2nd GIBRALTAR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE (GIC2)
GIBRALTAR ENGLISH: LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND CULTURE

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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Plenary Sessions

Journeying through Spanish-English codeswitching dynamics: from USA to Belize and Gibraltar

Carmen Parafita-Couto

Universiteit Leiden and Universidade de Vigo

One characteristic of multilingual speakers is that in everyday life they may integrate elements from their bi/multilingual linguistic repertoire in the same sentence or discourse, a practice known as code-switching. This presentation adopts a comparative, cross-community approach to examine Spanish-English code-switching dynamics across diverse regions: USA, Belize, and Gibraltar. In doing so, I will consider not only the structural properties of the languages involved but also the profile of the multilingual speaker and the historical and social contexts of each community (Parafita Couto & Balam, in press). By focusing on communities that differ in geographical setting, history, and social status of the languages, in this talk I will try to (i) shed light into how social factors such as the specific sociocultural norms that have emerged over time within a community, or language prestige, may influence the types of code-switched structures present in a particular community, and (ii) provide insight into how communities develop conventions and context-specific linguistic norms which speakers acquire.

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From *Rock Black* to *Marlboro Man*: Twenty-five years writing about Gibraltar

M.G. Sanchez

Gibraltarian writer

In this presentation I will be providing an overview of my writing career – from the shock I felt when, at the age of thirteen, I realised that there were almost no literary texts produced by native Gibraltarians to the publication of my latest novel *Marlboro Man* in 2022. I will be focusing on what writing means to me, the role that Gibraltar plays in my texts, as well as the challenges, criticisms, and moments of satisfaction I have experienced as a Gibraltarian writer over the years. I will also address the way external political tensions have instilled something of a defensive mentality among some Gibraltarians, and how this defensiveness can sometimes act as a barrier to serious literary creation. As I argue in my 2018 book *Border Control*, there are some among us who

> "feel obliged to present a squeaky-clean version of ourselves to the world, to make sure that we don't put anything out there which could be used against us by our 'enemies.' Those … mired in this perpetually self-justifying mindset want writers to write only nice things about Gibraltar – about what a special place it is and how wonderfully British we all are as a people – or nothing at all."

Furthermore, they harbour suspicion towards anything that manifests Gibraltarian plurality or hybridity – whether it be our use of Llanito or writings which speak about everyday life in Gibraltar – preferring instead to focus on reassuringly 'anglocentric' topics such as the Great Siege of 1779-1783, Operation Torch, the refitting of the Uganda during the Falklands War, and so on. As the German academic Ina Habermann writes in a forthcoming essay on my work, this representational streamlining is "ultimately self-defeating", as it undermines Gibraltar's intrinsic hybridity, drowning out much of what is authentic and original about Gibraltar and replacing it instead with performative pageantry and rituals. The main aim of this presentation is to show that writing about Gibraltar – serious, meaningful writing – has to focus on the totality of Gibraltarian experience, not just regurgitate the old cliches and stereotypes associated with the Rock. Only by doing this will we be providing readers with the nuanced, true-to-life portrayal that a fascinatingly multi-layered and cosmopolitan place like Gibraltar deserves.

An outline of present-day Llanito

Laura Wright

University of Cambridge

In this talk I will present some of the distinguishing features of Llanito, a Western Mediterranean Hispanic variety with linguistic features from English and other Western Mediterranean languages, notably Genoese, Haketia, and Menorcan Catalan. It is currently endangered and in a transitional codeswitching stage, with many of the younger generations already monolingual in English. There is at present no reason to suppose Llanito will endure, and so description is somewhat urgent, prior to language loss.

Regular Sessions

Reading M.G. Sanchez's *Bombay Journal*: A Journal

Isabel Alonso-Breto
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In this presentation, I intend to discuss the compilation of thoughts, discoveries and mis/adventures that M.G. Sanchez gathered out of his three-year stay in India as he recounts them in the volume *Bombay Journal*, published in 2018. Always insightful and entertaining, as he is in his other travel and autobiographical essays, such as those compiled in *Past: A Memoir* (2017) or in *Border Control and Other Autobiographical Pieces* (2019), Sanchez offers here a comprehensive account of his experiences during that period as the partner of a diplomatic officer in India. He does so with full awareness of the privileged perspective this position allows, and which, I claim, only enhances his tested dexterity as a storyteller. Sanchez's Indian lively experiences reach us simultaneously framed in detailed historical and anthropological explanations of places, events and concepts, and in more private, remarkably relatable anecdotes. Often the diary entries unveil variously felicitous instances of a European sense of cultural difference, as well as the occasional cultural shock. Thus, in this *Bombay Journal* the Gibraltarian author succeeds in exposing a number of Western prejudices, many of which originate in the colonial period, and to criticize and transcend them through his well-honed pen. Being a multi-layered, polyhedral text, the *Journal* invites many different readings. For the time being, in this presentation I am planning to focus on several aspects. Among them, the historical acuity of many entries, which distances this account from the exoticizing tendencies of more careless or marketed versions of India; the post/colonial connections both between past and present and between Gibraltar and India; and the unforgiving eschatological component of the experience. However, surely time constrictions will not allow me to dwell in them all.

KEYWORDS: *Bombay Journal*; Gibraltarian Literature; Postcolonial Studies; Travel Writing; M.G. Sanchez's oeuvre.

Unveiling Yanito in Modern Media: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Gibraltarian Identity

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Several articles have suggested the decline of yanito over the years. However, this linguistic phenomenon remains understudied in the realm of social media, where various platforms, such as LlanitoLlanito or Gibraltarians For A Multilingual Society, aim to preserve yanito using digital tools. To address this gap, I conducted a functional analysis of code-switching in two contexts: first, in Gibraltarian public media, including television and print media; and second, in social media platforms. Drawing from established functional categories of code-switching (Gumperz, 1982; San, 2009; Montes-Alcalá, 2007), the study aims to explore potential differences in code-switching usage across different communication spheres and investigate whether new online functions of code-switching, linked to users' linguistic identity, could reverse its decline.

The presentation will provide historical and sociolinguistic context to the Gibraltarian community, defining terms like bilingualism and code-switching. It will also discuss language policies regarding English, Spanish, and yanito across various social spheres, as well as recent events impacting Gibraltarian linguistic identity. A significant portion of the analysis will focus on comparing code-switching practices between traditional media and social media platforms. Findings indicate notable disparities in the functions and contexts of code-switching usage. While traditional media adhere to established grammatical rules, social media usage leans towards stylistic expression and showcasing linguistic proficiency. Notably, social media platforms serve as spaces where young Gibraltarians express pride in their linguistic and cultural heritage, particularly through yanito usage.

However, aspirations to standardise and teach yanito in educational institutions face scepticism, with limited influence of online language trends observed on institutional language production. While social media may influence ideological trends, it is unlikely to significantly impact entrenched language policies at an institutional level.

In conclusion, further research with larger sample sizes is needed to draw more accurate conclusions. Moreover, it is crucial to underscore the significance of considering sociolinguistic factors in analysing language dynamics, particularly within the evolving landscape of digital communication platforms, including emerging social media channels. Thus, future studies on this topic should give due consideration to the influence of these new media forms in shaping linguistic trends and identities.

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar; Yanito; Social media; Code-switching; Functional analysis

The Past, Present and Future of Ligurian and Haketia in Llanito

Dale Buttigieg

Gibraltarians For A Multilingual Society

Due to the ethnic composition of Gibraltarians, Ligurian, a Gallo-Italic language spoken mainly in the Italian region of Liguria and Haketia, a variant of Judeo-Spanish spoken in Northern Morocco, were two of the most prominent (heritage) languages spoken in Gibraltar during the 1700s and 1800s. Even though there are references to the languages spoken by Gibraltarians during this time, the exact nature of the common vernacular/lingua franca used in Gibraltar is unknown. Therefore, it is unclear to what extent Ligurian and Haketia influenced the language used by the Gibraltarians of that period in Gibraltar's history.

Contrastingly, the features of the Gibraltarian vernacular spoken throughout the 1900s are better documented. Consequently, the available literature provides a partial insight into how Ligurian and Haketia have historically influenced the vernacular language of Gibraltar. Accordingly, the presentation analyses and assesses the elements of Ligurian and Haketia which have fallen into disuse in addition to those still present in Llanito. Additionally, the presentation explores the linguistic elements of Ligurian historically present in the speech patterns of La Kaleta (a village located on the Eastside of Gibraltar) and examines the influence of Haketia on the variant of Llanito spoken by Gibraltar's Sephardic Jewish community.

Nevertheless, due to the influence of Andalusian Spanish and the ever-rising prominence of the English language in 21st-century Gibraltar, contemporary Llanito is quickly replacing the words and phrases it has inherited from Ligurian and Haketia with elements from British English or Western Andalusian. With this in mind, if the Gibraltarian vernacular language continues to be neglected and measures are not put in place to document, protect and promote its use amongst Gibraltarians, the limited amount of words used in Llanito which are Ligurian and Haketia in origin will fall into obsolescence along with Llanito itself, the same way Ligurian and Haketia have disappeared from Gibraltar's linguistic landscape.

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar; Ligurian; Haketia; Llanito; Gibraltarian

Crossroad and Threshold: Writing in the Strait of Gibraltar, a personal account

Trino Cruz Seruya
Gibraltarian writer

Trino Cruz Seruya (Gibraltar, 1960) is the author of a poetic oeuvre written, in Spanish and English, over the past four decades. In this paper, the author explains how writing in the Strait has meant immersing oneself in it and diving deep, moving across shores and tirelessly walking, climbing, digging. This has been an essentially physical experience, embracing the complexity of the environment, celebrating its beauty and richness, with memory acting as the principal means of navigation.

By delving into the social history of this region, the author focuses on the Gibraltar experience, as well as that of North Morocco and Andalucía, through the prism of his own family history, revealing a deep interconnectedness between these spaces.

The Strait of Gibraltar, a space where numerous cultures and languages have converged and interacted for centuries, has contributed to the development of a common space that underlies a complex reality full of obstacles and barriers that somehow distract us from this. Through his work, the author attempts to draw from this common space to propose an alternative approach and perspective. The author proposes an open poetic framework for a multilingual and regional collective identity.

In his writing, the poet articulates his own experience of embracing the complexity and richness of the human and physical environment. Using his own work, which includes poetry collections and texts such as *Lecturas del Espacio Profanado* (1992), *Rihla* (2003), *Mediodía del Cantor* (2022), *Gharb* and *The Fertile Shore*, the author provides examples of this.

The author also highlights the importance of orality in the literary creative process. The informal and colloquial expression, in Gibraltar and the Strait region, being the main source from which the rhythms and music of his poetry arise.

The author explains how the involvement in the translation of the work of other poets he admires, such as Adonis and Edmond Jabès, amongst others, has influenced and enriched his own conception of the poetic experience.

For the author, the powerful environment and ecosystem of the Strait region, itself dictates what he in turn writes. Gibraltar, via the Strait which bears its name, has served the author as a steppingstone and springboard into an ever-expanding world.

"Intimate" language use in comparison to the language(s) of "status" on the Rock: A view from Haugen's model of linguistic ecologies

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Without a doubt Gibraltar has been the scene of a rapid language shift since the World War 2 and the evacuation of its population that came with it. This statement is often made regarding the language use on the Rock in public areas, but, what languages live and thrive within the Gibraltarians' own four walls? How do these differ from those used in other, more formal contexts? These questions are the core of my presentation, following Einar Haugen's differentiation between languages of "intimacy" and languages of "status" in multilingual societies such as Gibraltar's. Making use of the results of a study I conducted in 2023, following a mixture of a qualitative and quantitative approach, I will elaborate on my findings regarding language use in formal, informal, and unconscious contexts and how present English, Spanish and Llanito are in these contexts. Furthermore, I will compare the perceived importance of these languages in daily life by those living on the Rock, with how often the participants use these vernaculars in various contexts of their daily life. The main conclusion that can be drawn from the results is that though in formal contexts (cf. "status" according to Haugen) English is undoubtedly the most dominant language, confirming various other studies, in more private (or "intimate" according to Haugen) contexts, English is often just one of the answers, not only outlining Gibraltar's multilingual society, but also the current presence of Spanish, Llanito and other languages, also across younger generations (mid 30s – mid 40s) according to my data.

KEYWORDS: linguistic ecology; language choice; multilingualism; language(s) of intimacy; context of language use.

Like A Second Heart - Nostalgia And Language Loss in Contemporary Gibraltarian Literature

Giordano Durante

Poet and translator

The paper argues that the work of a few key contemporary Gibraltarian writers is steeped in nostalgia - a tender reflection on the past, the evocation of what is lost and a keen sense of the changes Gibraltar and its society have undergone are all important considerations for these writers.

The paper will make the case for the following claims: First, it will look at one work from each writer (M.G. Sanchez, Humbert Hernandez and Gabriel Moreno) and examine how their works can be fruitfully studied via the lens of nostalgia - an understanding of nostalgia's targets and methods can uncover a common thread that runs through their work.

Second, it will ask what conditions have resulted in this explosion of nostalgic work. Nostalgia is often a reaction to sudden and unwanted change. I will argue that the rapid changes to Gibraltar's physical, social and linguistic fabric have sparked this reaction, this yearning for the recent past and its evocation and celebration in literature. This analysis of nostalgia will be bolstered by some arguments put forward by Tobias Becker's recent study of the phenomenon *Yesterday: A New History of Nostalgia*. Becker's analysis of nostalgia as a far more subtle and slippery phenomenon helps us understand the nostalgia of Gibraltar's writers.

I will argue that, among the different background conditions enabling or inspiring the nostalgia of these writers, it is the seemingly inevitable death of Spanish and code-switched Llanito as the languages of everyday communication that has overwhelmingly sharpened these writers' sense of loss and regret. I argue that their works, by being unashamedly hybrid and bilingual, are an attempt to capture and recreate a bilingual environment that is now under threat. By looking at a representative selection of works, I'll argue that the Gibraltar of today can come across as unrecognisable to someone who grew up here in the 1950s and even the 1970s, 80s and 90s and that this sense of dislocation is the impetus for some of this work.

Third, I'll try to show that the nostalgia of these Gibraltar authors is not regressive or allied to conservative values - it does not involve a fetishisation of the past or an unrealistic drive to preserve the past at all costs. It is, instead, a nuanced and qualified nostalgia. In fact, it's a nostalgia that is revolutionary and aims to revive the best of the past, in particular its linguistic daring and richness. I'll also explain how the nostalgia of the writers embrace stands in opposition to another current in contemporary Gibraltar: a different type of nostalgia that is directed towards the Rock's imperial and colonial past and finds its expression in the

celebration of the military and attitudes of deference. In a way, then, the two forms of nostalgia, one local, hybrid, civilian, bilingual, personal and working class emerges as a bulwark against its colonial counterpart which is British (not local), military, monolithic, impersonal, monolingual and elitist.

Once again, the nostalgia of the writers is revolutionary and operates "against the grain" (to borrow a title of a poetry collection by Humbert Hernandez) of Gibraltarian society and mainstream attitudes.

KEYWORDS: Nostalgia; Llanito; language loss; writing; the past.

The Role of Llanito in Preserving Gibraltar's Multilingual Culture

John Manuel Enriles

Gibraltarians For A Multilingual Society (President)

I belong to a generation of Gibraltarians born at a time when multilingualism was at its peak. In the sixties most Gibraltarians would have spoken our local anglicised Romance variety which we now refer to as Llanito, they would have had at least a basic knowledge of English and would have been able to communicate in Andalusian Spanish. The closure of the frontier in 1969 led to this hitherto sustainable linguistic ecosystem being threatened.

The ensuing socio-political climate led Gibraltarians to identify more with the United Kingdom and develop a strong anti-Spanish sentiment. Inevitably these attitudes had a very negative effect on Gibraltar's multilingual culture. The learning of English was prioritised with educationalists and parents insisting on it above everything else, whilst Spanish (Llanito being grouped with it) was largely disregarded. This period marks the start of an accelerated anglicisation of Gibraltar's linguistic landscape.

The loss of Llanito among a large proportion of the younger generations has also brought about the loss of standard Spanish as it has effectively become a foreign language for them. To redress the linguistic imbalance that exists in Gibraltar today GFAMS recognises the crucial role that revitalising Llanito would play. Some would argue that we could revamp our education system so that there would be a much greater emphasis on standard Spanish. However, this on its own would not be sufficient as we do not use standard Spanish when communicating with other Gibraltarians, it would be unlikely and unnatural for parents to use this variety when speaking to their children. On the other hand, encouraging parents to speak to their children in Llanito as well as incorporating its use in schools from a very early age, would not only allow us to hand down a crucial element of our intangible heritage, but would also equip young Gibraltarians with the linguistic knowledge to also access standard Spanish. In this way we would be able to rebuild a healthy and sustainable linguistic ecosystem.

Codeswitching preferences in Gibraltar: when dominance and age are involved

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Codeswitching has often been defined as "a speech style which is characteristic of bilingual communities and practiced to differing degrees (…) according to grammatical and socio-linguistic constraints" (Cantone & Müller 2008, 811). A case in point is Gibraltar where English is in contact with (mainly) Spanish. This language-contact situation offers an opportunity to investigate the two languages of a bilingual, as well as how these two languages interact. Furthermore, it allows us to gain further insight into language processing mechanisms that may be unavailable in monolingual populations (e.g., Olson 2016). In this spirit, we investigate how Spanish grammatical gender features are perceived by two generations of Gibraltarians in the case of determiner-noun switches (1) and subject-adjectival complement switches (2).

(1) a. the lluvia$_{fem.}$

b. la$_{fem.}$ Rain$_{Spanish}$ fem. fem.-fem. = congruent

c. el$_{masc.}$ rain$_{Spanish}$ fem. masc.-fem. = non-congruent

(2) a. la pluma$_{fem.}$ Is light

b. the feather$_{Spanish\ fem.}$ Es ligera$_{fem.}$ fem.-fem. = congruent

c. the feather$_{Spanish\ fem.}$ Es ligero$_{masc.}$ fem.-masc. = non-congruent

Data have been elicited via an acceptability judgment task to address the directionality of the switch (1a vs. 1b; 2a vs. 2b) and the gender agreement mechanisms when the determiner or the adjective are in Spanish (i.e., 1b vs. 1c; 2b vs. 2c). A group of 36 (26 balanced and 10 English dominant) adult bilinguals and 33 (13 balanced and 30 English dominant) child bilinguals were tested.

Results show that, when it comes to directionality, switches where no gender agreement mechanisms can be enforced are favored regardless of the age group and of dominance (1a, 2a). However, there seems to be a continuum with the English dominant adults at the highest end and the balanced children at the lowest end in terms of how sensitive they are to this preference. When it comes to gender agreement, congruent switches are not favored over

non-congruent switches (1b-1c; 2b-2c), while masculine as default strategies are preferred by all groups (1c and 2c). An exception to this pattern is the balanced adults who behave like L1 Spanish-L2 English bilinguals reported in previous works in favoring congruent adjective switches (2b).

These results point to a change of how Spanish grammatical gender features are represented in the mind of bilingual adults versus bilingual children in Gibraltar. This is suggestive of how language dominance (as measured by different subjective instruments) may be hindering the different representation that grammatical properties may have in the bilingual mind.

KEYWORDS: Codeswitching; dominance; gender features; child bilinguals; adult bilinguals.

An introductory study of Gibraltar's linguistic and semiotic landscape: a politico-linguistic and ethnographic approach

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This study aims to present a PHD research project and some initial findings. The goal of this research project is to analyse the visibility and the use of languages, as well as of other semiotic resources displayed (e.g. flags, images, cultural symbols, icons…) in the commercial and private domains of Gibraltar's public space.

'The study of linguistic landscapes is one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing fields in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics' (Gorter and Cenoz, 2023: 2) since its foundational study (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). From a politico-linguistic standpoint, language choice in public space allows to analyse the status of different languages (Cenoz and Gorter, 2009: 56) by observing the linguistic practices in storefronts, advertising billboards, posters and signs among others. From an ethnographic viewpoint, the cultural and identity expression of different commercial and private authors can be examined by analysing the textual and semiotic items which they display in public space (Blommaert and Maly, 2014). Both approaches will be applied to the case of Gibraltar, given its particular sociolinguistic, politico-linguistic, multicultural, historical. sociodemographic and economic context.

A preliminary corpus of 45 pictures was taken on 6th April 2023 in different parts of Gibraltar. This corpus comprises 35 units of analysis as each one is "any piece(s) of writing composed by the same author … displayed on a circumscribed space" (Franco-Rodríguez, 2013: 112) in public space. Moreover, semiotic resources which accompany textual discourse were considered according to the current multimodal perspective in sociolinguistics (Kelly-Holmes, 2014: 138). A quantitative-qualitative analysis was subsequently conducted by relating the data on the visibility of languages and semiotic resources to the following aspects: the relative status and use of English, Yanito and Spanish in Gibraltar, its multicultural reality and the high presence of international tourists, in light of the ever-increasing context of globalised economic and cultural exchange.

The use of English clearly predominates in monolingual units of analysis, whereas the coexistence of English and Spanish significantly prevails in bilingual ones. Furthermore, these bilingual units show diverse patterns of contact between both. Other languages (i.e. Arabic and Hebrew) and some cultural symbols index the presence of certain ethnolinguistic groups in Gibraltar. Some foreign languages (i.e. French, German and Italian), along with English and

Spanish, and their national flags are displayed to catch the attention of international tourists. These preliminary results reveal the pertinence of researching Gibraltar's public space, which remains unexplored in a territory with a great linguistic and cultural diversity.

KEYWORDS: languages; semiotic resources; public space; sociolinguistics; Gibraltar.

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Topic Preposing in Puerto Rican Spanish-English Codeswitching and its Extension to Gibraltar

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Very few studies on (Spanish-English) code-switching have focused on issues belonging to the syntax-information structure (González-Vilbazo & López 2011; Bustin et al. 2022; González-Vilbazo & Ramos 2019; Delbar 2022). Our main goal in this work is to examine Topic Preposing in the grammar of Puerto Rican bilingual speakers in situations of English/Spanish code-switching, both in matrix and embedded sentences. Our starting hypothesis is that, when English is the matrix language (i.e. English provides the morphosyntactic frame), preposed topics will be less accepted than when this matrix language is Spanish, due to the rigid SVO order in English in contrast with Spanish. This supports the non-uniform character of the strategies used by bilinguals.

To carry out this (pilot) empirical study, a total of 21 bilingual Puerto Rican speakers completed an acceptability judgement task, based on a 4-point Likert scale (Stadthagen González et al. 2017). The survey was created and administered through Qualtrics. The test included 35 tokens containing examples where the matrix language was either English or Spanish (see examples 1-5) and examples where there was no code-switching (see examples 6-9). It also included 6 distractors.

Bilingual participants found code-switched examples moderately acceptable (mean range 2.14-3.38) regardless of whether the matrix language was English or Spanish. Unilingual English clauses, with a mean of 1.90, reflected English rigid word order. In contrast, unilingual Spanish examples (mean range 2.8-3.88) were more acceptable in line with the language flexibility (Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014; Jiménez-Fernández 2023).

This pioneering study opens a research line about the connection between syntax and information structure in code-switching in ACS, and bilingualism in general, which we are currently extending to cover data from bilinguals in Gibraltar.

Examples:

1. El arroz con habichuelas Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.
    the rice with beans …

2. Antonio said that el arroz con habichuelas he hated as a child.

3. El arroz con habichuelas Antonio said that he hated as a child.

4. El rice and beans Ana lo   odiaba de pequeña, pero le   gustaba la pasta.
    the   CL.ACC hated of small,   but CL.DAT liked   the pasta
    'Ana hated rice and beans as a child, but she liked pasta.'

5. Antonio dijo que el rice and beans   lo   detestaba   cuando era pequeño.
    Antonio said that the…   CL.ACC hated   when was small
    'Antonio said that he hated rice and beans when he was a child.'

6. Rice and beans Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.

7. The rice and beans Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.

8. Antonio dijo que el arroz con habichuelas lo detestaba cuando era pequeño

9. El arroz con habichuelas Antonio dijo que lo detestaba cuando era pequeño.

KEYWORDS: English-Spanish codeswitching; Puerto Rican/Gibraltarian bilingual speakers; topic preposing; experimental work; syntax-information structure interface.

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Spoken and Written English (Grammar) in Contrast: Gibraltar, England, Scotland, and the US

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Utilizing grammatical data from the *Bamberg Survey of Language Variation and Change* (BSLVC), we apply state-of-the-art dimensionality reduction methods to identify potential systematic differences between speakers of English from Gibraltar, the UK (including Scotland) and the US. Our analysis reveals, firstly, that based on grammar usage ratings, speakers of Gibraltar English (GibE), British English (BrE) and American English (AmE), form relatively homogeneous groups. Like our earlier study on lexical variation (Krug, Schützler & Werner 2020), this study on grammatical variation therefore furnishes evidence of variety status for Gibraltar English on the one hand, and confirms variety status for the remaining, better documented regions and varieties, on the other. Secondly, unlike our lexicon study from 2020, in which GibE conformed closely to British English, this study suggests that grammatical usage ratings of GibE speakers align more closely with those of speakers from the US than with those from the UK.

In a final step, we employ machine-learning techniques (random forests) to identify grammatical features that exhibit the most pronounced differences between varieties. This method throws into relief that speakers of Gibraltar English accept sentences in semi-formal contexts that BrE and AmE speakers tend to avoid (e.g. *would* in if-clauses, double comparatives). Another more general trend emerges from our study: Speakers of GibE exhibit less differentiation between formal and informal registers compared to the other varieties examined in the dataset.

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Gibraltar: Colonialism and Spanish Immigration

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The English/Dutch occupation of Gibraltar in 1704 had significant consequences, particularly in terms of disrupting the established connections with the mainland's people and resources. This disruption was further compounded by the mass exodus of the resident population from Gibraltar, which had been a recurring phenomenon during previous invasions.

The British authorities sought to repopulate the town with civilians, with a strong preference for British Protestants. Gibraltar was primarily seen as a stronghold, with a strong emphasis on security, this implied that even British natives or individuals born in Gibraltar did not have an absolute right to reside there.

By analysing historical records, archive data and colonial correspondence, I will argue that although the diversity of Gibraltar's population is clear and widely acknowledged, it is important to recognize the underlying assumptions associated with this. The prevailing belief is that this diversity is a result of unrestricted immigration over the course of centuries. However, the available data reveals that successive colonial administrations actively controlled and manipulated Gibraltar's demographic makeup, in order to limit the growth of its Spanish population which had become the dominant social group by the 19th century. Surveillance, prohibition, and expulsion were methods employed to achieve this objective. Interestingly, these policies were not motivated by concerns of overcrowding or public health risks but rather, concerns of a cultural and potentially political nature, aimed at curbing loyalties to Spain.

Gibraltar English on the international linguistic map: Challenges in the compilation of ICE-GBR

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The *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project, initiated in 1990, set out to establish comparable corpora of English on a global scale (Nelson 2006). Currently coordinated at the University of Zurich, this consortium encompasses 27 international teams tasked with documenting various English varieties spoken as either a first language (L1), including British, Scottish, Irish, and American English, or as a second language (L2), such as Indian, Nigerian, and Fijian English, among others. The ViEW (*Variation in English Worldwide*) research team, based at the University of Vigo, undertook the responsibility of compiling the Gibraltar component of the corpus, ICE-GBR—a distinctive variety spoken in the sole British overseas territory on continental Europe. In March 2023, the written component was officially launched, thereby becoming freely accessible to the linguistic community (Seoane et al. 2023).

This presentation serves a dual purpose: (i) elucidating the methodology employed in corpus compilation and (ii) demonstrating the corpus' utility for linguistic analysis. Accordingly, we will first outline the corpus, highlighting methodological challenges and limitations that necessitated strategic decisions for resolution. A pivotal decision involved delineating the criteria for identifying speakers of Gibraltarian English, given the substantial exposure of the local population to British English, potentially shaping their linguistic variety through contact. Additionally, challenges arose from data scarcity in certain categories, such as Student Writing and Private Letters, raising confidentiality concerns in a community with fewer than 30,000 residents. The second part of the presentation delves into how to exploit the corpus for linguistic analysis. We explore various morphosyntactic features in Gibraltar English, focusing on the choice of relativizer across different text types, with particular attention to discerning potential influence from Spanish—a language with a notable historical presence in Gibraltar. In conclusion, we showcase ICE-GBR's significant contribution as a valuable addition to the ICE corpus family, thereby placing Gibraltar English on the international linguistic landscape.

KEYWORDS: corpus compilation; International Corpus of English (ICE) project; Gibraltar English; language contact.

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Gibraltar at the untidy edges of decolonisation: Gibraltar's cultural hybridity, language and placement on the UN's list of Non-Self Governing Territories

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This presentation investigates how Gibraltar lies at the untidy edges of decolonisation through an exploration of cultural hybridity and language death. Gibraltar remains on the UN list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and this presentation shows that the UN's notions of postcoloniality and culture are reductive and essentialist. Michael Waibel claims enclave populations without characteristic 'ethnic, religious or linguistic qualities cannot be qualified as a 'people'' and thus cannot claim the right to self-determination. However, when Gibraltar's own linguistic characteristics are hybridised in Llanito, why are reductive one language/one culture ideologies unfairly applied onto Gibraltar? This paper claims that making Llanito an official language of Gibraltar would be a step towards decolonisation and convincing the UN that Gibraltar's cultural hybridity is a legitimate identity; it can help shift essentialist notions of decolonisation for Gibraltar at the UN. This presentation interrogates postcolonial theory and Intercultural theory to show that approaches to decolonisation for Gibraltar should be localised and take into account the wishes of its people. Llanito helps to show that Gibraltarians are a 'people' with their own hybridised language and culture. This presentation uses Critical Discourse Analysis on statements made by Gibraltar, Spain and the UK at the UN to show how Gibraltarian peoplehood, or non-peoplehood in the case of Spain, are constructed. CDA will also be used to interrogate the language and cultural ideologies such constructions underpin. This presentation makes the case for Llanito's official status: it argues that the increasing decline and potential language death of Llanito could jeopardise Gibraltar's postcoloniality and calls for decolonisation. This presentation will draw on my research from interviews with Gibraltar's politicians, who have been asked about Llanito and Gibraltar's language policies, as well as from a questionnaire I carried out that got 373 responses from Gibraltarians. These responses show a deep sense of cultural affiliation with Llanito, and shows that the local population is willing protect Llanito and the cultural heritage it carries. They relate Llanito to identity: Llanito is part of Gibraltar's cultural hybridity. This presentation uses the notion that ontology shapes agency to explore ways of approaching populations in the process of decolonisation where cases are complex and not clear-cut. If we ask what view of peoplehood and agency lies at the heart of such theories, as well as at the UN, we can

evaluate how we might use these concepts in order to better perform decolonisation practices for small overseas-territories like Gibraltar.

KEYWORDS: decolonisation; hybridity; Llanito; language death; culture.

The BE-passive in Gibraltar English: A Variationist Analysis

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Gibraltar English (GibE, henceforth) has been described at the phonological and lexical level (Krug et al., 2019; Levey, 2015; Suárez-Gómez, 2012), as well as from the perspective of code-switching (García-Caba, 2022; Goria, 2021; Weston, 2013). However, there is limited information on its grammar, mainly because of the lack of appropriate data to rely on. This, however, has changed with the recent publication of the Gibraltarian component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-Gibraltar, henceforth ICE-GBR, Seoane et al. 2023). In order to partially fill this gap, this paper explores the BE-passive in GibE. This grammatical construction has been extensively studied in other varieties of English (Hundt et al., 2018; Hunt et al., 2023; Biewer, 2009) and it has proven to be crucial for both syntactic and pragmatic phenomena, such as information structure and academic style (Arnold et al., 2013; Biber et al., 1999; Meints, 2003). Within this scenario, this paper analyzes the frequency and functions of the BE-passive in GibE as found in the written component of ICE-GBR, with the aim of (i) comparing its frequency to that in other varieties (particularly British English); (ii) determining whether the use of the passive is conditioned by contact with Spanish, or informalization and colloquialization processes, or both; and (iii) helping to contextualize GibE as a new 'World English' variety. Preliminary studies such as Loureiro-Porto and Suárez-Gómez (2017) have shown that the frequency of the BE-passive in press news reports in ICE-GBR is significantly lower than in the analogue text category of ICE-GB (Great Britain), and they claim that such difference can be attributed to contact with Spanish. Here I will present a much more detailed analysis of all written text-types in ICE-GBR, taking into account variables such as distribution across text-types, aspect, modality, presence or absence of the *by*-phrase, and animacy of the subject (following Hundt et al. 2023). The results will be compared to those in ICE-GB and statistical tools will be used to test the significance of the differences (using the computer software Jamovi, 2023). The findings will allow me to conclude whether the observed differences in use are due to extralinguistic and sociocultural factors such as informalization or colloquialization (Farrelly and Seoane, 2012; Leech et al., 2009; Mair, 2006; Seoane and Loureiro-Porto, 2005), or language contact with Spanish (Loureiro-Porto and Suárez-Gómez, 2017; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988).

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar English; BE-passive; International Corpus of English; morphosyntactic variation; language contact.

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Banglish: Code-switching Between Bangla and English

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This paper investigates the phenomenon of "Banglish", the mixing of Bangla and English languages, within the socio-linguistic context of Bangladesh. Drawing upon data collected from Bangladeshi students studying at the University of Trento, and YouTube videos featuring Banglish speakers, this study aims to analyse the status and implications of English usage in Bangla discourse.

The main objective of this research lies in identifying whether English integration in Bangla results in code-switching, or whether English words are simply borrowed. This paper goes further into the ongoing debate regarding the classification of English in Bangladesh as a foreign language (EFL) or a second language (ESL). Despite the historical significance of the 1952 language movement, *Bhasha Andolon*, advocating for Bangla's vital importance in the country, due to massive globalisation, "English has become the most influential international language of communication" (Ara: 2020). Consequently, English words have been seamlessly integrated into the Bangla vocabulary, and English expressions are seamlessly used into daily conversations.

In conclusion, this paper contributes to the understanding of Banglish as a linguistic phenomenon, shedding light on the rather under-studied variety of English in Bangladesh. It offers insights into the complex interplay between Bangla and English within contemporary linguistic landscapes.

Yanito from a code-switching and code-mixing perspective: an analysis of the speech of young adults in Gibraltar

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Gibraltar is a British Overseas Territory located in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula. A significant consequence of the British conquest in 1713 was the establishment of English as the sole official language of the territory. After the 20th century and among the young generations, a process of language shift has continued, with English becoming the predominant language for formal and informal communication. Furthermore, code-switching and code-mixing have emerged as recurring linguistic phenomena specific to the community (Moyer 2002, Goria, 2018, 2021; among others), serving interactive and identity-related functions (Rodríguez García 2021, 2024).

This presentation aims to analyze the form and functionality of code-switching among Gibraltarians aged 16-35. To achieve this goal, the author employs highly interactive oral-speech data gathered through an innovative methodology involving focus groups (16 focus groups; 48 participants). From a structural perspective (Muysken 2000, 2013), a clear preference for peripheral switches is evident. From a functional perspective, despite a noticeable decline in monolingual Spanish usage during conversations, pragmatic and interactional significance can be attributed to the observed switches (Auer 1995, Auer 2014). This study reflects on the role of code-switching in the conversations of young adults in Gibraltar and contributes to the existing literature on code-switching in the region by examining the language shift process within the community and presenting compelling insights into the functional aspects of code-switching within an understudied age group. The presentation concludes with a discussion on code-switching and 'Yanito/Llanito' among the younger generations of Gibraltar.

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Community norms and pragmatic motivations for bilingual discourse markers in Gibraltar's English-Spanish mixed code: a comparison with the Miami corpus

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The topic of discourse and pragmatic markers in bilingual speech has been the object of several studies; (see e.g., Maschler 1998, Matras 1998, 2000). However, few papers have proposed comparisons between different situations where the same couple of languages is involved.

In this presentation, we analyse the bilingual patterns involving Spanish and English discourse markers (Schiffrin 1985, 1987; Jucker 1993, Blackmore 2002 among others) indicating (various types of) reformulation, and pragmatic markers used to negotiate agreement and disagreement (Pons Bordería 2003). An example is given below:

1. **BUENO** I ff. I mean, I would say QUE LA <u>VICEPRESIDENTA</u> LO: LO MATÓ because she received that email from him saying that it was all over

2. A (0.3) tsk really we didn't go anywhere I just went eh
   B home
   A **BUENO**: I just went a weekend in Spain

We provide a comparison between two corpora of English-Spanish bilingual talk, namely a corpus collected from Gibraltar (UK) by Rodríguez Garcia (2021), and the Miami corpus by Deuchar et al. (2010). The first is a self-collected corpus of focus groups involving Gibraltarian young adults (aged 16-35); the second is an online available corpus of spontaneous conversation involving heritage speakers of Spanish in Florida.

Our first research question is concerned with the identification of community-specific norms in the two scrutinized scenarios. As for Gibraltar, previous studies (Weston 2013; Goria 2018, 2020; Rodríguez García & Goria 2023) show that, due to ongoing language shift towards English, a regular structure tends to emerge in code-mixing leading to instances such as (1)-

(2). However, a similar analysis has never been extended to the Miami data to our knowledge. Therefore, we will show if, and how, different sociolinguistic situations determine differences in the choice between bilingual and monolingual uses of DMs.

At the same time, English and Spanish counterpart markers (such as *bueno* and *well*) often display functional and pragmatic differences that have been already accounted for in the literature (see e.g., Pons Bordería 2003, Pons Bordería and Fischer 2021), and which obviously transcend sociolinguistic differences between the two communities. These factors could also play a role in the choice between monolingual vs bilingual uses, as was demonstrated in several studies in language contact (see e.g., Maschler 1998).

By adopting both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis (e.g., logistic regression models; see Levshina 2015) we will then evaluate the impact of functional vs sociolinguistic explanations as a rationale for the use of bilingual discourse markers.

KEYWORDS: language contact; code-mixing; discourse markers; pragmatic markers.

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Relativization strategies in Gibraltar English

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Since the compilation of the Gibraltarian written component of the International Corpus of English, Gibraltar English, a nativized variety of English, has become a focal object of study in current linguistic research. Based on the preliminary findings of Loureiro-Porto and Suárez-Gómez (2017) regarding morphosyntactic variation in Gibraltar English, this study explores the variability in the distribution of relativization strategies when functioning as subjects within adnominal relative clauses in this variety of English. In standard Present-day English, subject relative markers in adnominal relative clauses are typically introduced by an explicit relativizer, a freely interchangeable variant, with *who* or *that* being possible if the antecedent is animate (e.g. *The author who/that has written this study is interested in Gibraltar English*) and *which* or *that* being used if the antecedent is inanimate (e.g. *The book which/that is on the table is yours*). Given the recent shifts in the distribution of relative markers in Present-day English, evidenced by the decrease in the use of which and the increase of that in most varieties of English due to Americanization and colloquialization processes (Leech et al., 2009; Leech, 2012; Xu and Xiao, 2015), this study aims to examine if such factors, along with globalization and cognitive processes stemmed from language contact, have influenced the distribution of relativizers in Gibraltar English. With this objective in mind, a comparative corpus-based study has been conducted to contrast the usage patterns of relative markers in Gibraltar English (ICE-GBR) with those in the two primary Inner Circle varieties, American and British English (ICE-USA and ICE-GB). Data analysis involves a qualitative description of the non-categorical distribution of relativizers in Gibraltar English, complemented by a mixed method statistical analysis aimed at measuring the strength of these distributional tendencies.

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar English; adnominal relative clauses; Americanization; colloquialization, language contact.

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Backflagging in Street Talk: A study of Spanish functional markers in Gibraltar English

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The current linguistic landscape of Gibraltar is characterised by its own variety of English, Gibraltar English, as well as a unique language spoken only in this territory, Llanito (or Yanito). Previous literature on Gibraltar English, namely the studies by Goria (2017; 2021a; 2021b; Rodríguez García and Goria 2023), highlights the use of a particular type of code-mixing in Gibraltar English whereby Spanish items are inserted in an English matrix. In his (2000) taxonomy, Muysken defines this phenomenon as *insertion*, and in 2013 he finetunes his model to distinguish between the insertion of lexical elements and the insertion of functional markers, which he calls *backflagging*. This study will focus on backflagging in Gibraltar English by examining the insertion of two types of functional markers: (i) the discourse markers *bueno* ('well'), *no* (English reversed question tags) and *vale* ('yes?' 'right?'); and (ii) the conjunctions *conque* ('so'), *(de) que* (complementizer and relativizer 'that') and *porque* ('because'). The data for this study is retrieved from the transcriptions of *Street Talk* (season 3, episodes 1-11), a podcast hosted by two Gibraltarian women, Michelle Rougeroni and Davinia Torrilla. Illustrative examples follow here:

(i)   a. ROUGE: **Bueno**, what was I saying? Yes, I'm going to Morocco. (Episode 5)
       b. KEN: But, who determines who's going out of your way? Do you see what I mean ¿**no**? (Episode 3)
       c. The fact that it is not required for people to speak English, you know, in order to getting permanent here **¿vale?** (Episode 1)

(ii)   a. NAOMI: It was 89 when I was born, **conque** by the time I was born (…) (Episode 6)
       b. DAV: We've always said **de que** there should be a tax for additional (…) (Episode 2)
       c. DAV: There's someone **que** you and I know (Episode 11)
       d. Because Spanish now, for a lot of young people, is a foreign language, **porque**, I mean, we do have to distinguish between Llanito and Spanish. (Episode 1)

In this preliminary study I will briefly discuss the methodology followed to transcribe and retrieve the examples, as well as the results of the analysis of the syntactic markers mentioned above regarding their position within the sentence, meaning, syntactic function, intonation and similarities and differences with respect to their English counterparts. Finally, the results will also be compared to those described in Goria (2021a) and Rodríguez García and Goria (2023).

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar English; Llanito; code-mixing; insertion; backflagging.

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Rewriting Nostos in M.G. Sanchez's *Marlboro Man*

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Nostos is the narrative of return, the story of homecoming commonly used in classical Greek epic and lyric (Alexandrou). Its related term, nostalgia, is, according to Eric Sandberg, a central feature of contemporary literary culture. In *Marlboro Man* (2022), the Gibraltarian writer, M.G. Sanchez, explores this tendency and develops a complex, circular narration that revolves around this notion: "I always knew I'd end up back here – aquí, adonde todo comenzó – staring at the same old walls and breathing the same old smells, trapped somewhere between the past and the present." The novel starts with this reflection by Alex Pereira, the main character and omniscient narrator who, with a mixture of nostalgia and repulsion, will embark on an exercise of (re)creation of the past by recalling the phenomenon of the novelist in the novel. Although *Marlboro Man* is not a novel about novelists, the use of the fictional writer helps him focus on Alex's own development as a person, man and writer and, parallelly, on his all-time friend, almost Doppel-ganger figure, the character of Manu(el) Gonzalez. In a mixture of fictional biographical and autobiographical accounts, Gibraltar is the all-pervasive stage where a cohort of motley characters perform their difficult and complicated lives. Set mostly in the early nineties, the novel depicts, with astonishing detail, episodes of Gibraltar's recent history and, most particularly, the unofficial intra-history of flesh and blood people. Alex unfolds a plethora of tropes and topics that are masterfully tackled by Sanchez. And pivotal to his narrative is the way(s) in which smuggling of tobacco and drugs determines the main characters' lives.

The aim of this paper is to analyse Sanchez's use of nostos as a narrative device that helps him deal with the idea of Gibraltar from a multiple perspective. The character of Alex becomes an outcast suffering from a lack of sense of belonging, and this alienation allows him to problematise more objectively and critically his physical and mental dislocation as a llanito who is and is not trapped in the irresistible magnetism of the cultural and political complexities of the Rock.

KEYWORDS: Gibraltar literature; M.G. Sanchez; nostalgia; (intra)history.