples of situated interpretation.

Extract #10 (Appendix: transcript #7:392) is an example of discourse related code-switching. Speaker E is talking about her experience with a spiritist. In lines #3, #4, #5 and #6 the speaker switches into English to reproduce in direct form the speech of the participants who were originally present in that situation. This brings about a change in the footing of the speaker or as Auer has mentioned; switching here signals a change in the conversational context. From a methodological perspective extract #10 raises the practical issue of whether the units switched in lines #3,#4, #5 and #6 should be considered code-switching or transfer. This is because it is unclear whether we are dealing with the switching of units or a point of transition in the turn. The reason extract #10 is classified here as code-switching rather than as transfer of sentence units is because switching in this case seems to be less tied to a structural unit and more related to reproducing what other participants actually said. However, this is a weak point of Auer's model which gives the impression of being rather arbitrary.

Extract #10

1 **P:** *Que cuando tú te sientas ,allí está.*
[That when you sit down, there she is.]
2 **E:** *Allí. Ella está allí al lado, conmigo. Porque yo tenía donde está ella*
3 *sentada, al lado tengo una silla.* She's always looking at you. You'll never
4 go lonely. *Y otra vez me dijo, dice* I wanna talk to you, you be careful.
5 *Dice,* there is a nun behind you... She is your angel. Be careful with your
6 *legs.* Your knees... *Yo aquí no te dejo. /?/. Escucha...*
[There. She is there beside me, with me. Because I had a chair where she was seated. She's always looking at you. You'll never go lonely. And another time she told me, she said I wanna talk to you, you be careful. She said, there is a nun behind you... She is your angel. Be careful with your legs. Your knees... I won't leave you here /?/. Listen...]

Extract #11 (Appendix: transcript #1:279) and extract #12 (Appendix: transcript #4:332) are instances of discourse related transfer. The particle *no* in extract #11 was also discussed above in the conversational functions of code-switching. In Auer's model that particle is a sentence filler like a side remark which contributes to the organization and coherence of speaker T's turn. This example is taken from a context where what precedes and what follows is carried out in English. The insertion of a single element in Spanish is the basis for claiming it is transfer.

Extract #11

1 **T:** Right, if we go through the syllabus I think we've covered a bit over a
2 couple of pages *¿no?*

Extract #12

1 **A:** Oh, *sí.* He's a very nice man, a very nice person as well. *Pero* ... and
2 he's from Eygpt. Doctor Faisel, he's from Egypt. He started Ramadan
3 yesterday, as well. *Hace* Moslem fast for thirty days *¿no?*
4 **M:** And you're Moslem as well?
5 **A:** No, no.
6 **M:** But your husband is.
7 **A:** Well he doesn't really do much about it *¿no?* He's not interested really.
8 Although, of course, he believes in God.

In extract #12 the particles *sí* and *pero* in line #1 and the particles *no* in lines #3, and #7 are further instances of discourse related transfer. These particles all contribute to the overall organization of the text. The particles in line #1 are more closely linked to the unity of the text than the particle *no* which is more like an after statement.

An example of participant related code-switching is illustrated in extract #13 (Appendix: transcript #6:363) . This conversation takes place in the home of a Gibraltarian family where all the participants live. Speaker P in line #1 is addressing E in English since she does not know any Spanish; later on in line #9 speaker P addresses participant A in Spanish because she hardly speaks English although she does understand some. The speaker is responding to her addressee by chooosing the appropriate language to address to each one of the participants in the conversation.

Extract #13 .

1 **P:** What has happened to your trousers?
2 **A:** *¿Qué dice?*
[What are you saying?]
3 **E:** A pen. That's why I have to get to the cleaners.
4 **A:** *¿Ya te la has roto? Oh.*
[You've already ruined it? Oh.]
5 **P:** *Sí, pero...*
[Yes but...]
6 **C:** Oh, those are your new trousers?
7 **P:** They are new?
8 **E:** They're the ones I bought and the everything...
9 **P:** *Eso es tinta, Ana. Eso no se quita.*
[That's ink, Ana. That doesn't come out.]
10 **A:** *No es tinta.*
[It's not ink.]
11 **C:** There I have... I have I have a thing on how to take out stains. Wait a
12 minute.
13 **E:** They're just dirty, I need to wash them.
14 **P:** Don't take them. I'll put the... I'll put the washing machine on.
15 **E:** No, no, no.
16 **P:** So if you have anything on the bed it has to be hand washed. You can't
17 do it in the...

Extract #14 (Appendix: transcript #3:295) is a conversation among colleagues at one of the local schools in Gibraltar. Participant related transfer is illustrated in extract #14 in lines #6, #7, #9, #11 by the speaker's preference for the English terms *head of year* or *year coordinator* rather than some Spanish

equivalent. Language alternation in this case involves a single lexical item expressed in English in otherwise Spanish context. The preference for the English term is not because they could not come up with a Spanish one rather it is because the terms are widely spread and they have come to represent a fixed meaning whichwould sound quite strange if it were uttered in a different language.

Extract #14

1 **T:** And then two sixth years and a fifth year stood back and said come in. I
2 was waiting for that.
3 **E:** *Pero tú te esperas que en este, en este, en este* day and age *que se*
4 *cojan las niñas y te dejan a ti de pasar, porque te /?/.*
[But do you expect that in this, in this, in this day and age that the girls are going to stand back and let you in because you /?/.]
5 **A:** Heh, heh.
6 **E:** *Vamos, porque sea el* head of year *de aquí.*
[Just because you are head of year around here.]
7 **T:** *No /?/. Además yo no soy* head of year.
[No /?/. And in addition I'm not head of year.]
8 **E:** Sorry.
9 **T:** *Yo soy* year coordinator.
[I am year coordinator]
10 **E:** Sorry, sorry.
11 **T:** Now the... now the in word is coordinator.
12 **E:** *Yo es que creí que todo /?/.*
[I just thought that everything /?/.]
13 **T:** *Escucha, ya hasta los* toilets *son* coordinated.
[Listen, now even the toilets are coordinated.]

Most of the classificatory systems proposed to account for inter-sentential code-switching in the present section share to a greater or lesser extent two concerns. First, those systems or models need to account for every single instance of code-switching data that appears in conversations. Regarding this concern, it is Auer's model which copes best with all the data. Gumperz' metaphorical/situational dichotomy also acounts in a broad sense for most instances of code-switching. The approaches characterized by identifying just

the discourse functions or the contextualization cues fall into the danger of excluding cases of code-switching data that do not carry meaning or fit into the classificatory categories. Second, all of the systems proposed recognize that a speaker primarily code-switches in two ways: (a) as an initiative to express a meaning intended by the speaker or (b) as a response to persons or situations. Bell's model of audience design neatly takes situation to be derived from a response to persons who are not present. Whatever model or approach used to explain code-switching these two points regarding the accountability of the data and the speaker's individual use of code-switching will need to be included.

Conversational code-switching

The link between classificatory systems of code-switching data and the explanatory goals to be achieved are illustrated by the different analyses illustrated above to account for conversational code-switching. So, for example, the model proposed by Auer is applicable to speakers without a developed linguistic competence in the languages they code-switch. A micro-level analysis of interactions such as that proposed by Gumperz is intended to account for those instances of meaning which are communicated through the use of contextual cues. The drawback of the models and classificatory systems presented is that they do not provide a comprehensive account either of the data or the meaning produced by the speaker and understood by the hearer. The reality of code-switching in Gibraltar is much more complex and not a single model among the ones discussed are sufficient for explaining the variety of code-switching data, as well as the different kinds of meanings that code-switching can express.The analyses discussed in the present section

show that in a single community more than one analytical approach is needed in order to relate meanings established at a micro level of the interaction with the wider social significance of code-switching in the community of Gibraltar.

An important issue in the analysis of conversational code-switching data is the way in which the units of a micro level analysis can be related to larger macro level factors. Extract #1 discussed in the previous section illustrates how particular exchange structures are related to situation. A particular situation in which code choice is determined in Gibraltar is in the class room. Since English is the official language of education all schools must carry out formal teaching in this language. Spanish is occasionally used by teachers for the purpose of clarifying concepts and ideas for students whose English is more limited. Extract # 1 is an illustration of this sort of situational use of English. The first half of the recording until the break the teacher goes over certain concepts and asks students questions about the material. The atmosphere is informal and the relationship of teacher with students is solidary. This solidarity is expressed by a shift in code to get the student to elicit the answer. See how in Extract #1, line #44 and #45 the teacher repeats the question this time in Spanish.

The conversational style typically used in classes are exchanges where teachers ask students questions and they must respond. Extract #1 is just one example of the many instances of question answer pairs that occur during the class. This pattern of question-answer is also indicative of the roles of the participants in the class. In this kind of context both the teacher and the students can ask questions but for different purposes. The teacher may ask a question in order to find out what the students know whereas a student is not entitled to ask a question for this purpose; they must request information or clarifications on something they do not know. The background knowledge of

the teacher as opposed to the student is reflected in the type of question and the way it is asked. The teacher-student roles are carried over to the second half of the recording where the researcher is talking to the teacher. The researcher continues to treat the teacher as such and she adopts the role of student by requesting information. This is illustrated in extract #15(Appendix: transcript #1:283) .

Extract #15

C: *Bueno, a ver que sale. Las cosas que a mí me interesan son la lengua. ¿Cómo está...? Porque aquí en el* college*...las cosas ¿qué son? siempre en inglés o...*
[Well, let's see what comes out of it. The things that interest me are languages. What is...? Because here at the College... are things always in English or...]
T: *Bueno, eh,* officially *todos, todo* el examining board is... *son todos en inglés. Con que* really we are supposed to... we should teach them the proper things in English, first of all, because eventually they have to answer for them. But if during the process you find out that some people are giving you a weird look, inquisitive look, I mean, what's wrong with switching over you know. Cutting off into the Spanish memory; if you like,getting the point across. And then you bring them back to English again. I mean since they don't have any English exams or such, I don't see the problem really.
[Well, officially all, all the examining board, they are in English. So, really we're supposed to...]

Throughout the conversation speaker T adopts the role of teacher by answering the researcher's questions and adding on more information which he considers pertinent about the language situation in Gibraltar. However, towards the end of the conversation there is a change in role or footing by the teacher when he asks the researcher questions in order to obtain information he wants to know. One of the instances where the teacher changes his footing is illustrated in extract #16 (Appendix: transcript #1:287-288) .

Extract #16

1 **T:** *Bueno, tú dices el sistema del* O levels and A levels also *le llaman*
2 *formación profesional?*
[Well, you say that the systems of O levels and A levels are also called professional training.]
3 **C:** *No, no. Formación profesional es formación técnica de electrónica, o*
4 *de delineante.*
[No, no. Professional training is technical training like electronics or drafting.]
5 **T:** *Sí.*
[Yes]
6 **C:** *Es que no lo sé.*
[I don't know]
7 **T:** *Y* once they have done that, can they get a job anywhere doing that?
8 **C:** Yeah, yes, they get a job.
9 **T:** It's accepted by the state.
10 **C:** It's like a vocational school.

In lines #1, #2, and #7 the teacher requests information thus putting the researcher in the position as the provider of information or the authority in the interchange. While extract #1 shows how code-choice is a sign of solidarity in the class room context, it also establishes the conversational style (question-answer exchanges) and a particular system of roles which are reproduced later on in the conversation between researcher and teacher.

The analysis of code choice in extract #17 (Appendix: transcript #4:321-322) shows how the individual use of language reflect the communities overall attitudes about English and Spanish. The use of background information about the speakers suggests that the Spanish language can be associated with lower social status in Gibraltar. Transcript #17 from which the extract is taken is a semi-spontaneous interview at the local hospital in Gibraltar. The participants in the conversation are the interviewer (**M**), and two middle-aged nurses Elisa (**E**), and Antonia (**A**). Elisa was born in Gibraltar and is of Spanish origin while Antonia was born in Ireland but has lived in Gibraltar since she was a teenager. In extract #17, the interviewer has just inquired in

English about the kinds of people who live in the different neighbourhoods of Gibraltar, in particular in the area around Moorish Castle.

Extract #17

A: No, no, no everybody lives there. Staff. You've got... The staff from the hospital live there obviously. But the thing is we all know each other and we tend to help each other. The people who have been living there for years. Mind you.
M: Uh huh.
A: They all know each other. They say "Well, how are you? How are you feeling? We all seem to know what has happened to you so far or have you been ill or anything like that, that tends to maybe... Obviously I'm not that older. *No me pasa a mí tanto ¿no? Pero te pican a la puerta. "Oye mira Àntonia...mira, no me encuentro bien hoy. Tú te vas a la tienda me traes un..."*
[It doesn't happen to me so much. ¿no? But they knock on your door. Hey, look Antonia... look, I don't feel well today. You go to the store and you bring me a...]
E: *Eso era también otra cosa antes de cerrar la frontera. Pero yo me acuerdo cuando era chica. Cuando yo era chica, las vecinas pues se ponían en la puerta a charlar unas con otras, o* "Annie *a ti te hace falta algo", o "yo te ayudo". Pero después de la frontera, a estilo inglés, cada uno en su casa y cada uno se apaña como le da la gana.*
[That was also something else before the border closed. But I remember when I was small. When I was small, the neighbours sat at the front door to talk to one another or "Annie do you need anything" or "I'll help you". But after the border, English style; each one in their own home and each one make do as they please]
A: *Sí, pero se moría en ese* attitude. *Y mira lo que está pasando.*
[Yes. But people died with this attitude. And look what is happening.]
E: *En todas partes del mundo. Eso es en todas partes del mundo. Pero te ayudaba si te hace falta o si algo o faltaba algo pero después también te echaban.*
[All over the world. That is all over the world. But they helped if you needed something or if anything...or anything was missing but afterwards they through you out.]
M: *Es que los ingleses son un poco más fríos.*
[The British are a little more cold.]
A: *Si más frío el carácter, vaya.*
[Yes, a colder character, yeah]
E: *Sí, por ejemplo... yo mira yo vivo en un bloque donde hay cincuenta y ocho personas. Bueno pues hace ya más de un año y medio que vivo allí y yo no conozco a todos ellos. Ahora, si vienen* and they ask me for a favor. *"Mira ,Elisa, que quiero que tu médico me vea que si esto". Bueno que he hecho* an appointment and I'll fix everything for her *¿tú sabes? Bueno,* after that I'll stick to my house and she sticks to hers *y cada uno... Ahora, antes no. Antes yo me acuerdo que mi madre se ponía en la escalera, se sentaba y "Otilia ,vente aquí", la otra, "Mira que ahora viene el de los pasteles, vamos a comprar pasteles". Y había otra cosa ¿no?*

[Yes, for example... Look I... I live in a building where there are fifty eight people.Well, I've been living there for over a year and a half and I don't know all of them. Now if they come and they ask me for a favor..."Look Elisa I want your doctor to look at this for me to see if... that I made an appointment and I'll fix everything for her. You know? Well, after that I'll stick to my house and she sticks to hers and each one... Now, not before. Before, I remember my mother sat on the stairs and "Otilia come here" and she answered "Look, the pastry man is coming, lets buy a pastry". There was another thing ¿no?]

33 **A:** *Sí.* It was something different then.
[Yes, it was something different then]

34 **E:** *Y hoy en día hace a estilo inglés; cada uno por su lado y* if you want a
35 favor I'll do it and that's that.
[Nowadays, British style; everyone to themselves and if you want a favor I'll do it and that's that.]

Extract #17 starts with Antonia responding to an inquiry in English by the researcher about the people living in the Moorish Castle area of Gibraltar. The first instance of code-switching is in line #9, where a change of footing (Goffman 1981) takes place. The speaker changes languages to situate herself in a different context outside of the immediate conversation. Within the same turn Antonia changes footing again but this time without changing language. This second change in footing is accomplished in lines #10-11 by direct speech. A further observation to be made about Antonia's turn is that Spanish is chosen to reproduce her daily relations with the neighbours.

Elisa in the next turn lines #12-16 continues the conversation in Spanish. She claims that people were friendlier before the border closed down. This opinion contrasts with Antonia's direct experience with her neighbours. Elisa's intervention is more of a subtle difference of opinion rather than a strong case of disagreement.

Antonia in line #17 disagrees with this cold behavior more than with Elisa's particular description of the situation. She takes a more positive attitude towards the relationship with her neighbours which contrasts with what one would expect since she come from an Irish background. Elisa, on the other hand, whose family background is Spanish expresses a typically British

perception of her own neighbourly relations. The switching of the word *attitude* in line #17 does not have any particular social significance here.

Elisa, in lines #20-27 uses code-switching to indicate a change in footing. The switch from Spanish to English comes at precisely the point where her neighbour asks her for a favor in line #22. This contrasts with the switch uttered by Antonia in lines #9,#10, and #11. The underlying meaning of Elisa's switch is tied to her negative perception of British life-style and neighbourly relations. English acquires a negative value in this context as it is associated with negative aspects of social life. This individual demonstration by Elisa of her view of British life-style is a reflection of the community's view of the British in reference to this particular subject.

On an interactional level something else is accomplished by Elisa's code-switch in lines #25, #26, #27 and #28. Elisa is indirectly showing her disagreement with Antonia's experience. Her predominant use of Spanish throughout the interview as well as in this extract, in contrast with Antonia, is related to the image she wants to portray as well as to reflect her negative attitude towards British life-style. Disagreement is accomplished not only by differences in opinion but also by the use of code-switching. For an outsider to Gibraltarian society the meta-linguistic meaning of Elisa's switching might be missed since she comes from an Irish background with what would predict that she would. In contrast Elisa, whose family is Spanish, expresses a typically British perception of neighbourly relations. Elisa, in lines #23-#32 uses code-switching to indicate a change in footing. The switch from Spanish to English comes at precisely the point where her neighbour asks her for a favor in line #25-#26. This contrasts with the switch effectuated by Antonia in lines #9,#10, and #11. The underlying meaning of Elisa's switch is tied to her negative perception of British life-style and neighbourly relations. English

acquires a negative value in this context as it is associated with negative aspects of social life. This individual demonstration by Elisa of her view of British life-style is a reflection of the community's view of the British in reference to this particular subject.

The use of code-switching for humorous purposes is not new. Woolard (1988) analyzes the effect of Catalan-Spanish code-switching in the jokes of Eugenio a local entertainer. Eugenio's success has much to do with the social and political atmosphere in Catalonia at the time. The social message which audiences found so appealing was that it reduced tensions between Catalans and Spanish speaking Andalusian immigrant groups. Symbolically it represents that two socially differentiated language groups could co-exist and interact peacefully (Woolard 1899:73).

Extracts #18 (Appendix: transcript #8:396) and #19 (Appendix: transcript #9:415) fare semi-planned conversations between two housewives broadcasted over the local Gibraltar radio station. The type of code-switching in these transcripts is markedly different from normal conversational uses of Spanish and English.

The conversations in both extract #18 and extract #19 are primarily Spanish which is the language of informal domains in Gibraltar; code-switching of culturally bound expressions and phrases in English creates a humorous effect that distinguishes it from other kinds of code-switching data that have been analyzed. Although the humor of extract #18 also results from the setting and the situation where a woman is falling asleep in a cafeteria. Expressions like *on the whole* in line #16 *no such luck* in line #6 or *season ticket* in line #10 are terms associated with specific kinds of contexts spoken in Englishwhich sharply contrasts with the Spanish situations and contexts in which these expressions would be uttered. The main function of this kind of

code-switching is for Gibraltarians to express their particular identity. This is an important issue for the Gibraltarians since the two languages they use represent two distinct cultures which they only partially embrace. Therefore, in order to avoid being the outcasts either British or Spanish culture they need to find ways of reaffirming their own identity. The way this is accomplished is by using forms that are language and culture specific. Since a Gibraltarian's familial language is Spanish or some form of code-switching the meaning it acquires in extract #18 and #19 underline the important differences with the Spanish.

The continuous influence and social, political and economic pressure from Spain creates a situation where Gibraltarians need to reaffirm their separate identity and background in order to survive. There is not so much of a need to emphasize a separate identity from Great Britain since it is such a long distance away.

Extract #18

N: Yvonne, Yvonne. Wake up! *Pero que te estás quedando dormida en medio de la cafetería.*
[You are falling asleep in the middle of the cafeteria.]
Y: *Uy, hija, no me zarandees.*
[Hey, don't shake me.]
N: ¡*Uy, qué vergüenza ,mujer! Estás dando cabezones. ¿Esto qué es? El* Tony *¿no? Que no te deja de dormir.*
[How embarassing. Your head is dropping. What's going on? It's Tony, isn't it? He doesn't let you sleep.]
Y: *Sí, ojalá fuera eso, hija.* No such luck. *No, Nati, lo que me pasa es que estoy muerta de sueño porque me estoy acostando todas las noches tardísimo con el cardeo este del* drama festival.
[I wish it were. No such luck. No, Nati, I'm so tired because I've been going to bed so late every night on account of the drama festival.]
N: *Te dije que no te comprases un* season ticket, Yvonne. *Que son muchas noches y acaba una hecha una porquería. Yo por eso voy* two or three times only.
[I told you not to but a seasons ticket, Yvonne. It's too many nights and one ends up exhausted. That's why I only go two or three times.]
Y: *A mí es que no me gusta perderme ningún* play. So, I sit through them

14 all, *y a veces se tiene una que tragar cada rollo...*
[I don't want to miss a single play. So, I sit through them all and sometimes I have to swallow some real flops.]
15 **N:** *Digo.*
[I agree]
16 **Y:** *Pero* on the whole, *vamos, vale la pena. Yo creo.*
[But on the whole, it's worth it I think.]

Extract #19 does not have such a humorous effect as extract #18, in part because the topic of conversation is not so amusing. The code-switching data, however, are essentially the same as in the previous extract except perhaps that the expressions are less ritualized or to use Goffman's term they do not frame the context as in the previous extract . Code-switching into English and especially the choice of culturally bound contextual expressions may also be interpeted as a kind of status symbol within the community since it can be an indicator of education, non-allegiance to Spain or the Spanish way of life, or a more middle or upper class background.

Extract #19

1 **Y:** Anyway, *yo creo que las personas* who support *todos estos grupos*
2 *como lós* Friends of the Earth *son personas que* are very close to
3 nature.
[Anyway, the people who want to support all those groups like the Friends of the Earth are people who are very clse to nature.]
4 **N:** Sí, sí.
[Yes, yes.]
5 **Y:** *Y yo no veo a ninguno de los* opposition fitting into that category,
6 *vamos.*
[And I don't see anyone from the opposition fitting into that category, come on.]
7 **N:** *Cómo que no,* Yvonne. *Tú no estás bien* informed.
[What do you mean Yvonne? You're not well informed.]
8 **Y:** *¿Por qué?*
[Why?]
9 **N:** *Pues ¿y el* Palmer's boy? Anthony himself.
[Well, how about Palmer's boy?]
10 **Y:** *¿El* Palmer's boy*?*
[Palmer's boy?]
11 **N:** *Mira, el* Palmer *ese que tiene una finca con más árboles de naranjos,*
12 *de limoneros, de rosales. Éste sí que está* close to nature.
[Look, that guy Palmer has property with orange and lemon trees and roses. He

certainly is close to nature.]
13 **Y:** *Ah, entonces ya éste está listo.*
[Then this guy is ready.]

Different patterns of conversational code-switching are illustrated in extract # 17, and in extracts #18-#19. In the first case, code-switching involves the alternate use of sentences from English and Spanish while extracts #18-#19 involve the switching of phrasal constituents and expressions which are bound to contexts ctypically associated with English. In the case of alternate uses of English and Spanish sentences code-switching is structurally the same. In contrast the type of code-switching manifested in extracts#18-#19 is structurally different according to the language. The conversation is primarily in Spanish and the phrasal elements or cultural expressions are English. This contrasts with extract #17 where there is more of a balance in the use of the two languages. These two patterns of code-switching fulfill different discourse functions and also are used to express different kinds of meaning. Extract #17 involves a kind of code-switching which must be analyzed from an interactional perspective in order to recuperate the way language choice is dependent not only on the participants but also the context. In extracts #18-#19 the role of the participants or the context are not important since switching is mainly carried out for the purpose of humour. As mentioned earlier the humor of the text stems from the contrast of English cultural expressions with an otherwise informal Spanish text.

Another kind of code-switching pattern is illustrated in extract #20 (Appendix: transcript #15:469-470) where single lexical items in English are inserted into an otherwise Spanish text. The conversation in extract #20 is taken from transcript #15 in the appendix and it involves a conversation between the researcher and an old Gibraltarian women who is visiting from

London. The structural units and the content of the words switched are different from the code-switching that is manifested in extracts #17 and #18-#19. The kind of code-switching that takes place in extract #20 does not fulfill any clearly defined discourse function. The reason for inserting single word constituents is more of a personal choice or preference rather than a question of the speaker's linguistic competence since E is fluent in both languages. The switching in extract #20 is more like that of #18-19 than that of #17 in the sense that neither context nor the particpants have anything to do with the speaker's choice to insert words from another language.

Extract #20

E: *Esos... los hijos son cinco, cinco de la madre y todos son diferentes. Éste es diferente, éste es diferente, y éste, y éste.*
[Them.. they are five children, five from a mother and each one is different. this one is different, this one is different, and this, and this...]

C: *Pero se quieren mucho.*
[But they love each other a lot.]

E: A*h, se quieren sí. Ellos me hacen* telephone *cada semana, a veces tengo tres* telephones, *una a las nueve, el otro a las diez, y el otro a las once. Saben que a la una yo no voy a coger porque* mommy*ya no está en la casa. Lo que haga a la una y media dice mamá ya se ha ido. Bueno dile a* mum *que yo le hago* telephone *esta noche. A veces me hacen* telephone *cuando yo vengo a las cuatro y media y antes de irse a... a la casa. Me hacen telephone ¿*mum *como estás? Bien. ¿Qué has ganado en el bingo? Sí. No. No. Está bien. Mira que vamos a venir esta semana. Vamos a venir el domingo a verte. Está bien. ¿Que vais a venir a comer o a tomar té? No, vendremos a tomar té porque la comida es mucho pa tí. Y yo ya preparo el té, hago el* sandwich, *hago una ensalada, compro* cake, *alguna lata de fruta con crema fresca,* potato crisps *algo* easy, *porque ellos comen /?/* a dinner. *No quieren dar el mareo de estar yo todo el día fregando platos.*
[Yes, they love each other. They telephone me each week, sometimes I receive three calls, one at nine, one at ten, and one at eleven. They know I'm not going to get the phone because mommy not at home. Whatever I do, at one thirty they say mom has already left. Well, tell mum I'll call tonight. Sometimes they call me when I get back at four thirty before they leave for home. They call me, mom how are you? I'm doing alright. Did you win anything at Bingo? Yes. No. No, that's alright. We're going to come by this week. We'll come on Sunday to see you. That's fine. Will you be coming for lunch or for tea?We'll be coming for tea. Lunch is too much work for you. And I prepare

tea, sandwiches, I buy a cake and a can of fruit with fresh cream, potato crisps, something easy because they /?/ eat a dinner. They don't want me to bother with washing dishes all day.]

19 **C:** *Ha, ha. Eso está bien.*
[That's a good deal]

20 **E:** *Viene el chico, antes que se vaya y se pone a fregar los platos para*
21 *yo no tenga que hacerlo.*
[The youngest comes before he leaves and washes the dishes so I won't have to do it.]

NOTES OF CHAPTER 5

1. Code-switching may also be analyzed as a way of enacting social, political, economic, and historical relations of power and solidarity in micro-level social relations.

2. There are other approaches to meaning that do not directly affect the use of code-switching in a sentence such as the manner in which the semantic component of a grammar determines the basic propositional content associated with a sentence. The study of the propositional content involves examining the truth value of a proposition or the minimal conditions under which a particular proposition would be true in the real world and this is determined by the meaning of the expressions it contains as well as its syntactic configuration. Another rather different view on meaning which has not been incorporated in the present discussion is the one proposed by Labov and Fanshel (1977). In this study of a psychoanalytic session they try to link a speaker's underlying meaning and actions to their actual linguistic utterances. The underlying meanings and actions are the basis of the sequencing in certain kinds of conversation. Thus meaning is associated with the underlying intentions of the speaker.

3. The term speech act can have a more general meaning which is used to refer to any communicative act. This is not the meaning referred to in the text.

4. An example of competence data analyzed from a discourse perspective is illustrated by the following examples proposed by Prince (1988).

Options (a) and (b) in Example (1) are acceptable but not in example (2).

(1) Whether the Israelis found Eichmann, or whether someone informed them, is not known. Both Wiesenthal and a second Nazi-hunter, Toviah Friedman, have claimed that ...

(a) ... they found Eichmann

(b) ... it was they who found Eichmann

(2) Just last week Eichmann's supporter's claimed he would never be found and this morning Wiesenthal and Friedman announced that ...

a) ... they found Eichmann

** b) ... it was they who found Eichmann

The difference in acceptability of the options in examples (1) and (2) is related to the fact that *it-clefting* is a focus-presupposition sentence which is structured into two parts: an open proposition and its instantiation. Acceptability or felicity of the sentencerequires that the open proposition be appropriately recuperated as shared knowledge. In example (1) the shared knowledge is that someone indeed found Eichmann; whereas in example (2) the open proposition of the *it-cleft* is not shared knowledge. In other words the fact that *they* found Eichmann is not a fact which is shared. The choice of certain syntactic constructions, in this case an *It-cleft,* triggers certain non-logical inferences that Prince claims belongs to a speaker's linguistic competence.

5. Grice's maxims of conversation provide a more specific account of the way hearers make inferences. The main maxims are *quality* whereby speakers do not say things that are false, *quantity* whereby neither too much nor too little

should be said, *relevance* whereby irrelevant things should not be said, and finally the *manner* in which information is presented (Grice 1975).

6. In relevance theory the question of meaning is restated in terms of the way hearers interpret utterances through a process of inference as opposed to decoding. Sperber and Wilson's proposal is a fully articulated pragmatic theory whereby the principle of relevance plays a key role in the interpretation of the intended meaning. While relevance theory is not included in the present analysis on code-switching in Gibraltar it is applicable a valuable tool for understanding the non-literal meaning conveyed by bilingual speech behavior.

7. The symbols used in the analysis of extract #1 are a more expanded version of the list included in the appendix. All punctuation (i.e. commas, periods) has been supressed with the exception of question marks. The purpose for this is to present the timing of the pauses in a less arbitrary way since often convention dictates where a period or a comma should appear but in the actual flow of speech there is no justification for them.

Symbol	**Significance**
...	Unfinished word, sentence, or expression
/?/	Just one unintelligible English word
/??/	Between two and ten unintelligible English words
/¿/	Just one unintelligible Spanish word
/¿¿/	Between two and ten unintelligible Spanish words
//	Major phrasal break
/	Minor phrasal break
*	Pauses less than 0.5 seconds

**	Pauses longer than 0.5 seconds
CAPITALIZATION	Indicates emphasis or extra prominence
< >	Extra-textual information is included within these brackets
<acc>	Accelerated speech
<dec>	Slow speech

8. In this discussion code-switching, as suggested by Gumperz (1990), is taken as a contextualization cue. Contextualization cues operate at different levels of speech which are: prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice, and choice of lexical items or expressions. Gumperz also adds that contextualization cues serve to highlight, foreground or make salient certain phonological or lexical strings, that is, they function relationally. It is also important to point out that there is no one to one correlation between contextual cue and foregrounding process.