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**Llanitos on TV: Code-switching patterns in the
speech of two Gibraltarian generations**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the formal description of Llanito, a linguistic phenomenon spoken in Gibraltar and characterized by code-switching (CS) between English and Spanish, as well as the analysis of the influence of sociological and pragmatic factors (i.e., age and (in)formality) on this phenomenon. The study was carried out by compiling all cases of CS from one episode of the TV program *City Pulse*, produced by speakers of two generations. The CS cases were classified into inter-clausal, intra-clausal and tag-switches (Poplack, 1980) and the matrix and embedded languages involved were also considered. The results showed the older generation's preference for inter-clausal CS, and the younger's for tag-switches, alluding to the age of the speaker (and, to a lesser extent, the (in)formality) as a determining factor for a preference for a specific type of CS; and a higher frequency of English as matrix language but only for inter-clausal and tag-switches. These results may contribute to a more refined characterization of the CS in Llanito.

Keywords: code-switching, Llanito, Gibraltar, matrix language, embedded language

RESUMEN

Este trabajo se centra en la descripción formal del Llanito, un fenómeno lingüístico hablado en Gibraltar que se caracteriza por la alternancia de códigos entre español e inglés, así como en el análisis de la influencia sobre éste que tienen factores sociológicos y pragmáticos (edad e (in)formalidad). El estudio se llevó a cabo recopilando todos los casos de alternancia de códigos de un episodio del programa de televisión *City Pule*, producidos por hablantes de dos generaciones. Los casos se dividieron entre interoracional, intraoracional y coletillas (Poplack, 1980) y también se tuvieron en cuenta la lengua matriz y la incrustada. Los resultados mostraron la preferencia de la generación adulta por el tipo interoracional, y de la generación joven por la intraoracional y las coletillas, que alude a la edad del hablante (y, en menor medida, la (in)formalidad) como factores determinantes para la preferencia de un tipo

específico de alternancia; así como una mayor frecuencia de inglés como lengua matriz pero solo en el tipo interoracional y las coletillas. Estos resultados pueden contribuir a una caracterización más refinada de la alternancia de códigos en el Llanito.

Palabras clave: alternancia de códigos, Llanito Gibraltar, lengua matriz, lengua incrustada

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1. Introduction

The linguistic landscape of Gibraltar, although very rich and interesting from a linguistic perspective, has not been the focus of too many academic studies. Nonetheless, Gibraltarian people have their own unique way of expressing themselves, which sets them apart from other communities of English-Spanish bilinguals: Llanito¹. Llanito and its role for the identity of its community of speakers have been mostly analyzed in sociolinguistic terms. However, the present study aims to take a look at the way Llanito is spoken from a linguistic perspective, since there is a lack of academic studies that try to give a general formal description of the up-to-date use of Llanito rather than focus on one specific aspect. In order to achieve this, the study focuses on the main feature of Llanito, namely, code-switching, which is analyzed based on an adaptation of Poplack's (1980) typology, which distinguishes between inter-sentential, intra-sentential and extra-sentential CS based on the level at which the switch is produced. Moreover, the syntactic form and the language that provides the base for the CS are also taken into account. Additionally, the present study is also concerned with how the different production of each type of CS is affected or conditioned by sociological and pragmatic factors such as the age of the speakers or how spontaneous and/or informal their speech is. With the purpose of achieving these objectives, an episode of the Gibraltarian TV program *City Pulse* has been selected, as said program consists of interviews to members from the Gibraltarian community. The episode selected contains interviewees of two generations, around 20 years apart, and their production of CS was compiled, classified and analyzed.

Section 2 of this dissertation provides information regarding the context in which Llanito appeared, as well as its main characteristics. Then, section 3 gives an account of the main linguistic and sociolinguistic studies conducted on Llanito in the last decades. In section 4, the two main objectives of the study are presented, and section 5 deals with the methodology that is used in order to achieve those objectives. The results obtained are provided in section 6, and they are discussed in depth in section 7. Lastly, section 8 gives

¹ The present study capitalizes the term Llanito. Although its linguistic status is still debated among scholars, there are instances of studies referring to this phenomenon as "Llanito" or "llanito". However, while establishing a definition for this phenomenon is not the aim of the present study, the use of the capital letters is employed not to claim Llanito to be categorized as a language itself, but to acknowledge its importance as a form of communication for the Gibraltarian community.

a general overview of the conclusions reached by the present study regarding Llanito's form and the influence of the aforementioned factors.

2. Gibraltarian bilingual communication: Llanito

Llanito, (or Yanito²) has been loosely described as “the way of speech of the English-Spanish bilinguals from Gibraltar” (Vázquez Amador, 2018: 325). The term was initially used to refer to the inhabitants of Gibraltar, but it was not until the 1970s that it was used to refer to the Gibraltarians' particular way of speech (Canessa, 2019). Nonetheless, there is no unanimous answer among scholars as to what the definition of Llanito should be, and linguists disagree whether it is a “form of oral expression” born from a mixture of Andalusian Spanish with syntactic and lexical elements from English (Levey, 2008: 3), a linguistic phenomenon born from the contact and consequent alternation between English and Spanish (Gerke, 2018; Suchora, 2020), or even a “local vernacular language” (Loureiro-Porto & Suárez-Gómez, 2017: 95). As the aim of this study is not to categorize Llanito as either a language, a dialect or a form of expression, but rather its linguistic description, we will adopt and extend the second definition since code-switching both lexical and syntactic, is indeed the main and most distinguishable feature of Llanito (Levey, 2008). Additionally, while code-switching is essential for Llanito, what distinguishes this phenomenon from other forms of code-switching of English and Spanish is the role that Llanito plays in the identity of Gibraltarians, which, in the following sections of this dissertation, will serve us to contextualize the linguistic and sociological importance of this phenomenon.

2.1. Sociohistorical context of Llanito

In order to understand the current linguistic situation in Gibraltar, as well as the significance of Llanito in this community, it is essential to know about the history of The

² Each orthographical variant, <ll> or <y>, corresponds to a different theory about the origin of the term Llanito/Yanito (Errico, 2014). For the present study, the first variant was selected as it appeared numerous times in popular contexts produced for and by Gibraltarians, such as Facebook groups like “Speak Freely Gibraltar llanitos only”, YouTube videos like “What do you think makes us Llanito?” by GBC News, or even TikTok videos by the self-called “Llanito History Doctor”; which suggests that a significant number of speakers of Llanito prefer this spelling. This is further evidenced by Rodríguez García (2022), who produced a questionnaire where the participants, all Gibraltarians, recognised either the use of both spellings indistinctly or only the one with <ll>.

Rock³ (Moyer, 1992). As Moyer (1998: 216) states, Gibraltar has been, throughout the centuries, “a melting pot of peoples from different cultural backgrounds and (...) languages” who settled in this territory for military and commercial reasons. Official records from the 18th century state that the population of Gibraltar had British, Spanish, Genovese, Jewish and Portuguese origins (Loureiro-Porto & Suárez-Gómez, 2017), with the occasional presence of Maltese, Indian and Moroccan individuals (Canessa, 2019). This combination of people prompted the emergence of a pidging language that included elements from Italian, Spanish, English, Arabic and Hebrew, which would eventually be adopted and used by the Gibraltarian population for the following centuries (Loureiro-Porto & Suárez-Gómez, 2017). Nonetheless, the British and Spanish communities are the ones that had a greater effect and presence in this territory, since Gibraltar steadily remained under Spanish control from the 16th century until the beginning of the 18th century, when Britain secured this territory through the Treaty of Utrecht (García Caba, 2022; Levey, 2008).

The initial linguistic landscape of Gibraltar in the 18th century consisted of monolingual Spanish speakers, who were the local inhabitants of the territory, and monolingual English speakers, who belonged to the military and political spheres and lived separated from the Spaniards (Errico, 2014). This landscape evolved over time until the community became fully bilingual, and in recent years, there has been an emerging and overpowering presence of English in areas that were previously dominated by Spanish (Errico, 2014). Scholars such as Moyer (1992), Suchora (2020) and García Caba (2022), among others, highlight three main historical events that led to the increased presence of English in the Gibraltarian community, starting with the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1805), which resulted in the improvement of the civil rights of Gibraltarians and the adoption of an education system based on the British model and taught in English, turning Spanish into one of the subjects of the curriculum (García Caba, 2022; Suchora, 2020). The next change took place as a result of the Second World War (1939-1945), since a significant number of Gibraltarians had to evacuate to England and certain British colonies, and thus, their relationship with the English language and culture was strengthened (García Caba, 2022).

³ ‘The Rock’ is a term used in certain contexts (scholarly articles, maritime language, etc.) to designate Gibraltar (Suchora, 2020). This expression comes from the Rock of Gibraltar, a promontory located at the eastern end of the Strait of Gibraltar, also known for being one of the Pillars of Hercules (Rodríguez, 2024).

Lastly, the historical event that had the greatest effect was the decision on the part of General Francisco Franco to close the border in 1969 (“la verja”, the name used to refer to the fence that separates British and Spanish territories) and to end all types of terrestrial contact with Gibraltar, effectively prohibiting the passage of cars and pedestrians for thirteen years (Canessa, 2019; García Caba, 2022). Not only did this closure have long-term effects that affected the economy, society, and culture of the area, it also isolated the Gibraltarians from their Spanish neighbors, families, and friends. This situation, thus, created a sense of self-exclusion and strong nationalism on the side of the Gibraltarians, which fed the already-present anti-Spanish sentiment and fueled the negative perception of this country and the desire of the Gibraltarians to separate themselves from everything Spanish (Canessa, 2019; Errico, 2014). Overall, the 20th century contributed to the development of a stronger sense of community among Gibraltarians and tightened their ties with Britain (Canessa, 2019). Recent years have also made an impact in the “tumultuous” (Gerke, 2018: 39) relationship between Spain and Britain, namely Brexit and Covid-19 lockdowns, which scholars like Chevasco (2021) believe may have an effect in Llanito and the Gibraltarian identity. Additionally, other scholars (e.g., García Caba, 2022; Gerke, 2018) suggest that speakers seem to prefer one language over the other depending on their affinity to Spain or Britain, rejecting the use of Spanish when the Spanish government adopts measures that are detrimental for the Gibraltarians, and vice versa. Thus, the still-ongoing Brexit negotiations regarding Gibraltar and the possibility of a treaty that allows free circulation between this territory and Spain (de Faramiñán Gilbert, 2023) will probably affect the linguistic future of The Rock.

These historical events play an essential role on the identity of the Gibraltarians, as scholars like Kellerman (2001) or Moyer (1992) suggest that their identity is directly linked to, on one hand, the desire to differentiate themselves from the Spanish speakers and their nation, and on the other hand, their loyalty towards the English language and government. This attitude is reflected in the use of each language; while Spanish and Llanito are reserved for the private sphere and spoken among friends and family, English is the prestigious variety, used in formal contexts like work or school and to communicate with government officials. However, English has been gradually appearing in private and familiar contexts as well, to the point that it is now the first language of most Gibraltarians (García Caba, 2022; Loureiro-Porto & Suárez Gómez, 2017; Moyer, 1992; Weston, 2012). However, while the preference for the usage of English seems to be increasing

according to the instances just mentioned, it should be noted that Gibraltarians also seek to “underline their distinctness” (Moyer, 1992: 221) with respect to the British, as they are caught in the conflict between two competing nations, and the usually-positive view of Britain becomes pessimistic during times of political instability (García Caba, 2022; Gerke, 2018). This means that, as García Caba (2022) suggests, speakers seem to prefer using the language of the nation that provides stability, so when political issues arise where Gibraltarians are weary of the decisions that the British government will take (e.g., during Brexit), they alternate more frequently with Spanish.

Gibraltarians are, therefore, trapped between the Spanish and British powers, and this situation pushes them to create and self-define their own identity, that, in Gerke’s words, “is neither British, nor Spanish, but entirely their own” (2018: 54-5). After all, according to Gerke, Gibraltar’s political status and frontier are beyond the control of its inhabitants, and this leaves them in a powerless position. These circumstances allow Llanito to acquire a central role in the creation of the Gibraltarian identity, as this linguistic phenomenon is used by Gibraltarians to subvert the power dynamics by allowing or denying “access” to their knowledge and spaces by speaking in a way that is only fully comprehended by other Llanitos.

2.2. Characteristics of Llanito

As previously mentioned, the exact definition for Llanito continues to be a debated topic among scholars, and there is no consensus regarding whether or not it has the status of a language. However, it is possible to identify a concrete set of characteristics that define this linguistic phenomenon. Firstly, and according to Levey (2018), its syntactical foundation is Spanish, but it contains multiple borrowings from other languages, and while the majority of words come from English, there are terms from Genoese (*marciapê*, “pavement”) or Hebrew (*ha ham*, “boss”) among others (Levey, 2005; Abas, 2018). Nonetheless, these non-English terms are slowly disappearing from the lexicon (Levey, 2008). English borrowings, on the other hand, were initially used for primarily cultural words or phrases that had no direct equivalent in Spanish, although their pronunciation was adapted to the Andalusian Spanish accent, as exemplified in (1):

- (1) I spent my adolescence (...) playing with *meblis* [marbles], having my *cuecaro* [Quaker Oats], *carne combí* [corned beef], *arischu* [Irish Stew], cheese and onion *Walkas* [Walkers Crisps], *Milo* [Milo], *el capotí* [cup of tea], *liquirba* [liquorice bar], *rolipos* [lollipop], *chingas* [chewing gum], cod balls in oil and breakfasting on *beicbins* [baked beans], and *panquequi* [pancake]. These are all words—borrowed from English—that are used in Gibraltar. (Oda, 2019: 34)

Nevertheless, Levey (2018) states that, with the recent rise in English proficiency among the Gibraltarians, rather than using terms with no Spanish equivalent, words or phrases are borrowed for language convenience or succinctness. The use of “false friends” and mistranslations is also extended (e.g., *ella siempre saca buenas marcas*, she always gets good marks), and there are instances of words created with humorous intentions (e.g., *cachonfinger*, from the Spanish “cachondeo”, where “deo” has been hypercorrected to “dedo” [finger] and subsequently translated into English) (Levey, 2008).

Apart from these lexical elements, the key feature present in Llanito is code-switching (CS), and it is also the most studied (Errico, 2015; García Caba, 2022; Gerke, 2018; Gorla, 2020, 2021; Levey, 2008; Moyer, 1992; Weston, 2013; among others). While the details regarding the definition of CS have been amply discussed by scholars, *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* defines this phenomenon in broad terms as the ability of bilinguals to alternate with no effort between the two languages that they speak (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). This alternation may range from the insertion of single words to large phrases, including terms with phonological adaptations, like some of those seen in (1). Poplack (1980) established a classification of CS structures which was widely adopted by other scholars to study this phenomenon (e.g., García Caba, 2022; Koban, 2013; Moyer, 1992; Weston, 2012), and for this reason, this classification will also be used in this study. More specifically, Poplack (1980) distinguishes three types of CS from a grammatical perspective: tag switches or extra-sentential, where tag elements from a different language are inserted in an otherwise monolingual discourse, like in (2); inter-sentential, where the switch from one language to the other takes place outside the clause level, like in (3); and intra-sentential, where the switch occurs in a single utterance at clause, phrase or word level, like in (4). Moyer (1998) also adds to this distinction another category, referred to as turns, where the language switch occurs at consecutive turn-takings between the speakers, like in (5).

- (2) Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina, *right?*
[Because there is a gasoline strike, right?]
(Zentella, 1997; as cited in Koban, 2013)
- (3) Really, what a brainwave, *a lo mejor se creen que en Gibraltar las personas son sardinas.*
[Really, what a brainwave, maybe they believe that in Gibraltar people are sardines]
(Moyer, 1998)
- (4) Leo un *magazine*
[I read a magazine] (Poplack, 1980)
- (5) A: Not only that, my dear, but from what I've seen they keep it closed until the plane lands. What a fandango, my dear.
B: Como que el hombre de las llaves va a termina cansao with so many comings and goings.
[Like the man of the keys is going to end up tired with so many comings and goings]
(Moyer, 1998)

A characteristic that was previously mentioned regarding Llanito is that its syntactic base is Spanish (Levey, 2008). According to Myers-Scotton's (1993) *Matrix Language Frame Model* (MLF), during CS production, there is one language, called matrix language, that is more dominant and provides the morphosyntactic base for intra-sentential CS, while the other language, or embedded language, is the one inserted into the matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 1993, as cited in Koban, 2013). Following Myers-Scotton's (1993) model, and also according to Levey (2008), the matrix language in Llanito would be Spanish, as it incorporates words and phrases from English. However, and as will be evidenced in the following sections of this dissertation, the matrix language in Llanito can also be English depending on certain aspects, such as the level of formality of the communicative context. Despite this language alternation, and with the aim of showing how this approach may not be the most appropriate to analyze Llanito, the terminology coined by Myers-Scotton (1993), *matrix language* and *embedded language*, will be used in the present study.

In the same line, another essential aspect of CS that can also be applied to Llanito is proposed by Gumperz (1982), who offers a major constraint of CS and states that the switches can occur as long as the grammar rules of the matrix language are not violated, and therefore, when alternation happens between languages whose syntax is very different, the switches tend to involve large constituents such as clauses or NPs, while in languages that are syntactically similar, the switches can occur at any level (Gumperz, 1982, as cited in Koban, 2013).

As seen in this section, Llanito has a very significant role on the identity of the members of the Gibraltarian community, as it distinguishes them from the two political and cultural entities that have a direct influence over Gibraltar (the United Kingdom and Spain) and allows them to forge an identity of their own. However, while its social significance is stated, scholars debate whether Llanito is a language by itself, as it is essentially based on the alternation between English and Spanish that resulted mainly from the coexistence of these two languages (among others, such as Hebrew, see section 2.1.)⁴. This debate will be further explained in the following section of this dissertation, as it focuses on the different studies conducted on the topic of Llanito and CS in Gibraltar.

3. Previous studies on Llanito

Weston (2012) claims that the sociolinguistic profile of Gibraltar is remarkably interesting for the study of CS and language variation. In the last two decades, significant empirical works have been produced on the topic, specially highlighting that of Goría's (2020) and Levey's (2008), and a written corpus of Gibraltarian English, framed inside the International Corpus of English (ICE) project and compiled by Seoane et al. (2023). Other foundational studies that contributed greatly to the research on Gibraltar's linguistic landscape were conducted by Moyer (1992, 1998), however, while the information extracted from her studies is very valuable and still relevant in the present, it corresponds

⁴ It is crucial to note the distinction between Spanglish and Llanito. Spanglish is another phenomenon that involves CS of these two languages, and it has sometimes been used to describe Llanito in non-academic contexts. While CS is integral for both concepts, Spanglish is associated in the literature to a different geographical and social context, i.e., the English-Spanish bilingual communities in the U.S., and it is linked to Hispanic culture and Latino identity (Zentella, 2017). Moreover, Moyer (1992) claims that language contact in Gibraltar dates back to the beginning of the 18th century, while Betti and Enghels (2018) date the origin of Spanglish to the 19th century. Thus, Llanito has a different sociohistorical background and is particular to Gibraltar and its inhabitants.

to data from late 1980s to 1991. This means that the situation of Llanito in the 21st century is not included, and many scholars (e.g., Weston, 2012; Gorla, 2020, 2021) have drawn attention to the importance of the generational gap among Gibraltarians and its effects on the use of CS and current status of Llanito.

In addition, it should be noted that the research on the field of bilingualism and CS has been very relevant in the last decades and there is a wide range of studies that undertake CS from two main perspectives, sociolinguistic and linguistic (Stell & Yakpo, 2015). The sociolinguistic perspective is concerned with the motivations behind CS, and the linguistic perspective is mostly dedicated to the study of its morphological and syntactic patterns (Stell & Yakpo, 2015). In the case of CS in Llanito, scholars generally adopt a sociolinguistic perspective, as their studies mostly deal with the pragmatic reasons behind the use of Llanito or English-Spanish bilingualism on Gibraltar. When scholars focus on the structural characteristics at the base of Llanito, it is generally only with the purpose of explaining its use and the reason for it.

Among these sociolinguistic studies of Llanito, the ones conducted in the last two decades focus on the gradual loss of Spanish among Gibraltarians due to socio-political reasons (see section 2.1.), and as a result, they conclude that there is a smaller number of bilingual individuals and that the use of Llanito is also decreasing (Chevasco, 2019; Errico, 2014). One of the most significant studies is conducted by Levey (2008), whose results corroborate the younger generations' preference for English, and he also raises the possibility that teenagers whose main language is English may resort to traditional language patterns, i.e., Spanish and Llanito, as identity markers. The decrease in the use of Spanish is also observed by Weston (2012) in his study, which analyzes the increase of English-noun insertions in Spanish discourse.

Similarly, Chevasco (2019, 2021) analyzes the linguistic attitudes and tendencies of young adults in Gibraltar, as well as the use of Llanito, and concludes by defending the need to preserve Llanito as it is a principal element in the identity of Gibraltarians and its loss may have an effect on it. The significance of Llanito for the Gibraltarian identity has been the central element in other sociolinguistic studies, such as García Caba's (2022) and Gerke's (2018), as both conclude that CS serves the function of building a common identity based on the rejection of the two political powers that the Gibraltarian society is subjected to.

In the case of the linguistic perspective, two studies conducted on the last decade by Errico (2014) and by Goría (2020) offered a significant insight regarding the current linguistic landscape of Gibraltar. Errico's (2014) study analyzes grammatical lapsus of English-Spanish bilinguals based on a corpus collected in the two Comprehensible Schools of Gibraltar. Although her study does not focus on CS, it does show that the knowledge of Spanish of the new generations is generally reduced to colloquial vocabulary and informal structures, constricting the access of Spanish to the higher registers where English is used, which may be one of the reasons for the decrease in Spanish proficiency.

Regarding Goría (2020), he analyzed English-Spanish CS throughout three generations using data from 2013. Goría concluded that Gibraltarian CS may be undergoing the first stage of a process referred to as fusion, in which an emerging language is formed by the sedimentation of CS patterns. One case of fusion that Goría explores happens when one Spanish peripheral element (like a conjunction or a subordinator) is inserted in an English clause, which appears regularly in the Gibraltarian community. In said case, the switch between the languages loses its pragmatic meaning and becomes an automatized behavior. Goría suggests that the linguistic situation in Gibraltar is, as supported by the data, a favorable environment for the transition from CS to an emergent fused lect. Contrasting to other studies aforementioned, Goría's work offers the possibility that CS in Gibraltar, rather than disappear, may become a fused lect based on the linguistic characteristics mentioned previously (i.e., the switch of English and Spanish at both lexical and syntactic levels, see section 2.2) and the social meaning that it has for the Gibraltarian society (i.e., part of their local identity, see section 2.1.).

This section shows an overview of the different studies conducted on Llanito and CS in Gibraltar. On one hand, remarkable studies have been conducted on the topic, and although the majority is based on data from the end of the 20th century and first years of the 21st century, they set the basis for the analysis of the alternation between English and Spanish observed in Gibraltar. Similarly, the studies, most of them sociolinguistic, show that the presence of English has increased, and some suggest that it is slowly substituting Spanish in informal contexts. In these studies, what is also observed is that Llanito occupies a central position in the identity of Gibraltarians, and seems to be tied to their desire of self-identification and the intention to reassess their importance in the wider, political context of the relationship between the United Kingdom and Spain. This section

also evidenced that there is a limited number of studies conducted on Llanito with a solely linguistic approach, which suggests that there is a need to provide an actualized linguistic description of Llanito. Bearing this in mind, the next section will explain the objectives that are to be achieved in the present study.

4. Objectives

The aim of this study is to analyze the CS found in present-day Llanito from a linguistic perspective using spontaneous and semi-spontaneous oral data extracted from the Gibraltarian TV program *City Pulse*, with the purpose of revising the formal characteristics of the CS in Llanito, and focusing on the influence of variables such as informal settings and formal settings, as well as the age of the speakers and the degree of spontaneity of their production. For this purpose, the main objectives of this study are, on one hand, to classify the different types of CS in the data according to Poplack's (1980) distinction (inter-sentential, intra-sentential, extra-sentential) in order to determine what type of CS is more frequent in the program selected.

On the other hand, the present study also aims to discern whether the use of the different types of switches is related to sociological factors such as the generation that the speakers belong to. It also aims to establish whether pragmatic factors associated to spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech affect the production of CS among the speakers. The present study, thus, tries to relate the different types of CS observed in Llanito to the pragmatic and sociological elements that may play a role on the preference for one formal type over another, trying to find a pattern between the formal aspects of Llanito and the production of CS by speakers of different generations.

5. Methodology

The present section explains the procedure followed in order to collect and classify the data and carry out the present study. More specifically, it describes the participants and the method used for the elaboration of a CS compilation containing all the data used for the study, which is extracted from broadcasting media (i.e., a TV program). Lastly, it explains the classifications proposed to analyze the CS occurrences in a quantitative and qualitative manner.

5.1. Source of the data

The data for the present study is extracted from one episode of the TV program *City Pulse*, where two or more Gibraltarian speakers carry out a conversation that involves CS between English and Spanish. The format of this TV program is a chat show, with concrete interventions where it adopts the structure of a news program.

City Pulse is a program of the GBC (Gibraltarian Broadcasting Corporation), and it explores “many different aspects of community life and gives particular emphasis to the smaller but just as important matters” (“City Pulse”) and focuses on the individual stories of members of the Gibraltarian community. Episodes are broadcasted weekly, and they are generally an hour long, during which the presenter, Kevin Ruiz, interviews the guests. In comparison to the majority of programs produced in Gibraltar, *City Pulse* tries to encourage the usage of Llanito and, more broadly, of CS among the interviewer and interviewees, prompted by the presenter.

The episode selected for the compilation of the data is episode 4 from season 8, aired on the 24th of October 2022. This episode is divided in two parts, each of them lasting around half an hour, and the interviewees change from the first half to the second while the presenter remains the same. This episode was selected due to the profile of the interviewees, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.2. Participants

The individuals that appear in the media used for this study are part of the Gibraltarian community, having lived in Gibraltar for the majority of their lives⁵. All speakers considered for the study are English-Spanish bilinguals and, as such, have the ability to alternate between English and Spanish. It must be noted that one of the interviewees from the second half of the episode is not Gibraltarian, so any case of CS produced by this

⁵ This information is extracted from different sources. In the case of the interviewees, they state in the *City Pulse* episode that they have lived and worked in Gibraltar their whole life, with the exception that the younger interviewee travels occasionally due to his career. For the presenter, the information is available in the program’s website, <https://www.gbc.gi/presenters/kevin-ruiz-54>.

interviewee was not included in the compilation of the data for the present study, as to not affect the accuracy of the results.

A distinction must be noted among the individuals considered for this study, linked to the spontaneous nature of the data. The production of the interviewees in *City Pulse* is spontaneous, as the speakers are given a topic to discuss and are not required to follow a marked set of questions. In contrast, some interventions of the presenter are semi-spontaneous, because due to the nature of a chat show, he has certain questions prepared to ask the guests, and as stated in section 5.1., he tries to implement the use of CS, which implies that he employs it from the start in order to prompt the guests to use it as well. Moreover, *City Pulse* discusses news and recent events with the interviewees, and in those cases, the information is given entirely in English and takes a similar format as a news program. As there are no CS cases during these formal segments, non-spontaneous data was not used in the present study.

5.3. Data compilation and classification

In order to carry out the present study, the first step consisted in the compilation of the CS cases extracted from *City Pulse* episode. To create said compilation, all the CS instances that appeared in the video were manually transcribed and classified. They were organized in an Excel document, which included extra-linguistic and linguistic information that was relevant for the purpose of analyzing the CS cases. The extra-linguistic information about each CS case was classified according to the following points:

- (a) Timestamp.
- (b) Speaker (presenter, interviewees 1 and 2, and interviewee 3).

Taking into consideration these points it was possible to locate and identify each CS case, and also to make a distinction between semi-spontaneous speech (i.e., the case of the presenter) *versus* spontaneous speech (i.e., the case of the interviewees). Moreover, by differentiating between the interviewees of the first and second half, it was also possible to distinguish between older generation and younger generation, as interviewees 1 and 2

are women from the same generation (around 50 years old), as stated by the presenter himself⁶, while interviewee 3 is younger (around 30 years old).

In the case of the linguistic information, the CS cases were classified according to these points:

- (c) Matrix language
- (d) Embedded language
- (e) Type of CS (inter-clausal, intra-clausal, tag-switches)
- (f) Linguistic form (NP, DP, AP, AdvP, PP, VP, IP⁷...)

All these classifying issues will be presented in detail in the following sections.

5.3.1. The matrix and the embedded language

Points (c) and (d) made it possible to establish which language was more frequently the matrix language and whether said language had predominance over the other. Point (e) classified CS cases according to their form in order to provide a comprehensive formal and grammatical account, while point (f) classified these cases according to the principles of Poplack's classification of CS (see section 2.2.). This allowed for the description of the CS patterns in Llanito and for the comparison of the CS production between the speakers of different generations.

Going back to points (c) and (d), a distinction between matrix language and embedded language was made in the analysis. As mentioned in section 2.1. of this dissertation, Spanish is used in more informal situations while English is the prestigious variety and the language of choice in formal contexts, which would suggest that Spanish is more frequently the matrix language in informal contexts, and English in formal ones. Since *City Pulse* is a chat show, the context of this program is overall informal, while still keeping a certain level of formality due to the medium (public television). There is a change in the level of formality during the instances where the presenter is giving

⁶ In minute 14'30'', he states, referring to both women and him: "We're all of a certain age, we all grew up *en ese Gibraltar donde (...)* [in that Gibraltar where (...)]"

⁷ For the present study, when the switch occurs right after the complementizer (meaning that the complementizer is in the matrix language but the rest in the embedded one), it is considered to be the insertion of an IP rather than inter-clausal CS.

information about events that are occurring in Gibraltar, as the tone of the program becomes more formal. All this information would suggest that, generally, the matrix language for CS is Spanish, except for those moments where there is a higher level of formality, when English would be the matrix language (if CS happened at all).

It must be noted, however, that the distinction between matrix language and embedded language is not entirely clear in all the cases compiled for the present study. There are several instances where multiple switches take place in one single utterance, and thus, it becomes rather difficult to establish which language poses the structural base and which one is embedded, as in (6):

(6) *Y nada, next thing I know, me despierto en la ambulancia, paramedics they're looking at me, asking me questions, so you can imagine at that moment I felt like it was a dream, like, qué está pasando aquí, pero claro, ya mientras van los segundos te vas dando cuenta de que es la realidad.*

(City Pulse, 24/10/22, 37:30)

In (6), the speaker, interviewee 3, starts off in Spanish, then switches to English, then back to Spanish, then to English, and finally back to Spanish. If we were to consider Spanish the matrix language for the whole utterance, it would mean that all the English clauses are the embedded elements. Nonetheless, the relationship between the clauses would suggest the opposite, specifically in the last switch, “I felt like it was a dream, like, qué está pasando aquí”. In this case, “qué está pasando aquí” works as an explanation of the previous sentence, and according to this, it could be argued that the basis for the CS is English rather than Spanish, as the additional information is provided in the latter. Additionally, in (6), the element that was considered embedded is made up of so many clauses that it appears that the conversation is now carried out in English. In cases similar to this one, it was opted that the embedded language could become the matrix language of the following switch if the same or similar circumstances as those in (6) were observed. Nevertheless, the results of the present study regarding matrix and embedded language should be examined with care due to the complexity of their classification.

5.3.2. Types of CS and their form

Regarding point (e), the type of CS, it was previously mentioned that the classification used for the present study would be based on that of Poplack's. In order to describe Llanito more accurately, it was deemed necessary to rename Poplack's categories, as the analysis of the CS instances showed that major switches took place either between clauses or inside them, and the term coined by Poplack, 'sentential', would appear more ambiguous when applied to the description of CS in Gibraltar. Thus, the proposed categories used in the present study are, as exemplified below, (7) inter-clausal, when CS occurs at clause boundaries; (8) intra-clausal, when it takes place inside clauses; and (9) tag-switches, when tag-like elements, interjections, isolated conjunctions, pronouns or common-use expressions are inserted⁸.

(7) They gave me the all clear y *me fui andando a mi casa*.

[and I went home by foot]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 38:27)

(8) Yo paso por ahí *every day*.

[I pass through there every day]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 19:16)

(9) Nothing serious, *en plan*, I haven't been affected.

[like]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 41:34)

The form of the embedded element, point (f), was also relevant for the study, and in the case of intra-clausal, there were instances of the embedded element being APs, PPs, VPs, IPs, and primarily NPs and whole DPs. The distinction between NP and DP was based on the language of the overt determiner: if both the determiner and the NP were expressed

⁸ Regarding turns, the other type of CS added to the typology by Moyer (1998), although they are quite interesting for the analysis of Llanito, due to the limited length of the study it was decided to focus on the main three types proposed by Poplack (1980).

in the same language, the embedded structure was classified as a DP, as in (10); if the determiner was in one language and the NP in the other, the structure which was considered embedded was the NP, as in (11).

(10) You've been representing Gibraltar internationally *once añitos*.

[eleven years]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 32:06)

(11) Tú no has visto los *news*.

[You haven't watched the news]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 10:43)

Some intra-clausal CS cases had to be discarded. Firstly, there were 15 cases which corresponded to the insertion of proper nouns in the matrix language. Seven of these instances were proper names in English (i.e., Women Rising, Street Talker, Gib Five, Ireland Games, Munich, Europeans) and eight in Spanish (i.e., La Línea, Sevilla, Casa, Benalmádena, Estatua de la Evacuación). Proper names refer to specific elements, so they are not counted as CS. Secondly, besides proper names, certain intra-clausal cases were classified as borrowings, namely *marketing*, *parking* and *gin*. These three terms are accepted by the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, which compiles the lexicon used in Spanish-speaking countries.

Regarding other cases that had to be discarded, interruptions of the flow of the conversation were considered and certain instances were deemed too inconclusive to be included in the final results. Such is the case of (12):

(12) I think we like to cram a lot of things in our days y...

[and...]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 08:46)

In (12), the speaker was interrupted and did not add anything after “y”, so it is impossible to predict whether this conjunction was going to be followed by a sentence in Spanish, which would make it a case of inter-clausal CS, or by a sentence in English, which, as stated in section 5.3, would make this a tag-switch.

For inter-clausal CS, the cases had the form of subordinate (13) or coordinate clauses (14):

(13) I could start driving again, *porque ya había pasado un año*.

[because a year had already passed]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 46:29)

(14) Se le cambió la cara *and I hated it*.

[Her face changed]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 02:33)

For tag-switches, they were interjections, common-use expressions, and other elements that, in specific contexts, functioned as tags. Among these elements are the ones proposed by Goría (2021), that is, conjunctions and personal pronouns that act as tags. There were several instances where the speakers produced different types of tags consecutively, like in (15) and in said instances, only the first one was counted for the numeric analysis.

(15) ... y, *bueno*, I was explaining earlier...

[and well]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 45:28)

A difficulty that was encountered when classifying tag elements is that there are multiple instances among those compiled where the only element that appears embedded is a conjunction (or a personal pronoun), like “pero” in (16):

(16) I used to go to work every day on my bike, *y los quitaron*, and ... people would cross the lanes all the time, *pero* the mentality was...

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 26:04)

While it is certain that in “I used to go to work every day on my bike, *y los quitaron*” the type of CS is inter-clausal, as it takes place between two clauses, this is not the same for “people would cross the lanes all the time, *pero* the mentality was”. In this case, “*pero*”, which is another coordinating conjunction like “*y*” in the previous example, is the only element produced in Spanish. Therefore, and although the switch also occurs with the same type of word (conjunction), it is clear that these types of CS are different. In the present study, therefore, when isolated elements like conjunctions or personal pronouns are inserted in the matrix language, they are considered tag elements, as their function is similar to other extra-clausal elements such as “like”. This is further reinforced by Goría (2021), who acknowledges the presence of recurrent patterns in bilingual speech in Gibraltar, such as “*yo* + English clause”, with an extra-clausal constituent in Spanish followed by an English clause. Those extra-clausal constituents were frequently personal pronouns, but Goría argues that the same behavior was observed with discourse markers, conjunctions, and subordinators.

All in all, the methodology followed will make it possible to provide a full picture of the use of CS in Llanito, as it allows for the analysis of CS at different levels: a sociological level, by considering the generation of the speakers; a pragmatic level, taking into account the degree of spontaneity and (in)formality of the speech; and most importantly, a linguistic level, by establishing the distinction between matrix and embedded language, the form of the embedded elements, and the sentential level at which CS is produced. The following section will consist in the analysis of the results based on these variables.

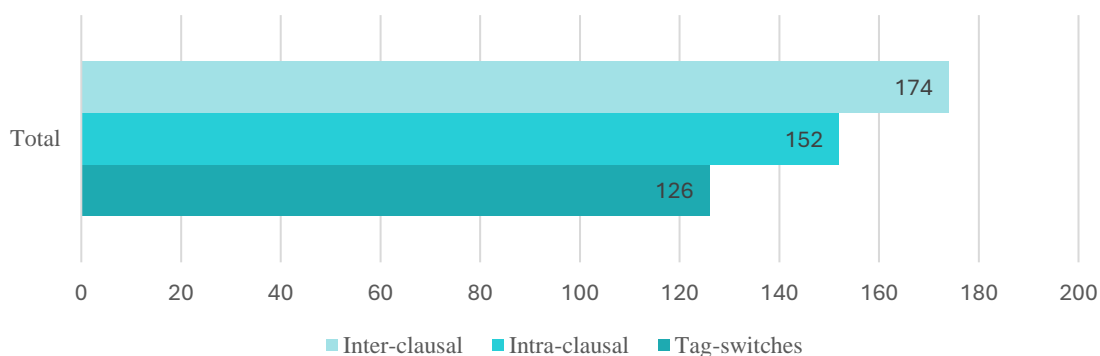
6. Results and analysis

The following section deals with the results obtained in the present study. With the purpose of meeting the first and second objectives (i.e., to revise the formal characteristics of Llanito and describe how social and pragmatic factors influence its production), the present study describes the types of CS found, their syntactic form, and the use and frequency of each language as matrix and as embedded.

6.1. Types of CS: their frequency

As starting point of our analysis, Figure 1 shows the total number of CS cases produced by the speakers of the episode, based on the adaptation of Poplack's (1980) typology suggested in the previous section.

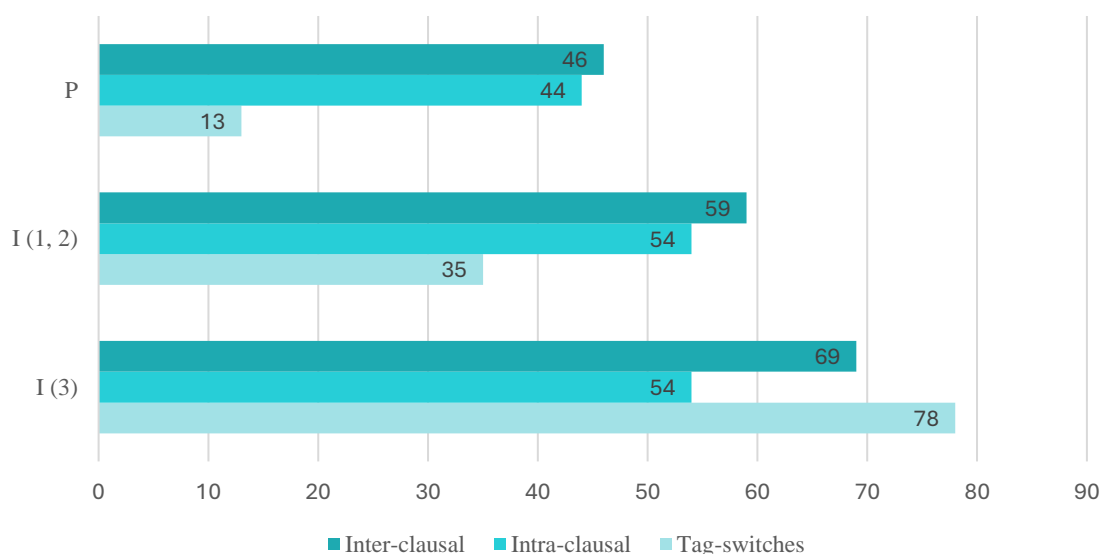
Figure 1. Total number of CS occurrences.



Inter-clausal CS appears to be the most frequent type of CS according to the numbers shown in Figure 1, adding up to 174 cases (38.5%) out of the 452 total. The second most abundant type is intra-clausal CS, with 152 cases (33.62%). Lastly, tag-switches accounted for 126 cases (27.88%).

Figure 2 portrays the amount of CS occurrences pertaining each speaker: P(resenter), I(nterviewees) 1 and 2 (mature speakers from the first half of the episode) and I(nterviewee) 3 (young speaker from the second half of the episode).

Figure 2. CS occurrences according to the speaker



The results shown in figure 2 reflect that the main type of CS used by the older generations, corresponding to P and I (1, 2), is inter-clausal CS (46 and 59 cases, respectively), followed by intra-clausal CS (44 and 54, respectively). P and I (1, 2) differed mainly in terms of their production of tag-switches (13 and 35, respectively). This behavior contrasts with that of I (3), belonging to a younger generation, as it can be observed that the main type of CS used by I (3) is especially tag-switches (78 cases), while inter-clausal and intra-clausal are less frequent (69 and 54 cases each). Intra-clausal CS is also the least frequent for the younger generation, and it is similar to the production of the older generation. Contrastingly, it seems that the younger generation, besides producing more tag-switches, overall produces more inter-clausal CS than the older.

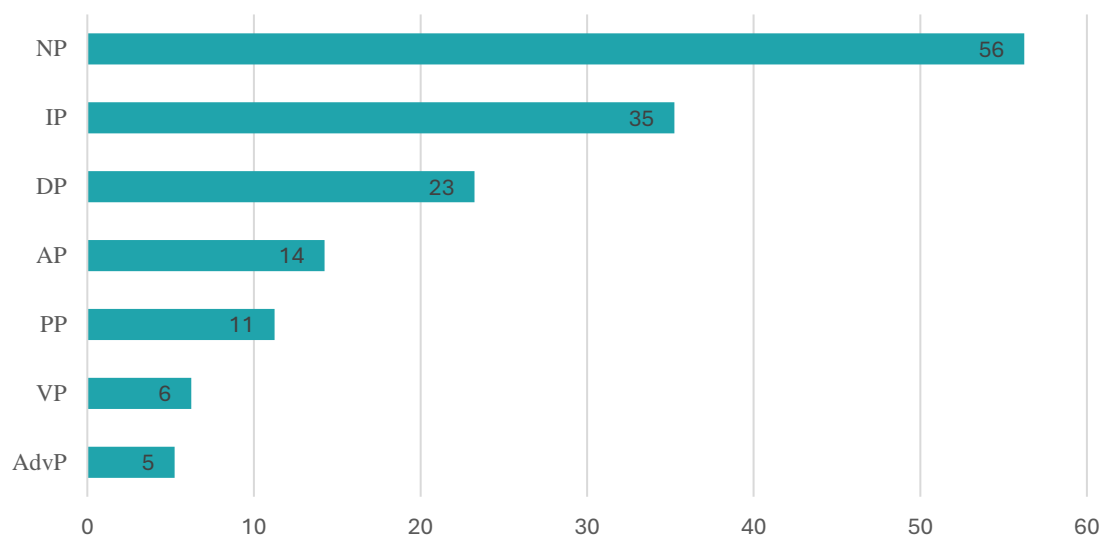
6.2. Types of CS: their forms

Regarding the form of inter-clausal CS, it followed the same pattern in the production of both the presenter and the interviewees, with a main clause in the matrix language, and a subordinating or coordinating clause in the embedded language. Figure 4 shows the number of coordinated and subordinated sentences found out of the 174 cases of this type of CS.

Coordinated clauses are the most common form of inter-clausal CS (109 cases, 62.64%), while subordinated clauses are less common (65 cases, 37.35%).

Figure 3 shows the number of cases of intra-clausal CS according to their form.

Figure 3. Form of intra-clausal CS.



The most frequent forms are NPs and IPs, making up the majority of the cases of intra-clausal CS (56 and 35 cases, respectively), and representing 59.87% of the total (36.84% and 23.03%). DPs are the next most abundant category (23 cases, 15.13%), which shows that the insertion of nouns in the matrix language is more common than the insertion of the whole DP. The least common cases were insertions of APs, PPs, VPs and AdvPs (14, 11, 6 and 5 cases), being the last two especially uncommon throughout the whole episode.

There were two special cases (not reflected in figure 3) in which, instead of the insertion of a whole NP, DP or PP, the only element inserted was either a determiner (18) or a preposition and a determiner (19):

(18) The ever pending in Gibraltar, *el* maintenance

[the]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 25:50)

(19) How well do we fare *con el* maintenance

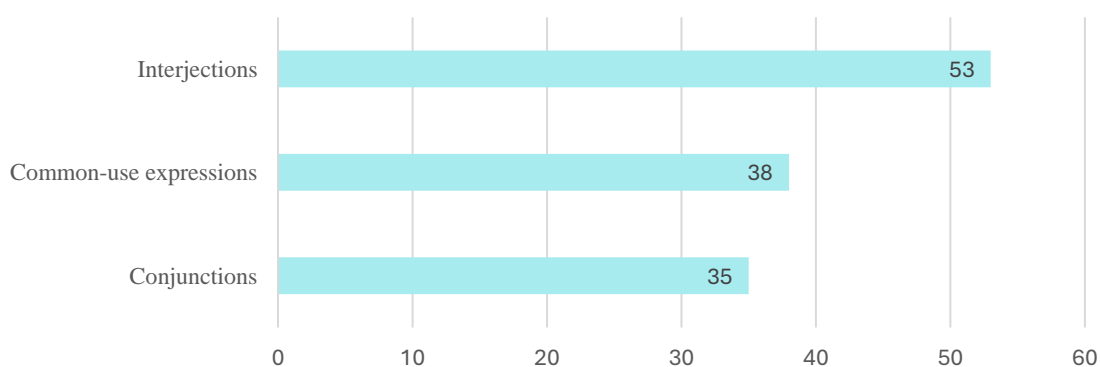
[with the]

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 25:53)

Both (18) and (19) correspond to the same intervention of the presenter, and they represent the only two cases in which a Spanish determiner or preposition are inserted in the English matrix by themselves, and in this case, they seem to go with the noun “maintenance” specifically.

In the case of tag-switches, Figure 5 portrays the form of the tag-elements found, which are interjections, common-use expressions, conjunctions, and personal pronouns.

Figure 5. Form of tag-switches.



Out of the 126 cases, interjections were the most common with 36.3% of the total (53 cases). Common-use expressions and conjunctions (40 and 36 cases) were less recurrent, representing 27.4% and 24.66% of the total, respectively. There were only three instances of personal pronouns being used as a tag-element, which are not reflected in Figure 5 because they did not appear by themselves but preceded by a conjunction. In both of these cases, the pronoun was the first-person singular, and it was followed by the conjunction “y” [and] or “aunque” [although]. The only time that a personal pronoun appears by itself as a tag-like element is during a reformulation of a sentence, where the speaker repeats the pronoun, first in one language and then in the other.

6.3. Matrix and embedded language

As stated in the previous section, distinguishing between matrix and embedded language in oral speech is a complicated task. However, following the methodology indicated in section 5.3. regarding matrix and embedded language, 201 (44,46%) instances are found in which Spanish is the matrix language, and 251 (55,56%) in which it is English. Figure 6 shows the production of each language as matrix (M) and as embedded (E) for each type of CS.

Figure 6. Matrix and embedded languages.

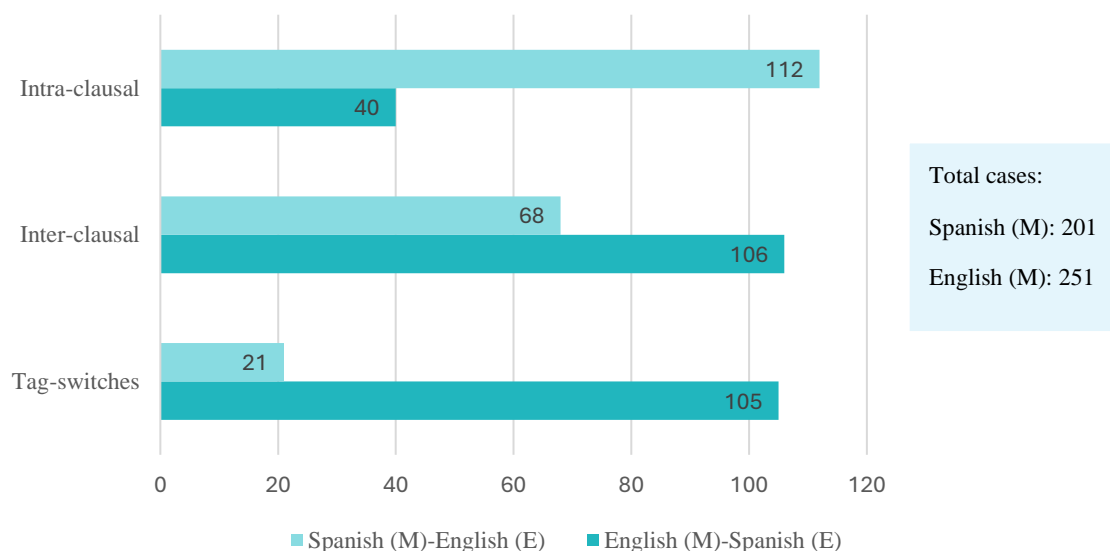


Figure 6 shows that, while English is more frequently the matrix language when producing inter-clausal CS or tag-switches (106, 42.23%, and 105 cases, 41.83%, respectively), it is less common to find English as the matrix in intra-clausal CS (40 cases, 15.93%), and so Spanish is much more frequently found as the matrix language (112 cases, 55.72%). There are 68 instances of inter-clausal CS (33.83%) where the main clause is in Spanish and the coordinating or subordinate clause is in English, and 106 cases (42.23 %) in which the languages are inverted, which shows that the insertion of Spanish clauses in the English discourse is more frequent.

Lastly, in the case of tag-switches, the overwhelming majority of the tag-elements, including interjections, conjunctions, and common-use expressions, are produced in

Spanish and embedded in the English discourse. Moreover, by analyzing these cases, it appears that in several instances, the tag-element is used as a marker to change the language of the utterance. For instance, a speaker would start speaking in English, then introduce a Spanish tag-element in the discourse, and continue their speech in Spanish from then on, as in (20):

(20) So basically the night, just before national day, *bueno, me fui a dormir...*

(*City Pulse*, 24/10/22, 33:44)

7. Discussion

After describing and analyzing the results obtained in the present study, the following section will address the objectives presented in section 4 in order to establish whether they have been achieved. Thus, this section will, on one hand, give a comprehensive description of the formal aspects of the CS found in Llanito, in order to describe this phenomenon from a linguistic point of view, and on the other hand, it will relate these formal aspects to the sociological and pragmatic elements (i.e., the generation the speakers belong to, the degree of spontaneity or informality of the context) to conclude how these elements affect the production of the different types of CS found in the data.

Firstly, our results show that all types of CS are part of the Gibraltarian way of expression. Interestingly, our results also show that inter-clausal CS is the most frequent type in Gibraltarian speech according to our data, a type of CS that is not usually the focus of previous studies on the topic. Actually, most of these studies (see section 3) have paid more attention to intra-clausal CS (i.e., the insertion of words or other linguistic units in one language within a sentence in another). In the case of our data, most linguistic units inserted correspond to NPs and IPs, which offers a more refined description of this type of CS. As for tag-switches, these are also present in the speech of Gibraltarians, although, as we show below, this result may be linked to certain sociolinguistic aspects, which connects with our second objective, discussed right below.

In the line with the previous result, the present study suggests that, in fact, CS in Llanito seems to have different characteristics depending on the age of the speakers, who seem to prefer different types of CS: while there is no drastic difference between the use of intra-clausal CS in and across the older and the younger generations, the younger speakers

produce more inter-clausal CS and tag-switches than the older, and tags appear much less frequently in the older generation's speech than in the young one. Surprisingly, it is the younger generation who, overall, produces more CS cases than the older generation. It must be addressed that several scholars suggested that the use of CS among young generations was decreasing, which may seem to go against the results of the present study. However, interviewee 3 was born in the decade of the 1990s, and the studies that show a decrease in CS base their results on participants born after the 2000s. Therefore, it seems likely that the decrease in CS practice became evident with speakers born in the 21st century.

On another note, it seems that the use of tags is a reflection of the way Gibraltarian young people use CS nowadays, and therefore, comparing it to older generations, it is possible to see an evolution in the CS from one generation to the next. This aligns with Goría's (2021) suggestion, expressed in section 3, since he argued that certain elements of the CS in Gibraltar were becoming fixed in the language. The present study suggests that there are certain elements (conjunctions, and less frequently, personal pronouns) that seem to lose part of their syntactic meaning in favor of serving as markers to change to the other language or, in other cases, adopt the function of linking two different clauses produced in the same language (like the insertion of the Spanish conjunction "que" [that] to join two English clauses). Both phenomena are more frequent in the younger generation, and these results may even suggest that the element embedded is not treated as a different language by the speaker, or, as Goría (2021) suggested, that these structures have become fixed for the users of CS of Gibraltar and are now part of an automated process. Nonetheless, due to the fact that the present study only compiles cases produced by one speaker from the younger generation, this behavior cannot be generalized with the current data, as more participants from the same generation would have to be analyzed in order to confirm whether similar patterns appear in all of them.

Additionally, part of our second objective was also to analyze how spontaneity and the formality of the context affected the production of CS, and the results show that none of these factors seem to have a major role in it. Nonetheless, based on how Spanish was the language of choice for informal contexts or spontaneous speech such as part of the nature of *City Pulse*, it was expected that there would be a majority of cases where Spanish would be the matrix language, with said language providing the syntactic base for the CS. However, Spanish is not generally the matrix language in Llanito in informal contexts

when it comes to inter-clausal CS and tag-switches, according to the results obtained in the present study. Even though there are more cases of English as the matrix language (251 cases) than Spanish (201 cases), it seems that this is not the case for intra-clausal CS, where more complex cognitive and linguistic mechanisms may have a more important role, so other more complex grammatical issues should be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, this suggests that Llanito does not consist, merely, in the insertion of English elements in the Spanish discourse. This seems to partially go against the prediction made in section 5.3 that, since the context of the program is more informal and most of the speech is spontaneous, the matrix language would more frequently be Spanish, which, as stated before, only happens in the case of inter-clausal and tag switches. Nonetheless, the increased presence of English observed in the present study may be linked to what multiple scholars suggested regarding how this language is progressively entering informal contexts (see 2.2. and 3).

8. Conclusion

The present study has dealt with the CS found at the base of Llanito, a linguistic phenomenon that is unique to the Gibraltar community. Concretely, it has focused on the linguistic form of this phenomenon, by distinguishing between three types of CS, namely, inter-clausal, intra-clausal and tag-switches. Moreover, we analyzed the directionality of the CS, drawing the distinction between matrix and embedded language. In addition, besides giving a comprehensive description, the present study also aimed to relate the linguistic form to two main pragmatic and sociological factors: the generation the speakers belong to, and the degree of spontaneity and (in)formality with which the CS is produced. In order to do so, an episode of the Gibraltar program *City Pulse* was selected, since its presenter and guests were part of this community and belonged to two different generations.

The results have shown that for intra-clausal CS, the most common form of the elements embedded are NPs, IPs and DPs, while for inter-clausal, coordinate structures are more frequent than subordinate ones. In the case of tag-switches, it is common to find interjections, but common-use expressions and conjunctions are also very frequent. This formal analysis also has allowed us to observe that each generation prefers a different type of CS, inter-clausal for the older generation and tag-switches for the younger, which

may indicate that the switch of tag-like elements from a language to another is becoming an automated process for the younger generations. Regarding the degree of spontaneity, the present study reached the conclusion that, on first instance, it does not seem to play a major role in the production of CS. And lastly, in terms of the directionality of CS, it was expected that, since English is the language used in formal contexts and Spanish in informal ones, the CS cases found in this episode would have Spanish as the matrix language in the majority of the cases. The results proved that this was the case only in intra-clausal switches, while English is more frequently the base language for the switch in the case of inter-clausal and tag switches. The reason may be the increased presence of this language in formal contexts observed by multiple scholars, although, given such a small data used in this study, we need to be cautious with our results. It would be interesting as further research to analyze younger generations of Llanito speakers in order to discern whether the number of cases with English as matrix language has increased. Moreover, since this study focuses specifically on Llanito, it would also be interesting to compare it with the same analysis of other types of CS expression like Spanglish, to see in what aspects do these two apparently similar phenomena differ.

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