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«Sociolinguistic approach to the Gibraltarian community: *Yanito* in contemporary media»

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Abstract

Several articles suggesting the disappearance of *yanito* have been published over the years. However, this linguistic phenomenon has not yet been widely studied in the field of social media, where several websites are working on preserving *yanito* by taking advantage of the multiple resources made available by the new digital tools. Due to the paucity of research on *yanito* in social media, a functional analysis of code-switching used in Gibraltarian public media such as television and print media as well as in social media will be carried out on the basis of the functional categories of code-switching established by Gumperz (1982), San (2009) and Montes-Alcalá (2007). The purpose of this study is to explore and determine possible differences regarding speakers' use of code-switching in distinct communication spheres, thus checking whether new functions of code-switching identified on the Internet, linked to the linguistic identity of the users, could possibly reverse its decline.

Keywords

Gibraltar, English, Spanish, *Yanito*, Social media, Code-switching, Functional analysis, Identity

Resumen

Varios artículos que sugieren la desaparición del *yanito* han sido publicados a lo largo de los años. Sin embargo, este fenómeno lingüístico no ha sido aún ampliamente estudiado en el ámbito de las redes sociales, donde varios sitios web se dedican a preservar el *yanito* aprovechando así los múltiples recursos que ponen a su disposición las nuevas herramientas digitales. Debido a la escasez de estudios del *yanito* en redes sociales, se llevará a cabo un análisis funcional del code-switching utilizado en los medios de comunicación públicos gibraltareños, como la televisión y la prensa escrita, así como en las redes sociales, a partir de las categorías funcionales del code-switching establecidas por Gumperz (1982), San (2009) y Montes-Alcalá (2007). Con esto, se pretende comprobar y determinar posibles diferencias del uso dado por los hablantes del code-switching en los distintos ámbitos de comunicación, comprobando así si las nuevas funciones del code-switching identificadas en Internet, vinculadas a la identidad lingüística de los usuarios, podrían llegar a revertir su declive.

Palabras clave

Gibraltar, Inglés, Español, *Yanito*, Redes sociales, Code-switching, Análisis funcional, Identidad

1. Introduction

1.1. Justification

Many researches and papers have been published over the recent years regarding the linguistic phenomenon that takes place in the Campo of Gibraltar. *yanito*–also named by many as llanito–has caught the attention of many linguists who took special interest in describing, for instance, its features, analysing its uses in different contexts and by people from different genders, ages, ethnicity, etc., and relating it to other linguistics and, to be more precise, sociolinguistics phenomena such as code-switching, the situation of bilingualism and/or diglossia in a linguistic community and the identity of that community. Many others studied and put emphasis on the purely linguistic features of a language, thus describing the morphological and syntactical processes of formation of words and sentences people in Gibraltar perform in order to speak *yanito*.

Despite the fervent interest in this community and its unusual and unique linguistic community, many professionals in the field foresee what the future holds for *yanito*. According to studies such as the one provided by García Caba (2022), *yanito* is at risk of disappearing since Gibraltar linguistic politics and planifications are leaning towards the usage and teaching of English as the main and only official language, which causes that "las nuevas generaciones de gibraltareños están creciendo en una comunidad cada vez más anglicalizada que pierde poco a poco su referente hispánico" (p. 176).

Nevertheless, and although the tendency of using *yanito* is seeing a downfall mainly in teenagers, who are the ones with more power to rise and also to demolish a language or a dialect, neither older nor recent papers take into account the influence social media has into teenagers' linguistic trends endorsed by research such as that conducted by Modrey (1998, as cited in Said-Mohand, 2010), whose results show that "los jóvenes son los que más usan el inglés en la comunidad gibraltareña (70%) por la influencia que ejercen los padres al inculcarles que la competencia en el inglés les ofrecerá mayores ventajas económicas que el español" (p. 21). Because of this, this paper aims to examine how newly born social media profiles, websites and even television shows can help *yanito* to avoid its disuse and its probable extinction. In this way, a comparison will be made between the functions fulfilled by the use of *yanito* in social media, and the functions fulfilled by *yanito* manifestations in the

mass media such as television and the written press, hence analysing what differences and similarities they present.

1.2. Status of the issue

Code-switching studies in Gibraltar have gained increasing attention in recent years. Scholars have focused on investigating the linguistic phenomena of code-switching and studies have revealed that code-switching is a common linguistic practice in Gibraltar due to its unique linguistic and cultural environment, characterised by a long history of multilingualism and a diverse community. Researchers have also examined various aspects of code-switching, including its linguistic features, social functions, and discourse strategies. Some of the key findings indicate that code-switching in Gibraltar serves various purposes, such as creating solidarity and social identity, expressing emotion, and highlighting cultural differences.

Thus, numerous studies have been carried out in this community and, more recently, through the study of discourse analysis. One of the most outstanding studies in this field is the one carried out by Melissa Moyer (1993). One of her key findings in her study suggests that code-switching in Gibraltar is a highly context-dependent phenomenon, shaped by various linguistic and social factors such as the speaker's age, gender, social class, and level of bilingual proficiency. Moyer's studies have also highlighted the importance of discourse analysis in understanding the communicative functions of code-switching in Gibraltar. Her research sparked interest in further investigations into code-switching in Gibraltar and has been cited in subsequent studies and publications. Today, Moyer's study remains a key reference for scholars interested in multilingualism and language practices in Gibraltar, as it provides valuable insights into the complex linguistic landscape of this unique community.

Studies have also been carried out on the differences in the use of Code-switching between young people and adults, some of these considering new communication platforms such as social media. Research such as that of Rodríguez García (2022) goes so far as to use a corpus of fragments found in social media to carry out her investigation. Nevertheless, this sort of studies are scarce and, despite the growing interest in code-switching in Gibraltar, there is still much to be explored in terms of its sociolinguistic and pragmatic implications.

1.3. Objectives and hypothesis

The initial hypothesis before carrying out the research work is that, due to the declining trend in the use of *yanito*, this phenomenon will not have as much presence nor relevance in conventional media such as television and the press as it may have in social media. This is due to Gibraltar's language policy and planning, which encourages the use of English in the upper spheres such as government, the military and the economic field. Nevertheless, due to the fact that they are clearly different spheres, the manifestations analysed on social media will exhibit significant differences in the functions they fulfil with respect to the use of code-switching in comparison to the manifestations analysed on television and the press.

The main objective of this paper is, on the one hand, to analyse the existing differences between the functions performed by the *yanito* used in conventional media such as television, compared to the functions of *yanito* used in social networks and websites. With this, the aim is not only to carry out a comparison and examine whether these possible functional differences could reverse the declining trend of *yanito*, but also to determine whether *yanito* has a high or low presence and echo in social networks. Thus, a greater use and diffusion of *yanito* on social networks could pave the way for future research into this linguistic phenomenon in an area that has so far been little or not at all explored and studied, and which could provide new evidence on the use of *yanito* among young people in the Gibraltarian community.

To this end, a background will first be given on how Gibraltar has come to develop into such a peculiar and multicultural speech community, going through the various political, geographical and social phenomena that have led to this. Further on it will be necessary to give information and appropriate definitions of certain linguistic terms that will be used throughout the paper and will help to discern what occurs in the Gibraltarian community and what *yanito* is. This will be followed by social issues that have had a major impact on this speech community, such as linguistic identity and Gibraltar's language policy and planning. With this preliminary background information, examples of manifestations of *yanito* in both conventional media and social networks will be presented and thus, exploring whether the functions with which code-switching is used in conventional media and in social media display any discrepancies and, if so, whether these variations are related to the linguistic identity and the importance that speakers give to this phenomenon.

1.4. Methodology

To carry out this functional analysis of Gibraltarian code-switching, a 1500-word long corpus will be used, extracted from two *GBC* television programs, a press article taken from the Gibraltar newspaper *Panorama*, an online podcast produced by the website *LlanitoLlanito* and an article written in the webpage *GFAMS* respectively. To ensure that the computation of code-switching functions and the total switches of each corpus is proportional, around three hundred words have been extracted from each source. Thus, when three hundred words were reached, both in the written sources and in the transcriptions of the TV programme videos and the podcast, the process of compiling the corpus was interrupted.

This analysis will be carried out based on Gumperz's classification of functions of code-switching. Gumperz (1982) suggested that code-switching serves as a tactic that conveys social meanings. According to Gumperz (1982), there are six categories that satisfy this social meaning of code-switching. The first of these he calls quotation, and states that code-switching can be used to quote the speech of another person in a conversation, as well as to direct a message to a particular recipient who is not immediately involved in the interaction, with the purpose of inviting them to participate. The second one, known as addressee specification, dictates that code switching can be triggered in order to address the recipient of the conversation or a new participant joining the exchange. The third category is referred to as interjections, which comprises code switches in the form of interjections or fillers upon which the speaker relies during his or her speech. The fourth category Gumperz calls reiteration, and, as he defines it, this group includes code switches in which "a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form" (p. 78). This category fulfils the function of emphasising or even clarifying what the speaker states. The fifth category, message qualification, involves code switches which have the function of qualifying a construction, such as complements of any syntactical nature. The sixth and final category established by this author is labelled as personalization versus objectivization and, as Gumperz (1982) himself points out, this category "is somewhat more difficult to specify in purely descriptive terms" (p. 80). Here, Gumperz includes code-switching which is represented by dichotomies such as talking about an action versus talking as an action; closeness versus detachment between speakers; or dealing with an opinion versus dealing with issues of general knowledge. Given the difficulty in narrowing down this category, the focus of this analysis will be on including those code-switches which

show either greater closeness or greater distance between speakers. Gumperz's classification of code-switching provides a framework for understanding the various functions that code-switching can have in a conversation and, because of that, it will be used as the methodology for analysing and interpreting the data collected in this study.

In addition to Gumperz's six social meanings, this study will also adopt San's (2009) ideas of code-switching for creativity to relate them to the research. San found that bloggers switch from Chinese to English when there are no appropriate English translations for Chinese words or expressions. According to San's (2009) research on Chinese-English code-switching in online blogs, there are phenomena that occur "almost exclusively on the Internet" (p. 63). The reason for this is that on the Internet, users have greater freedom to create and shape new words and/or expressions. Thus, users with proficiency in both languages are able to deviate from the linguistic standard and unleash their creativity in order to develop words or constructions by exploiting their knowledge of both languages. Moreover, Montes-Alcalá's (2007) concept of free switching will also be taken into account in order to explain the social functions of code-switching in asynchronous Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) platforms, where code-switching serves no apparent reason or comprises an eclectic combination of other functions. Montes-Alcalá (2007) research on Facebook suggests that bloggers may switch to create an overall stylistic effect or demonstrate their competence in using two languages and cultures.

Once the corpus has been extracted and all the switches have been analysed and classified, each category will be established and assigned a percentage according to the number of occurrence(s) as a proportion of the total number of switches for each source. As a result, comparisons of the desired percentages between sources can be made in a straightforward manner and the potential disparities between them can thereby be identified.

2. Sociolinguistic historical and geographical approach to Gibraltar

First of all, and before analysing what *yanito* is and the new forms of representation of the linguistic phenomenon in conventional media and digital platforms, it is of utmost importance to situate a prior sociolinguistic context in which the historical and political events that contributed significantly to Gibraltar's status as a multicultural community and that also gave birth to *yanito* are addressed and explored. Consequently, having prior background knowledge

of these events will make it easier and lighter to understand the relationship between *yanito* and the Gibraltarian community. Thus, discerning whether it is a bilingual community or on the contrary a community in which a situation of diglossia is encountered, the linguistic identity that has been formed in the Campo de Gibraltar throughout the years and their current existing identity. Furthermore, the particular emphasis of some groups that use the modern digital media and social networks to ensure the preservation and dissemination of this phenomenon shall be exhibited, as well as its history and the events that gave rise to it.

2.1. Pre-British conquest Gibraltar

Due to its strategic position, Gibraltar has been of interest to different settlers since antiquity. Thus, many civilisations such as the Carthaginians, Phoenicians and even the Romans showed great interest in this land given the potential trade connections that could be established from it. Nonetheless, the first to arrive in Gibraltar were the Arab armies, who "entered the Iberian peninsula through the Strait in 711 A.D. Their leader, Tarik-ibn-Zeyad changed the name of the Rock from Calpe to Jebel-Tarik –The Mountain of Tarik –, which over the centuries has altered to its present form, Gibraltar" (Alameda Hernández, 2006, p. 35).

Further on in time, apart from the Spanish, the British and the Jewish who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and eventually settled in Gibraltar, a particular emphasis should be paid to the settlement of the Genoese community who largely contributed to the emergence of *yanito* in this regard. The Genoese population that arrived at Gibraltar long before the British came to settle had an important role to play and a significant contribution to bring about the emergence of *yanito*. From this variety spoken in Genoa, *yanito* has preserved the verb "semo / sei", which is strongly etymologically related to the Genoese verb "sémmo / séi"; and lexical forms such as "marxapiè", which comes from the Italian word "marciapiede" and means pavement, or the word "pâtiso", which comes from the Genoese "pastisso'" and comes to mean either "disorder" or "mess" (Buttigieg, 2014). As a matter of fact, *yanito* is believed to have been conceived at the end of the 18th century and, as López de Ayala (1782) points out:

> Los Ginoveses son mercaderes, i en mayor número pescadores, marineros i hortelanos, i tanto éstos como los Judios hablan bien ó mal el Castellano é Inglés, i un dialecto ó jerga común á todas las naciones sin excluir las Africanas. (p. 374)

The Jewish population also made a considerable linguistic contribution to *yanito* by introducing Hebrew words. However, because of the Spanish Inquisition and their consequent rejection of the Spanish Crown, and after the conquest of Gibraltar by the British, they wanted

to show their loyalty to the British Crown by learning and using the English language in Gibraltar. It was thus mainly the Genoese who arrived in Gibraltar speaking neither Spanish nor English, but an Italian dialect, who introduced and made the greatest linguistic impact on the Gibraltarian community between the 1700s and 1800s.

2.2. Post-British conquest Gibraltar

At first, the Spanish Crown proclaimed Gibraltar as part of its kingdom in 1502. However, during the War of the Spanish Succession, Gibraltar was taken by an Anglo-Dutch fleet under Sir George Rook in 1704 and was later officially transferred to England under the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713 (Fierro Cubiella, 1997, p. 36). As Alameda (2006) states, the official language of Gibraltar was English "since 1704, or more precisely 1713 after the Treaty of Utrecht" (p. 46). This affected the Gibraltarian population not only socially, but also linguistically. Following the cession of Gibraltar to England after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, English culture and, consequently, a century later with the founding of the first schools English language, was the one promoted in all fields, both in social and governmental spheres. Gibraltar underwent a process of anglicisation which, as Archer (2006) states, "brought pressures on the native Gibraltarians to demonstrate their loyalty and to learn English when engaged in commerce or in any dealings with officialdom" (p. 108).

Besides this, the first official schools began to open in Gibraltar after its recognition as a Crown Colony in 1830. This, together with the fact that in 1917 schooling became mandatory, brought "the English language to all children, although Spanish continued to dominate outside school and throughout the early years of highschool" (Archer, 2006, p. 108). In this way, English was no longer only implemented in the military and governmental, but also in the educational sphere of the Gibraltarian community, something to which, surprisingly, Gibraltarians did not object. Archer (2006) explains how other situations of British imperialism like the one in Malta, where two languages such as Italian and Arabic simultaneously co-existed, saw the emergence of several language movements that advocated Maltese nationalism and refused to accept the establishment of English as an official language. By contrast, in Gibraltar the community had no nationalist reaction whatsoever in this respect, but quite the opposite, to the extent that even the Gibraltar Workers Federation, also known as the GWF, "sent a memorial, with nearly 4000 signatures, to the Governor and to the Secretary of State for Colonies, complaining that too much time was being spent in

schools on Religious Instruction and not enough on the teaching of English" (Archer, 2006, p. 109).

Nonetheless, in spite of British imperialism, multiculturalism continued to proliferate in Gibraltar. López de Ayala (1782) provides a detailed portrayal of the Gibraltarian population in which this diversity of cultures coexisted during its first years as a British colony. In addition to this, the new laws and regulations that were imposed by Britain and that significantly shaped life in Gibraltar are also discussed in the following excerpt:

> Ademas de la guarnicion habitan en tiempo de paz como tres mil personas de ambos sexos i de todas edades: quinientos son Ingles, como mil Judios; i hasta mil quatrocientos Católicos Portugueses, Italianos, algunos Españoles, i la mayor parte Genoveses. Era de temer por la diversidad de religiones, de costumbres é intereses de los habitantes, que se experimentáran en Gibraltar las pendencias i atrocidades que en otras ciudades de la provincia. La severidad del gobierno militar las ha precavido; porque certificados los individuos que alli concurren, de la pena que les amenaza en caso de incurrir en algun delito, certificados de que alli no se gana á los ministros, ni se cohechan los jueces, fundan su seguridad en no interrumpir la ajena; i por un efecto de leyes tan bien establecidas como observadas pasan muchos años sin que se vean los asesinatos i violentas muertes que en otras poblaciones mas pequeñas i de vecinos uniformes en religion i leyes (p. 373)

As described above, due to the presence of various cultures, languages and religions, Gibraltar continued to be a breeding ground for linguistic phenomena. While English was the official language of Gibraltar, there was still a wide and rich linguistic variety as a result of these population movements and ongoing social and political affairs in Gibraltar. As Alameda Hernández (2006) notes, "The documents containing various censuses from those years reveal that the largest group was of Genoese origin, followed by Jews, British, Spanish and Portuguese" (p. 40). Thus, this unique situation of multilingual diversity helps to understand how and why this community was prone to, not only give rise, but also to preserve such linguistic phenomenon as *yanito*.

2.3. Gibraltar today

Multiculturalism still pervades the streets of Gibraltar today. There have been, however, recent events, mainly political, which have led to Gibraltarians increasingly adopting a British

identity and habits. Firstly, during Franco's dictatorship in Spain, the Gibraltarian community began to feel an increasing rejection towards Spain. In addition, due to the famous closure of the physical fence between Gibraltar and Spain, language contacts and, consequently, the use of Spanish in the Campo, declined, something that affected the community at a linguistic level.

On the other hand, the UK's exit from the European Community after Brexit led to greater rejection and concern on the part of Gibraltarians, who felt much closer to the British position than to the Spanish one. This rejection of Spain and rapprochement with the UK can be reflected in the magazine *Panorama*, in its *Calentita* column written by García (2020), where one can find fragments such as:

> And some Spaniards think that Brexit is our fault because it might affect them. Let them complain to those in Moncloa or Brussels, when we didn't even split a plate. And now come those from Podemos with the Teresa to meet the Chief Minestra. I must say that is a British Gibraltarian name, la Teresa May remember? Maybe they want to take away our names too!

As can be noticed, and as a way of mocking the fact that the Spanish are now even stealing their names, a rejection towards Spanish politics and towards Spain as a whole is expressed and, at the same time, their Britishness is reinforced by emphasising that the name is of British Gibraltarian origin. Due to these reasons, English is increasingly becoming the most prestigious and widely used language, not only on an official scale but also on an informal colloquial one, thus marginalising the use of other languages such as Spanish and, as a consequence, directly affecting the new generations, who do not use *yanito* as often as their parents or grandparents did. As García Caba (2022) states;

> el territorio de la Roca va camino de convertirse en una comunidad angloparlante monolingüe, pues el yanito (y el español, por extensión) está perdiendo su estatus como la variedad lingüística local por varias razones, entre las que se encuentra el hecho de que las nuevas generaciones de gibraltareños están creciendo en una comunidad cada vez más anglicalizada que pierde poco a poco su referente hispánico. (p. 176)

3. Terminological issues

The first step in analysing and categorising *yanito* is to establish and discern certain terminological principles. Thus, in the following section various definitions by several authors will be addressed in order to distinguish whether the linguistic phenomenon that occurs in the Campo de Gibraltar corresponds to a situation of bilingualism or to a situation of diglossia. At the same time, the concept of code-switching, which is characteristically associated with *yanito* and which will be used throughout the paper, will also be discussed and further defined. Furthermore, in this last section regarding *yanito*, it will be discussed why in this paper it was opted to use the spelling *yanito* instead of the one recommended by the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, llanito.

Once the linguistic state of affairs in Gibraltar is understood on the one hand, and the correct categorisation in linguistic terms of *yanito* is settled on the other, it will be significantly easier and clearer to use this phenomenon as an object of study and thereby come to conclusions closer to the linguistic reality of *yanito*.

3.1. Bilingualism

The term bilingualism may seem self-explanatory to almost any person who encounters it. However, there is no common consensus among authors on the correct definition of what bilingualism actually is. Thus, if a standard dictionary is consulted, one can find that it defines bilingualism as "the fact of using or being able to speak two languages" (Cambridge University Press, n.d.), which is a rather loose and broad definition. On the other hand, authors such as Bloomfield (1935, as cited in Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A, 2000) attempt to provide a more precise and accurate definition of the term, describing bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages" (p. 6). Nonetheless, although it is true that this definition appears to be narrower than the one provided by the Cambridge Dictionary, Bloomfield describes an ideal or perfect bilingualism, which, as is the case with the vast majority of known linguistic phenomena, never occurs as there are variations or alterations that do not allow it to achieve the same perfection described in this definition.

Conversely, other authors such as Haugen (1953, as cited in Wald, 1974) described bilingualism in a considerably less ideal manner, stating that a person is bilingual if he or she can "produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (p. 301). However, this other extreme approach to the definition of the term was deeply criticised given that,

according to many other authors, to be considered bilingual one should not only emphasise on linguistic matters, but also on non-linguistic ones, on social as well as psychological or cognitive aspects.

In the light of the above, García Martín (2000) considers that Ramírez's (1992) definition is the most appropriate for the phenomenon of the Campo de Gibraltar. This definition provided by Ramírez (1992, as cited in García Martín, 2000) describes four different types of bilingualism, out of which the first two correspond to the specific situation in Gibraltar. These types of bilingualism are:

> 1. Bilingüismo estable, que responde a la diferenciación lingüística entre dos grupos que comparten el mismo terreno, y donde el grupo bilingüe se ve obligado a distinguir el uso de una lengua y otra según los dominios sociolingüísticos; 2. Bilingüismo dinámico, donde la situación social y diferenciación entre roles y uso de las distintas lenguas están dirigidos hacia una asimilación lingüística; 3. Bilingüismo transicional, en el cual dos idiomas asumen las mismas funciones, lo que se presta al uso exclusivo de una de las lenguas para cumplir las distintas funciones comunicativas; 4. Bilingüismo vestigial, en el que refleja una asimilación lingüística casi total y donde el bilingüismo cumple una función simbólica que se asocia con una minoría pequeña a punto de extinción (p. 485)

In addition to recognising a stable and dynamic type of bilingualism according to the above definition, Lambert also distinguishes two kinds of bilingualism, additive and subtractive. According to Lambert (1981), the first case of bilingualism is "adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertoire of skills'" (p. 12) in which in no case does the learning of that second language mean that the native and first language is replaced or set aside; while in the subtractive case of bilingualism, there can be found "ethnolinguistic minority groups who, because of national educational policies and social pressures of various sorts, feel forced to put aside or subtract out their ethnic languages for a more necessary and prestigious national language" (p. 12). Thus, the Gibraltarian community, being proud of its multicultural nature, as numerous reports on Gibraltarian identity and culture point out, would fall within an additive bilingualism according to Lambert's definition.

3.2. Diglossia

Now that the concept of bilingualism has been defined and applied to the Gibraltarian linguistic community, it is worth addressing a closely related linguistic phenomenon, particularly to Ramírez's aforementioned concept of stable bilingualism, which is equally ubiquitous in Gibraltar, namely, diglossia. The most widely known and accepted definition of this term is that of Ferguson (1959), who claims that:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (p. 336)

However, Gibraltar's linguistic status is somewhat peculiar and does not quite fit this definition. Firstly, and as Fishman (1967) argues, Ferguson refers to diglossia strictly in a scenario in which there are only varieties of the same language, and therefore, given that there are two different languages such as Spanish and English and not two varieties of the same language, Gibraltar would not fall within this definition. Moreover, while it is true that English is the superposed variety owing to the fact that it is used in the upper spheres and, moreover, has its own literature endorsing it, English is also used, especially by younger people, in informal and colloquial situations, as Fernández Martín (2002, p. 70) states. Additionally, one of the systems subordinate to language A, such as Spanish, does not fulfil many of the criteria that Ferguson establishes regarding language B in a diglossic scenario. This is because Spanish is also the mother tongue of a certain proportion of the population, it is used in a domestic context, it has a literary heritage and, as García Martín (2000) asserts, "there are grammars and dictionaries of this language, which is [*sic*] fully standardised and as complex and elaborate as the former from the grammatical point of view" (p. 483). At present, the main point in Ferguson's definition that is still pertinent at a sociolinguistic level is the use of different communicative functions according to the prestige of one or the other within the linguistic community.

As Ferguson's traditional definition does not seem to be consistent in most of its parameters with the situation in Gibraltar, García Martín (2000) opts to reduce this definition and makes a

differentiation between two types of diglossia, functional and ascriptive. The former corresponds to Ferguson's earlier definition, while the latter points out that the distinction between the use of one variety versus the use of another lies in the social differences within the language community. As mentioned above, English is not only the language of the upper classes and the government, but also the preferred language for economic affairs in the colony, which gives it greater prestige; however, Spanish, together with *yanito*, is the most used variety in the colloquial and everyday domain. As Moyer (1993) supports through the results of her research "Spanish is more likely to be chosen in informal contexts such as the home or the street" (p. 109). Thus, based on García Martín's classification, Gibraltar can be said to have an ascriptive type of diglossia.

As García Martín (2000) states, it could be said that the kind of diglossia that is present in Gibraltar is a "«pseudo-diglosia» que se constituye, acaso, en garante de la situación de bilingüismo" (p. 488). In this situation of "pseudo-diglossia", even though there is a language A with greater prestige and institutional use, there is a large number of people who do not have English as their native language. These people, whose mother tongue is Spanish, react to this situation by means of code-switching. Notwithstanding this differentiation in the use of one linguistic system or another depending on the social status of the speakers or the communicative situation itself, no linguistic conflicts emerge owing to the practice of code switching, which is tolerated and accepted by the speakers of the linguistic community. Code-switching in this scenario, as García Martín (2000) states:

> actúa como elemento de transición desde una situación que pertenecería a una «diglosia de adscripción» a otra, puramente ideal, en la que se habrían eliminado las diferencias de uso entre las dos lenguas según el dominio o la situación de habla en que fueran aplicables (p. 488)

García Martín (1996, as cited in Alameda Hernández, 2006), in addition, goes further to describe the sociolinguistic situation in Gibraltar with respect to the concepts of bilingualism and diglossia. She argues that in the Campo there is, on the one hand, a theoretical diglossia as it is the official language of Gibraltar, the one used by the higher institutions and the most widely promoted in all spheres as the most prestigious; and on the other hand, a practical bilingualism, since upon examining and studying the linguistic community, it is easy to ascertain that the inhabitants use both English, Spanish and the so-called code switching fluently and with complete proficiency.

3.3. Code switching

Finally, it is equally essential to define a linguistic phenomenon already introduced in the previous section, known as code switching or code-switching. This term was defined by Gumperz (1982, as cited in Moyer, 1993) as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of lexical items, phrases, sentences as well as passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 68). This phenomenon arises in language contact contexts and, as Vogt states (1954, as cited in Nilep, 2006), its emergence in such scenarios "is not only natural, but common" (p. 5). In their work "Social meaning in linguistic structures", Blom and Gumperz (1972, as cited in Nilep, 2006) draw a first distinction between situational switching and metaphorical switching. On the one hand, they claim that situational switching occurs when there is a change or alternation of the linguistic code due to noticeable changes in the social context or the communicative environment. On the other hand, metaphorical switching arises when there are changes in the linguistic code without any apparent change in the context or communicative setting. In this case, switching takes place with the sole aim of enriching the communicative act by virtue of the speaker's fluency and competence in both systems.

Nonetheless, and as Moyer (1993) further concludes, this definition proposed by Gumperz is rather restrictive. The reason for this is that code switching does not only occur at a lexical level, but can also manifest itself at a grammatical level, either by mixing the grammatical principles of one language with those of the other, or by using the grammar of one language with the lexical elements of the other. In this sense, Poplack (1980, as cited in Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A., 2000) distinguishes between three different types of code switching. Firstly, there is the extra-sentential code switching, which consists of the insertion of a tag from one language into a sentence that is being produced in a language other than that of the tag. Secondly, there is the intersentential code switching, which consists of inserting an entire clause from one language into a sentence produced in a different language. Thirdly, and lastly, the intrasentential code switching, in which "switches of different types occur within the clause boundary, including within the word boundary" (p. 160) by, for instance, inserting morphemes from one language into words of another language.

Later on, and in accordance with Moyer's approach, Muysken (2000, as cited in Weston, 2012) provides three further types of code switching, labelled insertional switching,

alternational switching and congruent lexicalisational switching, the first two of these belonging to the intrasentential code switching cluster established by Poplack:

> 'Insertion' refers to cases where lexical items are inserted in a matrix language in a similar manner to spontaneous lexical borrowing. 'Alternation' refers to a form of "paratactic adjunction" (2000, p. 221) and occurs at points when the grammars of the respective languages are compatible or equivalent. Congruent lexicalization is where these languages 'share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language' (p. 5)

Besides, code switching is not only considered as a linguistic phenomenon by previously mentioned authors such as Gumperz or Moyer, but also as a social and psychological phenomenon. Vogt (1954, as cited in Nilep, 2006) ventures to claim that "Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extralinguistic" (p. 5). This is because the decision to perform code switching is directly dependent on elements such as, for instance, the linguistic identity of the speaker.

3.4. *Yanito*

It is from this place where all the phenomena defined above converge and coexist that *yanito* emerges. However, since its origin is not completely certain, the spelling with which this variety should be written is also unclear. On the one hand, some choose to write it with a double "ll", something that the Real Academia Española supports by including it with this spelling in its dictionary, defining it as "llanito, ta. adj. coloq. gibraltareño" (Real Academia Española, s.f., Definición 1). The use of this spelling is due to the fact that, as suggested by Lára Ólafsdóttir (2016) "los investigadores Kramer (1986), Ballantine (2000) y Britto (1996) prefieren la grafía 'll' considerando que el origen viene del latín PLANVS (llano)" (p. 17), referring to the Llano or Campo de Gibraltar.

However, other authors argue that both the linguistic variety and its inhabitants should be referred to as *yanitos* with a "y". The theories are diverse, and some point out that its correct spelling should be with "y" as it stems from certain names that were common in Gibraltar during its first years of existence as a colony. On the one hand, there is a theory which supports its spelling with "y" due to the name Giovanni, which was very common among the Genoese who inhabited Gibraltar. This theory is maintained by Cavilla (1978, as cited in Fernández Martín, 2002), who states that the Genoese name "era tan frecuente en los primeros

años de existencia de la colonia que los andaluces que venían a trabajar a Gibraltar bautizaron a todos los gibraltareños de forma afectuosa *yanitos*, es decir, 'Giannito'" (p. 75-76). On the other hand, Lipski (1986) theorises that it may actually come from a common English name. He claims that *yanito* is "a word whose origins can be linked to the English name Johnny" (p. 417).

Additionally, the most recent explanation supporting its spelling with "y" is that of Vallejo (2001, as cited in Fernández Martín, 2002), who argues that:

> el término hace referencia a los trabajadores españoles que participaron en la ampliación del puerto. Estos venían de todo el Campo de Gibraltar y a menudo se veían obligados a pernoctar en las cercanías, la zona, según Vallejo, estaba "at the foot of Sierra Carbonera, in a depression on the isthmus called 'El Llano'". Cuando les preguntaba de donde venían, contestaban que del Llano, y, de ahí, el nombre 'llanitos' (p. 77)

For the latter justification and given that the spelling with "y" has been the one commonly accepted in the Gibraltarian community, in this paper it will be spelt as *yanito* instead of llanito.

Yanito is, according to Moyer (1992) a non-standardised variety consisting of code-switching involving the use of English and Spanish in discourse. As a matter of fact, although Spanish and English are the main languages used by the speakers of this variety, there are also influences from languages spoken throughout the history of the colony, such as Portuguese, Moroccan and Italian. Moreover, according to research by Vázquez Amador (2018), this variety of code switching occurs not only in discourse, but also in ordinary conversational scenarios. Thus, through the insertion of collocations, pauses and equivalent expressions in both languages, the speaker uses one language or the other depending on the context so as to express him/herself comfortably and make him/herself understood by the listener. This variety, however, has been defined in diverse ways over the years. Authors such as Cavilla, Kramer or Lipski referred to *yanito* as "un dialecto local del español con elementos léxicos de las lenguas y los dialectos históricos principalmente mediterráneos" (Rodríguez García, 2022, p. 395). Most recently, authors already mentioned such as Moyer or Weston regard *yanito* as a variety of code-switching between English and Spanish and, some such as Téllez (2013, as cited in Rodríguez García, 2022) venture to describe *yanito* as "una 'jerga que convive con el

inglés y el español' o una 'jerga híbrida que hace referencia a una identidad colectiva'" (p. 395).

In this sense, and considering *yanito* as a code-switching variety, it is necessary to situate it at a sociolinguistic level with respect to Spanish and English in the Campo de Gibraltar. In her PhD thesis, Fernández Martín (2002) claims that English has several favourable features in the Gibraltarian community as it is a language that carries a strong sense of national identity due to the history of the colony, it is used in both formal and informal settings, it is a standardised language and the speakers have great communicative competence as it is the only official language and, therefore, the language of instruction in the educational system. Spanish, on the other hand, is used in more informal settings, it is a standardised language and its speakers are proficient, albeit they consider it to be detached from their true roots. Meanwhile *yanito*, despite not being standardised like English or Spanish, is also used in informal domains, its speakers are proficient and, a crucial point, it is highly charged with national identity as is the case with English.

4. Linguistic policy and planning in Gibraltar

Once both the historical and sociolinguistic background of Gibraltar have been explored, it is of major significance to discuss the language policy and planning that have been carried out on the Rock. This is because, despite the fact that decisions at the linguistic level are mainly in the hands of the speakers themselves, it is nonetheless a fact that governmental and institutional measures affect their speech community. These measures tend to be implemented in three major spheres of the public domain and, as Lipski (1986) notes, "en Gibraltar no existe ninguna política oficial en cuanto a la selección idiomática de acuerdo a las circunstancias, excepción hecha de la enseñanza escolar, los comunicados del gobierno y la radiodifusión" (p. 422). This section will therefore outline the most relevant policies regarding the language of use in Gibraltar in these three major public spheres.

4.1. Education

A determining factor in the use of a certain language, a linguistic variety and, consequently, the linguistic richness inherent to a location, is the government's educational measures. While it is true that from the time of the first occupation of Gibraltar until the following hundred years there are no documents concerning education on the Rock, records from the end of the

18th century have been found. These records, as Archer (2006) states, mention how teachers founded the first recorded academies and public schools.

However, it was not until Second World War that relevant linguistic factors in education came to the fore. Firstly, during the Second World War, Gibraltarians who were not eligible to serve in the war were forced to emigrate. Nonetheless, the British government was responsible for the education and training of the refugees during the war, who were instructed in England's own system of education and, naturally, with English as the language of instruction and tuition. As Archer (2006) states, these children had a "greater exposure to the English language" (p. 122), especially those who were evacuated to England, where British national affiliation and identity were more deeply rooted.

Moreover, already during the post-war period, Miles Clifford, the Colonial Secretary in charge, took as a model "the Education Bill for England and Wales" (Archer, 2006, p. 123). Thus, this system devised for Gibraltar was intended both to make English the language of instruction as well as the essential one, and for young students to develop strong bonds with England. The main reason for implementing this educational system was, according to Mariscal Ríos (2014) "para romper las barreras comunicativas entre gibraltareños e ingleses" (p. 75), which was acknowledged by the Gibraltarian Minister of Education himself at the time, Howes.

Subsequently, Miles Clifford had already left his position, factors such as the movement and influx of population due to repatriation caused by the closure of the border led to its enactment of the *Ordinance of Education* (1950), which officially established the British educational system and English as the main and central teaching language. However, in Gibraltar this system "se suele impartir en español" (Fierro Cubiella, 1997, p. 41), which is why in 1962 the Gibraltar Status Ordinance was established, which set out the requirements and considerations for an individual to be considered and registered as a Gibraltarian. This, together with the Gibraltar Constitution published two years later, in 1969, were major reasons for the emergence and development of a linguistic, cultural and social identity in the Campo de Gibraltar that distanced them from both the British and Spanish communities. A further contributing aspect is the pursuit of university studies. As mentioned above, in Gibraltar, as a result of the Ordinance of Education, English became the language of instruction and Spanish a second language in compulsory and elementary education.

Nonetheless, university-level education, as Fierro Cubiella (1997) states, "no existe en la Roca, por lo que han de concluir los mismos en Gran Bretaña" (p. 68). This means that the vast majority of those students who spend between four and five years in Britain studying, end up getting jobs there, getting married and, consequently, leaving their rich Gibraltarian roots behind.

It is due to these governmental measures that English is considered the language of prestige and, as Lipski (1986, as cited in Alameda Hernández, 2006) notes, the one "used in the realm of employment and official relations in order to secure upward social mobility" (p. 51). As a consequence, Spanish has been relegated to a lower level than English. However, it is society that really decides, by means of usage, which languages or varieties to employ in certain spheres and which are the more or less prestigious. Thus, even with these policies, it is remarkable how the Gibraltarian population continues to use Spanish nowadays. Nonetheless, and as Alameda Hernández (2006) states, it is true that:

> There are not any signs of concern towards the Spanish language in Gibraltar: no demands at the educational level to promote the language, no cultural circles or movements calling for a higher presence of the language at the official level (p. 48)

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, also within the field of education, the status of Spanish as a foreign language whilst English is the vehicular language in Gibraltar is highly questionable. Even if the 1950 Ordinance of Education established Spanish as a foreign language to be taught, it cannot be called a foreign language due to the social bilingualism in Gibraltar as well as its sociolinguistic reality. As the study carried out by Mariscal Ríos (2019) concludes, Spanish is acquired, either as a second mother tongue or as a second language, by around 30% of the respondents. Thus, "Spanish is used by a large number of speakers for their everyday social interactions" (Mariscal Ríos, 2019, p. 210), something, together with the clear language contact on the Rock, which makes it impossible to classify it as a foreign language.

4.2. Administration

At the administrative and governmental level, the British Empire, when the Rock was a colony, has imposed and exercised its English political models in Gibraltar. This is due to the British interest in creating a sense of unitary identity with the inhabitants of the colony, of belonging to the British group and, consequently, of rejecting Spanish political models. As

Archer (2006) notes, even the Gibraltarian legal system has been based on English Common and Statute Law since 10 May 1740, "when a Charter of Justice granted by George II formally introduced English law to the territory, thereby replacing Spanish law" (p. 77). The so-called Ordinances are the laws and regulations that have been applied and are currently fully implemented in the Gibraltarian community, based on English statutes and regulations. Moreover, the legal and judicial processes conducted in Gibraltar are undertaken entirely in English. It is therefore clear that Gibraltar has undergone a process of anglicisation at the administrative level at all higher spheres, a process which, as Archer (2006) points out, has not alarmed nor raised any protests from the Gibraltarian population, which is in contrast to comparable cases of protests and complaints such as that of Malta.

Later on, there were major events such as, for instance, the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. After these wars, and due to the conflicts and the movement and repatriation of a large part of the population, decisions began to be taken at government level by high-ranking officials, such as Miles Clifford, to ensure that Gibraltar continued to promote the identity and unity of the people of Gibraltar. Yet, in terms of administration, perhaps two of the most important events in Gibraltar were, firstly, the 1967 referendum, in which the Gibraltarian population showed its total rejection of the Spanish system and its closeness to the British model, and secondly, the 1969 Constitution. This fondness for the British state was no surprise, since, as Archer (2006) states, "there was never any doubt that the British were needed, at least to defend Gibraltar from Spain" (p. 84) due to Gibraltarians believing that Spain aimed to destroy their British institutions and models.

Even so, Gibraltarians expressed in this referendum that, although they felt more identified with the British system, they saw their relationship with the United Kingdom as an alliance rather than a mandate; the community's identity reflected a sense of not wanting to be under the mandate of, but to have, using British models, their own institutions and their own government. Thus, various political trends emerged that reflect the reality of Gibraltar and its entire history. On the one hand, some such as the Democratic Party of British Gibraltar or DPBG, advocate that Gibraltar should be politically, economically and socially equal to the United Kingdom and thus keep Gibraltar British. On the other hand, there are parties such as the Partido Socialista de Gibraltar or PSG, which is totally anti-British and even dictates that "the true language of Gibraltar was not English (...) nor Spanish, but yanito" (Archer, 2006, p. 85).

4.3. Mass media

The British Government, particularly during the closure of Gibraltar's border with Spain, in addition to addressing educational and administrative matters to increase the Gibraltarian community's sense of belonging, also considered the mainstream media to further enhance its strategy. Public television, radio programmes and newspapers are sources to which the population turns for information on what is happening around them, and given the Gibraltarians' need to keep abreast of the situation regarding the tense political relations between Spain and the UK, these media increasingly began to broadcast and publish their news and programmes in English. Moreover, and as Alameda Hernández (2006) puts it "nowadays, most of our knowledge of the past and about the world is nourished by the products of the media. Then, our feeling of belonging is dependant on the media" (p. 98).

While it is true that the dissemination of information in English in Gibraltar dates back to 1801 with the publication of the *Gibraltar Chronicle*, it was during the conflict with Spain that more newspapers were founded, such as *Panorama*, which continually satirises this period of unrest. Also, shortly before the closure of the border, the *Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation* was founded, modelled on the *BBC*, which provides British television and radio programmes entirely in English. While there are exceptions in which television and radio programmes or sections in newspapers are in Spanish or *yanito*, these tend to deal with subjects that are of no particular interest to the audience, such as comedy columns or cookery programmes, while news, bulletins or programmes of a more wide-ranging nature are solely in the English language.The Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (as cited in Díez Puertas, 2014) also collects these data, claiming that, shortly before the closure of the border but already with growing tension with the Spanish border:

> Radio Gibraltar emite alrededor de 4.556 horas anuales, de las cuales las emisiones en inglés cubren 2.993 horas, un 16% programas comerciales, y las emisiones en español, 1.563 horas, la mitad programas comerciales, es decir, las horas de publicidad en español superan a la publicidad en inglés (p. 160)

As already mentioned above, and as Archer (2006) indicates, the period of the closure of the Spanish border was a key moment that the British took advantage of to combine the decrease in the Spanish population with an exponential growth in British sentiment by means of

conventional public media and the English language as an instruments. Thus, with this data in hand, it is clear that English has been and continues to be promoted as the language with greatest prestige and the one used to deal with the most rigorous, significant and worthwhile topics and programmes. As Lipski (1986) states, Gibraltar:

> ubica al inglés como único idioma reconocido en todas las actividades del gobierno, en la prensa, la radio y la televisión. La radioemisora de Gibraltar transmite unos programas en idioma español, pero son de contenido trivial (recetas de cocina, decoración del hogar, música ligera) (p. 416)

5. The issue of identity

The Gibraltarian community not only stands out for its multiculturalism and its variety based on code switching, but also for the identity that its inhabitants have forged over the years and as a result of the influx of numerous groups of people of diverse ethnicities, origins, religions and languages into the colony. Events already mentioned in previous sections, such as the conquest of 1704 were factors that boosted Spanish identity, since all these communities spoke Spanish.

However, following the occupation of Gibraltar by the British, the identity of the inhabitants began to change. On the one hand, Jews "were to display considerable loyalty to the British especially during periods of difficulty with Spain" (Archer, 2006, p. 107). On the other hand, the Genoese made up a significant portion of the population at the time and Gibraltarians began to identify their true roots as Genoese, in order to distance themselves from a Spanish identity. This attempt to move away from Spanish and adopt a British identity was consummated when in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht was signed and English became the official language of the colony. Whilst, as Archer (2006) says, in order to forge a national or community identity it is not necessary to have a common language, as there are places like Switzerland where up to three or four languages coexist and does not alter their national identity, it is true that in the case of Gibraltar, the signing of the Treaty was a key reinforcement of the British identity.

Likewise, there are two events that have brought about changes and alterations in the identity of the Gibraltarian community that are worth highlighting, namely the closure of the border with Spain and its subsequent reopening.

5.1. Closing of the border with Spain

The border separating the Campo de Gibraltar from Spain was closed by Franco from 1969 to 1985. The Gibraltarians went through numerous sieges, which they withstood and, as Stockey (2009) points out, "earned its reputation as an impregnable fortress, and its place in the British public imagination" (p. 10), thus making Gibraltar a symbol of strength and endurance for the British. Hence, the closing of the frontier with Spain and its isolation meant for many a further siege, which they called the Fifteenth Siege. As can be expected, the closure of the border caused the flow of Spaniards working in Gibraltar to plummet. This, together with the fact that neither Gibraltarians nor British could enter Spanish territory, brought language contact to a standstill in a linguistic community which, throughout its history, has been nourished linguistically by contact with other language communities. Thus, this event, as Mariscal Ríos (2014) claims, "ayudó a consolidar, en gran medida, la posición del inglés en Gibraltar, pues los gibraltareños reaccionaron negativamente hacia todo lo que tuviese que ver con España y, por consiguiente, con el español" (p. 77).

Spanish policies towards Gibraltar and the closure of the border, as well as provoking disdain for Spanish culture on the part of the inhabitants of the Rock, also led to the further consolidation of English identity and culture. Spanish began to be decreasingly used in the streets due to the small Spanish population in Gibraltar, whereas English played an increasingly important role, especially in mainstream media. As Archer (2006) points out, "English language films were available to all. Radio was also very popular, both the local Gibraltar Radio and the British Forces' programmes" (p. 109). In addition to this, Gibraltarian women, as Archer (2006) notes, gave up working in households and adopted a lifestyle in keeping with English culture by working and earning their own money. Women, who worked within the domestic sphere at the time, were accustomed to speaking or hearing Spanish, as it was "the language of the workplace" (Archer, 2006, p. 110) mainly used by maids at the time. Nevertheless, as women began to work and break away from the traditionalist and conservative bond of staying at home, they were exposed to English culture and, as a consequence, to the English language.

It is worth noting that the Gibraltarian population, a couple of years before the closure of the border , already leaned towards being represented by the British rather than the Spanish side.

The reason for this is that a referendum was held, which was rejected as official by both Spain and the United Nations, in which the Gibraltarians voted on whether they wanted to remain on the British side or whether the colony should be handed over to Spain. The result of this referendum, as Alameda Hernández (2006) notes, "showed the unanimity of the Gibraltarian population to retain their link with Britain and their rejection of the Spanish claims for sovereignty" (p. 42). Moreover, in the same year that the border between Gibraltar and Spain was closed, Gibraltar officially ratified its Constitution, which further increased tensions with Spain and, simultaneously, enhanced the national identity of the community. This identity, however, was not uniquely British. As Rodríguez García (2022) states, although "se reforzaron las relaciones (...) con Gran Bretaña, los gibraltareños reforzaron y consolidaron el sentimiento de identidad propia" (p. 393) apart from the British one as a result of keeping the local variety, *yanito*, which saw a resurgence after the re-opening of the border with Spain, as explained in the forthcoming section.

5.2. Re-opened border with Spain

After 13 years of isolation, Spain and England signed the Lisbon Agreement and, in December 1982 (without restrictions in February 1985), the frontier separating Gibraltar from Spain was reopened. This was a great linguistic benefit, as English and Spanish would once again come into contact with each other. Moreover, this influx of Spanish speakers returning to work on the Rock not only meant that, as Alameda Hernández (2006) notes, "the Spanish language was again more frequently heard along the streets and needed in order to communicate with the neighbours" (p. 43), but also at the educational level, as Rodríguez García (2022) explains, "aumenta las horas de lengua española en los colegios y adelanta un curso el inicio del aprendizaje de español" (p. 394). Thus, the great difference both in terms of prestige and use between English and Spanish was "stabilised", being, according to Rodríguez García (2022), facing a possible situation of dilalia, since:

> la funcionalidad de las lenguas y sus variedades dialectales ya no están tan claras y éstas conviven en los mismos contextos, de forma que sus hablantes se van adaptando a los participantes y a las necesidades comunicativas de la conversación y cambian de una variedad a otra (p. 394)

Rodríguez García does not consider this situation to be diglossia because the high variety, English, is not used exclusively in high spheres, but also in everyday speech, so that both the

high and low varieties (Spanish and *yanito*) are used in similar situations without any distinction.

In this way, through continuous language contact, *yanito* was further developed and flourished in the Gibraltarian community. This fact is of utmost importance in terms of linguistic richness, since as Halliday (1984, as cited in Alameda Hernández, 2006) notes:

> no language variety is better or worse than the other. Thus, the non–standard forms of Gibraltarian English, yanito or Gibraltarian Spanish, are not to be considered as deviations, but rather as the reflection of the richness and uniqueness of the Gibraltarian linguistic reality (p. 50)

Furthermore, it is also highly significant on a societal scale for the inhabitants of Gibraltar. In the words of Alameda Hernández (2006), *yanito* "is so relevant since this particular language use distinguishes Gibraltar from other linguistic communities" (p. 49), and therefore, gives a certain sociolinguistic cohesion to the community of Gibraltar.

Hence, both this variety of code switching and the bilingualism of the Gibraltarian community have been of utmost importance in developing an identity of their own. As Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A. (2000) point out, "the relationship between bilinguality and ethnolinguistic identity is reciprocal: bilinguality influences the development of ethnolinguistic identity, which in turn influences the development of bilinguality" (p. 211). Thus, although some may think that the local variety is detrimental to the learning of Spanish as a second language, Charles Durante (as cited in Rodríguez García, 2022, p. 394) asserts that the variety is not only the result of the richness of Gibraltar's linguistic changes that must be preserved, but also fulfils the function of reinforcing Gibraltarian identity and the feeling of belonging to a certain linguistic community.

6. Language and social media

When compiling the corpus for the functional analysis of code-switching in both conventional media and social media, it was much more difficult to find manifestations of *yanito* in the conventional media than on the Internet and social media. The predominant press sold in Gibraltar is British and, although Spanish television channels are easily accessible in the Rock, they are overshadowed by UK channels. Furthermore, as Chevasco (2021) argues, younger people choose to watch series and films on English-language platforms such as

Netflix or Amazon Prime. This, together with the government's language policies, made the search for recent manifestations of code-switching in conventional media rather challenging.

Conversely, according to Chevasco's (2021) study, *yanito* is the preferred variety for speakers to talk to friends on social media and to post online content. As the author points out, one of the most interesting findings of his study was to ascertain "the popularity of Llanito on social media" (Chevasco, 2021, p. 4). Due to the informality that speakers of *yanito* denote, they prefer to communicate through code-switching on social media, forums and websites rather than using English or Spanish, which in the eyes of the informants of the study have a greater formality. As a consequence, social media and the digital sphere have become a place where more and more groups concerned with *yanito* and its disuse can be encountered, such as *LlanitoLlanito* or *Gibraltariansfams*. These groups make use of all kinds of digital resources to collect and store manifestations of *yanito* for dissemination and further diffusion. This has led to *yanito* becoming more and more documented, "perhaps more than ever before in the written history of the dialect" (Chevasco, 2021, p. 4).

Indeed, as these communities demonstrate, the spread of *yanito* on social media has forged a strong Gibraltarian linguistic identity, which is proud of the multiculturalism that the Rock has historically benefited from and which considers it of the utmost importance to preserve its unique linguistic heritage. Such ideas are at odds with the linguistic principles of the upper echelons of Gibraltar.

7. Functional analysis of *yanito*

7.1. Functional analysis of *yanito* in TV

The analysis of the functions of *yanito* in Gibraltarian television is important for several reasons. Understanding the use of *yanito* in Gibraltarian television can provide insight into the cultural identity of Gibraltarians and their linguistic preferences. Moreover, the use of *yanito* in Gibraltarian television can have social and political implications. For instance, the choice of language in news broadcasts and political debates can influence the perceptions and attitudes of viewers towards issues such as sovereignty and identity. Analysing the functions of code-switching in Gibraltarian TV can reveal how speakers use language to navigate different social situations, establish their identity, express emotions, and convey nuances of

meaning. Additionally, this analysis of code-switching can shed light on power dynamics, such as the dominance of English and the resistance of speakers to the imposition of a dominant language, which was already mentioned when discussing the power the media holds in terms of imposing a language with regard to language policy and planning, which has been extensively documented and acknowledged in the case of Gibraltar. Therefore, a thorough analysis of code-switching in Gibraltarian TV can provide valuable insights into the complex linguistic and cultural landscape of the region.

7.1.1. *Yanito* in *GBC*

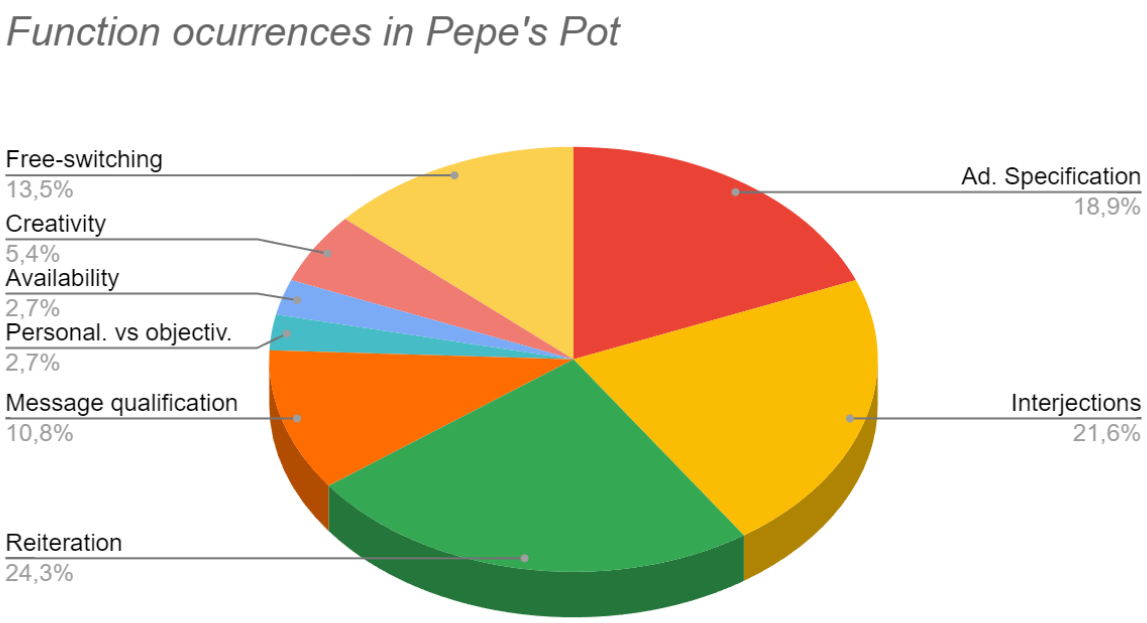
The *Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation* or *GBC* has been the official broadcasting corporation in Gibraltar since 1963. It airs news, television programmes as well as radio, all of which are public service broadcasts. For this reason, and as mentioned in the section on mass media in Gibraltar, the vast majority of programmes and retransmissions broadcast on these channels are entirely in the English language, thereby promoting the British linguistic identity among the population. However, it is still possible to find isolated programmes in which the characteristic code-switching of the Rock is employed. Even so, these programmes, as Lipski (1986) points out, deal with trivial matters, which do not have the relevance or importance that a news programme might have for Gibraltarians. This is due to the language policy and planning of the Gibraltar government, which not only imposes English as the only language to deal with more rigorous programmes and topics, but also displaces Spanish and yanito to a much less prestigious status, the latter even being treated as a phenomenon to be made fun of and from which nothing but laughter and humour can be drawn.

From this broadcasting corporation, I was only able to find two programmes, both of them on cooking, in which code-switching is used. From both, an extract of approximately 300 words has been collected in order to identify all code switches and thereby classify them according to the function they fulfil within the categories set out by Gumperz in 1982, the functions of availability and creativity found in online blogs by San (2009), and the function of free-switching also reported in blogs on the internet by Montes-Alcalá (2007).

7.1.1.1. *Pepe's Pot*

The first one is a popular television programme called *Pepe's Pot*, which ceased to be broadcast a few years ago. From this programme, a 373-word excerpt (see Table A1) was selected and collected in order to have a corpus comparable in length with the rest of the extracts analysed further below. In this show, Pepe Palmero, at times alongside his daughter and cook Vanessa, elaborated recipes step by step so that the viewers could follow them or write them down so that they could make it later on. Throughout the programme, *yanito* is used in a natural and spontaneous way while the two presenters engage in conversation, discuss the steps to be followed in the recipe and explain to the camera the ingredients needed to prepare it. Using a video found on YouTube, the aforementioned analysis was carried out to check the functions that the presenters assigned to code switching.

Figure 1



As can be noticed in Figure 1, thirty-seven code-switches were detected in the sample video excerpt. Among these, twenty-nine could be classified into the functional categories of code-switching established by Gumperz. Although no code-switching due to direct quotations or reported speech was detected, examples of the remaining categories were found. The most frequent, with 24.30% of occurrences compared to the total amount of code switches, is that of reiteration, which was noticed in utterances such as "Pepe: *Bueno*. Anyway, we are having

eggs (...)" or "Pepe: we are having drumsticks. / Vanessa: *Muslito*. / Pepe: *Muslito*." (Pepe Potaje, 2012). In the above instances, it can be noted how "bueno" is used as a filler to then continue the utterance in English and also how the word "muslito" is repeated in Spanish after previously having already said its equivalent in English, drumstick. As Gumperz (1982) points out, in these examples the same message that is said in one language is repeated, literally or with some kind of modification, in the other language, repeating or emphasising the message.

Closely behind follow interjections with 21.60% of instances out of the total occurrences as well as addressee specification with 18.90% out of the total number of code switches. The former can be identified in examples such as "Pepe: But this is a new idea that's come about and it gives, *¡no te lo comas todo!*", "*Pero* this we are going to try and show you how to do with(...)" or "*Mira*, this was a fish that was found and brought, imported to Gibraltar by a local man" (Pepe Potaje, 2012), in which interjections or fillers are used in one language to then continue with the intervention in the other language. Meanwhile, the addressee specification refers to code-switching to address any other participant in the conversation (Gumperz, 1982) some examples in this extract being "Pepe: Rosada is actually a fish that comes way back from South Africa. / Vanessa: *¿Qué estás de broma o en serio?*" or "Pepe: No, no, I'm telling you the truth. / Vanessa: *No sé, ya es que-*" (Pepe Potaje, 2012).

Slightly lower are the category of message qualification, which represents 10.80% of the total code changes; and personalisation versus objectivization, with only 2.70% of the total. Some of the examples found in the extract that correspond to the first category are "Vanessa: Bueno, tú tanto hablar. Venga. *You are the one that suggested the cheese puffs* (...)" or "Yo no, yo que sé, a lo mejor *somebody is doing it.*" (Pepe Potaje, 2012), in which complements or predicates of a sentence that was started in a different language are qualified in one language (Gumperz, 1982). With respect to personalisation versus objectivization, only one occurrence could be found in which, while the presenters were asking each other serious questions in English, they switch to Spanish when the conversation takes on a more humorous and greater degree of intimacy: "Vanessa: What is rosada in English? Do you-? / Pepe: In English rosery / Vanessa: Rosery yes [LAUGHTER]. *Después de semana santa viene bien, ¿no?* Pepe: *Claro.*" (Pepe Potaje, 2012).

In contrast to the functional categories established by Gumperz, there appear the categories of availability and creativity established by Hong Ka San on the one hand and Montes-Alcalá's category of free-switching on the other, all of which, according to their authors, are characteristic of online code-switching performances. Even so, eight examples could be found that may correspond to these categories.

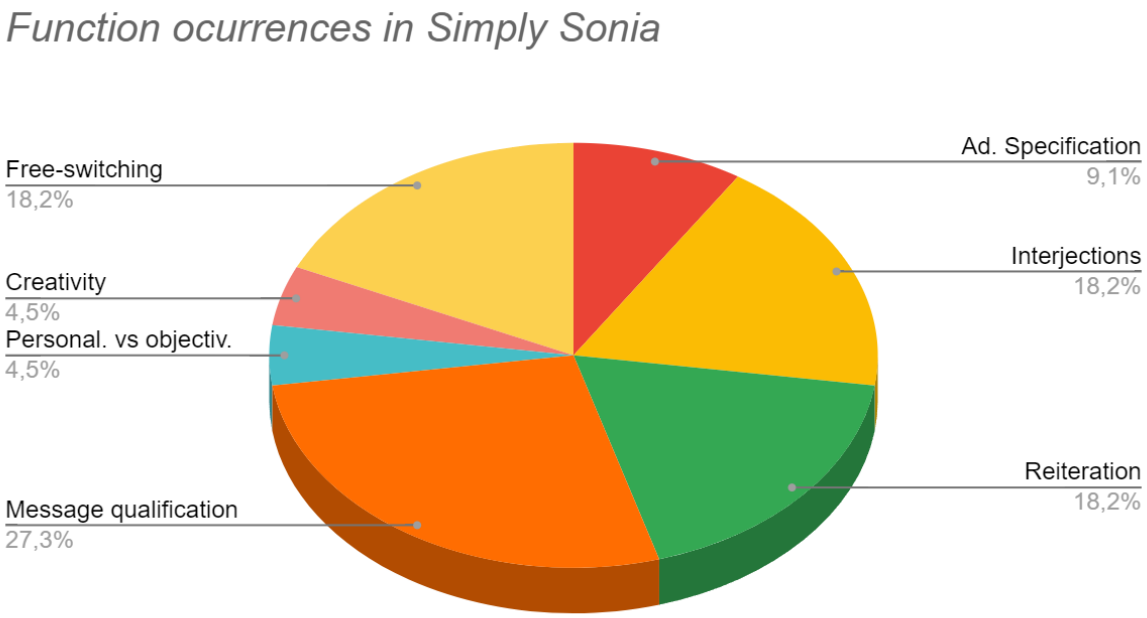
According to San's (2009) availability function, one occurrence, which represented 2'70% of the total switches in the extract, was found when neither of the two presenters found an equivalent for the fish "rosada" in English and, each time they mention it, even in sentences completely delivered in English, this fish is always referred to in Spanish. On the other hand, two occurrences representing 5'40% of the total amount of switches were found which may correspond to the creativity function of this same author, since both presenters, using their knowledge of both Spanish and English, come up with the words "espinite" and "rosery" (Pepe Potaje, 2012) to refer to the fish's spines and to the fish itself respectively.

The free-switching category proposed by Montes-Alcalá represents 13.50% of the code switches in the extract taken from the video. These switches occurred without any apparent purpose, since they do not correspond to any of the functions established by Gumperz. There exist equivalents within the other language and they are not words created or made up from the knowledge of both languages. Thus, there are instances such as "Pepe: I do it. *Harina y pan rallao* because you're doing the *muslito* with *pan rallao* and not not with this." (Pepe Potaje, 2012) in which he switches codes on several occasions to refer to the necessary ingredients to prepare the recipe, without any kind of function and with equivalents in the English language.

7.1.1.2. *Simply Sonia*

Since *Pepe's Pot* is a rather old programme and no longer on the air, a corpus of the same amount of words has also been collected from a very similar cooking programme that is still being broadcast today on *GBC* called *Simply Sonia* (see Table A2). This programme, presented by Sonia de la Rosa, also consists on showcasing and explaining recipes to the audience so that they can follow along or write down instructions step by step to prepare them later on.

Figure 2



In the selected 323 words long extract from this episode of the programme (see Table A2), a total of twenty-two switches have been identified, out of which seventeen have been included in the categories defined by Gumperz, while the remaining five have been placed in the categories of San and Alcalá-Montes (see Figure 2). With these preliminary data, it can be seen that, despite presenting fewer switches than *Pepe's Pot* episode, in both TV programmes a large majority of switches are to be found in the categories established by Gumperz.

In this extract, as in *Pepe's Pot*, there were also no switches that could be classified under the category of quotations. Nevertheless, the category that stands out most from those established by Gumperz in 1982 in this case is, in fact, the one with the second fewest appearances in *Pepe's Pot*, message qualification, with 27.30% of appearances in relation to the total number of switches. This can be observed in instances in De la Rosa and Pons (2022) such as "I am in my house, *en mi humilde cocinita nueva*", "I'm going to show you two of each *para que no se haga muy largo el vídeo y después lo hacemos todo y lo enseñamos, ¿vale?*" or "pues yo lo corté todo todo *and I've done them all*".

Close behind this category and representing 18.20% of occurrences, each are interjections and reiteration. The former is exemplified by the presenter's reliance on interjections and fillers, as in "C*on que* welcome to my house", "*Bueno*, I am in my house" or "*Entonces*, I'm going to

show you two of each" (De la Rosa & Pons, 2022). The second is represented by the repetition of elements that have already been uttered in the other language, as can be noticed again in De la Rosa and Pons (2022) in the case of "después también tenemos un sweet thing, después tenemos unos *dulcecitos*", where "dulcecitos" is repeated after having previously uttered "sweet things"; in "Esto o lo podéis comprar ya hecho, *you can buy them already toasted*", where she first states in Spanish that the audience can buy the ingredient already made and later repeats the same phrase in English; or for instance in "As I've got a toaster, *que es como una sandwichera*", where she designates the object sandwich maker both in English in the first instance and then in Spanish with the function of clarifying and emphasising her message.

Lastly, the categories according to Gumperz's classification with the fewest occurrences are addressee specification and personalization versus objectivization, with 9.10% and 4.50% of occurrences with respect to the total, respectively. The cases found belonging to the first category include "Hola, hola! *Welcome to my house, Sonia's recipe!*" and "Hola, hola *my friends!*" (De la Rosa & Pons, 2022). While it is true that it is not a conversational context in which someone joins the conversation, the presenter uses these utterances to address her audience, greeting and referring to the viewers in both languages so that every viewer feels welcome. Therefore, it has been decided to include them under this category.

With respect to the category of personalization versus objectivization, one occurrence was detected in which the presenter switches to Spanish to convey closeness and complicity with the audience, as seen in De la Rosa and Pons (2022) "*que van a estar chachi piruli, ¡chachi piruli! No veas, la gente está loca con el chachi piruli. Bueno, mira qué guapa estoy, ¿eh? No me digas*". After these statements, which have nothing to do with the nature of the programme, she begins to introduce English terms and sentences in order to explain the steps to follow to make the recipe, in a more distant manner to the audience.

Moving on to San's (2009) categories, no switches were detected that could be classified under the category of availability, as all the code switches had a corresponding equivalent in the other language. However, one example of creativity was detected, when the presenter, by way of mixing the word "canapés" in Spanish with the English pronunciation, gave rise to the word "canapeses" (De la Rosa & Pons, 2022), which does not exist in either language and is the result of mixing the linguistic knowledge of both languages.

According to Montes-Alcalá's (2007) category of free-switching, four switches were found in which the function or motivation for the change did not correspond to any of the previous categories. These switches, which represent 18.20% of the total switches in the extract, can be identified in De la Rosa and Pons (2022): "para *Christmas Day*", "Y después también tenemos un *sweet thing*", "De *Christmas* todo" and "que vamos a hacer *Christmas canapes*".

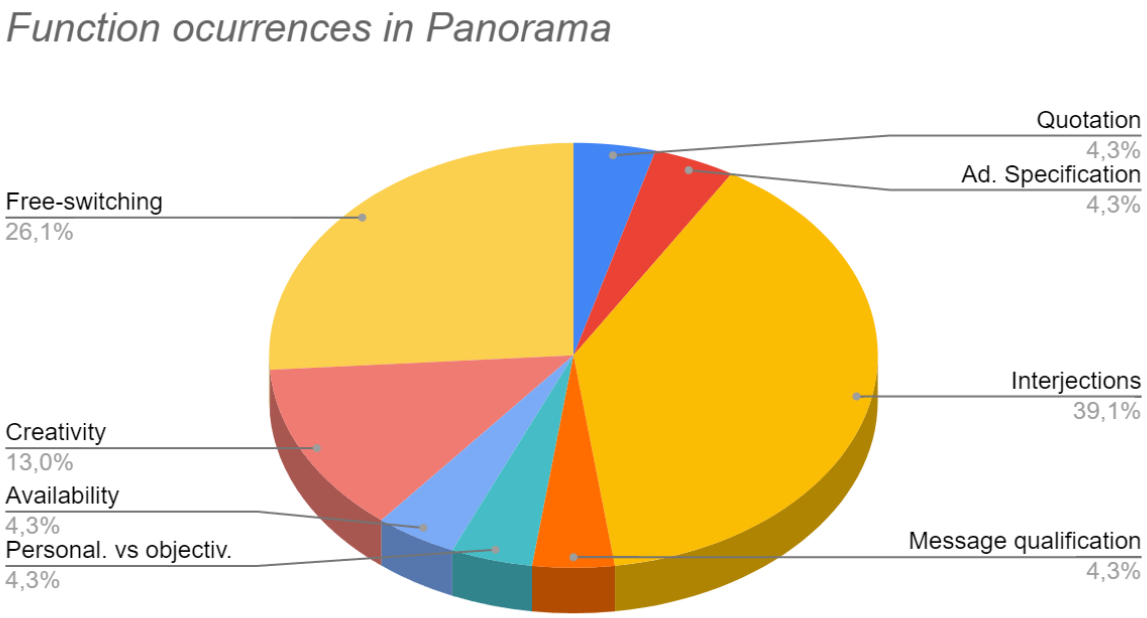
7.2. Functional analysis of *yanito* in the press

As already mentioned in the section on the Gibraltarian media and its role as an instrument for the implementation of the Rock's language policy and planning at both the linguistic as well as the identity level, the written press in Gibraltar dates back to 1801. Therefore, although television is nowadays much more widely consumed than the written press, the latter has a longer history over time and, consequently, is of great importance for the construction of a linguistic identity for Gibraltarians and hence their use of code-switching. For these reasons, it has been decided to take this area into account and to include an analysis of the same word size as that of each of the television programmes analysed below.

7.2.1. *Panorama*

Given the fact that Gibraltar is a rather small community, it only publishes two main newspapers, named *Panorama* and *The Gibraltar Chronicle*. These two, as Alameda Hernández (2006) states, are the only ones that have enough significance among the Gibraltarians. Nonetheless, whereas articles published in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* are written in English since this newspaper stands on behalf of the Gibraltarian Government, there can be found a few articles written in *yanito* in *Panorama*, specifically in its column named *Calentita*, as it "belongs to the political opposition, which reflects liberal ideas" (Alameda Hernández, 2006, p. 130). For this reason, it has been decided to use and extract a 272-word corpus from an article within the latter column (see Table A3).

Figure 3



Following the functions of code-switching established by Gumperz in 1982, thirteen switches have been detected in the column from *Calentita* analysed which can be classified into these categories (see Figure 3). A further ten switches were detected which could not be categorised within Gumperz's functions, a higher proportion than those presented in the television programmes analysed above. The category with the highest presence following Gumperz's classification is that of interjections, with 39.10% of appearances compared to the 23 total switches found. This can be observed in the article by José Antonio García, also known as Joe García (2022), in interventions such as "*Tu como siempre*, giving lectures at someone who could well be your grandma", "*Bueno*, you will recall that when we first met on the telephone, you said you were 40" or "*Querida* Cynthia, at least I was being truthful *pero* you never gave your age (...)", where the participants in the conversation rely on Spanish expressions and interjections as fillers or to continue or begin their interventions in English.

The remaining categories according to Gumperz's classification have 4.30% of occurrences, or, in other words, one switch each, except in the case of reiteration, for which no occurrences could be found. Within the category of quotation, it was possible to identify the following intervention: "*The solution to the frontier problem*, is to remove it , como dijo el enteroo del foreign secretary…" (García, 2022), in which one of the participants in the conversation reproduces a direct quotation from the foreign secretary in the language in which he originally

said it, and then continues the speech in Spanish, except when she mentions the name of the official who pronounced those words, thus making this last switch a free-switch. With respect to the category of addressee specification, an example was identified in which a new participant joins the conversation and the person who was speaking in Spanish switches to English to introduce her to the conversation. This can be observed in "How long no see, dear Cloti, what's up?" (García, 2022).

Regarding message qualification, the following example was found: "that are more important, *mira como anda lo del frontier, otra vez*" (García, 2022), in which the speaker mentions that "there are more important things" in English to then qualify what those "more important things" are in Spanish. Finally, the example found belonging to the category personalization versus objectivization occurs at a point in the conversation in which the two speakers greet each other politely in English, only for one of them to subsequently decide to approach the other in a more familiar and informal way using Spanish. The example of this occurrence being "My dear Cynthia, *me entro un patitu con esto del javotion*" (García, 2022).

Among San's (2009) categories, that of availability is identified, which has 4.30% of occurrences or, in other words, only one occurrence. This is to be found in the intervention "no wonder *que no ganabamos pa susto*" (García, 2022), in which, in the absence of an expression that conveys what the speaker wants to imply in English, she decides to use the Spanish expression "no ganar para sustos", which has no equivalent in English. Concerning the category of creativity, which represents 13% of occurrences with respect to the total switches, it is possible to find words that the speakers create by means of their linguistic knowledge of the two languages. The examples found are "My dear Cynthia, me entro un patitu con esto del *javotion*", "Oh dear what a *cachonfinger*" and "otra vez with *frontieritis*" (García, 2022). On the one hand, the word "javotion" is used to refer to abortion in a vulgar way, something that is reproached by one of the speakers by asking her to "please brush up your English, que eso de javotion doesn't sound well" (García, 2022). Then, they use the word "cachofinger", which comes from the Spanish word "cachondeo". The influence of Andalusian Spanish can further be noticed in this word, since not only do they keep the beginning of the word "cacho" from "cachondeo", but they also translate the end of the word "deo", "dedo" with an Andalusian pronunciation, into "finger", thus creating "cachofinger". Regarding this particular word and as Levey (2020) notes, "el gibraltareño es plenamente consciente del efecto cómico que está causando al traducir del español andaluz al inglés con

hipercorrección" (p. 82). Finally, "frontieritis" is a word made up by the speaker using the English word "frontier" and the suffix "-itis"[1] to refer to the Gibraltarian Government's obsession with the border issue.

Lastly, Montes-Alcalá's (2007) category of free-switching is found to have 26.10% of occurrences with respect to the total. Among the instances in which code was changed without apparent reason or function according to Gumperz and San's categories were "*lo del* abortion", "you wanted to remove *el* frontier gate (...)", "I was repeating *lo que dijo el* foreign secretary at the time" or "La verdad es que hay cosas *that are more important*" (García, 2022). Since none of these instances could be categorised in any of the previous categories and have equivalents in the other language, it has been decided to classify them as free-switching, this being a more stylistic rather than functional device.

As can be noticed, more switches falling under the categories of Hong Ka San and Montes-Alcalá were found in the newspaper article than in the TV programmes analysed. This may be due to mainly two aspects. The first is that the article belongs to a magazine which, in terms of linguistic issues, goes against the Gibraltarian government's ideals and proposals, therefore employing code-switching to a greater extent than other newspapers such as *The Gibraltar Chronicle*. The second is that, given that this article was published online and that both authors' categories were devised due to the emergence of social media and the spread of the code-switching phenomenon on the Internet, it is quite logical to find a higher density of switches under these categories.

7.3. Functional analysis of *yanito* in social media

As already mentioned before, *yanito* has been a subject of interest for researchers and linguists for decades. However, with the rise of social media and the digital age, the way in which *yanito* is used and expressed in digital platforms has not been widely explored yet. As social media platforms become increasingly popular, the use of *yanito* in this area needs to be acknowledged, studied and analysed.

[1] Although this suffix means "inflammation" in the medical field, it is commonly used to express an "excess of". Thus, in Spanish there are cases such as "mamitis" or "papitis" to express the excessive attachment of a child to its mother or father. FundéuRAE. (2022). Cartelitis. In *FundéuRAE | Fundación del Español Urgente*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from https://www.fundeu.es/consulta/cartelitis/

In the following section, *yanito* in a social media context will be examined by following the same categories and functional classifications of code-switching that were previously applied to the analysis of *yanito* in television and the written press. By examining the communicative functions of *yanito* code-switching in social media, this study seeks to provide insight into the complex interplay between language, identity, and communication in digital environments. This research will hopefully contribute to our understanding of how *yanito* speakers use code-switching to construct their identities and relationships with others online, highlighting the ways in which *yanito* is used as a tool for social interaction and community building in the digital age.

Ultimately, this study aims to deepen our understanding of the linguistic and social dynamics of *yanito* in social media contexts, shedding light on the unique communicative functions of this fascinating phenomenon in the digital age for possible subsequent studies to be carried out on a larger scale.

7.3.1. *LlanitoLlanito*

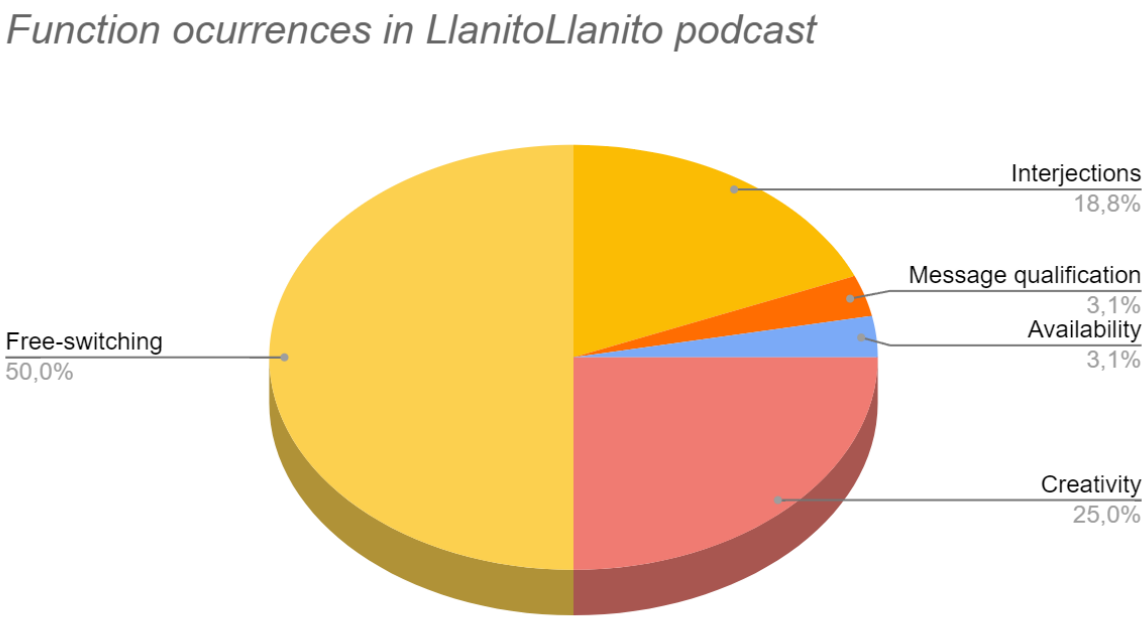
Llanitollanito is a website created by Dale Buttigieg[2] dedicated to the preservation and celebration of *yanito*. The website features a wide range of resources related to *yanito*, including its own dictionary, grammar guide, and audio recordings of native speakers. In addition, the website includes news and events related to the *yanito*-speaking community, as well as a forum for language enthusiasts to discuss and share their knowledge of this unique phenomenon. *Llanitollanito* serves as an important online hub for those interested in learning about, preserving, and celebrating the *yanito* language and culture.

The corpus extracted from the Spotify podcast of this webpage (see Table A4) represents a valuable resource for studying the use of *yanito* in online contexts, as it provides a large sample of authentic language use that can be analysed using theoretical frameworks such as Gumperz's (1982) code-switching functional classification, the concept of availability and creativity defined by San (2009) and the free-switching function identified by Montes-Alcalá (2007). By examining the communicative functions of code-switching in this 303-word corpus, a deeper understanding of how *yanito* speakers use language to construct their

[2] Buttigieg, D. (1014). *Dale Buttigieg Mena*. LlanitoLlanito. http://www.llanitollanito.com/dalebuttigiegmena.html

identities and social relations in digital environments can be gained. This analysis seeks to contribute to the understanding of the linguistic and social dynamics of *yanito* in online contexts, shedding light on the unique communicative functions of this phenomenon in the digital age.

Figure 4



As shown in Figure 4 above, and as a major contrast to conventional media that uses code-switching, it has been noticed that twenty-five of the thirty-two total switches detected in the podcast excerpt belong to the categories of Montes-Alcalá and San. Thus, only seven switches could be classified into the categories established by Gumperz in 1982.

Based solely on Gumperz's (1982) classification, the function with the greatest presence is that of interjections, which represents 18.80% of the total number of switches identified. Some examples are "Y *hopefully*, espero que este podcast sea (...)", "*Thank you* por acompañarme en este primer podcast" or "discovering *un* document" (Buttigieg, 2021). In all these cases, the speaker of the podcast relies on interjections or fillers, essentially determiners, to proceed and give continuity to his interventions. On the other hand, the second and last category belonging to Gumperz's classification encountered in the podcast is that of message qualification. This functional category represents only 3.10% of the total, or in other words, only one appearance. This occurs when Dale Buttigieg (2021) comments that he found a

document from a French medical commission "Que vino a Hivertá *in eighteen twenty eight/eighteen twenty nine*, pa' hacer (...)". In this intervention, the speaker begins the sentence in Spanish and then qualifies and provides more information about the same event and within the same sentence in English, namely, in this case, the years in which the narrated event took place.

San's (2009) functional categories of availability and creativity have 3.10% (one occurrence) and 25% (eight occurrences) of appearances with respect to the total number of switches, respectively. Within the availability category, the word "podcast" has been included. This is due to the fact that the speaker uses this English word in utterances completely or mostly enunciated in Spanish due to a lack of equivalence in Spanish and the need to fill the existing lexical gap (San, 2009, p. 19). Although it can be considered as a linguistic loan, in this code-switching context the speaker not only places this English word in Spanish sentences, but also occasionally mentions it using the determiner "the", which suggests that the function is to fill the lexical gap in Spanish through his knowledge of the other language.

With respect to the analyses carried out on code-switching in television and press, the online podcast of this website presents a greater number of switches that can be classified under the functional category of creativity. As Crystal (2006, as cited in San, 2009) points out, "Internet users are very creative as they shape their own languages according to the unique context of computer-mediated communication" (p. 62); hence, in the context of social media, more words or expressions conceived by users as a result of their proficiency in both languages and cultures are to be expected. Although in this excerpt from the podcast the word "Hivertá" has been encountered, which they write as such on their website to refer to Gibraltar, most of the utterances that have been classified under this category are expressions. These expressions, already encountered and regarded by Levey (2020) as "una tendencia tradicional" (p. 81), are all constructed from the Spanish verb "hacer", with the addition of an English verb or phrasal verb. Some of these constructions of the verb "hacer" plus a phrasal verb that Dale Buttigieg says are "hacer pointing out" or "hacer setting out" (2021); and "hacer sharing" or "hacer documenting" (Buttigieg, 2021) in the case of the same construction but using verbs instead of phrasal verbs.

Lastly, Montes-Alcalá's (2007) category of free-switching is the one with the most occurrences over the total number of switches, making up 50% of the total switches or, in

other words, sixteen out of thirty-two switches. Switches such as "*welcome* al podcast de LlanitoLlanito", "To' los *languages* del mundo son igual de importantes", "un *document* en francés", "que estaba afectando al *population* de aquel entonces" or "venían de un pueblecito de *Provence* de Savona, en el *region* de Liguria, en el *north* de Italia, en lo que era el *Kingdom* de *Sardinia* y que ahora es Italia" (Buttigieg, 2021) could not be classified under any of the above categories. It is likely that, due to the pride in code-switching and knowledge of both languages promoted and spread by this website and its members, these changes could be rather stylistic or that, as Montes-Alcalá (2007) argues, the speaker "might merely be suggesting his/her competence in the use of two languages and two cultures" (p. 169).

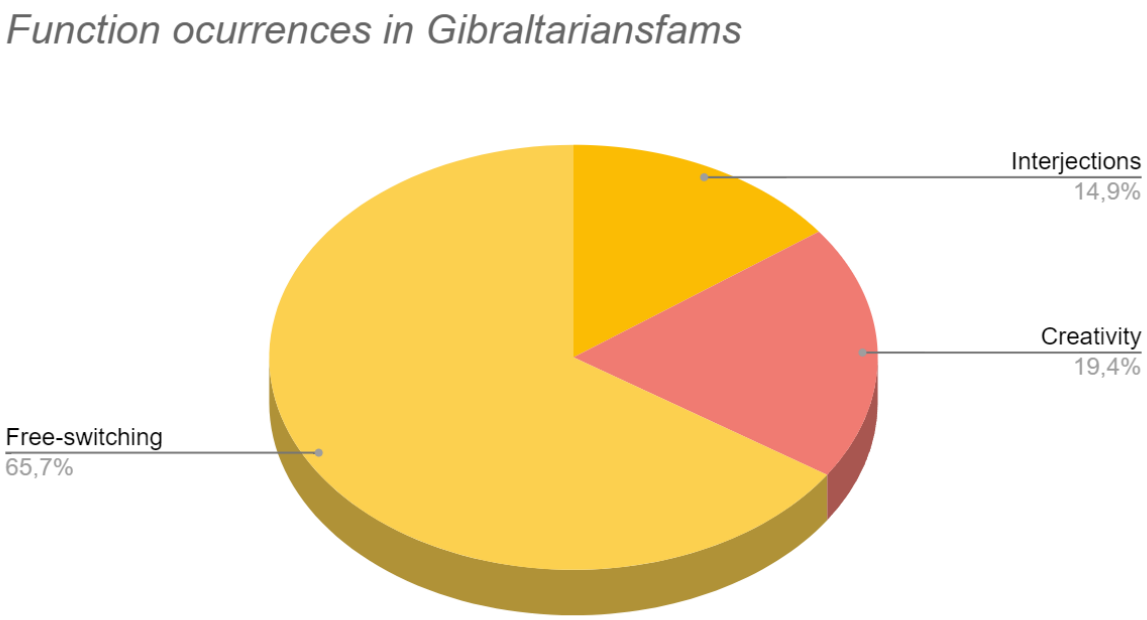
7.3.2. *Gibraltariansfams*

In addition to the *LlanitoLlanito* website, there also exists a "sister website" called *Gibraltariansfams*[3], which promotes the same ideals regarding the fostering of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Gibraltar as well as the use of the *yanito* language among its population.

While *LlanitoLlanito* spreads and gives voice to the Gibraltarian code-switching phenomenon by creating a dictionary, a grammar, a newspaper entirely written in *yanito* and disseminating information on social media, *Gibraltariansfams* does it from a different approach. On this website, there is a section that provides a detailed explanation of the objectives of the group that created the website along with the reasons why they advocate the dissemination of information and the preservation of *yanito*, from which the corpus for the analysis of this website has been collected. They also include a section for obtaining either individual membership or membership as a corporate or unincorporate body for the association. With this membership, members gain access to a Google Drive document that explains the methods of support and subscriptions available, the rules by which the group is organised and by which members can be expelled or promoted, and the different general meetings that are held.

[3] Website whose author(s) are unknown

Figure 5



Sixty-seven switches were detected from the 289 words long extract collected, the highest number among the other extracts analysed, considering that they were all around 300 words long each (see Table A5). As shown in Figure 5, out of these sixty-seven switches, only ten were classified under the categories established by Gumperz (1982). Specifically, there were ten switches corresponding to the category of interjections, representing 14.90% of the total number of switches in the extract. Examples of such switches included in this category are "*de su* lingwìstik hìstori", "*un* kontstìtiuent kantri *delô* Nèdalandz", "*adìxonoli*, dèlô mid-1900z (...)", "*lô* làngwijez *ê* prougres" or "*er* monolìngwalizm no lo ê" (Gibraltariansfams, 2022). In these cases, interjections and supporting fillers such as determiners are used to give continuity to the statements, even if there are equivalents in the other language. With the exception of the functional category above, the remaining switches could not be categorised under any of the other five categories provided by this author.

Regarding the concepts devised by San (2009), although the functional category of availability is not present due to the existence of equivalences among both languages in all the switches, examples of the category related to creativity were found. This category, which has a total representation of 19.40% with respect to the total number of switches encountered, is very similar to those found in the LlanitoLlanito podcast. The reason for this is that, in this extract, we find again the construction of the verb "hacer" in Spanish attached to a verb or a

phrasal verb in English, as in “sìan kontsìdaring”, “Er Llanito ê iunik à Hivertà, si no lo *'semo protèkting* ni promòuting i no *'semo nkàrajing*”, “Er Llanito i er Panyò *asen xèring* siertô àspekts de su lingwìstik hìstori” or “*Asè rèkognaizing* lô làngwijez ê prougres, *'sè promòuting* er monolìngwalizm no lo ê” (Gibraltariansfams, 2022). Furthermore, we find Gibraltarian yanito words such as “pâtiso”, which has already been mentioned in previous sections and which means “disorder”; or structures in which English words are used but with a Spanish syntactic order, as in “er Llanito s'a vîto ìnfluentsd polô *hèritij làngwijez* de Hivertà” (Gibraltariansfams, 2022), in which the proper syntactic order in English would be “linguistic heritage”, but instead, it is chosen to use the Spanish syntactic order “herencia lingüística” while preserving the English words.

And lastly, the functional category with by far the greatest predominance in this extract is the free-switching category of Montes-Alcalá (2007). This category represents altogether 65.70% of all the switches found in the extract. Due to the nature of the website and the aims and beliefs it promotes and disseminates, it is safe to say that most of the switches are stylistic and, above all, illustrative in nature in order to demonstrate and take pride in the extensive knowledge and mastery that this group and its members have of both languages. Examples of switches added in this category are “Er Llanito ê uno delô *làngwijez* ke s'avlan n'Hivertà”, “Er Llanito i er Panyò asen xèring siertô *àspekts* de su *lingwìstik hìstori* i pwen mirà paresìô ner *sefes* lla ke lâ dô son *Ìberou-Ròumants làngwijez* komo'r Purtugêh, er Gallego, l'Âturiano ntre otrô”, “Asìn ke'r Llanito, n'siertô *doumeinz* pwe sè *miùcholi intèlijibol* kon er Panyò i notrô kompletamente *inkonprihèntsibol* p'argien k'avla Panyò” (Gibraltariansfams, 2022). It even occurs on multiple occasions within slightly longer sentences such as:

> Er mundo tà lleno de *kàntriz* ke son *multìlingwol*. *Làksembeg* tiene 3 *ofixol làngwijez* (*Laksembègix*, Alemàn i Frantsêh). Swisa tiene kwatro *ofixol làngwijez* (Alemàn, Frantsêh, Italiano i *Romanch*), Kurasao, un *kontstìtiuent kantri* delô *Nèdalandz* tiene trê *ofixol làngwijez* (Papiamento, *Dach* i Inglêh). I êtô namâke son argunô *egzànpolz* (Gibraltariansfams, 2022).

These switches have no function corresponding to either Gumperz’s nor San’s categories, besides having equivalents in the other language. It has therefore been inferred that the reason they have been made is purely stylistic and out of linguistic pride.

8. Llanito Standadaizeixon Grup

It is also worth noting that both websites analysed above created in December 2012 the so-called "Llanito Standadaizeixon Grup" in *yanito* or "Llanito Standardisation Group" in English. It is a Facebook group which, due to the linguistic policies imposed in Gibraltar and the consequent lack of prestige and decline of *yanito*, aims to change this trend and promote a sense of pride in having such a cultural and linguistic diversity in the Rock. Thus, they set themselves the goal of standardising *yanito*.

To this end, they developed an online grammar available on the *LlanitoLlanito* website, in which one can find different sections with specific grammatical categories in *yanito*, their translation into English and Spanish, and examples of how to use them. Hence, for instance, within the category of adverbs, it is possible to find words such as "deke", which means "since" and can be encountered in sentences such as "Deke ma s'a partìo'r tipà n'a podìo 'serme 'na tasa tè" (Buttigieg, 2014), which means "Since my teapot broke I have not been able to make myself a cup of tea"; coordinating and subordinating conjunctions such as "ner keis ke" (Buttigieg, 2014), meaning "in case"; and even (see Table 1) prepositions used in *yanito* and the equivalent translation in English and Spanish. In addition, this grammar has a standard orthography that displays how *yanito* should be written, an orthography used on both websites and in the *Gibraltariansfams* extract analysed. All these materials are devised, according to this group, not only to gather all the linguistic information on the use of *yanito*, but also with a view to its standardisation and potential teachability.

Table 1

Prepositions in English, Spanish and yanito

English				the	the	the	the	the	the	the	the	the	the
		Spanish		el	el	lo	lo	los	los	la	la	las	las
			Llanito	**er**	**l'**	**lo**	**l'**	**lô**	**lô s'**	**la**	**l'**	**l'â**	**lâ s'**
	to	a	**à**	àr	àl'	àlo	àl'	àlô	àlô s'	àla	àl'	àlâ	àlâ s'
	with	con	**kon**	kon er	kol'	kolo	kol'	kolô	kolô s'	kola	kol'	kolâ	kolâ s'
	of	de	**de**	der	del'	delo	del'	delô	delô s'	dela	del'	delâ	delâ s'
	in	en	**n**	ner	nl'	nlo	nl'	nlô	nlô s'	nla	nl'	nlâ	nlâ s'
	for / by	por	**por**	por er	por l'/pol'	polo	pol'	polô	polô s'	pola	pol'	polâ	polâ s'

	for	para	pa	par	pal'	palo	pal'	palô	palô s'	pala	pal’	palâ	palâ s'

Note. From: Buttigieg, D. (2014). *Grama*. LlanitoLlanito. Retrieved May 13, 2023, from http://www.llanitollanito.com/grama.html

Moreover, an online dictionary of *yanito* has also been produced by this group. With more than 1,400 words, the dictionary allows the search of words in *yanito*, English and Spanish, producing the *yanito* variant, with its corresponding spelling, its pronunciation according to IPA, the grammatical category of the word and its translation into English and Spanish. Thus, by typing in the word “lollipop”, the *yanito* version “rolipò”, its corresponding IPA pronunciation [roli'po], its grammatical category, which is a masculine noun, and the English and Spanish equivalents lollipop and “piruleta” respectively, are displayed. This user-friendly dictionary was employed to look up the meaning of *yanito* words such as “pâtiso”, which appeared in one of the extracts that has been analysed above.

With all these resources, they aim both to modernise *yanito* in order to revive terms and expressions in disuse and preserve the current ones, and to promote and document *yanito* through the tools and facilities offered by social media when compiling audios, texts, videos, producing digital magazines and podcasts, as is the case of *LlanitoLlanito*, and even compiling and disseminating literature, since on this website it is also possible to access a section dedicated to articles on *yanito*, poems written in *yanito* and all kinds of archives such as the Gibraltarian linguistic census.

9. Conclusions

In the last section of this paper, the initial hypotheses will be revisited and, on the basis of the analyses carried out previously, it will be discussed whether the hypothesis is fulfilled or not. Furthermore, the results of the research, the general points that can be drawn from them and the limitations of the research will be discussed.

The first step undertaken in this study was to contextualise the Gibraltarian community historically and sociolinguistically. Then, appropriate terminological definitions had to be given for terms such as bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching or *yanito*. Thus, adequate terms would be employed to analyse the phenomenon in this community. Later, once the

linguistic community and the phenomena that do and do not occur in it were acknowledged, the language policies regarding the use of English, Spanish and *yanito* in the different social spheres, education, administration and mass media were discussed. Finally, the recent events that have had the greatest influence on the linguistic identity of Gibraltarians, the closure and reopening of the border fence with Spain, were addressed. Thus, with all this information about the Rock both historically and linguistically, an analysis of the use of code-switching given by speakers on television and in the press with respect to the social media was carried out.

Yet, as stated both in the methodology of the study and within the analysis, the samples of each analysis consist of around 300 words each, with five analyses having been carried out, making a total of 1500 words of corpus. Therefore, although the conclusions inferred from the results may be close to the reality of the phenomenon, they do not provide representative evidence due to the restricted amount of corpus analysed. Thus, further studies with larger corpora should be carried out in order to obtain much more representative and accurate results and, hence, conclusions.

First, the hypothesis that the functions that speakers give to code-switching when speaking *yanito* exhibit differences between the field of conventional media and the field of social media and the Internet has been corroborated. After carrying out the corresponding analyses, and as can be seen in the figures, there is a wide difference between the results. On the one hand, in the analysed conventional media, both the two television programmes and the press column, the switches are mostly classified under the functional categories established by Gumperz in 1982. This suggests a use of code-switching based on the grammatical and syntactic rules of the language, making switches to clarify messages in the form of apposition, to fill lexical gaps that do not exist in the other language or even to show social closeness or distance between speakers. On the other hand, and in absolute contrast to conventional media, the switches found in social media are mainly stylistic in nature or, alternatively, to demonstrate the speaker's proficiency in both languages. They do not have a clear and precise function as is the case in television and the press and, therefore, only a minority of them can be included within Gumperz's categories. As recent studies reveal and as illustrated in the analysed cases in social media, young Gibraltarians, whilst being fluent in English due to government language policies, when they use code-switching “no es necesariamente por una falta de recursos o por inseguridad lingüística” (Levey, 2020, p. 83).

In fact, these websites advocate pride in the linguistic and cultural richness they display. Some of them even venture into online dictionaries and grammars to document *yanito*. Nonetheless, as Levey (2020) explains, undertaking this sort of project "resulta problemático hablar de un léxico autóctono, único y estable" (p. 79). These groups not only show a strong Gibraltarian identity that is distant from both the British and Spanish ones, not only through their publications, their work in social media and their statements, but also through their use of code-switching, as the analysis has shown and concluded. Mainstream public media programmes treat *yanito* as something to laugh at, which is why it only features in trivial spaces such as cooking programmes, while English is the language of news and programmes of major interest and relevance. However, the *yanito* found in social media is used freely, stylistically, with pride, by groups that are dedicated to the documentation and conservation of this phenomenon and that deal with highly relevant topics using *yanito* as a means of dissemination.

Nonetheless, the aspirations of these groups are perhaps too high. This is because, as they themselves claim, they seek not only the documentation of *yanito* but also its standardisation and its teaching in schools so that the phenomenon does not perish. However, as Androutsopoulos (2011) argues, "The influence of CMC on spoken language seems less of a concern to public discourse and popular imagination than its potential effects on other domains of written language production, especially school writing" (p. 147). This is because the idea that the use of language employed in social media may eventually be transmitted to public spheres or to educational institutions is a linguistic myth according to this author. It is true that bilingualism can generate linguistic traits of their own, as shown in the study carried out by Mariscal Ríos (2021), in which speakers had oral errors such as incorrect use of the article, gender and number mismatches or the use of calques derived from literal translations of English. Still, there are no studies that support the interference of the language used on the Internet and social media in the educational sphere, much less in the upper echelons of society. Conventional media and institutions coexist with new phenomena and dialects of blogs, websites and social media and, as Androutsopoulos (2011) notes the emergence of these online trends may even result in new ideologies with respect to language policies. Yet these online manifestations are not enough to achieve the goals that these groups set for themselves, as studies of young students show that "out-of-school digital writing does not have any influence on institutional language production" (Androutsopoulos, 2011, 148).

To conclude, it seems possible that there is a potential manifestation of *yanito* in social media with completely different functions to the *yanito* that is currently heard and read in conventional Gibraltarian public media. This could lead to the emergence of a new ideological trend that would go against the language policies pursued by the Gibraltarian government and the use of English as the only official language. On the basis of previous studies such as those carried out by Androutsopoulos or Levey, however, this trend would not have any influence at an institutional level and would remain merely in the sphere of the Internet and social media. Yet, due to the small amount of corpus analysed and the scarce number of studies on code-switching and specifically on *yanito* in social media, it is necessary to carry out more research on the subject in order to analyse a significantly larger sample of corpora and sociolinguistic factors in order to be able to make accurate and representative assertions.

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Appendix. Transcriptions and corpus extracted

Table A1

Transcription of Pepe's Pot

Transcription of *Pepe's Pot*
Pepe: Welcome back. And now, we are ready to show you how we can do a lovely pack lunch for children and something different, or probably you do it in your home already -
Vanessa: Yo no, yo que sé, a lo mejor somebody is doing it.
Pepe: But this is a new idea that's come about and it gives, ¡no te lo comas todo!
Vanessa: Uno na ma
Pepe: Bueno. Anyway, we are having eggs, we are having some chicken, we are having drumsticks.
Vanessa: Muslito.
Pepe: Muslito.
Vanessa: Translation.
Pepe: Muslito. Rosada. Rosada because it hasn't got any ehpinite.
Vanessa: Espinita ni na'.
Pepe: No, no ehpinite, in English.
Vanessa: Bueno, tú tanto hablar. Venga. You are the one that suggested the cheese puffs, ahora empiezas así con la manita.
Pepe: I do it. Harina y pan rallao' because you're doing the muslito with pan rallao' and not not with this. Pero this we are going to try and show you how to do with- no tiene na' que hacer.
Vanessa: No.
Pepe: Again, huevo, el el la gallina, el el el the the drumsticks, lo que se llama la rosada.
Vanessa: What is rosada in English? Do you-?
Pepe: En inglés rosery.
Vanessa: Rosery yes [LAUGHTER]. Después de semana santa viene bien, ¿no?

Pepe: Claro.

Vanessa: Rosada rosery.

Pepe: Then you have [INAUDIBLE]

Vanessa: ¡No, no, en serio! What is rosada?

Pepe: Rosada is actually a fish that comes way back from South Africa.

Vanessa: ¿Qué estás de broma o en serio?

Pepe: No, no, I'm telling you the truth.

Vanessa: No sé, ya es que-

Pepe: Mira, this was a fish that was found and brought, imported to Gibraltar by a local man called [LAUGHTER - INAUDIBLE]

Vanessa: Yo es que no sé. Ya es que no sé si reírme.

Pepe: ¡No, de verdad! And this guy who had [INAUDIBLE] in the market, had his brother living in South Africa and they came about this huge fish which is a pink colour, and they sliced it and made it into what they called filete like that…

Vanessa: ¡Vale, but you still haven't told me what rosada is called in English!

Pepe: Rosery.

Vanessa: Rosery, se quedó.

Pepe: We call it rosery.

Note. From: [Pepe Potaje]. (2012). *Pepe's Pot* [Video]. Youtube. Retrieved May 1, 2023, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pffC9la_pOc

Table A2

Transcription of Simply Sonia

Transcription of *Simply Sonia*
¡Hola, hola! Welcome to my house, Sonia's recipe! GBC que viene a mi casa, que vamos a hacer unas cositas para nochebuena, con que vamos a hacer unas tapitas, unos "canapeses" para que los quieran ustedes poner antes de cenar o para Christmas Day y entonces no veas, vamos a dar el lote. Con que welcome to my house. ¡Hola! Pues mira, ¡Hola, hola my friends! Bueno, I am in my house, en mi humilde cocinita nueva, que vamos a hacer Christmas canapés, you know? Because you can have them for dinner during Christmas or before lunch so, son unos "canapeses" que se pueden hacer para nochebuena pues, para picar antes un poquito o el día de Navidad o vienen unos amigos a la casa y entonces vamos a hacer unos "canapeses". Mira todas las cositas buenas que tenemos por aquí. ¿Estamos? Vamos a hacer cinco clases de "canapeses". Entonces, I'm going to show you two of each para que no se haga muy largo el vídeo y después lo hacemos todo y lo enseñamos, ¿vale? Y después también tenemos un sweet thing, después tenemos unos dulcecitos que van a estar chachi piruli, ¡chachi piruli! No veas, la gente está loca con el chachi piruli. Bueno, mira qué guapa estoy, ¿eh? No me digas. Mira mis zarcillos mira, zarcillitos, ¿eh? Pulserita que me la compré en Londres, mira, mira qué bonita. De Christmas todo. Bueno, vamos a empezar, ¿vale? Vamos a empezar con los "canapeses" de carne de cerdo y salmón y queso blanco. Lo vamos a ir poniendo aquí, en una bandeja, y ya cuando estén todos, pues lo vamos enseñando. Esto son tostaditas que yo he hecho. Esto o lo podéis comprar ya hecho, you can buy them already toasted or you can toast them in your house. As I've got a toaster, que es como una sandwichera, pues yo lo corté todo todo and I've done them all, you see?

Note. From: De la Rosa, S. (Presenter), & Pons, C. (Editor). (2022). Sonia's Chachi Piruli Christmas (Season 2, Episode 1) [TV series episode]. *Simply Sonia*. GBC. Retrieved May 1, 2023, from https://www.gbc.gi/tv/programmes/simply-sonia-1314/clips/sonias-chachi-piruli-christmas-episode-1-739

Table A3

Extract from Panorama

Extract from *Panorama*
The solution to the frontier problem, is to remove it, como dijo el enterao del foreign secretary... How long no see, dear Cloti, what's up? My dear Cynthia, me entro un patitu con esto del javotion. Oh dear what a cachonfinger, at your age why should lo del abortion bother you - and by the way, please brush up your English, que eso de javotion doesn't sound well. Tu como siempre, giving lectures at someone who could well be your grandma. That's good, Cloti, you accepting your age, that you are older than me. Bueno, you will recall that when we first met on the telephone, you said you were 40. Oh dear, after all these years, you are going to hit 100 one of these days! Querida Cynthia, at least I was being truthful pero you never gave your age, you said that age was a secret and not even your Charlie knew about it. Bueno, you know what men say, that you can't believe women when it comes to age. Anyway, let's change the page, shall we? La verdad es que hay cosas that are more important, mira como anda lo del frontier, otra vez with frontieritis, caramba. You must remember what was your solution to the frontier problem, don't you, you wanted to remove el frontier gate so that the Spanish couldn't close it... Mind you, it wasn't me saying that, I was repeating lo que dijo el foreign secretary at the time, un tal Howe, so how about that? Pues ya vez si un liston como ese had to defend our soberanity, no wonder que no ganabamos pa susto.

Note. From: García, J. (Ed.). (2021). It's calentita day. *Gibraltar Panorama*. Retrieved May 1, 2023, from http://www.gibraltarpanorama.gi/175562

Table A4

Transcription of LlanitoLlanito podcast

Transcription of *LlanitoLlanito* podcast
Hola, aquí con ustedes Dale Buttigieg, o Buttigieg como dirían los malteses y welcome al podcast de LlanitoLlanito, un podcast sobre Hivertá and Llanito. Antes de empezar con el programa de hoy, quisiera hacer pointing out una cosa que me parece muy importante pa' hacer setting out the stone y [INAUDIBLE] the podcast, que quisiera hacer sharing con ustedes por mucho tiempo. Todos los languages del mundo son igual de importantes, y el llanito también. Con que, por eso creo que ya era hora de que también hubiera media in llanito. Y hopefully, espero que este podcast sea un step to that right direction. Thank you por acompañarme en este primer podcast y ojalá que sean muchos más. [INAUDIBLE] los passegi: la historia de los genoveses perdidos. Hace unos cuántos días, hice discovering un document en francés, de un medical comission de Francia, que vino a Hivertá in eighteen twenty eight/eighteen twenty nine, pa' hacer documenting the epidemic the yellow fever que estaba afectando al population de aquel entonces. Y uno de los médico de ese commision hizo visiting la casa número cuarenta y cinco de la caleta, donde vivía la familia Passegi y rara casualidad que los Passegi son familia mía. Vincenzo Passegi, que ya estaba muerto cuando se hizo producing el document, y Victoria Sanguinetti, venían de un pueblecito de Provence de Savona, en el region de Liguria, en el north de Italia, en lo que era el Kingdom de Sardinia y que ahora es Italia, que se llamaba y se llama Vado Ligure o Voœ, como se conoce en Genovés. En 1889, Victoria, que era un washerwoman, vivía en una casa con un cuarto y una cocina chiquitita, con sus cuatro hijos, una hija de catorce años y tres hijos. Dos eran pescadores y el otro era un domestic servant.

Note. From: Buttigieg, D. (Host). (2021). Lô Passeggi: La Toria delô Henovesê perdìô (No. 1) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Llanito Llanito: Er Pòdkast*. Spotify. https://open.spotify.com/episode/1DxlBUf8z0pp0m5Dpi4Xdb?si=bVbIZ6SDQGWaDBOEsezjzA

Table A5

Extract from Gibraltariansfams

Extract from *Gibraltariansfams*
Er Llanito ê uno delô làngwijez ke s'avlan n'Hivertà. Sigùn un andagràdiuet stadi kondàkted n'2014/15 er 79.4% delô Llanitô 'sìan kontsìdaring er Llanito komo uno de sû nèitiv làngwijez. Er Llanito ê iunik à Hivertà, si no lo 'semo protèkting ni promòuting i no 'semo nkàrajing su ius, kièn lo va 'sè por nosotro? Er Llanito i er Panyò asen xèring siertô àspekts de su lingwìstik hìstori i pwen mirà paresìô ner sefes lla ke lâ dô son Ìberou-Ròumants làngwijez komo'r Purtugêh, er Gallego, l' turiano ntre otrô. Sin embargo, durante mâ de 300 s'anyô er Llanito s'a vîto ìnfluentsd polô hèritij làngwijez de Hivertà komo'r Henovêh i la Haketìa, adìxonoli, dèlô mid-1900z er Llanito s'a vîto strongli ìnfluentsd pol'Inglêh Vritàniko. Asìn ke'r Llanito, n'siertô doumeinz pwe sè miùcholi intèlijibol kon er Panyò i notrô kompletamente inkonprihèntsibol p'argien k'avla Panyò. Ntre lô Llanitó ke son multilìngwol er Llanito pwe usarse simiultèiniasli kol'Inglêh i er Panyò, dô làngwijez k'an exo plèing un signìfikent roul ner divèlopment der Llanito, nlo ke se konose komo kòudswiching (nête keis Llanito-Inglêh-Panyò) ke pwe 'sè lìding à argunô à eròuniasli kreè k'er Llanito ê namâk'un pâtiso desorganisàu i una mêkla àr tuntùn de Panyò i Inglêh kwando'r Llanito ase fòlouing sû propiô lèksikol i gramàtikol rulz komo kwarkiel otro làngwij. Er mundo tà lleno de kàntriz ke son multìlingwol. Làksembeg tiene 3 ofìxol làngwijez (Laksembègix, Alemàn i Frantsêh). Swisa tiene kwatro ofìxol làngwijez (Alemàn, Frantsêh, Italiano i Romanch), Kurasao, un kontstìtiuent kantri delô Nèdalandz tiene trê ofìxol làngwijez (Papiamento, Dach i Inglêh). I êtô namâke son argunô egzànpolz. Er monolìngwol làngwij pòlisi de Hivertà tà ner mainòriti i no ner majòriti. Asè rèkognaizing lô làngwijez ê prougres, 'sè promòuting er monolìngwalizm no lo ê.

Note. From: Gibraltariansfams. (2022). *Llanitô por un multilìngwol Sousàieti*. Gibraltarians For A Multilingual Society. Retrieved May 1, 2023, from https://www.gibraltariansfams.com/llpums.html